

Origins of Joseph Clayton of Nelson County, Kentucky

It is clear that Joseph Clayton served in the Revolutionary War in the artillery company of Captain Drury Ragsdale and afterwards settled in Nelson County, Kentucky. There, he lived near Pottinger's Creek in a community consisting largely of Catholic emigrants from St. Mary's County, Maryland.

Joseph's roots have remained unclear, with apparently conflicting evidence. Research widely accepted for a while indicated that he was the son of Francis and Elizabeth Clayton, who settled around 1755 in Chesterfield County, Virginia. This paternity was, however, subsequently disputed on the basis of Y-DNA testing. After a while, military documentation emerged showing him as from St. Mary's County. Yet there are no traces of a Clayton family group there, let alone of him, in a very clannish, well-established community. To date, research in the coastal regions around St. Mary's has been unfruitful, despite a number of seemingly promising leads.

Recently, I discovered that artillery Captain Drury Ragsdale and Francis Clayton's son Joseph not only came from the same county and parish, but in fact were close neighbors while they were growing up. In mid-January 1777, Drury Ragsdale was appointed captain of an artillery company; in early February, Joseph Clayton enlisted in that company. This puts a new complexion on things, suggesting reevaluation and possible resolution of the apparently conflicting stories. To me, the current and collective evidence appears compelling that Joseph Clayton of Nelson County, Kentucky grew up in Chesterfield County in the family of Francis and Elizabeth Clayton. Given the genetic findings, a corollary of this premise is that there was a non-paternity event, more probably legitimate than illegitimate, at some point in the Clayton surname descent. Available evidence suggests that it was most likely in Joseph's line, but there is not sufficient information to know if that was in Joseph's or a later generation. Further Y-DNA and non-genetic information could help clarify the picture.

Some twenty years ago, Ann Whalen traced the origins of Joseph Clayton of Nelson County, Kentucky to Chesterfield County, Virginia. She reported the 1771 will of Francis Clayton there, as well as a 1762 tax list of Chesterfield including Francis and two of his children.¹ Walter Clayton, who is administrator of the FamilyTreeDNA Clayton site and a descendant of Francis Clayton, reviewed Y-DNA for the proposed two descent lines. He concluded that the two were "not even remotely related to each other,"² at least along the paternal lines. Later I found strong circumstantial and then documentary evidence placing Joseph as residing in St. Mary's County, Maryland.^{3, 4}

However, further research has failed not only to turn up any further documentation of Joseph's presence in colonial St. Mary's, but also any indication of any Clayton family there. The absence of records of an unmarried pre-adult is not surprising, but the absence of any indications of an entire family is. There are surviving population records, and the Catholic community there, in particular, is fairly well enumerated in contemporary lists.^{5, 6} This suggests that Joseph came from somewhere else, probably not far from St. Mary's. Since water offered the most convenient means of transportation, locations along the seacoast or rivers would have been likely origin points.

Sources & methods of review

Primary records

The survival of colonial records of family history is inconsistent. Documentation of births, marriages and deaths is more often absent than present, especially away from established towns and cities. Wills, property deeds and tax lists generally were kept conscientiously and preserved carefully, though the information in them is inevitably focused on the haves of society rather than the have-nots. — All in all, I have found that while the puzzles seldom have *all* the key pieces, there are nearly always *some* pieces. Entire families don't just vanish without a trace!

Y-DNA

It will be critical here to distinguish between two kinds of DNA used in genetic genealogy: autosomal DNA and Y-DNA. *Autosomal DNA* refers to the mixture of genes we inherit from our father and mother. (It is the basis for the popular Ancestry and 23andMe reports.) Because individuals receive about half of their autosomal DNA from each parent, it is useful for general background in tracing recent lineage. Each grandparent, for instance, contributes $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2} =$ about 25% of an individual's genetic material. For looking as far back as Joseph Clayton, the share dwindles to $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2} =$ less than 1%, which would not be at all useful. Men, however, have a chromosome arm, *Y-DNA*, that women don't. Because Y-DNA can't be mixed with mothers' genetic material, it is passed on from father to son with very little if any change. This makes it a highly reliable test for comparing male ancestry, even back many generations. (Yet another kind of DNA, *mitochondrial DNA*, is used to trace maternal ancestries, but that is not at question here.)

Most of the time, surnames follow paternity. Some of the time, however, there is *non-paternity event*, “any event which has caused a break in the link between an hereditary surname and the Y-chromosome resulting in a son using a different surname from that of his biological father.” This could occur from adoption, remarriage, marital infidelity, or any number of other reasons.⁷ In remote family history, there might be any number of generations between an ancestor and the modern person(s) supplying the Y-DNA sample(s). Thus, a mismatch between genetic results and expected paternity (surname) could result from a chain broken at any number of possible points in time. If two samples don’t match, we may say with high certainty that the two don’t come from a common paternal ancestor, but we can’t tell when or where the unexpected event occurred, let alone which is “wrong” and which is “right.” To do that, we need *a lot of samples from different branches* of the family tree. We can’t figure out much with a very small number of samples, or a large set of samples that all come from the same branch.

