
THE SEARCH FOR HANS KÄGI'S SPOUSE

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PRECIS

Hans Kägi was a Swiss-Mennonite settler in Conestoga Township, part of what is now Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and a member of the 1717 “Second Migration.” He was the first Kagy in America and, therefore, his family’s founding figure. In his book, *A History of The Kägy Relationship in America from 1715 to 1900*), author Franklin Keagy states with confidence that shortly after Hans’ arrival he married Rebecca Patterson, daughter of Indian Trader James Patterson, a Scots-Irish immigrant and patriarch of a colorful and important family in early Pennsylvania history. That marriage has been accepted and recorded in countless family trees during the hundred-plus years since.

While the authors acknowledge Keagy’s *History* to be an invaluable family research tool, they doubt that this marriage happened. They explore the possible reasons for Keagy’s assertion, present arguments for and against it, evaluate them, and ultimately conclude that a Hans Kägi marriage to Rebecca, daughter of James Patterson, is more than unlikely; it is virtually impossible.

As a plausible alternative to Rebecca, the authors propose Anna (Nancy) Kendig as Hans’ wife, a match they believe is supported by historical record and strong circumstantial evidence.

In the process, the study illustrates various approaches to genealogical research, critical analysis of unsubstantiated information, and the importance of attaching conclusions to objective, verifiable evidence wherever possible.

It also addresses the tendency by many to accept unsubstantiated information when it is convenient and appealing, as when the information adds excitement or historical stature to a family history, a phenomenon the authors call “The Mayflower Effect.” They believe such predisposition is in play here – feeding the Rebecca Myth – and cite several examples of its influence in other published works.

The study also includes a bibliography, transcriptions of selected original documents, and research summaries and material in informative appendices, which will assist further inquiry on related topics.

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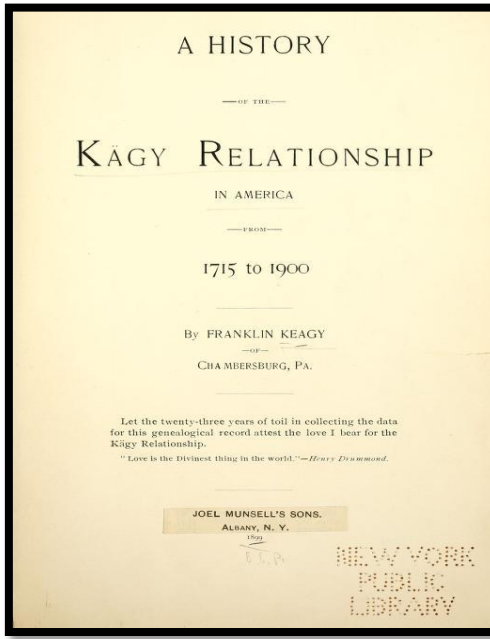
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THE SEARCH FOR HANS KÄGI'S SPOUSE

I. Introduction

Franklin Keagy's book, *A History of the Kägy Relationship in America from 1715 to 1900*¹, is generally – and rightfully – regarded as the most comprehensive published compilation of that family's genealogy from its American arrival through the end of the 19th century. Kägy family historical writings that reach into that time almost always include information taken directly from

History or use a source that was drawn from it in some way.



Keagy's book includes the descendants of five distinct migrations from Switzerland beginning with Hans Kägi in 1715 (now known to be 1717). Although researched before the Internet age and digital transfer of original documents (it was published in 1899), the text has stood the test of time. Of course, name and date corrections have appeared on message boards and published trees, earlier Swiss and Palatine ancestry has been discovered, and details about the migrations have been clarified. Nevertheless, the text remains as the frame of reference for early Kägy family studies – a “jumping off point” for further research.

But for all its general acceptance and proven utility, its unequivocal identification of Rebecca Patterson as Hans' spouse² and the Kägy “First Lady” – a critical piece of family lore – has recently come under suspicion by some researchers. In fact, a convincing case is made here that Keagy's assertion was mistaken, despite more than a century of acceptance and incorporation into countless family trees and histories.

This study targets only the identity of Hans' wife. It presents a case for Rebecca, against Rebecca, and then arrives at a supportable conclusion that Anna (Nancy) Kendig is the most plausible and likely alternative candidate for this role.

In the process, the present authors also identify the likely source of Franklin Keagy's error.

In no way is this study a restatement of the family's early years or a summary history of Lancaster County's Swiss-Mennonite settlement. Where general historical information is presented, it is done so only to establish context for analysis of the specific question at hand – the search for Hans Kägi's spouse.

¹ Keagy (1899)

² Ibid. p. 35

II. Methodology

To be sure, compiling Keagy's *History* was a mammoth task, particularly in the late 1800s. Its 675 pages, consisting mostly of names, dates, and family relationships, were the direct result of a series of Kagy family reunions, beginning in November, 1884, convened to "make inquisition into the biographical history of the Kagy family³." The Kagy Biographical Society was formally organized in that year, and Franklin Keagy was later appointed as its editor and compiler. Over

Franklin Keagy's *History* is primarily the collation of material submitted by members of the Kagy Biographical Society about family members and relationships and is a significant achievement and valuable genealogical tool for Kagy researchers. It is, however, lacking in citation and reference.

the next 15 years, he gathered information from the society's members, organized it, and reported his progress at subsequent reunions, held each year at different locations.

