

PREFACE

This is an excerpt from a much longer report which represents my current thinking on the many Scotch-Irish families surnamed Gay who pioneered in the Valley of Virginia (the Shenandoah) in the 1740s. This excerpt is focused on William² Gay (aka William-A Gay), one of the two such Williams (the other I call William-B) who settled adjacent to each other on the Little Calfpasture River in the present county of Rockbridge.

In order to call my subject William² Gay (implying that his parents were the first immigrants to America of his line), I must logically provide some account of those parents, and this I have done, although it must be noted that they remain rather shadowy figures—theoretical constructs based largely on onomastic analysis of the child-naming patterns in these families.

The children of this first couple, whom I hypothesize were named John¹ and Agnes, were: William, James, John, Robert, Samuel, and Eleanor. Of these, besides William, the only one for whom I have included material from my plenary report is Eleanor, and that only because her inclusion crucially impacts the structure of this family, and also uniquely brings into play evidence of the Old World origins of this family.

The main line of this report consists of a series of linked family sketches, in descendancy order. Each sketch covers one man, or one woman, their spouse or spouses, and their set or sets of children. Certain of these children may appear later as subjects of their own sketches: these continued children are assigned unique arabic numbers, in addition to the Roman numeral which represents their birth order within the family. The basic structure of the report is sometimes called “Register format”, but much of the citation material in the footnotes has been offloaded to an extensive bibliography, and there are other structural innovations in the format, as well as several extensive appendices.

I thank Mr. Alan J. Denison, my client and cousin, for his permission to thus publish this material, whose research and composition he partly sponsored and inspired, and I dedicate the several advances which it represents in the understanding of this family over the work of my predecessor, exemplar, and cousin, Robert H. Montgomery, FASG, to Dr. Montgomery himself.

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The Surname Gay

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

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

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

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

Augusta County was created in 1738, from OrangeCoVA, but its first court didn’t meet until 30Dec1745. Until that time, all the business of the court, including probate business, and the recording of deeds occurred under the auspices of OrangeCo, whose courthouse lay on the other side (to the east) of the Blue Ridge Mountains from the few hundred families settled within the bounds of Augusta. These original pioneers were scattered mostly near the upper end (the southernmost part) of the Valley of Virginia, in the present counties of Rockingham, Augusta, Rockbridge, Botetourt, Roanoke, and Montgomery. These additional counties were created from Augusta beginning in 1770 with Botetourt, then Montgomery (1777), Rockbridge and Rockingham (1778), and Roanoke not until 50 years after that (I include Roanoke, both county and independent city, only to match the geographical layout on modern maps).

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

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

great migrations into Kentucky and Tennessee. They were all part of AugustaCoVA in 1745, which ran, on paper, to the Mississippi River, and northwest to Minnesota.

Where the Gays Lived

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

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

The Gay Families of Old Augusta: *Dramatis Personae*

Many of the following dates are circa dates (estimates based on indirect evidence), or say dates (guesstimates based on plausible and typical patterns). Since both research and interpretive rethinking are still in progress, these are very much subject to change. The children listed are disproportionately sons, only because vital records are lacking, and probate records are sketchy, in early Orange and Augusta Counties. Those shown below with the generation number ² I believe to be children of the immigrants, John¹ & Agnes Gay.

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

Henry Gay (cDec1704-cMar1779), son of John Gay of Sadsbury, LancasterCoPA, who settled on Big Calfpasture lot 7; married Martha Baxter 25Sep1729; **Children:** John (b.s1730), Elizabeth (b.s1732), Ann (b.s1734), Martha (b.s1736), —?— (dau, b.s1739), Rebecca (b.s1743), Jennet (b.s1744), and Sarah (b.s1746)

James² Gay (s1712-cOct1776), settled adjacent, across the Big Calfpasture, from John² Gay; married 1st Mary [Warwick?] c1744; **Children(1):** Agnes (b.25Sep1745), John, Jane, Mary, James (b.24Aug1758); married 2nd Jean —?— s1769; **Children(2):** Robert (b.s1770), Martha, Samuel

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

Robert-A (s1720-bef17Feb1762), settled on Big Calfpasture lot 9; married Margaret —?— s1746; **Children:** James (s1747), Robert (b.s1750), John (b.s1752)

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

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

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

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

William-B Gay (-cJul1767), settled by 15/16May1754 on the Little Calfpasture, adjacent to William-A Gay; married —?— [Walkup?] s1758; **Children:** William (b.s1759).

1. JOHN¹ GAY and his wives AGNES? —?—, and ISABELLA?? —?—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Onomastics of Eleanor’s Conjugal Family

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

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

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

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

anomalous William and Isabella (the last two sons, taken together, replicate the full name of Eleanor's putative father, John Gay).

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

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

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

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

Finally, the case for Eleanor as a sister, or at least a close relation, of the Little Calfpasture Gays is strengthened by the fact that she can't really be fit into any of the other Gay families of early AugustaCo. Certainly not the family of Samuel-A of South River, whose career I review in the following Children Section headnote, nor could she be a daughter of Henry Gay of the Calfpasture who left a will naming many daughters but no Eleanor Kinkead, even though she was living nearby when Henry made his will;

Henry's widow, Martha, also left a will bereft of Eleanors. The Robert Gay who was owner of Big Calfpasture lot 9 (much nearer to where the Kinheads were settled), had three sons, but they do not appear to have come of age until the early 1770s, and were thus born a little late to be brothers of Eleanor.^[8] Nor could she have been a daughter (rather than a sister) of William-B Gay, whose son William was probably born about 1760.^[9]

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

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

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

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

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

Children of JOHN¹ GAY and AGNES? —?—:

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

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

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

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

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

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

time from Beverley,^[12] and the large number of associations between John and James in the records, more, even, than one would expect given their neighborly proximity: for example, when James died in 1776, John was appointed co-executor of his will after James's widow, Jean, declined.^[13] And, I note again, here, that if Eleanor is accepted as a daughter of John¹ & Agnes, by the same evidence (the testimony of her niece Jane Stevenson, the daughter of James Gay, cited above), James and Eleanor must be brother and sister.

[Omitted here are several pages of analysis and evidence justifying my inclusion of one of the two Robert Gays, and one of the two Samuel Gays as children of this family. The text of these sections will be found in my plenary report.]

The Birth Order of the Children

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

[Although I have retained the arabic numbers for all these children for consistency with my complete report, only William² is actually continued in this excerpt.]

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

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

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

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

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

¹³ AugustaCoVA Probate 5:436.

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

We are concerned here with the man I call not only William² (*John*¹), but also William-A, to differentiate him from the William-B who lived next above him astride the Little Calfpasture River. Montgomery reports that Boutwell Dunlap thought that William-A's wife was Margaret Walkup,^[14] but the only association between William-A and the Walkups (or Vachubs) which I find in the Augusta records is that his estate inventory was taken by James Lockridge, Sam[ue]l Hodge, and Joseph Vachub. Although all three of these men lived in the Calfpasture, their principal lands were at least 12 miles distant from William's, Hodge and Vachub being about equidistant, and it is difficult to make anything out of such an uncharacteristically far-flung set of appraisers; usually all or most of the appointees were close neighbors. Since there is a much closer association in the records between William-B and the Walkups, William-B having died intestate in 1767 with no record of the name of his wife,^[15] I think it far more likely that William-B's wife was the Walkup, and that Boutwell Dunlap merely conflated the wives of the two Williams.

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

William² Gay was born say 1709, probably in Ireland, and died in AugustaCoVA between 9May1755 (date of his will), and 20Aug1755 (its date of proof).