Scope of research and alternative hypotheses

This manuscript aims to conform to the Genealogical Proof Standard,⁸ including balancing of evidence for and against its conclusions, and evaluation of alternative possibilities. It considers only documented evidence that is published, or available to the public on request.

Background research included review of all 18th century wills for the surname of Clayton (and related spellings) in Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, and the counties of Chester and Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, as listed in the major records systems.⁹⁻¹³ It included further sources for given names matching those of Joseph’s sons (John, William, Thomas, Joseph and Charles), with special attention on locations readily accessible by water. It devoted close consideration to any family branch that included the given name Joseph. I was particularly interested in younger sons, who would have been less likely to inherit land than their older brothers, and so have more reason to make their way from the family home. Finally, research included review of the origins of other members of Joseph’s artillery company, who were Joseph’s only known associates before he went to Nelson County.

The research was conducted *de novo*, relying on primary sources, without special consideration of previously proposed ancestries. Inclusion of the family of Francis Clayton of Chesterfield, Virginia occurred because it arose during the course of the broad review, not by specific or deliberate selection.

There were a number of alternate scenarios that appeared very plausible initially but turned out to be dead ends. I have not included those here, but would be glad to respond to questions about rejected leads.

Records & evidence

The Claytons of Chesterfield, Virginia

Francis Clayton first appears in the records of Chesterfield in 1755, when he bought 200 acres of land in Dale Parish.¹⁴ In the next year, he begins to appear in tax lists, along with James and Thomas (the handwriting for the latter is very difficult).¹⁵ By 1762, the tax lists¹⁶ show Francis, Thomas and James Clayton. Thomas was the first son listed in Francis's will;¹⁷ it is not clear who James was, since he is not included in the list of children in the will. He may have been a son who died early, or another relation. Presumably Joseph, and Francis's other children, were not listed because they were under 16. In 1760, Francis was plaintiff in a successful suit against John Roberts for debt.¹⁸ In 1770, he sold 200 acres of land to James Ball;¹⁹ it is not clear from the legal description in the deed whether this was the same land as he bought in 1755.

On November 4, 1771, Francis Clayton signed his will¹⁷ with a mark. It was ordered to record by the Chesterfield County Court in its August 1772 session, indicating that he had died by then.²⁰ In the will, he names his wife Elizabeth, and "all my Children, Thomas, William, John, Lucy, Francis, Joseph & Betty." There is no mention of any of the children as being minors. He leaves to his wife all of his slaves and personal property. He leaves Thomas and John 75 acres of land each. He leaves Francis 50 acres, and "to my son Joseph 50 acres of Land belonging to the Plantation where I now live and my desire is that my Wife shall have the use of my Plantation before mentioned to my son Joseph during her life or Widdowhood." The wording of this provision is a bit sloppy, but seems to indicate that Joseph's possession of his 50 acres was to be subordinate to his mother's estate in it until she either died or remarried. Francis names his eldest sons, Thomas and William, as executors. It may be remarked that he did not leave William any land; no reason is apparent. Altogether, the will assigns 250 acres of land. I have not been able to identify how Francis came to own the land; it is possible that the transaction was not recorded, took place in another county, or was part of a probate process.

In 1773, William Clayton sold 287½ acres to Branch Tanner,²¹ who from the frequency of his land transactions appears to have been a local land speculator. The deed does not say that William is acting as executor of his father's estate, but the timing and relatively comparable land areas suggest so. The legal practice of conveyancing

there was somewhat loose, in the legal descriptions of land, in the recital of fiduciary roles, and in the consideration of title and closure of any possible heirs' claims. The land descriptions in the will and the deed both cite Benjamin Choakley as an abutter. The land transfer indices of Chesterfield do not include any record of Joseph having sold the 50 acres of land left to him in Francis's will, which would have been expected if he had actively taken possession of it.²²

The records offer only a single mention of Joseph and some clues about when he was born. On the face of it, his being of age in his father's 1771 will would indicate that he was born before 1750. His omission from the 1762 tax lists²³ implies that he was under 16 then, so born after 1746; the omission as well of his apparently elder siblings (if the will names them in order of age) suggests that it might have been a few years after that. So, a birth date of about 1750 would be a reasonable but very approximate reading.