But Keagy was not a professional genealogist or historian; he was a carpenter, home builder, and architect.⁴ The book's introductory material, which summarizes Anabaptist persecution in

Europe, the initial Mennonite migrations, and the early Conestoga settlement, includes virtually no citation. In fact, the only formally cited footnote reference is to Rupp's *History of Lancaster County*⁵, which places Hans with the second major group of Swiss-Mennonite arrivals. An occasional book title is referenced in the narrative, but there is no bibliography, footnote credits, or endnotes for historical context or documentation. For this reason, it is very difficult for a reader to reconstruct the reasoning that led Keagy to the Rebecca Patterson marriage or evaluate his conclusions.

To avoid similar errors, this study employs the following guidelines.

1. Keagy's *History* is not relied on as an authoritative or unerring source. Citations to it are made mainly where it is contradicted by other sources deemed to be reliable. This is not to denigrate Keagy's work as an important genealogical tool. Frankly, the present authors are in awe of his achievement. The study challenges only a few relationships confined to the earliest generation.
2. Emphasis is given to primary legal records (deeds, surveys, warrants, wills, etc.) and, where practical, they were examined in their original text or in transcriptions. Where such examination was not practical, emphasis was given to authored secondary works with original citation.
3. In the absence of objective primary evidence, this study relies on other published works deemed to be reliable. Appropriate citation and comments are made.
4. Where historical accounts are generally accepted and have been repeated in historical research without challenge, citations are not offered. General information about the early Swiss-Mennonite migrations is an example of such acceptance.

³ Keagy (1899) p. 631-649

⁴ The (Chambersburg) Public Opinion (1910)

⁵ Rupp (1844) p.117

5. The authors applied “cluster genealogy” techniques, described further in Appendix I. Briefly stated, this approach advocates information search beyond the target subject that includes relatives, neighbors or associates. This study is an example of its usefulness and wisdom. Indeed, the most promising clues to solving the mystery at hand came not from Hans Kägi records, but from land records, wills, and histories of his contemporaries in the Conestoga area.
6. Where generic usage of the family name is called for, “Kagy” is used, an acknowledgement of Franklin Keagy’s book title. In fact, there are many spelling variations of the surname, which are discussed in Appendix XI. When there is a specific reference to the surname in a document, the spelling is used as it appears in the referenced document. When Hans Kägi’s full name is mentioned the original Swiss form is used, including umlaut.

Figure 1: Research Guidelines

1. Keagy’s *History* is not used as an authoritative or unerring source.
2. Emphasis is given to primary legal records (i.e. land records and wills).
3. Emphasis is also given to published secondary works from reliable sources.
4. Citations are not provided for generally accepted history of Lancaster County’s Swiss-Mennonite Settlement.
5. Techniques of “cluster genealogy” are applied (See Appendix I).
6. “Kagy” is used where the generic family name is called for, and “Kägi” when Hans himself is specifically named.. (See Appendix XI).

III. Hans' Migration, Initial Settlement, and Life in the Swiss Colony

The facts of the Swiss Mennonite first and second migrations are generally accepted. Briefly stated, a small group of persecuted Anabaptists – 10 families – arrived at the Port of Philadelphia in 1709 via Germany, Holland, and England. After a short stay in Germantown they settled along the Pequea Creek in and around what is now Strasburg, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Their land was purchased from William Penn, who had received it in settlement of a loan his father had made to Charles II during the Second English Civil War. Penn wanted to create a haven in the New World for those seeking freedom from persecution – what he called “The Holy Experiment” – and an Anabaptist (Mennonite) migration seemed a good fit.

After the group became established, Martin Kendig (an original settler) returned to Europe to recruit additional brethren to join in what was becoming known as the “Swiss Colony.” This group – The Second Migration – arrived in Philadelphia aboard three ships in 1717. Included in their human cargo were members of 80 Swiss-Mennonite families – some 363 souls seeking religious freedom and a better life in a new land as Penn (and Kendig) had promised.

Hans Kägi, probably in his early twenties, was one of the single men in the group.⁶

By all accounts, many of the pilgrims were well acquainted, bound not only by common faith and life-circumstance, but in some cases by geography.

Names among this group – Groff, Brenneman, Kreider, Stauffer, Kurtz, Landis, Eby, Bachman, Boehm, Stoner, Hershey – are all linked to only a few Cantons (confederated states or counties) of Switzerland. (See Appendix III.) Credible genealogical research subsequent to Keagy's *History* places Hans' roots in the same area (Canton Zurich) as many Second Migration immigrants.⁷



Figure 2: Location of Palatine

Further, these Mennonites or their parents had most likely fled persecution in these Cantons for exile and refuge in the Palatine region of Germany (now in that country's modern state of Rheinland-Pfalz in the southwestern corner along its French border). Some families had spent a generation or more there. The group sailed from Rotterdam, known to be a temporary haven for Mennonites in transit to America. Despite their Swiss-German roots, but perhaps because they spoke “Deutsch,” these settlers were referred to as “Dutch Inhabitants” in early Pennsylvania tax rolls.⁸ This accounting was probably the genesis for the term “Pennsylvania Dutch.”