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

On 12May1746 "W[illia]m Guy" was chosen for the office of constable of the Calfpasture, in AugustaCoVA; this was a thankless job generally assigned at least once to upstanding young men.^[16] About 1750, John Gay, William Gay, James Gay, William Elliott, John Fulton, James Ste[ve]nson, John Meek, and others of the Little River in the Calfpasture signed a petition for a bridle path to be cut from William Gay's to Robert McCutchin's mill, and thence to Robert Campbell's.^[17] On 26/27Feb1749/50, William Gay was granted 490a, by deeds of lease & release, by William Beverley Esq., "in Colonel Beverley's part of the Calfpasture on both sides of the Little River", for a consideration of £15. The tract shared corners with the lands of Samuel Gay, and James Stephenson.^[18] On 20May1752, the 1750 "petition of the inhabitants of Little River" for a road from William Gay's to Robert McCutcheon's mill was granted, with W[illia]m Smith appointed overseer of a road gang comprising, amongst others, W[illia]m Elliott. . . William Ramsey. . . W[illia]m Guy, James Stevenson, Rob[ert] Guy, John Guy, Samuel Looney, and Sam[ue]l Guy. Except for James,

¹⁴ Robert H. Montgomery, "Gay Families of Augusta and Rockbridge Counties, Virginia", in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 199.

¹⁵ Joseph Wachob was a surety for William-B in 1761 as administrator of John Meeks (Chalkley 3:61); John Wahub was appointed administrator of William's estate in 1767, with Joseph Wahub his surety on the bond (Chalkley 3:99); and John Wahub was made guardian in 1768, of William's only known orphan, also named William (Chalkley 1:145).

¹⁶ Chalkley, 1:17, citing AugustaCo Order Book 1:44.

¹⁷ Chalkley, 1:435. This was a loose, undated, petition which Chalkley found at the courthouse, grouped in his published volume with other papers dated 1750.

¹⁸ AugustaCo Deeds 2:476-479; There are errors in this deed of both omission and commission, which I've been able to correct from later, and neighboring, deeds.

this entry documents the presence of all the suspected brothers Gay of the Little Calfpasture.^[19]

In his will dated 9May1755 (proved 20Aug1755), William Gay, of AugustaCoVA, bequeathed “to Margret my dearly beloved wife”, her bed & bedding, choice of a mare & her tackle, and 1/3rd of testator’s personal estate; to “my eldest son, John, the plantation that George Campbell lives now on, formerly held by James Stevenson”; to “my son, Robert, the plantation I now live on”; to “my daughter, Mary”, a sorrel mare; to “my daughter, Agness”, the mare named Phenix; the residue of the personal estate, exclusive of the widow’s third, to be divided equally amongst the children. He named as executors “my dearly beloved wife, together with my brother, John Gay”. The witnesses were W[illia]m Elliot, John Fulton, and James Stevenson.^[20] On 20Aug1755 the will of William Gay was proved by the witnesses, and certificate of probate was granted to his named executors Margaret Gay, and John Gay.^[21]

Children of WILLIAM² GAY and MARGARET —?—:

Three documents separated in time by over 50 years help us to reconstitute William’s conjugal family: the Feb1749/50 deed to his 490a lot on the Little Calfpasture River, his 1755 will, and an 1817 deed by his daughter Mary selling the 490a she inherited from her father; the “recital” of Mary’s title in this deed names not only her Father, William Gay, but also all of her siblings, and its legal import guarantees that hers is a complete list.^[22]

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

As for their suggested birth years, we may reasonably assume that John was at least 18 when he was killed by Indians in 1758, apparently one of a party of militia men killed near the South Branch of the Potomac (according to one source he was a corporal, thus he was probably closer to 21 than 18); an estate inventory taken for him on 7Mar1759 shows him as possessing only a horse and a rifle when he died.^[23] But if he died “in infancy”, as his sister, Mary Coursey’s deed asserts, his birth date can have been no earlier than 1738, and I have assigned dates for the remainder of William’s children at typical birth intervals thereafter. Since there is reason to believe that Mary’s first husband, Robert Dunlap, was born about 1740, and that they married about 1763, the birth year which falls to Mary out of this procedure, 1743, is also a reasonable one.

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

¹⁹ Chalkley, 1:50, citing Augusta Court Order Book 3:248.

²⁰ [Will of William Gay](#), 9May1755, AugustaCoVA Probate.

²¹ AugustaCoVA Probate 2:113a.

²² [Deed \(Sale\): Mary Coursey to Samuel McCutchen, 28Jun1817](#)

²³ AugustaCoVA Probate 2:289.

ammunition, and for other reasons. Both forts were located on the South Branch, the headwaters of the Potomac in now HighlandCo, and west of the settled area of Augusta.^[24]

On 15Nov1758 an administration bond for the estate of John Gay was filed by John Hamilton, with securities Samuel Young, and Alex[ander] Galespy.^[25] When John was killed, his father was already dead, and his mother remarried, to Alexander Hamilton, however, as we see, it was a *John* Hamilton who acted as the young man's administrator; quite likely, this John Hamilton was his guardian, and a brother of his step-father, Alexander. On 7Mar1759 John's inventory was taken by Alex[ande]r G*laspey, Hugh Young, and Samuel Young; it consisted solely of a sorrel mare and a rifle gun^[26]—probably the accouterments with which John went out to face the Indians. Still a minor when he was killed, he would not have had formal ownership of property, and in fact it seems likely that the sorrel mare was still a family possession, the mare named “Phenix” who was willed by his deceased father to his sister Agness, who was still, of course, an “infant” herself.

- ii. ROBERT GAY was born say 1740. He died before 1761, according to his sister Mary's deed of 1817, and nothing further is known of him.
- 8. iii. MARY GAY, b. say 1743; m1. Robert Dunlap; m2. James Coursey.
- iv. AGNES GAY was born say 1745. Agnes Gay married Robert Clark say 1765. I am aware of no evidence for this marriage, although it was asserted by Boutwell Dunlap, and has apparently been accepted without evidence by all the “experts” ever since, but her sister, Mary Coursey's deed points to a possible route to acquiring some.^[27] In any case, this Robert Clark was probably the son of James & Elizabeth Clark, and thus the brother-in-law of John² (Alexander²) Dunlap—see the headnote to John² Dunlap's sketch in my report “Alexander Dunlap of the Calfpasture & Descendants” for the circumstantial evidence supporting this connection between the Alexander¹ Dunlap and the James Clark families. On 19Apr1763 Ro[ber]t Clark, with [his brother?] John Clark were sureties on the guardian bond of John Dunlap, who had probably, by this time, married their sister, Ann.^[28]

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

²⁵ Chalkley, 3:51, citing Augusta Probate 2:281.

²⁶ AugustaCoVA Probate 2:289.

²⁷ [Deed \(Sale\): Mary Coursey to Samuel McCutchen, 28Jun1817](#) refers to land her sister Nancy (Agnes) inherited from their father, William Gay, which she then sold to Thomas Huggart (Hughart). If one could find a deed of sale from Robert Clark and/or wife Agnes (or their heirs) to Thomas Hughart, that would be very strong evidence that Boutwell Dunlap's theory is correct, and if the land could be matched up with land owned by father William, it would be conclusive. Unfortunately, there is no record in either the Augusta deeds books, or in the patent books of Virginia, of any other land acquired by William² Gay, but the land described in this hypothetical deed might still be in close proximity to William's Little Calfpasture tract, or one could hope that it would contain the same kind of recital of title as her sister Mary's 1817 deed.

²⁸ AugustaCoVA Probate 3:252, for the bond; Chalkley, 1:105, citing Augusta Order Book 8:25 for the court order showing Alexander's age.