There are some records of Francis and Elizabeth Clayton's other sons. (i) William was alive in 1773²¹, but did not live long after that. In 1774, a lawsuit between William Clayton, plaintiff, and Valentine Winfrey, defendant, was abated by the plaintiff's death. So was another lawsuit, between Elizabeth Kendall, plaintiff, and William Clayton, defendant.²⁴ (ii) In late 1770, John Clayton bought 200 acres of land from John Rowland and Joseph Watkins.²⁵ In 1776, "John Clayton Lott" was shown in the list of Dale Parish, Chesterfield tithables.²⁶ In 1785, "John Cleaton" signed his will with a mark.²⁷ The will named his wife Sarah and three sons: John, Thomas and Lenne (Leonard), among whom he divided his land equally. (iii) In 1784, Thomas Clayton, plaintiff, and Randolph Henry, defendant, settled a pending lawsuit, which was dismissed.²⁸

During the 1755 - 1771 years of Francis's residence in Chesterfield, there are isolated citations in that county of two Claytons not listed in his will, Jeremiah and James. In 1757, a lawsuit brought by Jeremiah Clayton against William Graves was dismissed because of the death of the defendant.²⁹ Jeremiah Clayton is recorded in a 1767 suit brought by William Clayton.³⁰ James is in the tax lists of 1756 and 1762.^{15, 23}

Drury Ragsdale (also of Chesterfield, Virginia)

Captain Drury Ragsdale was the son of Drury Ragsdale and Margaret, his wife, In 1749, the elder Drury died before his son was born. He provided in this will, "*Imprimis*, I desire that my dearly Beloved Wife Margaret Ragsdale may have the use of my Plantation as low as Batts's Run so long as She Lives but if the child with whom She is now Big should be a Boy my Will is that he shall be in Pofs'ion of the said Plantation at the Age of Twenty One."^{31, 32} Following the death of her husband, Margaret remarried

Thomas Puryear, who died in 1762.³¹ The tax lists for that year^{16, 23} show a “Magret Puyrear,” her presence indicating that she was a widow. Her son Drury would have been about twelve at that time.

In 1776, Drury Ragsdale, as heir of his father and son of Margaret Puryear, widow of the elder Drury Ragsdale, sold the plantation.³¹ On January 13, 1777, he was appointed a Captain in the first Regiment of Artillery and served in that rank until the end of the Revolutionary War in November 1783.³³ He later rose to the rank of major and died in King William County, Virginia in 1804.³⁴

Conjunction

Drury Ragsdale and Francis Clayton both lived in the Parish of Dale in Chesterfield County,^{14, 31} which was separated from Henrico County in 1749. Notably, the 1762 Chesterfield tax lists^{16, 23} show “Francis Clayton, Thos. Clayton, James” about ten lines away from “Magret Puyrear,” indicating that the two families were living in close proximity. At that time, Joseph Clayton was about the same age as Drury Ragsdale or perhaps a little younger.

On February 7, 1777, about three weeks after Drury Ragsdale’s appointment as artillery captain, Joseph Clayton enlisted in that company.³⁵ Records during the War show him as being from St. Mary’s County, Maryland.⁴ Richard Waters of St. Mary’s had been appointed the company’s first lieutenant in January.^{36, 37} Richard’s brother, James Waters, also of St. Mary’s, enlisted on February 1 as its corporal.^{38, 39} Notley Maddox of St. Mary’s was its bombardier, enlisting the same day as Joseph Clayton.⁴

Y-DNA

The FamilyTreeDNA Clayton page includes eighteen samples belonging to its Group 1, with various reported ancestries, including one leading to Francis. John was the only one of his children known to have married and had children of his own, so any samples pointing toward Francis likely but not certainly all come from John’s line. There are two samples in Group 6, Joseph Clayton of Nelson, one running through Joseph’s son John, the other of unreported ancestry.⁴⁰ (See figure on separate page.)

Discussion

Demographics

The age, occupation, socio-economic status and family pattern of given names of Joseph Clayton, son of Francis Clayton of Chesterfield, are consistent with those of Joseph Clayton, artilleryman and resident of Nelson. The match of religions is unclear but not troublesome.

The sparse records of Chesterfield indicate that Francis's son Joseph was born around 1750. This would put him in his mid-twenties when the Revolutionary War began, a plausible age for soldiering. The only relevant record for Nelson County, the U.S. census of 1810, puts Joseph in the 45+ age category, only indicating birth sometime before 1765.⁴¹

The Claytons of Chesterfield and the Claytons of Nelson were independent farmers, owning modest but respectable parcels of land, more than tens of acres but considerably less than thousands.^{14, 21, 42} They belonged to the middle class of what was basically an agrarian economy.

Francis Clayton and his son John were not able to read or write, executing documents with a mark witnessed by others who could.^{19, 27} Francis's son William, and Joseph Clayton in Nelson, were apparently literate at least to the extent of being able to sign their names.^{21, 42}

Francis Clayton named five sons in his will,¹⁷ and Joseph Clayton had five known sons in Nelson County.³ Both name sets included John, William, Thomas and Joseph. These given names were common ones, but the match of four out of five is unusually close. It may be noted that Joseph did *not* name one of his sons after Francis, which might have been for any number of plausible reasons.

We have no information about the religion of Francis Clayton's family, though the area was generally Episcopalian. Neither do we have any hard information about the religion of Joseph Clayton in Nelson County, although he lived among an overwhelmingly Catholic community. In any event, the Episcopalian Church was the daughter of the Church of England, complicating religious loyalties with shifting and contradictory political ones. Conversions between the Christian denominations occurred often enough, especially in the context of marriage.