⁶ Davis (1994) p. 14

⁷ Davis (2017) Kägi/Kagey

⁸ Cope (1881) p. 171

Shortly after his arrival, Hans purchased 100 acres along the Conestoga River close to its intersection with the Susquehanna River near several Second Migration families as his neighbors, families who were to become an integral part of his life mosaic including the names Kendig, Shenk, Meyer, Hershey, Brenneman, Boehm, Stehman, and Sneider.⁹ Hans' land was in Conestoga Township, a geographic reference that once included almost all of modern Lancaster County, which was created in 1729 from Chester County. The County has since been sub-divided into 41 townships, the early Swiss Colony being located mostly in only four, the townships of Conestoga, Pequea, Manor, and Martic. Even after the divisions, Hans' land remained in Conestoga Township. When location

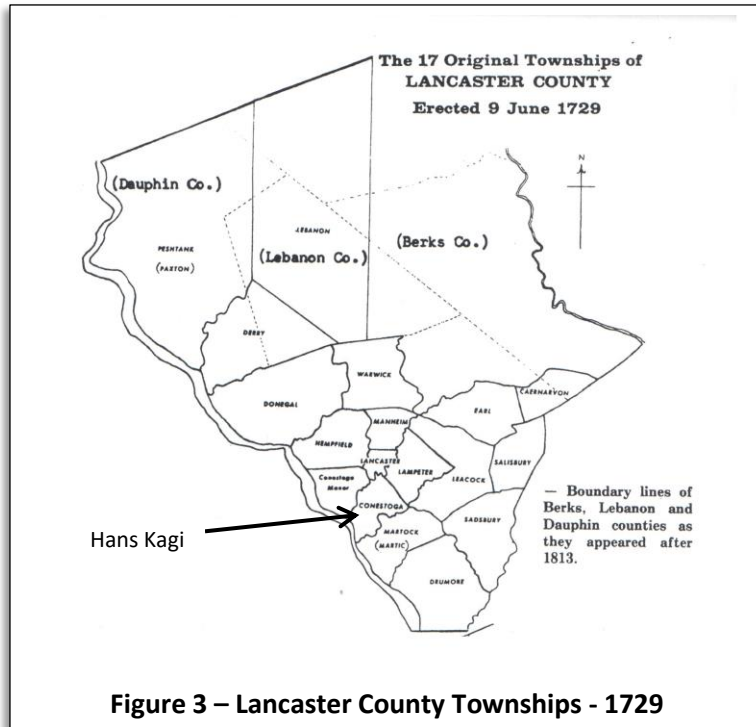


Figure 3 – Lancaster County Townships - 1729

references are made here, they will be to the current township names to avoid confusion. At 100 acres, Hans' original property was one of the smaller farms in the settlement.

Based on the birthdates of his children, he married around 1718 or 1719 (to whom is the subject of this research project) and raised a family of four sons (Jacob, Abraham, Rudolph, Henry) and three daughters (Susanna, Barbara, Anna) who lived to adulthood. (See Appendix II for additional detail.)

There is no proof that Hans was ever a formally titled church leader or elder, but it is assumed that he remained true to the Mennonite faith throughout his life and was a part of its tight-knit community. His children married into families of early church leaders. In fact, his son Abraham married a Brenneman granddaughter, part of a family instrumental in establishing the first church building in the area,¹⁰ still operating as the New Danville Mennonite Church.¹¹ And Abraham was an official in that church – an “overseer of the poor.” Hans' first born son Jacob carried the faith westward across the Susquehanna to what is now Hanover, Pennsylvania in York County and was a founder of Bairs Meeting House there, also continuing today as a place of Mennonite worship.¹²

⁹ Eshelman (1917) p.202

¹⁰ Gerberich (1938) p.5

¹¹ Harnish (1992) p.9.

¹² Prowell (1907) p.982

Hans' son Henry reinforced the Mennonite faith in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia as a part of another migration organized for that purpose.¹³

And Hans developed a life-long relationship with Jacob Boehm – an early church leader – who was to be an executor of Hans' estate along with Jacob Meyer, another Second Migration Mennonite.¹⁴

Hans prospered to the point that he was able to purchase additional land, first as an expansion to his Conestoga farm (an additional 100 acres) and another 200-acre adjacent tract in the Conestoga. Toward the end of his life, he purchased 600 acres across the Susquehanna River adjacent to Yorktown, near what is now the town center of York, Pennsylvania along its Codorus Creek as a part of William Penn's effort to move the European population West.¹⁵

When he died in 1748 he willed his land to his four sons (as was the custom of the time) and gave Abraham the responsibility of caring for his widow. Abraham received 200 acres, which was the Conestoga farm/homestead. Henry received 200 adjacent acres also in Conestoga Township. Jacob and Rudolph were made co-owners of the 600 acre York tract. The daughters received £100 each. While the will was detailed in specifying the manner by which Abraham was to care for his mother, it did not name her, adding considerably (and, in the present authors' view, unnecessarily and regrettably) to the mystery surrounding her identity. (See Appendix IV for a transcription of Hans' will).

The following, useful to this study, is now established:

1. Hans, although not wealthy, was a man of some means, a "landholder" in the lexicon of the day that defined local social strata. He was able to purchase a farm sufficient to sustain a small family immediately upon his American arrival.
2. He was hardworking and successful, able to engage in the economy of the region and advance his station in life.
3. He remained a member of a cohesive community, bound together by a geopolitical history, ethnic identity, German language, and unique faith.
4. He had a history with the group that pre-dated their immigration. At a minimum, he spent time with the colonists during the Atlantic voyage and in Rotterdam as they arranged passage. It is possible or even likely that he bonded with some of them during his years in the Palatinate. And there could have been an earlier Swiss connection, because of their common roots. (See Appendix III).

