

FOUR FAMILIES THROUGH GEORGIA

A Southern History of the Adcock, Blackwell,
O'Kelley, Yates

and

Related Families

by

Harold Ernest O'Kelley

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PART IV
O'KELLEY

Turris fortis mihi Deus
God is a tower of
strength to me

O'Kelley family motto

CHAPTER TWENTY

THE IRISH

May the road rise up to meet you.
May the wind be always at your back.
May the sunshine warm your face.
And rain fall soft upon your fields.
And until we meet again, may God
hold you in the small of His hand.

Even though the name O'Kelley seems to be Irish, I have some question as to whether this conclusion is the correct one. I have not been able to establish how or where my forefather landed on the North American Continent. It is believed that my earliest known ancestor, Thomas O'Kelley, lived in Virginia in the first half of the 18th century. He was Protestant.

According to Macon⁽¹⁾, there are those who believe that our earliest known direct ancestor was the Reverend James O'Kelley who was the leader of the O'Kelley schism. This resulted in the founding of the Republican Methodist Church which, in 1793, splintered from Wesley's Methodist Episcopal Church. About a year later, the Republican Methodist Church became the Christian Church. Macon⁽²⁾ adequately demonstrates that Thomas O'Kelley and James O'Kelley were not one and the same. Probably, they were brothers and there is reason to believe that their father was named William O'Kelley. This conclusion is one that I reach despite the fact that Thomas O'Kelley could not write his name and, in comparison, James O'Kelley wrote in Latin and Greek. Two of Thomas O'Kelley's grandsons and a great-grandson were preachers in the church founded by James.

Since Thomas O'Kelley and Reverend James O'Kelley were living in Virginia in the first half of the 18th century, they may have emigrated from Ulster; or, they may have been born on the American continent. Macon⁽³⁾ wrote:

The date of birth of the Rev. Mr. O'Kelly [sic] is 1738, but the place is unknown. Many believe that it was in Surry County, Va.; others contend that he was born in Ireland, coming to Virginia in his early manhood.

1738 as his birth year is questionable. I have found references that show his birth year variously from 1734 to 1738^(4,5,6) and Surry County is shown as a possible birthplace of Reverend O'Kelley⁽⁷⁾ along with Ireland.^(8,9) MacClenny⁽¹⁰⁾ favors direct immigration from southern Ireland as being the means whereby James O'Kelley came to America.

THE IRISH

James O'Kelley has been described as having

had the temper and temperament of the Scots-Irish as well as the liberal views of the post-Revolutionary era. (11)

From time to time, James O'Kelley will appear in my narrative. After James was assigned by Methodist Bishop Asbury to Mecklenburg County, Virginia Thomas O'Calley [O'Kelley] moved there. Some of Thomas, Sr.'s, sons were living in Mecklenburg County, Virginia and in Granville County, North Carolina, which are contiguous. After James' death in Chatham County, North Carolina, October 16, 1826 three of his relatives were preachers in the church he founded. They were members of the Georgia-Alabama Conference in 1851. One of them was my great-grandfather, John Pendleton O'Kelley.

Despite the conclusion of others that James O'Kelley may have attended Trinity University in Dublin, my guess is that he was self-educated. His signature on his will appears to be labored writing: this could either be the result of poor training or advanced age. He was about 92 when he died.

His biographer spelled his surname without the second "e"; however, his grave monument shows the spelling as "O'Kelley". The fact that the monument was put in place some few years after James' death casts doubt upon the spelling. Another Methodist history has the spelling as O'Kelley. (12) James' name in Mecklenburg County tax records, late 1700s, is spelled Kelley. There is no "O" but the second "e" is present. His surname, as spelled on the tax lists of Mecklenburg County supports my belief that he was self taught; further, it demonstrates that a researcher must carefully evaluate data as regards the presence of the second "e" and the frequent omission of the "O".

Thomas and James O'Kelley may have been born on the American continent. I present a theory in the next chapter that suggests that the O'Kelley family was in North America earlier than 1700. If this is the case, it is difficult to guess where they came from - Ulster or the south of Ireland or even from Scotland. If the family migrated during the first half of the 18th century, it is most likely that the O'Kelleys came from the northern Irish province, Ulster. In any case, the family was Protestant. In the south of Ireland, about one person in four was Protestant, whereas Protestantism was more prevalent in the north.

Because of the possibility that Thomas immigrated from Ireland, and lacking direct proof such as ship name, port of arrival, etc., it is useful to look at history surrounding Irish immigration in the early part of the 18th century.

SCOTCH-IRISH IMMIGRATION

Scotch-Irish immigration began in 1717 and lasted until about the beginning of the American Revolution. This immigration was primarily from the province of Ulster located in the north of Ireland. Major immigration from the southern part of the Irish island occurred about 100 years later in the first half of the 19th century, and was primarily caused by poverty and starvation, during a time known as the "potato famine." In the 18th century, immigration from Ulster was caused by oppression rather than hard times.

The story of the Scotch-Irish in America starts about 1600, just before the Scottish King James VI became King James I of the United Kingdom. As James I, he made Irish land grants to Scottish landlords and, to a lesser extent, English merchants. Most who received the land did not go to Ireland, but enticed tenants to migrate to the northern province. The Crown hoped that these new settlers would establish farms and homesteads and thereby secure the area for England.

When the Reformation was sweeping across Europe, Scotland was little touched. Some historians conclude that the Reformation would never have reached Scotland, had it not been for the greed of noblemen, and that it actually started as a political movement. The return of John Knox from exile in 1559 caused the Reformation to catch fire in Scotland. A year long religious civil war erupted. In 1560 Parliament put an end to the Church of Rome as the National Church of Scotland. By 1561 the Presbyterian Church was established as the "Kirk of Scotland." When the Scots migrated to Ireland during the rule of James I, they were already Protestant.

The Reform movement never came to Ireland. No Luther, Knox or Calvin arose, and the Church of England, though well established, made no attempt to win over the people of Ulster or any other part of the Irish island. On the other hand, the Jesuits chose Ireland as one of the main areas for their missionary work of the Counter-Reformation. They did well: so well that three-fourths of the people in the south of Ireland are Catholic to this day.

Under Queen Elizabeth, the English had their most trouble in the Kingdom of Ulster. The English were constantly fighting local clan leaders to the point that, by the time James I inherited the English throne, Ulster verged on being depopulated. James I believed this to be an opportunity to create a "Plantation of Ulster" by making land grants and, at the same time, he would reward his fellow Scots.

The Scotch immigrants to Ulster and their immediate descendants prospered in their new home. It was this prosperity which, in turn, led to problems that caused the 18th century migration to America. The prosperity of Ulster came not only from lush harvests of fertile land, but also from two newly established industries, that is, weaving of woolen and linen fabrics.

Started by the Scots, these industries flourished in the north of Ireland. Successful trade eventually ran counter to the interests of the English and led to repressive measures legislated by the British Parliament. The final blow came when 31 year leases of some of the late 17th century Scot arrivals began to expire. Landlords exorbitantly raised rents or put the leases up for auction to the highest bidder. Many Scottish immigrants were forced to leave land which they had improved with the expenditure of personal labor and whatever monetary capital they had been able to gather. This handling of rents came to be known as "rent racking" by the oppressed victims.

Adding to these economic blows and contributing to the exodus was the fact that there was insufficient rainfall from 1714 to 1719. Continuous drought ruined the crops so that the linen and woolen industries suffered. If these calamities were not enough, religious restrictions were piled on as extra burdens.

Before this, in 1703, under Queen Anne, the Test Act was passed requiring all Irish officeholders to observe the sacrament according to the Church of England. The weight of this edict fell on the influential members of the Presbyterian Church in Ulster who were candidates for judgeships or other civil posts. The Established Church made use of the Test Act, which was aimed mainly at Catholics, and turned it against the Presbyterian Scots. Ministers of the non-state churches were turned out of their pulpits, and Scots were swept from offices such as constables, alderman, etc.