Coming of age

One circumstance that brings young men enlist in the military is the lack of apparent other options for their lives. From the outset, I was keeping a special eye out for younger sons, who would be less likely to inherit land than their older brothers, and so have special reason to leave home. Francis Clayton's will, probated in 1772, split his plantation between his sons in relatively comparable shares, but Joseph's share was deferred until his Francis's wife died or remarried. We don't have records of the pertinent events, but it would not be surprising if Elizabeth were around for a while longer. The land in its entirety may have been sold out of the family as early as 1773.²¹ In any event, sometime in the next few years Joseph broke away.

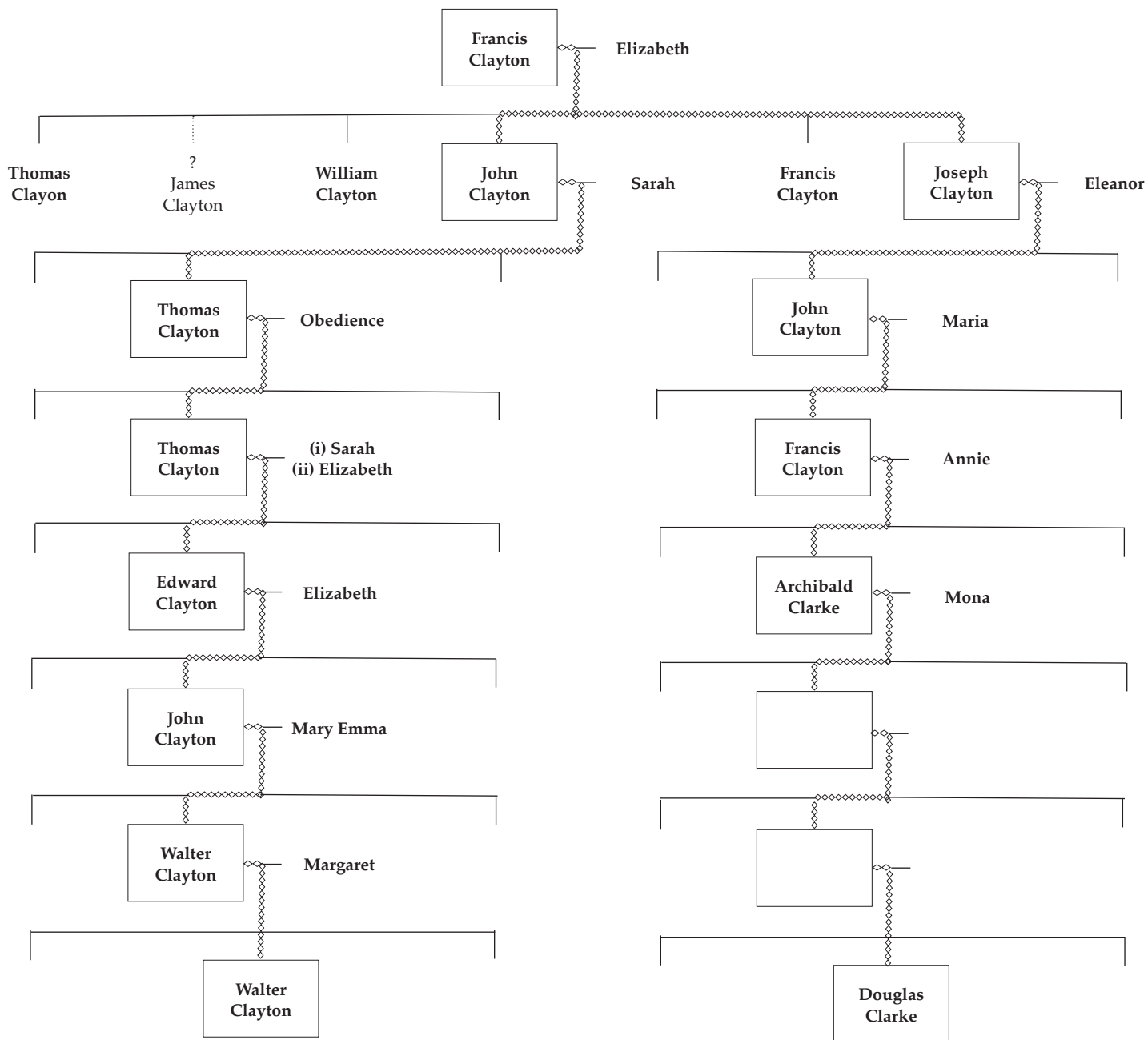
Non-paternity events

If Joseph Clayton of Nelson County was a member of the family of Francis Clayton of Chesterfield, there must have been a non-paternity event somewhere between about 1750 and the contemporary Y-DNA samples. The most likely event types are adoption, an unrecognized remarriage, and what scientists discreetly call extra-pair paternity (EPP), more commonly referred to as marital infidelity.⁴³

Francis Clayton's will¹⁷ might have named Joseph as his son if Joseph were adopted, formally or informally. The will itself gives no clear indication of adoption. There is no trace of guardianship in the records of the Chesterfield County Court. It seems most likely that Joseph was born before Francis and Elizabeth moved to Chesterfield, but we don't know where they came from so we can't look there. Similarly, the relevant records of Nelson County do not include any adoptions of Joseph Clayton's sons.⁴⁴ All in all, we can't rule out the possibility of adoption at some point in the family descent, but neither is there identifiable reason to believe it occurred. The same goes for an unknown second marriage with renamed stepchildren.