¹³ Wayland, J.W. (1907) p. 80

¹⁴ Will of John Kegay (Hans Kägi) Dated 8 May 1748 (See Appendix IV)

¹⁵ Hively (2017) p. 8

The map shows the following land parcels and owners:

- Parcel 10: Herr
- Parcel 11: am Herr 424
- Parcel 13: Michael Shank
- Parcel 15: John Shank, Christ Martin 243
- Parcel 16: Thos + Reese Price 1088 acres
- Parcel 22: Overholz
- Parcel 23: Kilhaver
- Parcel 24: Rody Herr 150
- Parcel 25: John Shank, Christ Martin 243
- Parcel 26: Alex + Saml Rishay 400
- Parcel 27: new Millersville 27
- Parcel 28: Joshua Lowe 266
- Parcel 29: Dan McConnel 29
- Parcel 30: 30
- Parcel 31: Adam Herr 31
- Parcel 32: Christian Herr 245
- Parcel 33: Postlethwaite 33
- Parcel 34: John Postlethwaite 34
- Parcel 35: James Hendricks 35
- Parcel 36: Thos Baldewill 36
- Parcel 37: Thos Gale 37
- Parcel 38: Geo Grey 38
- Parcel 39: John Lind 39
- Parcel 40: Rich Carter then Robt Wilkins later Jacob Miller 40
- Parcel 41: R. Carter 41
- Parcel 42: Hans Kaegy 42
- Parcel 43: Hans Kaegy 43
- Parcel 46: Benedict Eschleman 46
- Parcel 47: Benedict Eschleman 47
- Parcel 52: Cass River Center 52
- Parcel 53: Benedict Eschleman 53
- Parcel 54: Francis later Joe Stone 54
- Parcel 55: 55
- Parcel 60: Thos Gale 60
- Parcel 61: Hans Moyer 61
- Parcel 62: John Ferree 62
- Parcel 63: Richard Geist 63
- Parcel 64: Benedict Venrich 64
- Parcel 66: Samuel Guldin 66
- Parcel 68: David Priest 68
- Parcel 69: Jas Dawson later Jacob Aschman 69
- Parcel 70: 70
- Parcel 71: Callum McGuire 71
- Parcel 72: John Yager 72
- Parcel 73: West Willow 73
- Parcel 74: John Dehoff 74
- Parcel 75: John McDonald 75
- Parcel 76: Robert Ellis 76
- Parcel 77: Ulrich Hooper 77
- Parcel 78: 78
- Parcel 79: 79
- Parcel 80: 80
- Parcel 81: Callum McGuire 81
- Parcel 82: Robert Ellis 82
- Parcel 83: 83
- Parcel 84: Hans Boyer 84
- Parcel 85: Thos Lind 85
- Parcel 86: John Winder 86
- Parcel 87: 87

SURVEY OF CONESTOGA TOWNSHIP

IV. The Patterson Family

Following is a brief accounting of the James Patterson family.¹⁶ To rely on it as anything more than a cursory telling would be to minimize available information and diminish its prominent and fascinating role in early Pennsylvania history. Consistent with this study's stated parameters, the information is presented only to establish a frame of reference in the context of the stated research goals.

James Patterson, Indian Trader – James Patterson, a first generation Scots-Irish immigrant took up residence in the Conestoga Manor at about the same time as the Swiss settlement. He was a licensed Indian Trader, operated a commercial establishment and tavern, and owned a large plantation, a prominent feature in the area. He arrived in the Conestoga, via Maryland, around the same time as Hans Kägi. His placement in the Conestoga around 1717 is established by land records and tax rolls.

With its assertion of a Hans Kägi marriage to Rebecca Patterson, Franklin Keagy's *History* connects Kagy descendants to one of the most interesting families in early Pennsylvania history.

He married Susanna Howard, daughter of Gordon Howard, who was also an area Indian Trader. James and Susannah Patterson reared five children: James, Jr., Thomas, Sarah, Susanna, and Rebecca (who is a major focus of this study).

- *James (Jr.)* went on to operate a store and trading post in Donegal Township (to the north of the Conestoga settlement) and was commissioned a Captain in the Pennsylvania Militia, serving with distinction in the French and Indian War. He later pioneered the Juniata Valley of Pennsylvania and became a prominent landowner and merchant there. Patterson's Fort was considered a stronghold of the western frontier. The younger James' son William also had a distinguished army career with the Pennsylvania militia and the Continental Army. (There is speculation in Patterson family histories that James Jr. was from an earlier marriage.)
- *Sarah Patterson* married Benjamin Chambers, who partnered with James Patterson (Jr.) in several life adventures. Sarah's husband was also an officer in the Pennsylvania Militia, fought in the French and Indian Wars, and pioneered Western Pennsylvania.
- *Susanna Patterson* (the younger) married James Lowry, another Indian Trader, who had great influence with the Indians in Ohio. He was a prominent early settler there.
- *Rebecca Patterson's* life will be discussed later.
- *Thomas Patterson* (b. c1732) – died at age 15.