The result of all these factors, taken together, was that there were five waves of Scotch-Irish immigration to America occurring in the following periods: 1717-18, 1725-29, 1740-41, 1754-55 and 1771-75. Little immigration from the south happened during or before this time. Scotch-Irish immigration ships are known to have landed at most American ports including Boston, Philadelphia, New York, Annapolis, Charleston and the Virginia ports. The immigrants thought of themselves as "Ulster Irish" or "Northern Irish" or "Presbyterian Irish." They tended to settle in New England and the middle colonies of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, Delaware and North Carolina. As time went by they mostly joined Baptist or Methodist churches since these were available on the frontier.

Throughout the six decades of Scotch-Irish migration, the greatest numbers entered America through Philadelphia and Chester, Pennsylvania and New Castle, Delaware. From there they headed west. Because of the early residences of the O'Kelleys in King and Queen and Caroline Counties, Virginia, it is likely that my family landed at a port in Virginia; indeed, they may have landed at Port Royal on historic Rappahannock River.

There was some three or four generations between the immigration from Scotland to Ulster until the re-immigration to America. The Scots had retained much of their Scottish heritage but had, at the same time, become Irish.⁽¹³⁾

COLONIAL SCOTCH-IRISH SETTLEMENTS

Upon arriving in the colonies, there was a tendency for the Scotch-Irish to settle where people of the same heritage lived. Because of their desire for privacy and an ability to maintain independence, with force if necessary, the Scotch-Irish for the most part founded communities on the western fringes of the colonies.

In 1770, a few small Scotch-Irish communities were founded in Maine, New Hampshire and near the head waters of the Hudson River in New York. Another New York Scotch-Irish community was founded in eastern New York near the New Jersey boundary. Still another group settled in an area just to the west of New Castle, Delaware but most of this territory was in Pennsylvania and Maryland.

A large land area was occupied by the Scotch-Irish in western Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. This region was against the eastern slope of the Appalachian Mountains and some of it was beyond the mountain range extending as far west as the present day location of Pittsburgh. This group of settlers became the buffer between the Indians to the west and settlers of other ethnic backgrounds to the east. The Scotch-Irish heritage as fighters and pioneers stood them in good stead in this exposed position.

In south and southwestern Virginia and northwestern North Carolina was another concentration of the Scotch-Irish settlers. The North Carolina settlement extended across western South Carolina and into northeastern Georgia. A graphic illustration of the 1770 colonial Scotch-Irish settlements is shown in Atlas of United States History.⁽¹⁴⁾

SCOTCH-IRISH MILITARY ACTIVITIES

That the Scotch-Irish have a genius for war has been abundantly shown on many a hard fought battlefield. History shows that the Irish come from fighting stock and civilization remembers valiant struggles against great odds at Sterling and Bannockburn under the leadership of Wallace and Bruce. When the descendants of the heroes of Bannockburn migrated to Ulster, their native fiber was but strengthened by their experiences amid hostile surroundings in their new homes. At Londonderry, they again showed the stuff of which they were made.

The usefulness of the Scotch-Irish as a shield against the Indians was recognized early by James Logan who, though a Quaker, believed in defensive warfare. In a letter to James Steel, November 18, 1729 he said:

About this time [1720] a considerable number of good Sober People came in from Ireland, who wanted to be Settled, at y^e Same time it happend'd that we were under some apprehensions from Northern Indians of whose claims to the Lands on Sasquehannah I was not then sensible

.... I therefore thought it might be prudent to plant a Settlement^t of fresh men as those who formerly had so bravely defended Derry [Londonderry] and Inniskillen as a frontier in case of any Disturbance. Accordingly the Township of Donnegal was settled [in Pennsylvania] some few by Warr^{ts} at the certain price of 10 pounds per hund^d but more so, without any. (15)

The Scotch-Irish were prominent in the French and Indian War and in Pontiac's War. I have not found any records that show that Thomas O'Kelley, Sr., his brothers or any of his six sons were involved in military duty during the Indian wars.

The same fighting qualities and the rough life which had rendered Scotch-Irish people as the recruiting ground for soldiers for the French and Indian War and in Pontiac's War, found even greater play in the Revolution. They were of one mind and had a unanimity of opinion regarding war and independence. Among the various ethnic groups, they alone appear to have been devoid of Tories and had no pacificists in their ranks. With great enthusiasm they espoused the revolutionary cause and marched with alacrity to the battlefield. They did not love the English. They were the oppressed and asked nothing better than to avenge the wrongs done them.

One author has calculated Irish participation in the Revolutionary military forces to have been (conservatively) 38% of the total, officers and enlisted men! The fact that this writer's name was O'Brien should not suggest any bias. (16)

That the Scotch-Irish played a conspicuous role in the Revolutionary War is conceded. In England they were recognized as the head of the Rebellion. Horace Walpole rose in the House of Commons to say:

There is no use crying about the matter. America has run off with a Presbyterian parson, and that is the end of it. (17)

Equally to the point is the statement of Butler that

It was the Presbyterians of Ulster, driven from their homes by the mistaken religious and economic legislation of the eighteenth century, who furnished the backbone of the armies that put an end to the rule of England in what is now the United States. (18)

It appears that some of this Scotch-Irish attitude toward the British must have been at play in the O'Kelley family. Of the six

sons, evidence exists that at least five served in the Revolutionary War. Their participation could have been induced by attitudes of their parents, though Benjamin O'Kelley's participation was by draft in North Carolina.

THE O'KELLEY NAME

The name O'Kelley is generally taken to be Irish, having been derived from the Gaelic name O'Ceallaigh. The best known clan, Hy Many, lived in the area which included eastern County Galway, all of the southern part of County Roscommon, a small portion of County Clare and even a smaller portion of County Offaly.⁽¹⁹⁾ The total area controlled by the clan was about 1,000 square miles. There were other clans of O'Kelly in Connaught, Leinster, Munster and Ulster. Because of the prevalence of Gaelic O'Kelly clans in Ireland, most people conclude that the name O'Kelley has its roots in ancient Ireland.

Black⁽²⁰⁾ shows that the names Kelly and MacKelly also developed in Scotland. The Scottish name Kelly derives from the lands of Kelly, near Arbroath, Angus. There is another Kellie near Pitterweam, Fife, but the references point to the former locality as the source of the surname. The name, MacKelly, is said to have been derived, in Scotland, from the Gaelic Mac Ceallaigh, "son of Cellach," i.e., the "warlike" one. Thus, the Gaelic derivation of Kelly in Ireland and one of those in Scotland is common - the Gaelic word "Ceallaigh."

According to Edward MacLysaght⁽²¹⁾, the prefix "mac" denotes descent and indicates "son" whereas the prefix "O" refers to "grandson" or further descendant.

My mother said that our family was Scotch-Irish with some English heritage. I wonder if she was repeating a term, "Scotch-Irish," that had been handed down in the O'Kelley family. Clearly her maiden name, Blackwell, was English.

I have been told that the second "e" was added to signify dedication to Protestantism. I consider the source for this observation as highly questionable, since my San Antonio friend with an Irish brogue, Sean Burke who holds a Ph.D. and teaches philosophy, told me that the difference in spelling is without meaning.

On visits to the Republic of Ireland, Eire, (which excludes Ulster, a part of the United Kingdom) I have found that there are two telephone directories containing all listed telephones in the country. One book has Dublin numbers and the second book is for the rest of the republic. Dublin has a population of about 700,000 people whereas all of the Republic of Ireland has a population approximating three million. In these two telephone volumes I have not found any O'Kelleys who spell their name with the second "e." Surprisingly, there is not an overabundance of O'Kellys. There were three Kelleys who have the second "e" and a number of Kellys.