Extra-pair paternity (EPP) is by its nature private. Walter Clayton believes that "mischievous events" along the way are unlikely in his own line, which runs through Francis's son John.⁴⁵ However, he does note, "We do not know what happened to the other 6 children of Francis Clayton." In other words, we have no information to preclude EPP in Joseph's case. Since, as mentioned above, each group of Y-DNA samples runs through a single son of the supposed common ancestor, we cannot say simply on that basis in which generation a non-paternity event might have occurred. (See figure on separate page.) As will be discussed later, there are unconfirmed but significant suggestions from other sources that the orthodox Clayton branch was that of Francis's son John, with Joseph's being the outlier.

Ancestry Reported for Y-DNA Samples



Group 1 Y-DNA samples

Group 6 Y-DNA samples

◊◊◊◊◊◊◊◊◊◊ Chain indicates reported path between two sample groups where non-paternity events could have occurred.

The figure shows the ancestry for the two different Y-DNA groups of interest as reported by FamilyTreeDNA. Note that as far as we can tell from this information alone, the genetic mismatch could have occurred in any of the generations, in either branch of the highlighted chain. There are fourteen steps, up and down, between the Group 1 and Group 6 samples. We need additional genetic or non-genetic information to identify at which of these locations a mismatch might have occurred.

Note that the chart includes an instance of an apparently legitimate *non-paternity event*, defined as mismatch between surname and genetics: Archibald Clarke is shown as the son of Francis Clayton. Specific explanation does not appear on the website, but remarriage or adoption seem quite plausible.

Sources: FamilyTreeDNA Clayton web pages; will of Francis Clayton, and Chesterfield County, Virginia tax lists (for list of children).

The balance of probabilities

There are reports estimating that “about 2% of the U.S. child population is adopted.”⁴⁶ The rate might have been higher in colonial Virginia, where life expectancy was much lower than it is today. Genetic genealogy studies have estimated general EPP rates of 1-2%.^{43, 47} With short life expectancies in Colonial times, remarriage rates might have been 10%;⁴⁸ how often the widow’s children would take the name of their stepfather is unclear. All in all, non-paternity events are an infrequent but hardly unheard-of event in genealogical studies.⁷ With odds combined and multiplied over the course of several generations, occurrence of a non-paternity event becomes about as likely as not.

If, hypothetically, we were to rule out the possibility of non-paternity events, we would be left with a scenario where *both* (1) a Joseph Clayton different from Drury Ragsdale’s neighbor joined his artillery company in the first weeks after the latter was commissioned as its captain, *and* (2) purely by coincidence, so did the officers coming from St. Mary’s, who were part of the close-knit community with whom this different Joseph Clayton migrated to Kentucky. Here I cannot cite published statistics, but the odds of this *combination* of very unlikely scenarios occurring merely by chance seem to me almost infinitesimal. As Henry David Thoreau noted, “Some circumstantial evidence is very strong, as when you find a trout in the milk.”⁴⁹

In the end, the balance of probabilities is arguably that the Joseph Clayton of Chesterfield County and the Joseph Clayton of Nelson County were one and the same. If so, all three of the stories cited at the outset turn out to be correct: he came from Chesterfield, current Y-DNA samples attributed to Francis and Joseph Claytons’ lines do not match, and Joseph came from St. Mary’s. The genetic mismatch may have occurred in Joseph’s generation or any of the next several; two or three samples simply do not provide enough information to identify in which branch or at what time it might have occurred.

Future work

Paternity

The paternity questions are, at core, genetic. Approaches to resolution include identifying which family branches current Y-DNA samples run through, as far as reasonably possible; and collecting additional samples in branches that are not already represented. At a basic level, this might be simply a matter of assembling existing

information, either from family trees of Y-DNA contributors, where not already available, and obtaining at least any paternal haplogroups provided by testing services outside of FamilyTreeDNA. Such modest steps do not involve any expense or create a real threat to privacy, which is a common concern and barrier in sharing of genetic information. A second level of research would be new Y-DNA testing for male Clayton descendants, especially those from family branches not already represented.

Previous lineage

Strictly speaking, if Francis was not Joseph's ancestor, further questions about Joseph's Clayton ancestry are moot. A more liberal view would be that if (for example) Francis and his family accepted Joseph as a son, we should as well. And it may be that a non-biological father was married to a biological mother; motherhood and birth are by their nature much more observable than fatherhood.