Susanna (Howard) Patterson and Thomas Ewing – Within a year after Trader James died (in 1735), Widow Susannah married Thomas Ewing. Her second husband had been a Captain in the British Army and was a member of the Pennsylvania General Assembly for two terms. The couple had four sons, two surviving to adulthood, James and John. The family resided on the

¹⁶ Based on Fife (2017) and Bell (1925)

Conestoga Manor Plantation, which Susannah was entitled to do as provided in Trader James' will. (See Appendix V.)

- *James Ewing* fought in the French and Indian War with the British Army and in July 1776 was named a Brigadier General in the Continental Army, leading troops in key battles of the Revolution; was a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly for four years; was Vice President of Pennsylvania's Supreme Executive Council for two years; and was a state senator from York County for four years.
- *John Ewing* was a captain in the Continental Army and is believed to have lost his life during the Revolution around 1777.

Thomas Ewing died in 1742 and Susannah was a widow for the second time.

Susanna (Howard Patterson Ewing) and John Connolly -- Within six months of Ewing's death, in 1742, Widow Susannah (Howard Patterson Ewing) married Dr. John Connolly, a former officer of the British Army. Connolly lived in Lancaster City, and Susanna sold her interest in the Conestoga Manor Plantation (where she had lived with James Patterson and Thomas Ewing) and moved to Connolly's Lancaster city home. Susannah and John Connolly had one son, John, born in 1743.

- *John Connolly* (only son of Susanna and John Connolly) was a Tory and served in the British Army during the Revolution, rising to the rank of Lt. Colonel. He was captured twice and had been exiled to England at war's end. After receiving permission from George Washington to return to America, he rejoined his family in Philadelphia, but ended his career serving in the British Army in Canada.

Susanna Howard Patterson Ewing Connolly

"...this thrice-wed, nine-times mother and once step-mother, SUPERWOMAN. She married well and knew how to manage a business."

- Ewing Family Historian Margaret Fife

Almost every name in this fascinating family is connected to some important event in early Pennsylvania history, with three-time spouse Susannah Patterson as a constant throughout the saga.

This summary establishes that:

1. Trader James Patterson and his family lived in the Conestoga settlement area at the same time as Hans Kägi. The Pattersons maintained a strong economic presence there and were well known.
2. There was a daughter, Rebecca Patterson, in this family
3. The Patterson's had an exciting history and its members were important players in Pennsylvania and American history.
4. Inasmuch as there was a social hierarchy in the region, the Pattersons were at its upper end, members of the area's "English" establishment, the landowning merchant class.

V. The Case *For* a Rebecca Patterson Marriage to Hans Kägi

Franklin Keagy's assertion that Hans married Rebecca Patterson is neither ambiguous nor nuanced. In fact, he says:

It is confidently believed that ...in a year or two after his arrival, [Hans] married a daughter – Rebecca – of James Patterson.¹⁷

Keagy goes on to recount the exciting history of this branch of the Patterson family, making it clear that he believes Hans' progeny are linked by virtue of this marriage to one of the most interesting and significant colonial families in the area.

Franklin Keagy's assertion that Hans Kägi married Rebecca Patterson was not supported by evidence or citation. Nevertheless, this marriage is widely accepted as true.

But Keagy does not provide objective verifiable evidence to support his assertion. The information could have come through a correspondent in the Kagi Biographical Society. Or it could have been a generally understood (although perhaps disputed) part of family lore. Or it could have come from an objective, verifiable source that he does not cite (perhaps because

he believed it was common knowledge among his audience of relatives). But whatever his evidence, it is not provided.

Absent any satisfactory reference or citation there is a need for contemporaneous correspondence, diaries, and/or research notes to recreate the thought process that led to his conclusion – all unlikely to be found after so many years. The path forward is to examine the evidence – written and circumstantial – that could have led to his strongly expressed belief that Hans Kägi and Rebecca Patterson were married.

Following is an attempt to support Franklin Keagy's conclusion.

Motive – Although detailed passenger listings were not required at the Port of Philadelphia until 1727 (a decade after the Second Migration), it is a safe assumption that (1) families made the journey and (2) single men made the journey, but (3) single women did not travel alone. By extension, one could assume that, among these settlers, there was a surplus of eligible bachelors – more men seeking wives than there were available and suitable women.

Hans was not a wealthy man. His 100-acre farm was comparatively small. But he was without a family to assist in daily affairs and could not afford inmates (a Colonial term for hired help). The practicality and convention of 18th century farm life called for a marriage, even on a small plantation.

This need for a man to have a wife for sustainable farm life was, no doubt, paralleled by a woman's need for a husband in a time where a woman's place was in the home. For this reason (among others) the average marriage age was comparatively young. In fact, a demographic study

¹⁷ Keagy (1899) p. 35

conducted by Rodger C. Henderson shows that nearly 40% of pre-1741 Lancaster County women were married before age 19 and over 75% were married by age 24.¹⁸ Henderson's statistics can be used to describe several facets and trends of early Colonial family life, but in this context they could be used to support the intuitive notion that wives were in demand in the early eighteenth century.

Figure 5: 18th Century Lancaster County – Age at First Marriage						
	Before 1741		1741-1770		1771-1800	
Age	Men %	Women %	Men %	Women %	Men %	Women %
15	-	-	-	.8	-	-
16-19	4.5	39.5	1.6	37.4	2.4	27.2
20-24	45.4	36.1	44.3	42.2	40.6	46.7
25-29	29.9	21.9	34.4	15.3	34.8	16.8
30-34	11.7	2.5	13.1	4.0	13.7	6.6
35-39	6.5	-	4.5	.4	6.1	2.5
40-49	2.0	-	2.0	-	2.4	.3

Since there was, presumably, a competition for available Mennonite women among the Mennonite men, Hans's need for a wife might have led him – by necessity – to look outside the Swiss-Mennonite community into the world of the “English” – where Rebecca Patterson could be found.