On 20Aug1755 Margaret Gay was recognized as co-executor of the will of her husband, William Gay, along with his brother, John Gay; their sureties were W[illia]m Elliot, Robert Campbell, and Robert Gay.^[29]

William²'s widow, Margaret —?— married 2nd, Alexander Hamilton, about Dec1756. That Margaret was remarried by 16Nov1757, and to a man named Hamilton, is shown by an AugustaCo order book entry.^[30] The estimated date I have used for her marriage is based on the fact that Alexander Hamilton secured a marriage license in Nov1756.^[31]

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

Afternote: Alexander or William Hamilton?

In his definitive paper, *Gay Families of Augusta and Rockbridge Counties*, Robert H. Montgomery asserted that Mary's remarriage was to William, not Alexander, Hamilton;^[32] in fact he even [sic]ed the latter, presumably because of the three Chalkley entries he found respecting this marriage, two of which pointed to William, and only one to Alexander.^[33] However, even though the two entries were in different record sets, they were records of judgement of the same county court case, probably entered on the same day, by the same county clerk, perhaps from the same faulty notes. From this evidence, there is really no reason to prefer one name over the other. Consequently, I have compiled all the Chalkley items on Hamiltons named Margaret, William, and Alexander, and the evidence all points to Alexander Hamilton—no doubt the same Alexander Hamilton who was named a co-executor of the will of Robert Dunlap, the husband of Margaret's daughter Mary. But there is too much evidence to argue the case here, so reference is made to "Which Hamilton did Margaret (Gay) Dunlap Marry?" below—**Appendix C** of this report.

²⁹ AugustaCoVA Probate 2:113a.

³⁰ AugustaCoVA Court Order Book 6:41 (16Nov1757 "Ordered that Samuel Hodge, Ralph Laverty, and James Gay, or any two, settle the estate of William Gay deceased, and set apart the thirds of Margaret Hamilton, late widow of the said deceased").

³¹ Chalkley, 2:275. Unfortunately, there is apparently no further data for this list of early Augustans who obtained marriage licenses.

³² Montgomery, "Gay Families", 199-200.

³³ Chalkley, 1:336, citing Augusta Aug1762A Judgements "Beverly vs. Gay: Wm. Hamilton and Margaret his wife, late Margaret Gay, executrix of William Gay, dec'd"; AugustaCoVA Court Order Book 7:310, 23Aug1762 court ("*Beverly vs. Gay*: John Robinson [*et.al.*] executors of William Beverly, deceased, Plaintiffs against John Gay, and W[illia]m Hamilton, and Marg[are]t his wife, late Marg[are]t Gay, wife of William Gay, deceased"); Chalkley, 3:51, citing Augusta Probate 2:279 ("John Gay's receipt to Alex. Hamilton for what was in his and his wife's hands belonging to the children of William Gay.").

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

The identity of Mary (Gay) (Dunlap) Coursey through two marriages is proved by four pieces of evidence. The statement of James Coursey in a court case, *Heirs of Robert Dunlap vs. James Hamilton et.al.* (1803-1808), in his answer to the bill of complaint, “that he did on the 3rd day of February 1785 intermarry with Mary Dunlap widow of Robert Dunlap deceased”^[34], is the best evidence for both of Mary’s marriages, although a minister’s return for the second has also been found at the Rockbridge courthouse.^[35] 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),^[36] 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.^[37]

Mary³ Gay was born say 1743.

She married 1st, Robert Dunlap (son of Alexander Dunlap and Ann [MacFarland?]), about 1763. Robert was born about 1739, considering that he was deeded land by (his brother) John Dunlap in Feb1761,^[38] and died, probably, at the Battle of Guilford Courthouse in South Carolina 15Mar1781.^[39]

She married 2nd, James Coursey, as his 2nd wife, in RockbridgeCoVA 3Feb1785. Coursey died between 27Apr1814 (date of his will), and 31Jul1815 (its date of proof) in RockbridgeCoVA.^[40]

³⁴ *Heirs of Robert Dunlap vs. James Hamilton et.al.*, (1803-1808), Virginia Superior Court of Chancery at Staunton.

³⁵ *Rockbridge County, Virginia, Marriages*, 282. The abstract of this return reads: “Mary Gay [Dunlap] and James Coursey 3Feb1785; second wife, widow Robert (ref. ‘History of Rockbridge County’ by Oren F. Morton) min. John Brown, Presbyterian”. One wonders whether the “Gay” of “Mary Gay [Dunlap]” comes from Morton too, but fortunately we need not rely for our proof on this rather sloppy abstract.

³⁶ AugustaCoVA Deeds 2:476-479.

³⁷ [Deed \(Sale\): Mary Coursey to Samuel McCutchen, 28Jun1817](#)

³⁸ 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.

³⁹ *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.

⁴⁰ RockbridgeCoVA Probate 4:98.

On 13/14Feb1761, “Robert Dunlap” was granted 295a on the Calfpasture, part of 625a, for £100, by “John Dunlap”.^[41] 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.^[42] On 22Nov1775 Robert Dunlap was appointed constable in AugustaCoVA, “vice” (to succeed) David Martin.^[43] On 19Aug1777 Robert Dunlap presented the inventory of his wife’s uncle (and perhaps his former guardian), John Gay.^[44] On 4Aug1778 Robert Dunlap was appointed to take the inventory of “David Martain”’s estate.^[45] 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.^[46]

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

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

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

Robert named as co-executors his wife, Alexander Hamilton, and John Dunlap (his older brother); the witnesses to the will are Jacob, Thomas, and Jean Martin; the latter was presumably the widow of David Martin, for whose estate Robert had taken inventory just three years before.^[47]

⁴¹ AugustaCoVA Deeds 9:125-128.

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

⁴³ Chalkley, 1:186, citing Augusta order book 16:94.

⁴⁴ AugustaCoVA Probate 5:516-518.

⁴⁵ RockbridgeCoVA County Court Order Book 1:21.

⁴⁶ RockbridgeCoVA Probate 1:101-102.

⁴⁷ **Will of Robert Dunlap, 23Jan1781 (proved 5Mar1782)**, RockbridgeCoVA Probate → The witnesses were Jacob Martin, Thomas Martin, and Jean Martin; Jacob Martin was granted 141a on the Little Calfpasture in Feb1749[/50], in the same batch of deeds as William Gay, and his witnesses on that deed were William Gay, and James Gay, both probably adjacent lotholders (I haven't yet plotted this Martin deed).

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

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

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

The specific provisions of this will have some importance to this family story, because decades later, the heirs of Robert would sue the executors, and their allies (the younger children's guardians) for abridging their rights of inheritance under the will. On 5Mar1782 the will of Robert Dunlap was proved, and the executorship was granted solely to Alexander Hamilton—Robert's widow Mary Gay, and brother John Dunlap, having declined to serve.^[48]

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.^[49]

Children of ROBERT³ DUNLAP and MARY GAY:

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

⁴⁸ RockbridgeCoVA Probate 1:154.

⁴⁹ RockbridgeCoVA Probate 1:154.