Rather than visit Ulster, I have obtained a listing of the Kelleys/ O'Kelleys in the Northern Ireland telephone directory

through a U.S. service. There are few O'Kellys in the directory; no O'Kelleys; only three Kelleys; and many pages of Kellys. My conclusion is that the second "e" has no fundamental meaning and most Irishmen have dropped the "O."

Variations in the spelling of my name have caused considerable research difficulty. In official records, the name is spelled O'Kelley, O'Kelly, O'Calley, Kelley, Kelly, etc. For example, Francis O'Kelley married Delilah Crowder in 1789 in Mecklenburg County, Virginia. Their marriage bond has the name as "Kelley" and George Crowder, Delilah's father, signed a marriage consent form with Charles Kelley as a witness. Clearly this was Charles O'Kelley, brother of the bridegroom. George Crowder, in his will, gave her last name as "Kelly."

Across the border in Granville County, North Carolina, Thomas Kelley (read O'Kelley) took out a marriage bond under the name "Kelley," the same surname as that recorded for his brothers in Virginia. Further, Thomas was a witness on a marriage bond for his wife's sister and the spelling was again "Kelley." Even the learned James O'Kelley was listed on the tax rolls of Mecklenburg County as James Kelley for 8-9 years in the late 1700s.

Frequently, I have encountered the situation that, when a stranger asks my name, they take my answer to be "Kelley" and leave off the "O" because they interpret my answer as meaning that "O" is my middle initial.

A further difficulty is encountered because of the large number of individuals named Kelly, or a variant thereof, in the American colonies. Charles Lucy⁽²²⁾ states that there was a predominance of Kellys among the Irish names of men fighting in the Revolutionary War. According to Lucy, there were 695 Kellys in his sample whereas the second closest name in frequency of occurrence was Murphy at 484. By way of comparison, Hogan was listed 115 times.

Further, there was appreciable illiteracy in colonial and post-Revolutionary days. In the examples given above, Francis, Charles and Thomas all signed documents with their mark. So did George Crowder.

NORTH GEORGIA

My great² grandfather, Thomas O'Kelley, Jr., migrated from Virginia to North Carolina and then to Georgia. He died in Madison County in 1818. Thomas' wife and some of the children moved to Habersham County to that part which is today White County. His heirs sold his Madison County land in 1838. Among the sons who moved to Habersham was my great-grandfather, John Pendleton O'Kelley.

Figure 12 shows portions of the northeast Georgia counties of Hall, Lumpkin and White. John P. O'Kelley's land was adjacent to that of his father-in-law, Edward Brigand Chastain. John assembled his farm in six real estate transactions. The O'Kelley Cemetery is on land that was once owned by my great-grandfather. John's mother, Elizabeth (Wyers) O'Kelley, lived with him until she died in 1848.

My belief is that she was buried in the O'Kelley Cemetery in an unmarked grave. John and his wife, Elizabeth (Chastain) O'Kelley, were buried in marked graves in the O'Kelley Cemetery.

Edward Chastain, my great² grandfather, was buried somewhere in the 250 acre tract that he owned.

My grandfather, Abner Francis O'Kelley, married Sarah Rebecca Barnes in 1876. He owned land in White County, shown on the map to the east of his father's land and close to the community of Mossy Creek. In 1883, he sold the White County land in two separate transactions. However, I believe that he and his bride did not live on that land but, rather, moved in with her widowed mother, Nancy Barnes, and Frank O'Kelley worked her farm for some few years until he started acquiring his own land in Hall County.

The farm that Frank O'Kelley developed contained more than 500 acres. A good part of the land had, at one time, belonged to his wife's grandfather, Ransom Barnes.

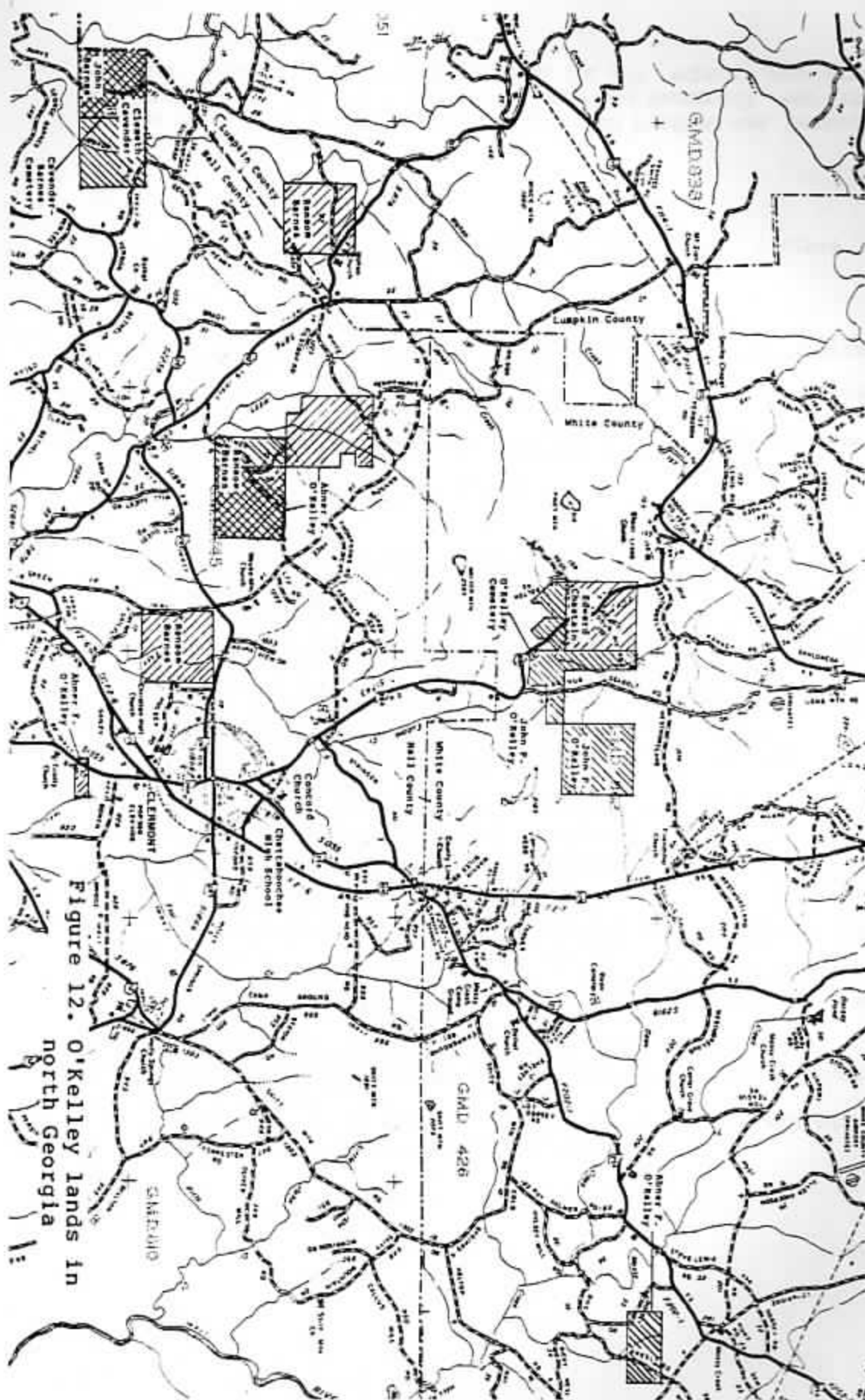
After all their children left home, Frank and Sallie O'Kelley sold their large farm and moved to a small one on Clarkes Bridge Road, south of Clermont and close to Trinity Church. There they both died in the mid-1920s.

John Barnes was Sallie O'Kelley's father. He was killed outside Marietta, Georgia, during the Civil War and was buried in the Cavender-Barnes Cemetery as was his wife, Nancy (Cavender) Barnes. John Barnes came to own his 250 acres (or possibly 500 acres) by inheriting the land from his father-in-law, Clemeth Cavender. Clemeth and his wife were also buried in the same cemetery.