There are many clues and leads that appear well worth follow-up. For example, the FamilyTreeDNA Clayton data⁴⁰ identifies two of samples of Group 1 (the Francis Clayton group) with the reported ancestor Daniel Clayton of Goochland County, Virginia. Goochland County is adjacent to Henrico County and up the James River from Chesterfield County. In 1767, a Goochland deed⁵⁰ shows Richard Clayton and his wife Susanna selling land there, identified as the same as they bought from his brother John. The 1761 deed to Richard and Susanna is from John Cleaton and Elizabeth Cleaton of North Carolina and names their father Daniel Cleaton.⁵¹ Thomas Clayton witnessed the deed. Daniel had the original patent for the land, along the James River, in 1744.⁵² In 1769, Daniel and Richard Clayton are shown adjacent in tax lists of Granville County, North Carolina⁵³, about 125 miles from Chesterfield, Virginia. In 1763, William Clayton and his wife Elizabeth granted 65 acres of land in Granville to Jeremiah Clayton. Witnesses to the conveyance included Francis Clayton, John Clayton, and Goin Clayton.⁵⁴ In 1764, Jeremiah Clayton granted 100 acres of land in Granville to William Clayton, Junior. Francis Clayton was a witness to the conveyance.⁵⁵ In 1767, a Chesterfield lawsuit between William Clayton and Jeremiah Clayton was dismissed for unspecified cause.³⁰ A much broader picture of the Claytons of Granville and, later, of Spartanburg, South Carolina is available online, not perfect but extremely thorough and well-documented.⁵⁶

Paul Nordberg · <http://paulnordberg.net> · mail@paulnordberg.net

December 21, 2020

References

1. Ann Whalen. Clayton family in Virginia. <http://listva.lib.va.us/scripts/wa.exe?A2=VA-ROOTS;8d117c25.0212>, viewed December 13, 2020.
2. Walter Clayton. Joseph Clayton of Nelson KY is not the son of Francis Clayton of Chesterfield VA. <https://www.genealogy.com/forum/surnames/topics/clayton/3814/>, viewed December 13, 2010. Notes: Similar comments are posted in Ancestry.
3. Nordberg, P. Joseph Clayton of Saint Mary's County, Maryland and Nelson County, Kentucky. <http://www.paulnordberg.net/pdfs/joseph-clayton.pdf>, viewed December 15, 2020.
4. Archives, M.S. A Return of the Officers and Privates belonging to the State of Maryland 921 Feb. 17 and Attach'd to the Corps hereafter Specified under the Resolution of Congress VII 174 of the 15th of March 1779. http://mdhistory.msa.maryland.gov/msaref05/msa_te_1_171/html/msa_te_1_171-0066.html, viewed December 12, 2020.
5. Maryland Genealogical Society. 18th Century Maryland Tax Lists. <https://mdgensoc.org/cpage.php?pt=129>, viewed December 13, 2020. Notes: See in particular the 1748 list for the Lower Newton Hundred, St. Mary's County.
6. Beitzell, E.W., The Jesuit Missions of St. Mary's County, Maryland. 1959, Abell, Maryland: Self-published. 320 pages. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=wu.89063865364&view=1up&seq=5>, viewed December 13, 2020.
7. International Society of Genetic Genealogy Wiki. Non-paternity event. https://isogg.org/wiki/Non-paternity_event, viewed December 17, 2020.
8. Board for Certification of Genealogists. Genealogical Proof Standard (GPS). <https://bcgcertification.org/ethics-standards/>, viewed December 12, 2020.
9. Maryland State Archives. Colonial Probate Records, Index, 1634-1777 (SE4). <http://guide.msa.maryland.gov/pages/series.aspx?action=viewseries&id=se4>, viewed December 12, 2020.
10. Library of Virginia. Search anything. https://lva.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/discovery/search?vid=01LVA_INST:01LVA&lang=en, viewed December 12, 2020.
11. Chester County, P. Probate, Estate & Guardianship Records. <https://www.chesco.org/1720/Wills-Administrations-1714-1923>, viewed December 12, 2020.
12. Delaware Public Archives (Dover). Delaware, Kent County probate case files, 1680-1955. <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/2819015?availability=Family%20History%20Library>, Notes: The link here is for Kent County, one of the three counties of Delaware. There are similar record repositories for the other two, New Castle and Sussex.
13. Williams, R.T. and M.G. Williams, Index of Wills & Administration Records, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 1682 - 1782. Vol. I. 1971 - 1972, Danboro, Pennsylvania: Self-published. 214 pages. I managed to download this and three further volumes a while ago, as I recollect from FamilySearch, but it does not appear to be available in this format at this time. I suspect that there were copyright issues.
14. Deed, Francis Clayton from Cornelius Short. Chester County, Pennsylvania, Book 3, Page 26. August 12, 1755. <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CS4V-VPKY?cat=406477>, viewed December 13, 2020.
15. Binns Genealogy. Virginia Colonial Tithe Lists. <http://www.binnsgenealogy.com/FreeSample/CDR-000301/1756/>, viewed December 13, 2020. Notes: "Frans. Clayton, James, [illegible]" appears on image 10.
16. Joan Slater and L.H. Hart, Chesterfield County Tithables, 1762. The Southside Virginian, 1987. V(1): p. 82-90. <https://archive.org/details/southsidevirgini51987/page/84/mode/2up?q=clayton>, viewed December 12, 2020.