Opportunity – The Conestoga settlement of 1717 was not insular. Conestoga assessment rolls of that time (based on surname analysis) show approximately 30 “English” landowners among the 130 listed. Those numbers included Hans Kägi and James Patterson.¹⁹ The Mennonite farms were not physically segregated from the English farms. This was not a de-facto Colonial version of a “gated” or “red-lined” community. There was undoubtedly some commerce among all residents – English and Swiss alike. And the Pattersons were traders and merchants by profession. Hans certainly came into contact with the family and had commerce with them. He would have known James and his children.

Naming Conventions – It was a custom of the time to honor a parent or grandparent by passing their given name to a child or grandchild. Hans' first surviving daughter was named Susanna, the same name as her presumed maternal grandmother, Susannah (Howard) Patterson (accepting, of course, Rebecca as Hans' wife and the child's mother).

Citation in the Written Record - Ellis and Evans' multi-volume set, *History of Lancaster County Pennsylvania with Biographical Sketches of Many of its Prominent Men* published in 1883, was the most comprehensive work of its kind to that date or since. This history identified Trader James' children and their marital status and describes their prominent historical role. And in the context of accounting for James's children, the book states that:

¹⁸ Henderson (1990) p. 357

¹⁹ Ellis & Evans (1883). p.20

*Rebecca [Patterson] married John Keagy, who purchased the interest of her mother and sisters in the old mansion farm.*²⁰

With the only “John Keagy” in the area at that time assumed to be 1717 pilgrim Hans Kägi, Ellis and Evans identify Rebecca Patterson, the daughter of Trader James, as Hans’ wife.

Property records, tax rolls, and wills support James Patterson’s land ownership, family tree, and occupation. In that regard, modern research supports at least part of the Ellis-Evans account. Their encyclopedic work has come to be recognized as authoritative and was used extensively by historians and family researchers who followed. Given the respected status of Ellis-Evans, it seems reasonable to accept the Kagi-Patterson marriage as have other historians and researchers. For example:

- I. S. Clare’s *A Brief History of Lancaster County*,²¹ published in 1892 (nine) years after Ellis and Evans work), also includes the assertion that Trader James Patterson’s third daughter Rebecca “...married John Keagy, who bought the interest of her mother and sisters in the old mansion farm...” The stark similarity to the Ellis and Evans’ description (bordering on plagiarism) makes it clear that it was Clare’s source. It also indicates that Clare, a highly published historian and school textbook author with thirty works to his credit, thought the Ellis-Evans work worthy.
- A.K. Hostetter, in a 1915 address to the Lancaster County Historical Society (published in its Journal under the title “English and Scotch-Irish Pioneers of the Old Conestoga and their Descendants”) wrote, “The third of Patterson’s daughters, Rebecca, married John Keagy, of the old mansion farm.” Even if Hostetter was using Ellis-Evans as his principal source, he adds credibility to a Hans Kägi-Rebecca Patterson union by following with, “Dr. John Keagy, the eminent educator and author, was a descendant.” Further, he states, “One of the leading practitioners of the Lancaster Bar, Mr. John A. Coyle, is also a direct descendant of this family.”²²
- In addition to Franklin Keagy’s work, several long, detailed, and ostensibly well researched family histories have accepted the marriage and included it in their genealogy. These include: Harness’s *Brenneman-Keagy Roots and Branches*; Espenshade’s *My American Ancestors and Their Descendants*; and Wayland Jr.’s *Wayland Family Genealogy*. (These histories will be discussed further in Section VIII.)

The Hans Kägi-Rebecca Patterson marriage is accepted by early Lancaster County histories, works that preceded Franklin Keagy’s. Most notable among these accounts is the highly respected Ellis-Evans history of Lancaster County.

²⁰ Ellis & Evans (1883) p. 16

²¹ Clare (1893) p.31

²² Hostetter (1915) p. 258

Acceptance in Family Trees: Many family trees have also accepted the Hans Kägi–Rebecca Patterson union and offer additional support for its correctness. In an attempt to quantify the degree of acceptance, refer to Appendix XIII. A filtered search was conducted in the popular subscription website Ancestry.com with several first and last name combinations for Hans Kägi: There was approximately 94% support for a Rebecca Patterson marriage.

Figure 6 Hans Kägi-Rebecca Patterson Marriage: Measure of Acceptance			
Spellings Tested	# Using Spelling Tested	# Identifying Rebecca Patterson as Spouse	Degree of Acceptance Rebecca/Total
Surname = Kagy	307	294	96%
Surname = Keagy	305	285	93%
Surname = Kagey	40	35	88%
Totals	652	614	94%
<i>Note: See Appendix XIII for complete test results, search criteria, and analysis. Population selection came from Ancestry.com.</i>			

When arguing in support of Franklin Keagy, one could say that written commentary from historical and genealogical studies lead to a conclusion that Hans Kägi and Rebecca Patterson married. This conclusion is supported by some circumstantial evidence. And most amateur genealogists who use Ancestry.com seem to concur (or acquiesce).