John Barnes' father was Ransom Barnes. In Figure 12, Ransom Barnes is shown to own three non-contiguous parcels of land. He owned an additional 250 acres in Hall County which was located to the south of the lower margin of Figure 12. I believe that Ransom made his home in that tract later owned by Frank O'Kelley and his other land ownership was for speculation.

I have noted Concord Baptist Church in Clermont. Frank O'Kelley was a deacon there from 1902 until his death in 1923. There were two O'Kelleys who served as pastors of Concord though neither was a direct ancestor. My father, his two brothers and his sisters belonged to the church. I have a brother buried in the cemetery and my grandparents O'Kelley have their final resting place at Concord.

The Chattahoochee Baptist Association, of which Concord was a member, founded and operated Chattahoochee High School. My grandfather Blackwell taught there at one time and my father graduated from Chattahoochee before entering the University of



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Georgia. Concord Church gave the land for the school and donated the church building for a dormitory. The old sanctuary was rolled across the street when a new church building program was undertaken in the early 1900s.

NOTES

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18. Confiscation in Irish History, W. F. T. Butler, page 253.
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CHAPTER TWENTY ONE

First Generation THOMAS O'KELLEY, SR.

THOMAS O'KELLEY, SENIOR⁽¹⁾, about 1748, married ELIZABETH DEAN⁽²⁾. Thomas O'Kelley, Sr., was my great³ grandfather. A book about Thomas O'Kelley and his descendants was written by Alethea Jane Macon⁽³⁾ who was a descendant of one of their sons, Charles. Copies of this book can be found at the State Archives in Atlanta, the Washington Library in Macon, the New York Public Library and the DAR Library in Washington. I also have a copy.

This volume contains some errors. Among other things, my grandfather, Abner Francis O'Kelley, was not accurately described. Macon lists A. Franklin O'Kelley as a son of John Pendleton O'Kelley and she may have mistaken Frank for Franklin. This is the family from which I come because my father's first cousin, Nathaniel Boaz O'Kelley, who I knew personally, is described by Macon.

Macon⁽⁴⁾ states that the first Thomas O'Kelley came to Virginia as a Protestant immigrant from Ireland in the second quarter of the 18th century but she did not present any supporting evidence.

I have found various references to Kelleys in volumes written about Virginia.⁽⁵⁾ The one that seems to be my direct ancestor is the Thomas Kelley listed in Virginia Taxpayers⁽⁶⁾ living in Caroline County. The tax list from which this was taken is for 1783. There were two people living in the household for which tax was due, and paid, and there were no slaves. It is probable that this individual was Thomas O'Kelley, Sr., with one of his sons living with him: women were not taxed.

I have found a Revolutionary War pension application made by one of Thomas and Elizabeth O'Kelley's sons, Benjamin. This is discussed in the next chapter and a typescript of the application is in the appendix. For present purposes, suffice it to say that Benjamin was born in King and Queen County, Virginia, and that a record of his birth was to be found at the Parish Church. Unfortunately, all civil records, including church records, predating 1865 were destroyed by fire during the Civil War and research in King and Queen County has led back into near nothingness.

King and Queen County had three parishes:

Stratton Major Parish, founded in 1655
St. Stephens Parish, founded in 1674 and
Drysdale Parish, founded in 1723.

The citizens living in a parish were required to pay a tithe to support the Established Church of England, the Anglican Church. A county would probably have more than one parish; and, a parish could

be located in more than one county. Drysdale Parish is an example of the latter: originally it made up the northern part of King and Queen County and extended all the way to the northern border of Caroline County.

In colonial Caroline County, citizens were required, by law, to go to church. Churches other than the Anglican Church were allowed to function but all ministers had to be licensed by County Magistrates. New churches were discouraged since they tended to siphon revenue from the Church of England.

A researcher told me

Drysdale Parish included not only upper King and Queen County but also part of the lower section of Caroline County. During the period between 1733 and 1763, sections of Drysdale Parish which were in King and Queen County were added to Caroline County, the last being [in] 1763.⁽⁷⁾

Benjamin O'Kelley, in 1850, in his pension application said that he was born in King and Queen County. He was born about 1758/60 before the last transfer of Drysdale Parish was made from King and Queen County to Caroline. Therefore, I felt that it might be productive to search in Caroline County because it was possible that the Thomas O'Kelley, Sr., family had lived in that portion of King and Queen County which later became part of Caroline County.

From studies of Campbell⁽⁸⁾, Wingfield⁽⁹⁾, Caroline County Court Order Books⁽¹⁰⁾, Personal Property Tax List, 1782, and King and Queen records compiled by Beverly Fleet⁽¹¹⁾, I have reached conclusions as to the O'Kelley and Dean families. I will present my conclusions and then give supporting circumstantial evidence. The name O'Kelley is not encountered in any of the documents listed: the spelling is either Kelley or Kelly.

William O'Kelley was a minor merchant who lived in Caroline County south of Port Royal on the Rappahannock River. He may have arrived on this continent through Port Royal since he settled close by; or, he may have been born in the colonies; or he may have descended from William O'Kelly who was an indentured servant in Northumberland County, Virginia, in 1657.⁽¹²⁾

The Caroline County William O'Kelley died about June, 1733. He had a son who was also named William, and I will call him William, Jr.

Upon his father's death, William O'Kelley, Jr., assumed the business and lived in his father's house. William, Jr., raised his family on a farm in southern Caroline County.

Horeb Baptist Church located in Caroline County, originally organized as Reed's Church, was founded in 1773. It was situated in the southern part of the county, in St. Margaret's parish but close to the dividing line between St. Margaret's and Drysdale parishes.

The original church was located on the south side of the Mattaponi River and north of the present day community of Dawn. William O'Kelley, Jr., was one of two men ordained as deacons in Reed's Church. (13)

James O'Kelley does not appear in the Court Order Books of Caroline County. He fought in the Revolutionary War as a private while still living in Virginia. James became a minister in the Methodist Episcopal Church during the war and later had a dispute with Bishop Asbury that persisted over two or three years. The disagreement had to do with the Bishop's power in assigning ministers to their circuits. As a result, in 1793, James O'Kelley started a new Protestant denomination called the Republican Methodist Church which, after about a year, was renamed the Christian Church. He continued his religious career until his death October 16, 1826 in Chatham County, North Carolina. MacClenney stated that James' father was named William. (14)

Except for Thomas and James, I have no further information relating to the sons. I have not made any effort to find more.

Thomas O'Kelley, Sr., was born about 1710-1720 in Caroline County. He died after 1783. Notes attributed to Jane Macon show that Elizabeth (Dean) O'Kelley died after 1818. This is the same year that her son, Thomas, Jr., died in Madison County, Georgia. Possibly Macon had some oral history information that convinced her, at one time, that Elizabeth (Dean) O'Kelley died after her eldest son's death. However, Macon did not include this in her O'Kelley history. (15)

Court Order Books of Caroline County show the following:

March 13, 1740 - Action of trespass, assault and battery. Thomas [O']Kelley against John Pentross. Dismissed.

This is Thomas O'Kelley, Sr., mad about something or another and before he married, pursuing his rights in the courts.

Thomas O'Kelley, Sr., met and married Elizabeth Dean about 1748 in King and Queen County. In colonial days, it was customary, if not legally required, for a wedding to take place in the bride's home county. Thomas, Sr., and Elizabeth O'Kelley made their home in Drysdale Parish, in the northern part of King and Queen County. They had six sons: their daughters, if any, are not known.

The Caroline Order Book 1770-1772, page 62, has the following entry:

May Court 1770	
William Lyne Plaintiff	
against	In Debt
Thomas [O']Kelley Defendent	

Oliver Fowles Gent. entered himself Special Bail for the defendent According to Law.