David McKee & Ann his wife, William Denniston & Peggy his wife, Samuel McCutchin and Nancy [Agnes] his wife". James Coursey's answer to the bill of complaint also supplies birth dates for the two youngest children, Mary and Agnes.^[50] The same children, are listed, in the birth order I have given them here, in a "mug book" article, originally published in the 1880s, on a son Alexander, of MonroeCoWV.^[51]

Further particulars on the children Alexander⁴, Margaret⁴, and perhaps others will be found in my report "Alexander Dunlap of the Calpasture & Descendants".^[52]

- i. WILLIAM⁴ DUNLAP was born say 1764. William Dunlap married Elizabeth Coursey (daughter of James Coursey and Winifred Riddell) in RockbridgeCoVA 15Aug1790.^[53] Mary (Gay) (Dunlap) Coursey, was thus both the mother of the groom, and the step-mother of the bride. Elizabeth Coursey was born say 1765.
- ii. ANN DUNLAP was born say 1766.^[54] She married David McKee (son of John McKee of Kerr's Creek) 16Sep1788.^[55] He was born in AugustaCoVA 25Dec1760.^[56]
- iii. ALEXANDER DUNLAP was born in AugustaCoVA 11Mar1768, and died in Union, MonroeCoVA VA 17Mar1841. Alexander married Jane Alexander (daughter of James Alexander and Isabella

⁵⁰ *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.

⁵¹ *The West Virginia Heritage Encyclopedia: Supplemental Series*, 25? volumes, Jim Comstock, editor(s) (RichwoodWV: privately printed, 1974), 1:86.

⁵² Margaret, who married William Dennison, was an ancestor of Alan J. Denison, a cousin and a client of mine, who sponsored much of the research for this report.

⁵³ *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.

⁵⁴ *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.

⁵⁵ *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.

⁵⁶ George Wilson McKee, *The McKees of Virginia and Kentucky* (Pittsburgh: J.B. Richards, 1891), 124, 125, from a transcription family bible record of a half-brother of David, John Telford McKee (1783-1857).

Earskin) 14Sep1795.^[57] Jane was born in Botetourt County, VA 25Jun1775,^[58] and died 5 or 7Aug1838.^[59]

iv. MARGARET DUNLAP, b. 20May1770; m. William Denison. [*her line is continued in my full report*]

v. ROBERT DUNLAP was born 26Apr1772. Robert Dunlap married Martha Graham (daughter of John Graham) in AugustaCoVA 14May1793,^[60] who died 12Mar1833.^[61] Robert died 26Oct1856,^[62] outliving his wife by over 20 years, and surviving almost until the Civil War.^[63]

There are stones in Rocky Spring cemetery, where Robert & Martha (Graham) Dunlap are buried, also for Margaret G[raham?] Dunlap (4May1794-11Oct1846), and for Charles A Dunlap (5Aug1813-6May1870). Margaret is probably an unmarried daughter of Robert & Martha, while Charles A. could be either a son, or a grandson.

vi. JOHN DUNLAP was born say 1775.

vii. MARY DUNLAP was born 23May1777.

viii. AGNES DUNLAP was born 29Sep1779. She married "Samuel McCutcheon" in RockbridgeCoVA 7May1799. The marriage record says she was the daughter of Robert Dunlap, deceased.^[64]

⁵⁷ 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.

⁵⁸ *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.

⁵⁹ *WV Heritage Encyclopedia: Supp*, 1:86 says 5Aug1738; Green Hill Cemetery, by Matthew Broyles, says 7Aug1838.

⁶⁰ **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); John Vogt and T. William Kethley Jr., *Augusta County Marriages, 1748-1850* (AthensGA: Iberian Publishing Co., 1986), supplying the actual marriage date, from an abstract of the ministerial return; Chalkley, 3:244, citing Augusta Probate 12:72. This 4Apr1813 will of "John Grayham of [the] Calf Pasture", names daughter Martha Dunlap.

⁶¹ RockySpring Cemetery (findagrave photos),. Her stone reads "MARTHA * || Wife of || ROBERT DUNLAP || DIED || MAR 12. 1833."

⁶² **Rocky Spring Presbyterian Church cemetery, in AugustaCoVA, photos posted to findagrave**, 8Jul2007. The stone reads "ROBERT DUNLAP || BORN || APRIL 26. 1772 || DIED || OCT. 26. 1856 || aged || [8]4 Yr. 6 Mo.", at <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GSln=dunlap&GSfn=robert&GSbyrel=all&GSdyrel=all&GSst=48&GSctry=4&GSob=n&GRid=20355086&>; Margaret Reese, *Abstract of Augusta County, Virginia, Death Registers, 1853-1896* (Waynesboro VA: privately printed, 1983), (citing line 970 of the original register) confirms the death date. Robert's age was given as 84y, 6m.

⁶³ **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.

⁶⁴ *Rockbridge County, Virginia, Marriages*.

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

On 4Sep1792, James Coursey with wife Mary sold 1000a on the Cumberland River near the Carolina line, on a military warrant purchased by James in 1783.^[65] 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”.^[66]

Boutwell Dunlap claims that Coursey was an officer in the Revolution, and owned 2000a in OrangeCo.^[67] I have found partial confirmation of the first claim.^[68]

In his will dated 27Apr1814 (proved 31Jul1815), James Coursey, of RockbridgeCoVA, bequeathed to “my well beloved wife Mary Coursey” a generous half of his personal estate, and to “my son James”, his wearing apparel. After two other minor bequests to neighbors James and Lanty Graham, he ordered that the remainder of his estate, real and personal, be divided into 10 “child parts”, but he then names only 5 children. It is doubtful that Coursey owned any real estate at his death. He was taxed for 196a in AugustaCo in 1782, but is off the list for subsequent years;^[69] although no record of a deed appears in Chalkley, he probably sold his land when he remarried, and came, as he says, to live on his wife’s land in 1785. Then, in 1792, he and Mary sold military warrant land he had purchased in 1783, just before his marriage. Coursey’s will is also notable for the following provision: “my Negro man Jack and Daphney should not be parted as they are man and wife”. Coursey named as executors his son James and John Frazer. Frazer was probably the nephew of the James Frazier who was a son-in-law of Henry Gay of the Big Calfpasture, and the benefactor of Henry’s probable nephew Archibald Gay and his family, but no family connection has been established between these other Gays of AugustaCo, and the brothers Gay who settled not far away on the Little Calfpasture.^[70]

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

⁶⁵ RockbridgeCoVA Deeds B:418-419.

⁶⁶ [Deed \(Sale\): Mary Coursey to Samuel McCutchen, 28Jun1817](#). Mary signed by her mark, and the deed was witnessed by Samuel Walkup, Joseph Bell, Jr., John Montgomery, Arthur Walkup, and proved by 3 of them on 2Feb1818; the Walkups were neighbors of the Courseys on the upper Little Calfpasture.

⁶⁷ Wayland, *Shenandoah County*, 596-597.

⁶⁸ J.T. McAllister, *Virginia Militia in the Revolutionary War* (HotSpringsVA: McAllister Publishing Co, 1913; reprint BowieMD: Heritage Books Inc, 1989), 101(Section 91). In an 1832 pension affidavit, John Young, then of PocahontasCoVA claimed he served a term under Captain Coursey prior to 1779.

⁶⁹ Ruth & Sam Sparacio, *Augusta County, Virginia, Land Tax Books, 1782-1790*, 2 volumes (McClellanVA: The Antient Press, 1997), 1:6.

⁷⁰ RockbridgeCoVA Probate 4:98-99.

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

Before discovering the narrative of Eleanor Gay's grandson, William Bury Kinkead, with its comments about his immigrant ancestors, I had already come to the tentative conclusion that the parents of the Gay siblings of the Little Calfpasture did indeed emigrate to the New World. The only actual evidence for this is the statement by Jane (Gay) Stevenson, daughter of James² of the Calfpasture that: "My father came from Ireland when he was a boy. But then he lived on the frontier long before he was married."^[71] If he came as a boy, he most likely came with parent(s).

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

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

"The ancestors of my grandparents were Scotch people. They left Scotland after the battle of Bothwell Bridge,^[72] and went to Ireland, settling in the northern part of that country; my grandmother's people, about four miles out from Derry. They were devoted Presbyterians, but did not side with either of the extreme parties of that day. King William represented their ideas, and they held him in highest admiration.