17. Will of Francis Clayton. Chesterfield County, Virginia, November 4, 1771 (will date). Book 2, Page 67, <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q57-99PC-3J6S?cat=417637>, viewed December 12, 2020. The will was signed with a mark. It was witnessed by Benjamin Beasley, David Choakley (Chaulkley) and Benjamin Choakley. The Chesterfield County Court ordered to record in the Court's August 1772 session.
18. Francis Clayton, plaintiff, against John Roberts, defendant. Orders of Court of Chesterfield County, Virginia, March 1760 session. Book 3, Page 44, <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CS4C-SH99?cat=401632>, viewed December 13, 2020.
19. Deed, Francis Clayton to James Ball. Chesterfield County, Virginia, Book 6, Page 245. December 7, 1770. <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CS4C-9HBH?i=805&cat=406477>, viewed December 13, 2020.
20. Will of Francis Clayton ordered to record. Orders of Court of Chester County, Virginia, August 1772 session. Book 5, Page 135, <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CS4V-JQ7S-R?i=84&cat=401632>, viewed December 13, 2020.
21. Deed, William Clayton to Branch Tanner. Chesterfield County, Virginia, Book 7, Page 306. September 18, 1773. <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CS4C-9SJJ-?i=160&cat=406477>, viewed December 13, 2020.
22. Email. From: Angie Wilderman, R.C., Chesterfield Historical Society of VA, To: Paul Nordberg, Date: December 16, 2020 Subject: Clayton Research. Notes: The email notes that there are no land deed references involving Joseph Clayton for the relevant period, and includes images of relevant index pages.
23. Chesterfield County, Virginia Tithables, 1762. <http://freepages.rootsweb.com/~genbel/genealogy/sept04/chestervatithables.htm>, viewed December 18, 2020.
24. William Clayton, plaintiff, against Valentine Winfrey, defendant; and Elizabeth Kendall, plaintiff, against William Clayton, defendant. Order Book of Chesterfield County Court, Virginia, May 1774 session. Book 5, Page 31, <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CS4V-JQQP-F?i=282&cat=401632>, viewed December 13, 2020.
25. Deed from John Rowland and Joseph Watkins to John Clayton. Chesterfield County, Virginia, Book 6, Page 325. Deed dated December 8, 1770, recorded 1771. <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CS4C-9HP3?i=845&cat=406477>, viewed December 19, 2020.
26. Lists of tithables and insolvents, 1747-1821 1776, Dale Parish, Chesterfield County, Virginia. <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CS7S-M9CD-3?cat=775020>, viewed December 13, 2020.
27. Will of John Clayton. Chesterfield County, Virginia, February 1785 (will date). Book 4, Page 213, <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q57-89PH-YVF6?i=221&cat=417637>, viewed December 13, 2020.
28. Thomas Clayton, plaintiff, against Randolph Henry, defendant. Orders of Chesterfield County Court, Virginia, July 1784 session. Book 6, Page 559, <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CS4V-JQ7M-Z?cat=401632>, viewed December 13, 2020.
29. Jeremiah Clayton, plaintiff, against William Graves, defendant. Order Book of Court of Chesterfield County, Virginia, March 1757 session. Book 2, Page 277, <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CS4V-BSW1-S?cat=401632>, viewed December 24, 2020. The suit was dismissed because of the death of the defendant.
30. William Clayton, plaintiff, against Jeremiah Clayton, defendant. Order Book of Court of Chesterfield County, Virginia, March 1767 session. Book 4, Page 22, <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CS4C-SHZX?cat=401632>, viewed December 13, 2020.