This could have been either Thomas, Sr., or Jr. By 1770, Thomas, Sr., and his family may have been living in Caroline County because of jurisdictional changes in county lines between King and Queen and Caroline Counties as portions of Drysdale parish were added to Caroline. The term "Gent." refers to Gentleman which was an unofficial title showing especial stature. Someone like Thomas would have been called "goodman" rather than Gentleman or Esquire. The plaintiff, William Lyne, was the master of the Trans-Atlantic sailing vessel "Molly" which operated from Port Royal.

Carmel Baptist church, situated about twelve miles southwest of Bowling Green in Caroline County, was founded in 1773. In colonial times it had three names: "Polecat" from Polecat Creek that flowed nearby; "Burruss" from the name of the plantation owner and his brother, a minister, who started the church; and "Roundabout" because the members went roundabout ways to reach the place of worship to avoid detection and arrest by law enforcement officers. Today the church location is on Telegraph Road and at the fork of Milford and Chilesburg Roads.

Among the families represented in Carmel Church in its early days was Kelly:⁽¹⁶⁾ this could be Thomas O'Kelley, Sr. It would be very interesting to check the church records and the headstones in their cemetery to determine if this might be the final resting place for Thomas, Sr., and his wife.

The first pastor of Polecat Baptist Church was John Burress and John Waller was an associate. Waller is important to my story because, in 1772, Thomas O'Kelley was involved in a religious altercation which resulted from Waller's Baptist preaching.

John Waller was a colorful fellow. He was known by some as the "Devil's Adjutant" and, to others, as "Swearin' Jack." These nicknames came from youthful indiscretions and, by Baptist standards, do not represent the hellfire and damnation impact that he later had on Virginia congregations. Many Baptist congregations in Virginia were organized because of the initiative of the Devil's Adjutant.

Campbell⁽¹⁷⁾ describes an incident in Caroline County, 1772. The order book of the county shows that Andrew Ross, Thomas [O']Kelley, and Mathew Gale were each fined £5 sterling for refusing to obey the legal command of Anthony Thornton, an official. The incident for which the fine was levied occurred at a Baptist worship service.

Baptist exhorters were unwelcome in colonial Virginia, where some were jailed, and congregations were forced to meet secretly.

The Waller [Baptist denominational] preaching at Goodloe's so alarmed the aristocracy that the court sent Anthony Thornton, the county lieutenant, whom it delegated to deal with dissenters, because of the lax attitude of James Taylor, the sheriff,

to lead a raid on one of these services, at the head of a band of constables. The raid resulted in the arrest of Waller and Goodloe but not before Thornton had trouble with lay members of the congregation. When he ordered the assembled worshippers to disperse, they defied him until he ordered his accompanying constables to take their leaders Andrew Ross, Thomas [O']Kelley and Mathew Gale into custody for "failure to obey a legal command, and disrespect to the person of Anthony Thornton, a magistrate".(18)

Because of my family's Baptist background, I have no difficulty believing that Thomas O'Kelley, Sr., could have been involved in an altercation of this sort.

The personal property tax list, Caroline County, 1782, contains the names Thomas Kelly and William Kelly.(19) These two may very well be Thomas O'Kelley, Sr., and his father, or his son. In 1783, the year the formal treaty ending the Revolutionary War was signed, Thomas O'Kelley, Sr., was still on the tax rolls of Caroline County.

Thomas, Jr., and Benjamin moved to Granville County, North Carolina and other brothers went to the same general area (Mecklenburg County, Virginia). These southerly moves together with Caroline County circumstances cause me to believe that the Kelleys who lived in Caroline County were the O'Kelleys of my lineage.

William Woodford, a resident of Caroline County, and a favorite of the Crown's Governor Gooch, was given, by royal grant, huge tracts of land in Lunenburg County, Virginia. Mecklenburg County, Virginia was formed from Lunenburg (1764-1765): Granville County, North Carolina is just across the state line from Mecklenburg. (Thomas O'Kelley, Jr., and most of his brothers lived in Mecklenburg or Granville). In several places Woodford's grant extended across the border into the adjacent province of North Carolina. Many of the first white people to settle in this land were from Caroline County. Governor Gooch ruled Virginia from 1727 until 1749 and the grant to Woodford was made during that time;(20) therefore, the migration of the O'Kelley sons took place long after the grant was made. The oldest, Thomas, Jr., was born about 1750.

John Penn, a Caroline leader, was born in 1740 and, despite his father's lack of appreciation for education, received a license to practice law when he was 21. He successfully practiced in Virginia for about 12 years. He was a vestryman in Drysdale Parish in 1767 - the parish in which Thomas O'Kelley, Sr., lived. He was an outspoken Whig and, in 1772, John Penn was charged with treasonable speech.

Lord Dunmore, Virginia governor (1771-1776), packed the Caroline Court with loyalists. John Penn was not given a fair trial and the outcome was preordained.

One of the first acts of the new court in behalf of the crown was to bring John Penn to trial for treasonable speech. Penn was one of the most brilliant lawyers at the local bar and a leader of the county's radical element. The grand jury indicted him for making remarks critical of the royal government and the king. In the trial the Caroline magistrates instructed the jury to bring a verdict for the crown But the Caroline jury, brought in a verdict for one penny.⁽²¹⁾

For John Penn, the disgrace was great even though the penalty represented a moral victory. He began to put his personal affairs in order so that he could leave the county, which he did two years later. In 1774 he departed to establish a new home near Williamsboro⁽²²⁾, Granville County, North Carolina, where close kinsmen had settled. (Williamsboro is now in Vance County which was formed from Granville, Warren and Franklin Counties in 1881.) After Penn left Caroline County he became a revolutionary leader and represented North Carolina at the Continental Congress in Philadelphia. He achieved immortal fame as a signer of the Declaration of Independence. After the war, Penn returned to his law practice and he died in North Carolina, September 14, 1788.

There was a propensity for migration from Caroline County to Mecklenburg and Granville Counties. The distance from Caroline County to the border between Mecklenburg and Granville Counties was and is about 125 miles. The trip would not have been one of much hardship. Probably most men would have made the trip on horseback.

I now turn to the Collins family of Caroline County because of the lifelong friendship between Thomas O'Kelley, Jr., and Thomas Collins.

Thomas O'Kelley, Jr., and Thomas Collins married sisters, Elizabeth and Peggy Wyers, in Granville County, North Carolina. Further, O'Kelley and Collins were copartners in land they purchased in Oglethorpe County, Georgia, in 1800. One of Collins' sons married a daughter of Thomas'. It appears that they were lifelong friends beginning in Caroline County; thus, an understanding of the Caroline Collins is helpful in understanding my hypothesis as to the O'Kelleys in Caroline.

The Collins were more prominent than the O'Kelleys. In 1691 William Collins homesteaded 620 acres of land in Drysdale parish.⁽²³⁾ According to the Caroline Court Order Books⁽²⁴⁾ Thomas Collins, Sr., owned a slave in 1734, homesteaded in 1740 and served on many different occasions as a juror. In one instance Thomas Collins, Sr., served as a member of a Grand Jury.

There was a Collins Grist Mill built in Drysdale Parish in

1732. Thomas Collins, Sr., was granted 90 acres of land in Caroline County on August 20, 1740.⁽²⁵⁾ In 1742 the court had Collins build a "ducking pond," for use in punishing "ladies."⁽²⁶⁾

In 1732, along with others, Thomas Collins, Sr., was cited for avoiding taxes on a luxury vehicle.⁽²⁷⁾ On another occasion he was retained by the county as a surveyor.

In 1771, a grand jury true billed Thomas Collins, Sr., for participating in an unlawful Baptist service conducted by John Young. Young was the lead signatory on a petition to the Virginia House of Burgess requesting relief from paying Anglican preachers through mandatory tithes: more on this later. It was John Young's efforts that resulted in the organization of the Horeb Baptist Church where William O'Kelley was ordained a deacon.