"I can well remember, a little boy of ten years of age, standing by my grandmother, and being delighted to listen to her give ths history of that memorable siege, which she had heard from the lips of her mother, whose father was in the siege."^[73]

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"Not a great while after this the ancestors of my grandfather and grandmother emigrated to the United States. They first came to Pennsylvania, and soon after moved to Virginia, to the county of Augusta. My grandfather, William Kinkead, was born in 1736. My grandmother, Eleanor Guy, was four years younger than he was."^[74]

⁷¹ Jane Stevenson Interview, with John Dabney Shane, 184?, in the Draper Collection, 137.

⁷² The Battle of Bothwell Bridge, in 1679, was brought on by the resistance of the Scottish Presbyterian "covenanters" to the attempted restoration of the episcopal Church of England in Scotland. The battle itself was a military fiasco and stinging defeat of the rebel forces, brought on by an almost total lack of leadership, discipline, and forethought.

⁷³ William, here, is evidently speaking of the Siege of Londonderry, of 1689, in which the citizens of that town in northern Ireland successfully resisted an army led by the ousted King of England, James II, attempting to reconquer Ireland for his throne. The bulk of James's army was made up of Irish Catholics, supplemented by French troops and it was largely financed by the French Catholic 'Sun King', Louis 14th. The people of the city, with its garrison, resisted 105 days of bombardment, starvation, and disease, during which half the population perished, until the river blockade was broken by relief ships from the new English Monarchs, Dutch Protestant King William, and his wife Mary, a daughter of James2 himself, and thus crowned Queen, and joint Monarch of England, in her own right.

⁷⁴ "Kinkead", in Peyton Neale Clarke, *Old King William Homes and Families: An Account of Some of the Old Homesteads and Families of King William County, Virginia, From Its Earliest Settlement* (LouisvilleKY: privately printed, 1897; reprint GPC, 1976). The principal part of this is a multi-page article by William Bury Kinkead about his grandparents, William & Eleanor (Gay) Kinkead, and their Scotch-Irish ancestors.

This seems to be fairly solid evidence (although it *is* hearsay narrated long after the hearing) of the Scottish, then northern Irish, origins of the Gays. One caution though: the specifics of the history, of course, William must have acquired later, when he was older, but even the personal stuff probably didn't come directly from his grandmother, since William was born 31Dec1819,^[75] and his grandmother died 9Oct1825,^[76] when he was still only 5.

William says that his grandmother's people (the Guys) settled just a few miles from Derry when they came over from Scotland. Let us consider this in the light of Robert Montgomery's search for Gay records in Ireland, the results of which he published as a preface to his paper on John Gay of Sadsbury,^[77] Although Montgomery found a number of records for the surname Gay, he was, not surprisingly, unable to make any connections between them and the settlers of AugustaCoVA; indeed, he found no traces of this Gay family in PA, either, nor has anyone else, to my knowledge. But two of the Montgomery items for Gays are geographically local to the city of Londonderry, which sits also on the border to county Donegal. One is for Letterkenny, county Donegal (about 15 miles to the west), and the other to Aghadowey in county Derry (about 20 miles to the east of the city), and the timing is about right for either, or both of these men to have been the American immigrant. First, the Aghadowey item:

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

The Rev. James McGregor led his party of emigrants to New Hampshire in 1718, and helped found Londonderry there, so even if the James Gay who was censured in this record did emigrate, the odds are that he is not the James whose widow Rebeckah Guy filed an administration bond in LancasterCoPA on 17Oct1743.^[78]

The other record is even more interesting:

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

⁷⁵ *The Biographical Encyclopaedia of Kentucky of the Dead and Living Men of the Nineteenth Century* (Cincinnati: J.M. Armstrong, 1878).

⁷⁶ “The Families Kinkead, Stephenson, Garrett, Martin, and Dunlap”, in Laura Kinkead Walton, *Genealogies of Kentucky Families, From the Register of the Kentucky Historical Society (O-Y)* (Baltimore: GPC, 1981), 761.

⁷⁷ Robert H. Montgomery, “John Gay of Sadsbury, Lancaster Co., Pa.”, in *The Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine*, 119-121. Montgomery shows that John of Sadsbury, LancasterCoPA, was the father of Henry Gay of the Calfpasture, but this family is of no known relation to any of the other early AugustaCoVA Gays.

⁷⁸ Montgomery, “Gay Families”, 121. I missed the original of this record myself when I was going through the records of LancasterCoPA. Unfortunately, Montgomery provides no specific citation.

To be a ruling elder, a man would presumably have to be not only devout and of high character, but also somewhat elder. at least into early middle age, but if my hypothetical John married a bit late, say at age 30, and in 1708 as I have estimated, he would have been aged 44 in 1722—old enough to be this resident of Donegal near Londonderry, perhaps just 4 miles away (as his great-grandson, William Bury Kinkead said), across the river Foyle from the city, yet young enough to have joined the growing swell of Scotch-Irish emigration to PA ten years later, settling, with his sons aged 7-21, on the PA frontier in the newly created LancasterCo. His wife (Agnes?), the mother of these sons, might have died in Ireland some years before the family's emigration (thus explaining why there were no more sons, or, apparently, daughters), and John might have found a second wife to console him in PA or VA (Isabella??), who was young enough to bear him a late daughter, even though John himself would have been knocking on the door of his 60's by then, and he might have died soon after in either place, leaving her with just that one child. The probate records are patchy for both the PA and VA frontiers (LancasterCoPA was created in 1730) until well into the 1740's, and the tax records are essentially non-existent for both places,^[79] perhaps explaining why no trace of the father of these Gays has been found, but the fact that the father was prominent enough to be chosen a ruling elder of his congregation in Ireland, might also account for the fact that there was sufficient capital in this family for all these young men to take up, collectively, some 1500 acres along the broadest part of the two Calfpasture Rivers—river meadow land which flooded each spring, land which was uniquely valuable, but only for settlers who also had the capital to invest in stockbreeding.

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

⁷⁹ I have been through every page of the extant probate records of both places, and the ones for AugustaCo and its parent Orange, have also been mostly indexed, but as is typical on the frontier, the early records tend to be somewhat sparse, in the absence of any real community—or of roads which are anything more than poorly maintained bridle trails through the forests and over the mountains. There was nothing better than such trails in Augusta County for some years after the Augusta court began to assume the burden of record-keeping from its parent Orange in the fall of 1745, and even the all important registration of deeds in this dynamically changing area, was far from complete. I have never found the deed for my ancestor John Gay, and a copy of the one for his brother James, just across the Big Calfpasture, has only turned up recently in the file of an 1800's Staunton chancery case.

APPENDIX B: The Myth of William & Margaret Gay, Supposed Parents of Most of the Early Gays of Augusta County, Virginia, and the Myth of William's Importation Record

And Other Errors Noted by the Way in Walters's *Gay/Guy Families*

With the exception of Robert H. Montgomery,^[80] virtually every significant secondary source on these early Gays of Augusta has claimed that the father of them all was a William Gay, but the only actual evidence I have ever seen adduced for this is an alleged record of importation into the Colony of Virginia of William and his named children. However, *no one has ever actually been able to cite such a record to its source*. Since the records of AugustaCoVA have been thoroughly, if not exhaustively, abstracted and indexed by Chalkley, without turning up any records which can reasonably be attributed to this hypothetical senior William—not since 1951, when Robert Montgomery convincingly sorted all the William records into two separate Little Calfpasture identities—one must look to the records of the parent county, Orange, for any such record of importation.