31. Deed, Drury Ragsdale to Charles Duncan. County Court of Chesterfield, Virginia, Book 7, Page 84. January 10, 1774. <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CS4C-9SJJ-W?cat=406477>, viewed December 12, 2020.
32. Will of Drury Ragsdale. Chesterfield County, Virginia, November 17, 1749. Book 1, Page 1, <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q57-99PC-3JGZ?cat=417637>, viewed December 12, 2020. The will was witnessed by Ch. Martin, Roger Atkinson and Michael Walker.
33. Pension application of Drury Ragsdale. Library of Virginia, August 24, 1789. <https://revwarapps.org/blwt1854-300.pdf>, viewed December 14, 2020. The pension application notes that he was commissioned an officer on January 13, 1777 and served until the end of the War.
34. Died - On Thursday, the 1st inst., Major Drury Ragsdale, of King William County, in the 55th year of his age. Virginia Gazette, and General Advertiser, March 14, 1804, March 1, 1804. https://lva.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/discovery/fulldisplay?docid=alma990011513880205756&context=L&vid=01LVA_INST:01LVA&lang=en&search_scope=MyInstitution&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine&tab=LibraryCatalog&query=any,contains,%22drury%20ragsdale%22&offset=0, viewed December 14, 2020.
35. Joseph Clayton in Revolutionary War Service Records. Fold3. <https://www.fold3.com/image/9203316>, viewed March 16, 2017. A subscription is required for access.
36. Rosters, S.C.R.W.P.S. Richard Waters W11722. <https://revwarapps.org/w11722.pdf>, viewed December 15, 2020.
37. Rosters, S.C.R.W.P.S. Richard C. Waters VAS2134. <http://revwarapps.org/VAS2145.pdf>, viewed December 15, 2020.
38. Rosters, S.C.R.W.P.S. James Watters S40742. <https://revwarapps.org/s40642.pdf>, viewed December 15, 2020.
39. Library of Virginia. Waters, James. https://lva.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/view/action/uresolver.do?operation=resolveService&package_service_id=1791936190005756&institutionId=5756&customerId=5755, viewed December 15, 2020.
40. FamilyTreeDNA. Y-DNA: Clayton. <https://www.familytreedna.com/groups/clayton/dna-results>, viewed December 18, 2020. Notes: Walter Clayton is administrator of the group, Galen Clayton co-administrator.
41. United States Census 1810, Bardstown, Nelson County, Kentucky. <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33S7-9YY2-SR9M?i=3&cc=1803765>, viewed March 11, 2017.
42. Confirmatory deed, Joseph Clayton to Charles Duncaster. Nelson County, Kentucky, Book 5, Page 201. August 2, 1796. <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CS4V-BP25?cat=273862>, viewed December 15, 2020.
43. Larmuseau, M.H.D., et al., A Historical-Genetic Reconstruction of Human Extra-Pair Paternity. Current Biology. 29: p. 4102-4107. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cub.2019.09.075>, viewed December 15, 2020.
44. Nelson County. Index, Administrator, guardian, and executor bonds, 1792-1828. <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q57-89DP-KLV?i=3&cc=1875188&cat=424555>, viewed December 19, 2020.
45. Clayton, W. Individual page for Francis Clayton, in Clayton, Moore, Bearden, Graham, 20 Mar 2020. <https://wc.rootsweb.com/trees/617149/I30/francis-clayton/individual>, viewed December 18, 2020. Notes: At the time of access to this page, the performance of the web server was extremely erratic and unpredictable. Sometimes the site would retrieve the requested URL, sometimes not.
46. Gladney Center for Adoption. What Is the Adoption Rate? <https://adoption.org/what-is-the-adoption-rate>, viewed December 16, 2020.

47. Wikipedia. Infidelity. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Infidelity>, viewed December 16, 2020.
48. Linda Davis Reno. St. Mary's Families: St. Mary's County, Maryland, Marriages: 1638 - 1820. <http://sites.rootsweb.com/~mdstmary/mrgs/index.html>, viewed December 22, 2020.
49. Henry David Thoreau. Oxford Essential Quotations. <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780191826719.001.0001/q-oro-ed4-00010905>, viewed December 16, 2020. Notes: The observation was made amid a controversy about claims that area dairy farmers were watering down their milk before its sale.
50. Deed from Richard Clayton *et ux.* to William Barnett *et ux.* Goochland County, Virginia, Book 9, Page 68. February 24, 1767. <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q57-89P6-9CWC?cat=406600>, viewed December 18, 2020.
51. Deed from John Clayton *et ux.* to Richard Clayton *et ux.* Goochland County, Virginia, Book 8, Page 19. February 17, 1761. <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q57-89P6-9KZV?cat=406600>, viewed December 18, 2020. John Clayton signed the deed, his spouse Elizabeth executed with a mark.
52. Land grant to Daniel Clayton from Secretary of Colony of Virginia (serving as colonial Land Office). Library of Virginia, Book No. 23 of Land Office Patents, Page 709. June 16, 1744. https://lva.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/discovery/fulldisplay?docid=alma990007370280205756&context=L&vid=01LVA_INST:01LVA&lang=en&search_scope=MyInstitution&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine&tab=LibraryCatalog&query=any,contains,patents%20clayton&offset=0, viewed December 18, 2020.
53. Tax lists of various counties of North Carolina, Granville County, North Carolina, 1769. <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CS7S-MBGB?cat=332552>, viewed December 19, 2020.
54. Deed from William & Elizabeth Clayton to Jeremiah Clayton. Granville, North Carolina, Book F, Page 489. October 25, 1763. <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q57-89C5-68MF?cat=360398>, viewed December 18, 2020. The land is of approximately 65 acres. Witnesses include Francis Clayton, John Clayton, and Goin Clayton.
55. Deed from Jeremiah Clayton to William Clayton, Junior. Granville, North Carolina, Book G, Page 283. July 16, 1764. <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q5Q-G9CR-7N8K?i=187&cat=360398>, viewed December 18, 2020. The land is 100 acres. The deed does not recite Jeremiah Clayton having a spouse. Its witnesses included Francis Clayton.
56. Mel R. Brashears. Our Family Tree. http://www.mels.website/EverWeb/Don%27s%20&%20Pat%27s%20Documents%20-%20Periodic%20Updates/Reunion%2011%20Master%20Surname%20Index/ps15/ps15_247.htm, viewed December 12, 2020.