As resentment toward the Crown increased, the Collins, being Whigs, were in increasing difficulty. In 1772, Thomas Collins was fined £5 for stirring up rebellion. In the same year, Richard Dickens brought a Slander and Assault and Battery suit against Thomas Collins.

In 1774, Thomas Collins, Sr., died and Thomas Collins, Jr., was made the executor of his estate.

1772 was a bad year for Thomas O'Kelley, Sr., Thomas Collins and John Penn. In that year O'Kelley was fined £5 for refusing to obey the legal command of the county lieutenant, that is, refusing to disperse at the Baptist worship service. Collins was fined for stirring up rebellion and Penn was embarrassed by a one penny fine. Two years later, in 1774, Penn left for Granville County and Thomas Collins, Jr., was free to go since his father had died. Thomas O'Kelley, Jr., must have migrated about the same time.

I owe it to the reader to explain the conclusions that I have reached. First, why do I assume that William Kelley in Caroline County is the father of Thomas O'Kelley. The relationship between Thomas O'Kelley, Jr., and Thomas Collins, Jr., in Granville County, North Carolina and later, convinces me that Thomas Kelley in Caroline is Thomas O'Kelley, Sr. It is clear that at least some of Thomas O'Kelley, Jr.'s, children were born in King and Queen County (see Benjamin's pension application in the appendix). Almost surely, Elizabeth Dean was from King and Queen. The Baptist faith involvement of both Thomas and William fits our family. William is the only person who shows up in the records who could have been the father of Thomas, Sr. And, Reverend James O'Kelley's father, according to his biographer writing in 1910, was named William.⁽²⁸⁾ Thomas, Sr., and James each named a son William.

Why do I conclude that William was a minor merchant? In the short time from August 10, 1732 until his death in mid-1733, as a plaintiff he instigated nine suits, apparently to collect accounts due, in the county court. In most instances they were settled out of court, but in some he was awarded money or tobacco (which was as good as, or even better than, money). After his death, another

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William Kelley kept up the same pattern, that is, filing suits for collection of debts. This second William is most likely a son carrying on the work of his father, having inherited the business.

Did the first William O'Kelley arrive at Port Royal on the Rappahannock River? This is strictly a guess based on Port Royal being the only port in Caroline County. The indentured William O'Kelly in Northumberland County, if he is a forebear, probably rules out Port Royal as the point of arrival; however, this would tend to endorse Virginia as the colony where the O'Kelleys disembarked. Chances are, we will never be certain.

Wingfield⁽²⁹⁾ describes various petitions submitted to the Virginia Assembly by citizens of Caroline County. I have obtained copies of some that I thought had some chance of being pertinent to O'Kelley research. The only one that may have meaning to my family was petition No. 1299, dated October 27, 1785.

A petition declaring against a Bill published by the House of Delegates obliging all inhabitants of the commonwealth to pay the teachers [ministers of the Anglican Church] of the Christian Religion. There are 143 signatures, that of John Young, Baptist preacher of Caroline heading the list.⁽³⁰⁾

John Young was the first preacher at Horeb Baptist Church, organized in 1773, and William Kelley was a founding deacon.⁽³¹⁾ The objective of the petition is one that I would expect that the O'Kelleys would have supported. I have examined this petition and find that, among the 143 signatures, the following are included: James Killey, Thomas Killey and W^m Kely. The signatures of James and Thomas were, I believe, written by the same individual: there are other instances in the petition where the same scribe wrote the name of the petitioner. The "Killey" spelling does not seem to be significant: neither Wingfield⁽³²⁾, Campbell⁽³³⁾ or the Caroline County Order Books⁽³⁴⁾ mention the name "Killey" whereas Kelley and Kelly are present in all three. Could two of the above be James O'Kelley, the preacher and Christian Church Founder, and Thomas O'Kelley, Sr., my direct ancestor?

The only documented check that I have is on James O'Kelley. From the minutes of the Methodist Episcopal Church Conference for 1785, I find that James O'Kelley was an Elder (minister) responsible for the church's activities in the Virginia Counties of Amelia, Bedford and Orange. In 1785, these counties included geographic areas other than those shown on modern maps:

- Amelia County included Amelia and Nottaway.
- Bedford encompassed what is modern day Bedford, a part of Franklin and a part of Floyd counties.
- Orange County included Orange and modern day Greene County.

These are not contiguous parts of Virginia. As an elder, James O'Kelley would not have necessarily lived in any of these counties; however, the area he served was not far from Caroline.

The minutes of the Methodist Episcopal Church Conferences show the assignments for all preachers and preaching elders. From these minutes it is possible to trace the assignments for the Reverend James O'Kelley through 1792. In 1793, he was dropped from the rolls because of his dispute with Bishop Asbury. (35)

The minutes show three things:

- James O'Kelley, as well as other preachers in the Methodist Episcopal Church, were moved each year to new geographical responsibilities. This does not mean that preachers moved their place of abode - they spent a lot of time on horseback.
- As a leader in the church, James O'Kelley's position increased as time went by.
- James O'Kelley was repeatedly assigned to leadership positions in Virginia and North Carolina.

Was James O'Kelley living in Caroline County in 1785 when "James Killey" signed the petition? The answer is clearly that he was not. In that year, he was on the tax rolls of Mecklenburg County; however, as much as he rode on horseback in Virginia and North Carolina, it is possible that he lent his name to the petition.

Thomas Killey who signed the petition could have been Thomas O'Kelley, Sr. It is not likely that it was Thomas O'Kelley, Jr., since he married Elizabeth Wyers in North Carolina in May, 1785 (the petition was dated October, 1785). W^m. Kely could have been either the father or the son of Thomas O'Kelley, Sr. If it was the son, then this would have been William Dennis O'Kelley.

Why do I conclude that Elizabeth and Thomas, Sr., were married in King and Queen County? And why do I believe that Elizabeth Dean was from King and Queen County? Was Benjamin Dean her father?

It was customary, sometimes required by law, that a marriage take place in the home county of the bride. Elizabeth and Thomas O'Kelley, Sr., were married about 1748. I found references to Samuel Dean, Benjamin Dean and Ben Dean, all from King and Queen County, and Thomas Dean from Caroline County. (36)

Elizabeth's son, Benjamin O'Kelley, in his Revolutionary Pension application, stated that he was born in King and Queen County. The evidence is strong that Elizabeth and Thomas, Sr., married and lived in King and Queen County. Further, the evidence points toward a conclusion that Elizabeth was from King and Queen County and that her father was named Benjamin. Thomas and Elizabeth named one of their sons Benjamin.

Records in the National Archives show that Benjamin Dean was in the military during the Revolution. The National Archives has

Revolutionary military records for two individuals from Virginia named Benjamin Dean.⁽³⁷⁾ I have not pursued Benjamin Dean in my research; however, I suspect that one of the individuals described by military records was Elizabeth Dean's brother. The other may have been her father.

The following is a recapitulation:

- Thomas O'Kelley, Sr. had at least one son born in King and Queen County.
- Elizabeth Dean was from King and Queen County.
- Portions of King and Queen were added to Caroline County between 1733 and 1763. Thomas, Sr., and Elizabeth (Dean) O'Kelley moved to Caroline County as a result of jurisdictional changes.
- Mecklenburg and Granville Counties were settled by Caroline County people, partly because of the land grant made by the King to Caroline's William Woodford.
- Thomas O'Kelley, Jr., and Thomas Collins, Jr., knew each other in Caroline County.
- Thomas O'Kelley, Jr., and Thomas Collins, Jr., married sisters in Granville County, North Carolina in 1785 and 1788, respectively. Also, Thomas O'Kelley, Jr., was bondsman on the marriage bond for Thomas Collins, Jr., and Peggy Wyers.
- John Penn, a major Caroline County figure, moved to Granville County.

These arguments taken together convince me that the Thomas Kelley in Caroline County in the 18th century was Thomas O'Kelley, Sr.