Montgomery did not canvass these records himself, but instead wrote to the OrangeCo clerk asking about a reported record of importation for William dated 24Jul1740 and listing children William, John, James, Robert, Samuel, and Eleanor. The clerk replied that there was no such record. As a matter of fact, there is a record of that date for the importation by Samuel Gay of himself, his wife Margaret, and his sons John and Thomas Gay, but there are no importations for a William Gay for the period 1735-1770.^[81]

Yet the myth persists. It's most recent incarnation is to be found in Robert B. Walters's massive and otherwise valuable compendium on the first Gays of Augusta and their in-laws, carried down, in most cases, for several additional generations.^[82] Walters quotes his preferred "authority" on the subject, Roy Stevenson King:^[83]

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

"According to importation records in Orange County, Virginia., William Gay appears before the court to prove his importation by way of Philadelphia. He does not name his wife but he does name his six sons—William, James, Robert, Samuel, Henry and John and a daughter named Eleanor, who at that time

⁸⁰ Robert H. Montgomery, "Gay Families of Augusta and Rockbridge Counties, Virginia", in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 198.

⁸¹ Barbara Vines Little, "Importations in the Orange County, Virginia Order Books 1-8, 1735 to 1770", in *Magazine of Virginia Genealogy*; Barbara Vines Little, *Orange County, Virginia, Order Book One, 1734-1739: Part One, 1734-1736* (OrangeVA: Dominion Market Research Corp, 1990); [Anonymous], *Orange County, Virginia, Court Orders, 1734-1741: An Every-Name Index* (MiamiBeachFL: T.L.C. Genealogy, 1994), which covers the period of the supposed importation record; Although I have no reason to doubt that the preceding index missed any names, or that eminent VA genealogist Barbara Vines Little missed any importations, I have nonetheless gone through the order books myself, page by page, item by item, for the courts from Aug1740-Mar1743/4, looking for this record as well as others of interest, but to no avail—there is no such record.

⁸² Robert B. Walters, *The Gay/Guy Families of Early Augusta County, Virginia, and Related Families of Dunlap, Kinkead/Kincaid, Lockridge, McFarland, McKee, Parkinson, Rhea, Stevenson, Walters, And Many Others* (VersaillesKY: Woodford County Historical Society, 2001), 2-6, comprises an extensive discussion of this putative William, and his supposed wife, Margaret.

⁸³ Roy Stevenson King, *The Ancestral Pilgrimage Along Life's Pathway* (AtlantaGA: 1939; Ancestry online: facsimile), 32.

must have been about a month old. . . Eleanor was born August 17, 1740. William Gay indicated his intention to take up land in the Shenandoah.”

Walters also cites the testimony of Eleanor’s grandson, William Bury Kinkead, who says that his grandmother, Eleanor Guy Kinkead’s, parents emigrated from near Londonderry in Ireland to Pennsylvania, and thence to AugustaCoVA, and he says that Eleanor herself told him stories about the 1688 Siege of Londonderry in which her grandfather participated. However, nowhere in the 1000 or so quoted words attributed to William Bury Kinkead by his daughter, Elizabeth Shelby Kinkead, does he provide the given names of his grandmother, Eleanor’s, parents.^[84]

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

Having accepted the name, he then proceeds to associate two early William Gay records with this hypothetical ancestor. First, he tells us that there is a record of immigration for a man of that name, and with the right “number of people in his party”, in *Original Lists of Emigrants in Bondage from London to the American Colonies*, but the version I found of this book on the web has no entries for William Gay or Guy, and in fact, all the entries in the book are alphabetical by individual emigrant (with no tracking of parties), and all are records of indentured servants (as the title implies), most of them young men in their 20’s.^[85] Naturally, the dates for each emigration are included in the abstract, but Walters furnishes no dates for his claimed William Gay record, nor any port of debarkation, nor any explanation as to how a more or less destitute indentured servant, registered as such at the guildhall of London, managed to marry in the colonies, raise many children, and shepherd the whole family into sufficient prosperity that they were able to arrive amongst the Scotch-Irish on the VA frontier, with sufficient capital to buy large tracts of prime river bottom land, and set up extensive cattle-breeding operations. What’s more, if William Gay were imported as an indentured servant, his supposed declaration of importation of himself and his family into the VA Colony from the Old World would have been fraudulent.

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

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

There are only a handful of records for Gays/Guys in Orange or AugustaCo before 1750, and most of them pertain to the unrelated Samuel Gay of South River (there are also 3 records for a Thomas Gay between 1733-1735, but he seems to have moved on).^[86] One Robert Gay was deeded Big Calfpasture lot 9 in 1745, and there is evidence that at least 3 Gay brothers, William, James, and John, acquired land near the mouth of the Little Calfpasture by 1750, and that at least two of them were married with several children by then. Apart from this, and a record showing that Robert Gay and John Gay compiled the estate inventory of deceased Calfpasture neighbor Alexander Delap [Dunlap]

⁸⁴ “Kinkead”, in *Old King William Homes*, cited by Walters, at 4-5.

⁸⁵ Marion & Jack Kaminkow, *Original Lists of Emigrants in Bondage from London to the American Colonies, 1719-1744* (Baltimore: Magna Carta Book Co., 1967; reprint 1981), Walters’s version of the title is incomplete, he has misspelled the author’s surname, and he provides no date for the work. The version I found is a revised edition which retains the original format, merely adding 46 records.

⁸⁶ Since I have presented all the data in this and the next paragraph elsewhere, along with complete citations, I shall confine myself here to an informal capsule summary.

in 1746, there are only two other pre-1750 records for Gays other than Samuel—one, the appointment of John Gay in 1742 as constable in OrangeCo, and the other the appointment of William Gay as constable in Orange's child county, Augusta, in 1746. Given that the thankless constable job was usually dumped onto the shoulders of upstanding younger men, and the fact that there was only one John Gay early in Augusta, and he was one of the sons of the Irish immigrant we are talking about here, we can scarcely entertain the possibility that John's father, William, would have been appointed constable four years after his son, when the old man would have been at least well into his 50s.

Two different William Gays were deeded adjacent tracts on the Little Calfpasture, one in 1750, and the other in 1754. The first was presumably William the constable, and we know from this William's 1755 will that he was a brother of close neighbor John Gay, and that he left a widow, Margaret (who married, second, Alexander Hamilton), and several minor children: John, Robert, Mary and Agnes. The other William, who lived next above, died intestate in 1762, leaving only (so far as we know from the incomplete probate records) a minor son William. Obviously, neither of these Williams could reasonably have been the father of the grown up and married John and James, or of the infant Eleanor.

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

Other Errors in Walters

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

I think Boutwell Dunlap's theory that William-A's wife was a Walkup was due to a simple conflation of the two Williams, but Walters has gone him one better by promoting this dubious theory to a proven fact. Far worse, he has made a truly staggering leap into the dark by claiming that William-A's *mother* (the wife of the mythical William¹) was née Margaret *Hamilton*. This idea probably comes from a further conflation of Margaret, the widow of William-A, who apparently married 2nd William Hamilton, and thus became the Margaret Hamilton who appears in several records found in Chalkley.^[87] To be fair, Walters is not the first to have made this leap, and in fact,

⁸⁷ I say "apparently" because, even though Montgomery accepted William Hamilton as the name of Margaret's second husband, I have argued elsewhere that she actually married Calfpasture denizen *Alexander* Hamilton—the only William Hamilton of that period lived far away in Beverley Manor.

his principal error here was his undue willingness to accept the vague conjectures of predecessor "authorities".