In summary, a case is presented here that supports Franklin Keagy’s assertion that Hans Kägi and Rebecca Patterson married in this way:

- There was strong motive for early marriage for a Colonial farmer so wives were in demand. That demand could have been so strong that Hans married outside of the Mennonite community. Hans Kägi and James Patterson (Rebecca’s father) lived in neighboring townships, which was the same township in 1717.
- Rebecca’s mother’s name was Susanna. Hans’ oldest surviving daughter was named Susanna.
- A Hans Kägi to Rebecca Patterson marriage appears in several historical works.
- The genealogical community – as demonstrated by a popular on-line family tree site – has clearly accepted the marriage. And 600 amateur genealogists can’t be wrong.

VI. The Case *Against* a Rebecca Patterson Marriage to Hans Kägi

The essence of the case supporting the marriage in Section V is motive, opportunity, a singular daughter naming, and one sentence in a nineteenth century history text, which was copied by others. This reasoning and conclusion break down under scrutiny, however. Following are arguments against a Hans Kägi-Rebecca Patterson union. Each is compelling in its own right, but collectively they lead to a negative verdict for this marriage beyond a reasonable doubt.

Cultural Barriers - German immigrant families tended to organize themselves in cohesive groupings. They retained their original language, married within their ethnic community, went to German churches, and settled near other Germans.²³ The Lancaster County Mennonite community would have been no different, particularly in the years immediately following the first Conestoga settlement. Even the most cursory examination of early land maps and family trees prove this for the Pennsylvania-German community in the Conestoga area. Historian Aaron Fogleman calls this a “collective strategy” of “sticking together” facilitating adjustment and survival in a new country.²⁴ Of this tendency Fogleman says:

Cultural barriers in Lancaster County's Swiss colony would make a marriage between a German-speaking Mennonite and a English-speaking Scots-Irish Presbyterian unthinkable.

*My argument is that a collective strategy best suited the immigrants from the time they left their communal peasant villages in Europe until they consolidated new positions politically in colonial American society...(M)any immigrants found that by sticking together they could survive the journey and perhaps even flourish in their new world.*²⁵

Hans' land was connected, or in proximity to, land owned by Melchior Brenneman, Benedict Eshleman, Christian Herr, Michael Shank, Martin Kendig, and many others who were part of the first and second migrations.²⁶

Certainly, there were commercial interactions with the “English.” And English-speaking families owned land among the Swiss-Mennonites. And yes, the Patterson family lived contemporaneously in an area known as Conestoga Manor, where James Patterson owned land.

But a marriage between an 18th century German-speaking, Swiss-Mennonite farmer and a merchant-class English-speaking Presbyterian Scots-Irish lass, while great fodder for a romance novel, seems beyond reason for that time and place.

Religious Barriers – Courtship customs of early Anabaptists were strictly controlled by church elders and arranged marriages were the norm, even to the point that church elders would deliver

²³ Fogleman (1996) p.12

²⁴ Ibid. p.11

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Gerberich (1938) p. vii

marriage proposals to ensure that unions were “marriages in the Lord”²⁷ and that bride and groom were both church members. Marriages outside the faith would be unthinkable.²⁸

It is reasonable to assume that these norms carried from the Old World to the New, certainly

Mennonite religious norms and customs would have prevented marriage outside the faith, and by all accounts, Hans Kägi was a faithful and traditional Mennonite. He could not have married Rebecca Patterson and still have been accepted by the Mennonite Community.

through the first and second generations. In fact, many American-Mennonite sects carried this tradition into the 20th century.²⁹ Had Hans married outside the faith in 1718, he would have likely been expelled. And while the Kagy family was never prominent within the church (for instance, they produced no elders or bishops), evidence points to Hans’ remaining in good standing with the faith throughout his lifetime.

And Hans’ children were true to the faith and followed accepted conventions. Consider again (See Section III) the paths of four of his seven children as they are known.

- Jacob led a group of Mennonites into York County and established a Mennonite Church, Bairs Meeting House, in Hanover, PA.
- Abraham was an official in the New Danville Mennonite Church.
- Henry Kagey joined John Boehm, a son of Jacob Boehm who was a prominent church leader and brother of Martin Boehm, in leading a group of Lancaster Mennonites into the Shenandoah Valley in 1768.
- Barbara married John Stoneman/Stayman/Stehman, the son of a 2nd migration family that first settled in the Conestoga – neighbors of Hans. Joseph, the family patriarch was a Mennonite and active in the New Danville Mennonite Church. He named Hans as an executor of his will. Hans and Joseph were also “double” in-laws, each having two children who married into the other’s family.

What is known of Hans’ son Rudolph (AKA Richard) comes from land transactions and nothing has been discovered about two of Hans’ daughters (Anna, and Susannah), but it is apparent that Hans was a traditional Mennonite and it can be assumed that he accepted the customs and traditions of the faith.

Naming Conventions³⁰ -- Reference has been made to the custom of passing along ancestral given names and naming Hans’ eldest surviving daughter as “Susanna,” which could be seen as an honor to Susanna Patterson, who was Rebecca Patterson’s mother, and support for the Kagy-Patterson marriage. But there is no “Rebecca” among Hans’ other surviving daughters or any of

²⁷ Umble (1989)

²⁸ Neff (1989)

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Kerchner C. (2017)

his granddaughters. (See Appendix II.) That would be unusual if Rebecca were the mother or grandmother of them all.