Caroline County's non-Indian pre-Revolutionary settlers fall into five classes: the patentees of crown grants, freeholders who acquired their real estate through marriage or purchase, headrighters, indentured servants and Negro slaves. An O'Kelley may have been an indentured servant: possibly the first William O'Kelley earned his passage to America in this way. However, during the 18th century, I found no evidence that Thomas O'Kelley, Sr., was indentured as a servant. It appears that the O'Kelleys obtained their real estate by purchase as opposed to grant.

The Penns and the Collins were in a higher class than the O'Kelleys. Both families, at one time, received crown grants of land though the grants were greater for the Penns. The Collins had homesteaded 690 acres in 1691. Two communities in Caroline, Penola and Collins, are named after the Penns and Collins.

Primary education was a function of the Church, but the clergy made a poor job of it in colonial Caroline. Only one schoolhouse

was mentioned in the Order Books: it was located between Bowling Green and Port Royal. The date of the Order Book entry is 1757. It does not appear that the O'Kelleys were educated. Thomas, Jr., signed his marriage bond in North Carolina, left a will in Georgia and Benjamin applied for a Revolutionary soldier's pension: they signed the documents with a mark. However, James O'Kelley, the preacher and Christian Church Founder, wrote in Latin and Greek as well as English. He must have been self-educated.

John Penn was not given any education by his parents. However, he became an attorney through his personal initiative. Thomas Collins, Jr., signed his marriage bond in North Carolina with a mark.

The prevalent method for a youth to learn to read or write, and often learn a trade at the same time, was to serve as an apprentice. Apprenticeships had to be sanctioned by the court. They usually began when a youth was 13 or 14 and lasted until he was 21. Occasionally a grown man bound himself to learn a trade. At the end of the apprenticeship, the master was bound to give the apprentice certain dues. They consisted of a couple of sets of clothes, working tools and a limited amount of money.

Of the individuals in my story, the only one listed in the Caroline Court Order books as having been involved with apprenticeships is Thomas Collins. In 1760, Thomas Collins was apprenticed to Mordicai Redd for "schooling only" and in 1770 John Mills was apprenticed to Thomas Collins for "schooling only." It does not seem likely that this Gollins is the same one that signed his marriage bond with a mark in North Carolina.

Five types of currency were in circulation in colonial Caroline; British money, Virginia specie, Spanish gold coins, bills of exchange and tobacco certificates. Spanish coins, the pistoles, were the only gold in circulation. The most effective monetary unit was the tobacco certificate and all through Virginia's colonial history it was the standard medium of exchange. Prices were fixed in pounds of tobacco rather than pounds sterling. To get tobacco to pay their bills, many farmers would drop cultivation of other crops and concentrate on tobacco. Tobacco used up the rich land faster than other cultivated plants so that this monetary standard must have been at least partially responsible for migration out of Virginia.

As if life was not hard enough in colonial Caroline, there were special hardships added by drought and disease. Droughts hit the county in 1754 and again in 1760. Four years later, 1764, there was a smallpox epidemic. Negro slaves as well as whites died by the hundreds. There was nothing to do but to let the disease wear itself out.

If Thomas O'Kelley, Sr., or Elizabeth (Dean) O'Kelley were still living in 1789, and still residing in Caroline County, they would have had as their first congressman the Honorable James Madison who was to later become the 4th President of the United States. He served two terms in the House of Representatives during

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the 1st and 2nd Congresses. In his first race for his House seat, Madison's opponent was James Monroe. Madison County, Georgia, where their oldest son died, was named after the President.

CHILDREN

The children of Thomas and Elizabeth (Dean) O'Kelley were:

1. Thomas, Jr. - born about 1750, died about September, 1818 in Madison County, Georgia. Married Elizabeth Wyers in Granville County, North Carolina on May 4, 1785.
2. George - born about 1752, died before 1830 in Franklin County, Georgia.
3. William Dennis - born about 1754. He was an officer during the Revolution.
4. Charles - born about 1756, died November 1810. The DAR has placed a patriot's marker on his grave site in Oglethorpe County, Georgia.
5. Benjamin - born about 1758⁽³⁸⁾ or, more likely, about 1761⁽³⁹⁾, died about 1850 in Buncombe County, North Carolina.
6. Francis - born August 31, 1761 died April 16, 1838.

SUMMARY

There is little doubt that Thomas and Elizabeth (Dean) O'Kelley lived in King and Queen County as late as 1760. They met and were married in King and Queen County. They lived in Drysdale Parish in the northern portion of the county, which later became a part of Caroline County. Probably all six of their sons were born in King and Queen County, Virginia.

They were members of the Baptist denomination and, as a consequence of their religious beliefs, they were discriminated against. Some of their sons left home and moved southward before the Revolutionary War. By 1785, most had moved south, probably leaving their parents in Caroline County.

Thomas Kelley on the Caroline County tax rolls in 1782 and 1783 is Thomas O'Kelley, Sr. He may have been a founding member of the Carmel Baptist Church when it was known as Polecat Church. If I were to go on a search of cemeteries looking for the resting places of Thomas and Elizabeth (Dean) O'Kelley, I would first look in Caroline County in Baptist cemeteries, beginning with Carmel Baptist Church, particularly paying attention to building site changes. Failing that, I would look in Baptist Church cemeteries in Mecklenburg County, Virginia, and in Granville and Warren Counties, North Carolina. Or in Mecklenburg church cemeteries which have a lineage going back to James O'Kelley's Republican Methodist Church which, today, would be called the Christian Church.

I believe that James and Thomas, Sr., were brothers and that their father's name was William. Thomas, Sr., and James each named one of their sons William.

Thomas (O')Kelley, Thomas Collins and John Penn were on the tax rolls of Island Creek District, Granville County, North Carolina, in 1790.⁽⁴⁰⁾ In this reference, names were taken from county tax lists rather than official U.S. Census enumerations which, for Granville County, were lost. Tax lists were used in very slipshod ways and it is difficult to determine which year the tax list represents.

The total number of families living in Granville County at that time was 966 and the total families in Island Creek District was 107. Surely, Penn, O'Kelley and Collins knew each other and they had known each other in Caroline County. It is reasonable to assume that O'Kelley and Collins went to Granville County at the urging, at least the example, of Penn. If this be the case, then Thomas O'Kelley, Jr., could have moved from Caroline County, Virginia, to Granville County, North Carolina, as early as 1774, that is, one year before the beginning of the American Revolution. In any case, Thomas, Jr.'s military service was from North Carolina rather than Virginia as some have suggested.

NOTES

1. I have the task of literarily distinguishing between two Thomas O'Kelleys, the father and the son. To clarify the situation, I have chosen to describe them as Thomas O'Kelley, Sr. and Thomas O'Kelley, Jr. I have never seen them described in this way in any documentation.
2. Four O'Kelley Sons and Some of Their Descendants, Alethea Jane Macon.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. • First Census of Virginia, 1790. The 1790 census of Virginia was destroyed by fire set by the British in the War of 1812. The referenced volume is a reconstruction that was made from state enumerations taken from 1782 to 1785. Only 39 counties are represented in this volume whereas 41 counties are missing. By population, Virginia was the largest state in 1790, but the referenced volume includes only about one-half the population. No O'Kelleys appear in the 1790 Virginia Census though there is a Thomas Kelley and a Thomas Kelly both listed in Princess Anne County.
 - Virginia Taxpayers, Augusta B. Fothergill. The counties listed in this reference are said to be complimentary to those listed in the substitute for the Virginia 1790 census. There are no taxpaying O'Kelley/O'Kellys listed but there are some Kelleys/Kellys.
 - Virginia Wills and Administrations. There is an estate inventory for Thomas Kelley, 1783 in Loudon County, Virginia, and a will on file in Accomack County, Virginia 1784. Study

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of these documents shows that the will of Thomas Kelley in Accomack is not Thomas O'Kelley, Sr., because Kelley's wife was named Tabither rather than Elizabeth. The estate inventory does not show the name of beneficiaries; however, it is doubtful that this is Thomas O'Kelley, Sr. since the estate had a value of over £24,000 (Virginia Currency). The wealth does not fit the subsequent circumstances of his sons.