What is less excusable is that he has gone on to make William-B the *son* of William-A, thus ignoring the opinion of Robert Montgomery, FASG, who argued not from authority, but from cited evidence. Acknowledging that William-A named no son William in his 1755 will, Walters supposes that William-B, who purchased his Little Calfpasture tract directly from the proprietor, William Beverley, had already received his inheritance from his father, so that there was no need to mention him in the will, and he claims that omitting a son under these circumstances was "not at all uncommon".

However, it has been my experience (and I have examined hundreds of colonial wills where I have had some independent idea of the structure of the family) that omitting a son who had already received his portion, *was* very uncommon, and it was certainly very ill-advised, because a natural heir (one who would have been an "heir at law" in the absence of a will) who was omitted from a will, could often make a strong argument that the omission was inadvertent, and that his father had in fact promised him this and that additional property. So far from omitting natural heirs, some wills even have clauses stipulating that if a natural heir, usually a son, should contest the explicit bequests in the will, that he should receive instead some lesser, or a merely token, amount. Given the litigious nature of these Scotch-Irish, and the very thorough and legally punctilious format of the wills they left, and the fact that the majority of wills (and I have examined cursorily many thousands) do make token bequests to older sons who have already received their portions, the omission of a son William, especially one who lived next door, would be at best anomalous. The usual procedure, in any case, would be for William the father to himself purchase the land intended for his son, then either deed it to him when the son came of age, or devise it to him in his will. And as a matter of fact, this is exactly what William² did for the two sons who *are* named in his will: John and Robert. Moreover, he called John his "eldest son." It would have been extremely unusual to give a younger son his portion first; in fact I have never seen this done in all the wills I have examined. Thus the anomalies multiply. And this is just the circumstantial case against the father-son claim. There is additional direct evidence, which should lay this error to rest forever.

Walters has also identified Robert the son of William-A, with one of the two early Roberts of AugustaCo (the one I have called above, Robert-B, who married William Jamison's widow in the early 1750s, and who died in 1791), which is also on its face highly improbable for many reasons (e.g. the son would have had to be born years before William-A apparently married, etc. etc.), and which also runs contrary to Montgomery who thought this Robert might at most be a brother of William-A (I have argued elsewhere that he was). But all these fanciful theories, may be ruled out absolutely by a single document of which neither he nor Montgomery were apparently aware: the 1817 deed of sale by William-A's daughter, Mary (Gay) (Dunlap) Coursey, of her father's 490a Little Calfpasture home place, "which was willed to her brothers John and Robert, who both died in infancy, when she, the

said Mary, and her sister Nancy, were heirs in law to the said tract of land”.^[88] Given this document, there is no foundation at all to support Walters’s identification of the neighboring William-B Gay, or of the Robert-B Gay who died in 1791, as sons of William-A.

So what we are left with to argue for a William¹ is: (3) an implication that King had access to unspecified family bible records; (2) an alleged record of his importation which no one can cite to an actual extant record, but which Walters’s privileged source, R.S. King claims to have seen; (3) a letter written by John Kinkead, a son of Eleanor (Gay) Kinkead claiming that she was born 17Aug1740, which would require that the importation record be after that date if Eleanor was included in its list of imported children, as is alleged by R.S. King; and (4) the narrative account of William Bury Kinkead, a grandson of Eleanor (Gay?) Kinkead, who was supposedly a late daughter of this William¹ Gay, and a sister of the Little Calfpasture brothers.

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

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

First, importation records were rare by 1740. A whole new headright system was well established in VA by 1720, by which rights to survey land could be obtained on payment of a few shillings, and most people found that more convenient, and less problematic, than coming into court and swearing to actions which might be open to interpretation^[89] Second, if William Gay was claiming headrights to a fair quantity of land (and in his own name, not the names of his children), where is the evidence that he ever surveyed or patented such land, or that one of his Gay heirs sold it, or, if William died prematurely, where are his probate records?

Even if such a record did exist, what are the probabilities that R.S. King himself saw it? Recall what King said about this alleged record: “He does not name his wife but he does name his six

⁸⁸ [Deed \(Sale\): Mary Coursey to Samuel McCutchen, 28Jun1817](#) To say that these brothers “died in infancy” is merely to say that they died before reaching their majority (aged 21), and so qualified themselves and their heirs to receive their father’s devise from his executors. And to say that Mary & Nancy inherited as “heirs in law” is to confirm and repeat this, because as a matter of common law, property not bequeathed explicitly in a will, or real property devised to a male heir who died before he came of age, passed automatically to his oldest surviving brother, or failing any surviving brothers, equally to all his sisters. It is for this reason, that land bequests to minors in wills often contain conditional clauses stipulating who the land was to go to in the event the “infant” should die before reaching 21. Since, according to the recital in Mary’s deed, all of her father’s real property was in fact distributed to the daughters as heirs at law, we know for certain that none of his sons ever reached the age of 21.

⁸⁹ If a man sojourned first in PA for years, could he legitimately claim that he had imported his family to VA—the language of the oath implies otherwise.

sons—William, James, Robert, Samuel, Henry and John and a daughter named Eleanor, who at that time must have been about a month old. . . Eleanor was born August 17, 1740. William Gay indicated his intention to take up land in the Shenandoah.”

It is claimed in the narrative of Eleanor’s grandson, William Bury Kinkead (whom Walters points out was a respected judge), that his grandmother learned about her ancestors’ participation in the Siege of Londonderry from her mother; but then Eleanor’s mother must have been alive at the time of the importation record, so why wasn’t she too included in the alleged record? Her inclusion would have entitled her husband to an additional 50a of land, and the acquisition of land was the whole point of the exercise. On the other hand, King’s version of the list includes a son Henry. Yet the name Henry never occurs amongst the known descendants of any of these Gay brothers, and in fact all the records ever found for Henry Gays in AugustaCo (and I have been involved with a descendant of this Henry in an exhaustive search for such records) pertain without equivocation either to Henry Gay, the purchaser of Big Calfpasture lot 7, whom Robert Montgomery has shown conclusively to be the son of John Gay of SadsburyPA,^[90] or to Henry’s grandson, Henry Gay, who wasn’t born until the 1760s.

If a Henry is nevertheless included by King in his version of the importation list of children of William Gay, that, by itself, is pretty fair evidence that King never actually saw such a list, and is just passing on some ill-informed predecessor’s casual conjecture. Walters himself, appears to recognize the force of this point, because at the end of his section on the mythical William¹, he allows that the inclusion of Henry “casts some doubt, if correct, on Dr. Roy S. King’s claim that William’s importation papers are in Orange Co., VA, and that the importation paper lists William’s six sons, including Henry, and daughter Eleanor. However, I am leaving Dr. King’s work in this genealogy for now, i.e. that William did indeed come to America. I accept William’s immigration as fact, based on William Bury Kinkead’s narrative, above.”^[91] The inclusion of Henry, of course, says nothing about whether the importation paper might be in OrangeCo, or about whether William came to America, but let us just focus on the final defensive position to which Walters has retreated: the narrative of William Bury Kinkead in Peyton Clarke’s *Old King William Homes*.

I have gone carefully through the published version of this narrative, which runs to two pages of the three page “Kinkead” article in Clarke’s book, and which is framed by a quoted introduction by Kinkead’s daughter, Elizabeth Shelby Kinkead [born in KY in 1863], who according to Peyton Clarke published “a history of Kentucky and other works, and who kindly furnished the sketches of the Kinkead and Fontaine families in this volume.” Elizabeth’s contribution begins with material on the Kinkeads of Scotland, gives the immigrant William’s birth date as 9Jan1736 (but expresses doubt as to whether he was born in PA or VA), his death date in WoodfordCoKY, the date of his marriage to Eleanor, and her birth and death dates, then the remainder of her contribution consists of her father’s narrative, in her quotation marks. *Nowhere in any part of Clarke’s article are the names of Eleanor (Guy)*

⁹⁰ Montgomery, “Gay Families”.