6. Virginia Taxpayers, Augusta B. Fothergill.
7. A researcher in Utah (he had access to the extensive Mormon Library) reported that the parish register and parish vestry books for the three parishes, Stratton Major, St. Stephens and Drysdale, have been all been lost save one. The exception is the Stratton Major Parish vestry book. The only mention in this remaining book was for a Richard Kelley. (A parish register named the parish membership whereas a vestry book was the minutes book for the meetings of the vestry or governing body.)
8. Colonial Caroline - A History of Caroline County, Va., T. E. Campbell, The Dietz Press, Inc., Richmond, Va., 1954.
9. History of Caroline County, Virginia, Marshall Wingfield, Regional Publishing Company, Baltimore, 1975. Originally published Richmond, 1924.
10. Court Order Books - Caroline County., 1732-40, 1740-46, 1746-54, 3 volumes, compiled by John P. Dorman, Washington, 1965.
11. King and Queen County Records Concerning 18th Century People, vols. 4, 5, 7, 14, 33, compiled by Beverly Fleet.
12. Cavaliers and Pioneers, Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants, 1623-1800, Nell Marion Nugent, page 364. William O'Kelly was indentured to Thomas Broughton who transported William and others; namely, William O'Kelly, Mary Smith, Rich. Symons, one Irishman, and Edward Darby. This same William O'Kelly, after fulfilling his indenture, could have moved westward to Caroline County and been the forebear of Thomas O'Kelley, Sr.
13. Op. cit., Wingfield.
14. The Life of the Reverend James O'Kelly and the Early History of the Christian Church in the South, Wilbur E. MacClenny, Edward and Broughton Printing Company, Raleigh, 1910.
15. Op. cit., Macon.
16. Op. cit., Wingfield.
17. Op. cit., Campbell.
18. Ibid.
19. The following is the specific data:

Thomas Kelly - 2 males over 18, 0 slaves
William Kelly - 1 male over 18, 0 slaves
20. Op. cit., Campbell.
21. Ibid.
22. Op. cit., Wingfield.
23. Op. cit., Campbell.

24. Op. cit., Dorman.
25. Op. cit., Wingfield.
26. Op. cit., Campbell.
27. Ibid.
28. Op. cit., MacClenny.
29. Op. cit., Wingfield.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. Op. cit., Campbell.
34. Op. cit., Dorman.
35. Minutes of the Methodist Conferences Annually Held in America; From 1773 to 1813, Inclusive, Volume the First, Published by Daniel Hitt and Thomas Ware, for the Methodist Connexion in the United States, 1813, New York. James O'Kelley's assignments were as follows:

- May 19, 1778 James O'Kelley is shown to be a preacher on trial, that is, still being qualified.
- May 18, 1779 he was an assistant stationed in New-Hope. (New-Hope was located in northern North Carolina.)
- 1780, James O'Kelley was assigned to Tar-River in Granville County, North Carolina. At the same time, Thomas O'Kelley, Jr., was living there.
- 1782, he was assigned to Mecklenburg County, Virginia.
- May 6, 1783 James was an assistant and assigned to Brunswick County, also in Virginia.
- 1784, he was an assistant assigned to Sussex County, Virginia. A provision was made for his wife at the 1784 conference: this seems to be a "make up" for a previous oversight.
- 1785, James O'Kelley was an Elder having responsibility for Amelia, Bedford and Orange Counties, all in Virginia.
- 1786, as an Elder, his responsibilities included Guilford (N.C.), Halifax (N.C.) and Mecklenburg (Va.).
- 1787, Elder James O'Kelley was responsible for Bladen, New-River, Tar-River, Roan-Oak, Mecklenburg, Brunswick, Sussex and Amelia.
- 1788, O'Kelley was Elder supervising Anson, Bertie, Camden, Portsmouth, Sussex, Brunswick, Amelia, Mecklenburg, Buckingham, Bedford, Amherst, Orange, Hanover and Williamsburg.
- 1789 was the first year that James O'Kelley

was shown as Presiding Elder. He was responsible for Halifax, Mecklenburg, Bedford, Cumberland, Amelia, Brunswick, Sussex, Greenville, Bertie, Camden, Portsmouth, Williamsburg, Hanover and Orange.

- In 1790 James had Amelia, Brunswick, Greenville, Sussex, Bertie, Camden, Portsmouth and Surry.
- 1791, he supervised Surry, Sussex, Brunswick, Mecklenburg, Amelia, Cumberland, Bedford, Bottetourt, Greenbrier, Halifax, Franklin, Banks, and Mattamuskeet.
- 1792, Franklin, Cumberland, Mecklenburg, Amelia, Brunswick, Greenville, Sussex, Surry, Bertie, Portsmouth, Camden and Banks.
- In 1793, the minutes contain the following question: "What Preachers have withdrawn themselves from our order and connexion?" Ans. "James O. Kelly, John Allen, Rice Haggard and John Robertson." This is when he left the church and founded the Methodist Republican Church, later to become the Christian Church.

36. King and Queen County Records Concerning 18th Century People, vols. 4, 5, 7, 14, 33, compiled by Beverly Fleet. These volumes contain the following data:

- Reference in deed, Hill to Walker, 1702, to land previously owned by Samuel Dean.
- Will of Mrs. Sebell Carlton, 1769, cites land sold by Benjamin Deen.
- Revolutionary Services from King and Queen, Miss Reddy's List.
Dean, Ben
Dean, John
- Public Service Claim resulting from the Revolutionary War, dated King and Queen County, 11 Sept 1780. Rec'd from Ben Dean, 1 gal, 1 qt brandy. £31.5.0
Signed Rob' Hill.
- June 1, 1782, Benjamin Dean has 50 acres of land that is listed as having a value of £6.5.0.
- 1782 Personal Property Tax List, King and Queen County
Benjamin Deans - 1 male over 21
3 slaves
Benjamin Deans - 2 males over 21
- 1783 Benja Dean signed a petition in King and Queen County.

History of Caroline County, Virginia, Marshall Wingfield, Regional Publishing Company, Baltimore, 1975. Originally published Richmond, 1924. This volume has the following reference to Thomas Dean:

o Thomas Daizey Dean signed a document of the Masonic Lodge in Caroline County, February 2, 1777.

37. A summary of Dean Revolutionary military records is as follows:

- Benjamin Dean, private, 8th Virginia Regiment was in Captain William Darke's company and is recorded on a company pay roll for the period from May 25, 1776 until April 30, 1777. He was in service for four months, seven days. (Interestingly, Miss Macon reported that two O'Kelley sons served in the 8th Virginia.)
- Benjamin Dean, private, was in the 7th Virginia Regiment beginning in December 1777. Later the 7th was combined with the 3rd and became the 3rd and 7th Regiment. He was sick at Valley Forge: his records datelined, White Plains, [New York]; he died August 14, 1778. As an indicator as to the accuracy of Revolutionary records, it is shown that this Ben Dean deserted January 20, 1777.
- Benjamin Dane, private, (variously spelled Dane, Deane, Dean, Deine, Daine, Dani - all in the records attributed to one individual), earliest date in the record is in 1777 whereas the latest was December 1779. Dane was in the 13th Virginia until 1779 when he became a member of the 9th Virginia. Indications are that he enlisted for three years. Among other places, his regiment was stationed at Ft. Pitt (Pittsburgh).

38. Op. cit., Macon.

39. See appendix. Also, Buncombe County, N.C. census records.

40. Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States in the Year 1790 North Carolina, The Reprint Company, Publishers, 1981.