⁹¹ Walters, *Gay/Guy Families*., 5. Walters also tell us that he and his wife, having already canvassed all the records at OrangeCo courthouse for the importation record, had embarked on a project of scanning the order books page by page, just as I did. So that by implication, Walters had not actually found this record himself at the time his book was published, and I can testify from my own careful paging through of the OrangeCo order books for the period that their search, like mine, was fruitless. Interestingly, I found in the genealogical archive of the Virginia Room of the Roanoke Public Library an envelope addressed by “R.S. King” to the “Augusta County Recorder”, postmarked Atlanta, 1936, and with a penciled note on the back referring to importations. Although the envelope was empty, I think we can reasonably infer from this that 1936 was the approximate date King began his search for the record of importation, not, perhaps, realizing that AugustaCo had no records of its own until the fall of 1745.

Kinkead's parents mentioned, so the article in no way supports the William & Margaret theory, and in no way contradicts my theory that they were named John & Agnes (or perhaps Isabella) Gay. I leave it to the reader to judge which theory is the more probable.

The Origins of the Myth

I conjecture that everyone has been thinking “William” to be the desired given name of the progenitor of all these Gays, first, because it is the tidewater William Gay who pops up first in the VA indexes—the ones whose children are descendants of Pocahontas—and second, because the earliest deeds and wills for Gays in Augusta (not counting those for Samuel of South River, who mostly appears in the OrangeCo books) are for William, and third, because most compilers of Gay factlets from secondary sources are almost totally ignorant of the early history of these very different areas of VA, and lacking in understanding of the records, whose abstracts they encounter only in Chalkley. At some point, I think someone made a list of the Gays in Augusta, including Samuel and Henry (who both appear in this mythical importation record), and conflated it with someone else’s vague reference to the Samuel Gay importation record, and *voila*, the William Gay importation record was ushered into immortal life. If this seems far-fetched, I can attest that virtually the same process is responsible for the widespread belief in my own family that we are descended through the Gays from Pocahontas. The smoking gun is a piece of shoddy work done for a Robb great-uncle of mine by some self-styled “professional” in the early 1900s, who found the tidewater Dr. William Gay who married into the Bolling line in a book and, unencumbered by any knowledge of Virginia colonial history, jumped on this possible connection to a famous personality without bothering to investigate any further.

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

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

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

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

In favor, we have:

County Court Judgements Aug1762 (A)

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

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

But against, we have:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

29May1760 Patent to Wm Hamilton, wife Margaret
[online VA patents shows this to be 235a on Middle River, not in the Calfpasture] {Chalkley 3:548}

15Apr1762 John Meek’s inv, by John Gay, Alex. Hamilton, John Stevenson
[Meeks, Gay, and Stevenson were all Little Calfpasturites] {Chalkley 3:34}

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

From the above and from my knowledge of the area and its residents, I conclude that there was probably only one Alexander Hamilton in AugustaCo, that he married about a year after Margaret Gay was widowed, that his wife's name was Margaret, and that he lived in the Calfpasture, on the upper reaches of Little River. The William to whom Alexander & Margaret deeded 100a of western lands may have been a son of Alexander by a previous marriage, but since the land was sold for a substantial, and not a nominal, price, more likely he was a brother or other close relation. Two years later Alexander & Margaret sold their Calfpasture land near the head of Little River, but 2 years after that Alexander bought another, larger tract there from William Hamilton Sr. & wife Else (Alice), and this certainly looks like a transaction between brothers, rather than between father and son.

Note that this William's wife was not named Margaret, but Alice, and although it's possible that he had an earlier wife Margaret who died, that seems considerably less than likely.

Meanwhile, there is another William Hamilton with a wife Margaret in the Valley. In 1760 he (and Margaret is mentioned too) patented land on Middle River, which is over the mountain and about 10 miles east of the Little River. In 1769, William & Margaret sold 100a of this patented land to "their son Patrick Hamilton", and two years later Patrick and his wife sold the same piece of land. If Patrick was also Margaret (Gay) Hamilton's son, he could have been no more than about 16 at the time he executed a deed as a married man, and apart from the anomalous marriage age, his deed would have been unenforceable since he was a minor. This, by itself, would seem to confute the notion that this William's wife was the former Margaret Gay, and I note also that there is no sign in the records that this William ever had anything to do with the Calfpasture or its denizens.

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

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

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

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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

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

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

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

PERSONS AS SOURCES

Boutwell Dunlap.

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

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

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

Robert H. Montgomery (1889-1974)

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

John Barrett Robb

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

SURNAME-FOCUSED SOURCES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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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].

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

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

In fact, the situation is worse than that: Jane nowhere indicates that her surname was "Gay", or even (unambiguously), that her husband was Samuel Stevenson (at one point she appears to call him her father!). 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.

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

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

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

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

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

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

PLACE-FOCUSED SOURCES
Kentucky

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

LincolnCoKY Marriage Bonds & Consents (FHL film 192262).

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

LincolnCoKY Marriage Licenses (FHL film 192261).

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

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

downloaded from ftp.rootsweb.com/pub/usgenweb/(ky/woodford/cemeteries/pisgah.txt)

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

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

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

This is more a compendium of pioneer biography and genealogy than a history of the county. Judging from the only KY primary material I am familiar with, the Shane interviews, Railey has done a good and careful job of extracting data from his sources and weaving them into a set of narrative family mini-sketches.

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

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

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

Virginia

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This is a verbatim transcription by today's doyenne of Virginia genealogy, then still in her fledgling stage. The originals of these books are heavy going and Little conscientiously notes her uncertainty about a number of readings. The old scribal double-"s" is naively rendered as the letter it looks like-"f", and there are other signs of unfamiliarity with scholarly conventions, but this is nonetheless a work of very high quality. It was completed thru 1739 with the publication c2001 of a Part Two volume.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

VA Patents

Land Office Grants, online at Library of Virginia

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

West Virginia

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

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

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

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

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.

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”).

GENERAL SOURCES

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

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

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

R.S. King is also the author of the Stevenson sections of Laura Kinkead Walton's article in the *Register* of the Kentucky Historical Society, and the key extra genealogical material of Jane's interview is presented more fully and accurately there; here it is mostly paraphrased and interspersed, willy-nilly, with authorial interpretations and commentary. On the other hand, in this, most complete, version Jane tells us a lot about her everyday life on the frontier which is not to be found in any other secondary source, and since the original appears lost we must be grateful for what we have.

Although King's work is radically deficient from a genealogical point of view, it offers a serviceable, and often engaging historical narrative covering the settlement of the Lexington area of KY, and the early Indian-fighting days there, and integrating this with the private and family history of the Stevensons, Gays, and other related families.

Laura Kinkead Walton, "**The Families Kinkead, Stephenson, Garrett, Martin, and Dunlap**", in *Genealogies of Kentucky Families, From the Register of the Kentucky Historical Society (O-Y)* (Baltimore: GPC, 1981), 2:757-776 .

The articles comprising the two volume work in which Walton's contribution appears as Appendix C to Volume 2, were reprinted from issues of the *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* spanning 1903-1965, and are said in the introduction to constitute all the strictly "family history articles" to be found in that journal for the period, except for those excerpted and published by Railey, as *History of Woodford County, Kentucky* (1928). According to a footnote on 2:757, Walton's article, was excerpted from "Historic Meeting at Pisgah Church" in *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 37(Oct1939):283-321.

Alexander Scott Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare: A New Edition edited and annotated by Reuben Gold Thwaites* (1895; reprint by Stewart&Kidd Co., 191?—7th impression).