There were at least two common child-naming patterns used by many (but not all) Pennsylvania German couples during Colonial times. Essentially, they differed by whether the husband's side and wife's side strictly alternated in the naming of children, OR whether the husband's side was honored in naming BOTH the first boy AND first girl and THEN the wife's side in naming the second boy and second girl.

In each pattern the first boy was named after the husband's father, and the second boy after the wife's father. But the two patterns differed in the naming of the first girl. In the first pattern she was named after the wife's mother. In the second pattern she was named after the husband's mother.

After that the naming of the second daughter would simply alternate or reverse the pattern followed in naming the first daughter.

The third son was often named after the husband and the third daughter after the wife. But sometimes each parent's eldest sibling of the same sex was honored before the couple themselves.

After that, subsequent children were typically named after great-grandparents.

The information in the preceding narrative is summarized in the following tables.

Figure 7 – Two Typical Mennonite Naming Patterns in Colonial Times - Sons			
Pattern 1		Pattern 2	
Birth Order	Named After...	Birth Order	Named After...
First son	Husband's father	First son	Husband's father
Second son	Wife's father	Second son	Wife's father
Third son	Husband	Third son	Husband or his eldest brother
Subsequent sons	Child's Great Grandfathers	Subsequent sons	Child's Great Grandfathers

Figure 8 – Two Typical Mennonite Naming Patterns in Colonial Times - Daughters			
Pattern 1		Pattern 2	
Birth Order	Named After	Birth Order	Named After
First daughter	Wife's mother	First daughter	Husband's mother
Second daughter	Husband's mother	Second daughter	Wife's mother
Third daughter	Wife	Third daughter	Wife or her eldest sister
Subsequent daughters	Child's Great Grandmothers	Subsequent daughters	Child's Great Grandmothers

Sometimes a parent's eldest sibling of the same gender was honored before the parent. When that variant was followed then the parent would be honored by the next child of that gender.

It is important to note that the information summarized in Figures 7 and 8 are patterns and not inviolate rules. But in genealogical research an understanding of these popular patterns can sometimes help to identify a husband's (or wife's) father's first name. Similarly, knowing the patterns can help by at least narrowing down the possibilities for their mother's first name.

But a frequently confounding fact is that researchers often know the names only of those children who survived. Thus, for instance, the name of the apparent eldest son may not be the same as his paternal grandfather's because the firstborn son originally given that name may have died.

Such customs also help explain the seemingly endless recirculation of the same given names within some families.

Anna and Barbara are the most common grand-daughters' names in Hans' tree (See Appendix II). Also note that Susanna and Nancy were diminutives (nicknames) for Anna in Colonial times. So Hans' naming a daughter "Susanna" should **not** necessarily be assumed as an honorific for Susanna Patterson (as is mentioned in Part V). It could be for some other "Anna" or "Susanna" in the Kagy family.

There is no "Rebecca" among Hans' daughters or granddaughters. This, combined with an understanding of Colonial Mennonite naming patterns is very strong evidence against a Hans Kägi-Rebecca Patterson marriage.

But again and most significantly: **there is no Rebecca** among Hans' daughters or granddaughters – unlikely if she had been Hans' wife. While this is a part of the mosaic that creates a strong circumstantial case debunking the "Rebecca Patterson Myth," the legal record is even stronger.

James Patterson's Will – Trader James Patterson, the alleged father-in-law, identifies his living children as: James, Thomas, Sarah, Susanna, and Rebecca in his 1735 will. He acknowledges that he was "Weake & Sick" at the time of its writing, so it can be assumed that the referenced circumstances are as they were at or about 1735. (See Appendix V for his will transcription.)

James Patterson's 1735 will creates a timeline for his daughter Rebecca, that makes her either unborn or an infant or toddler at the time Franklin Keagy says she married Hans.

He leaves eldest son James 300 acres in what became York County. Thomas got the Conestoga Manor plantation and homestead. Wife Susannah receives the residual estate and right to live on the

Patterson Manor until Thomas turns 21. But the clue relevant to this study is in how he provides for his daughters.

Thirdly I give and Bequeath to Each of my daughters Sarah Susanah & Rebecka one Hundred Pounds to be paid to Each and Every of them on the Day of their Marriage

*after they arrive at the Age of Sixteen Years or Else after they arrive at the age of Twenty one years.*³¹

From this writing we have evidence suggesting that as late as 1735: (1) Rebecca was less than 21 years old, and that (2) she was unmarried.

Hans had married around 1718 or 1719, which is before Rebecca would have been born. At best, she would have been an infant or toddler.

A related point, which reinforces the above interpretation, is Rebecca's birth order. In her father's will she is evidently one of the youngest Patterson children. But to have been of marriageable age by 1718 she would need to have been the oldest, probably born back in Northern Ireland to a previous wife of James Patterson.

The Manor Farm Sale – Details of Patterson's Conestoga Manor Farm disposition in 1747 provide additional evidence. In the intervening 12 years, Thomas, who received the Manor in James' will (upon reaching age 21) is now deceased. First daughter Sara has married Benjamin Chambers, but is also now deceased. James' widow Susanna is now married to her third husband, John Connelly.

Manor ownership has evolved into a joint affair among (1) Trader James' second daughter Susanna and her husband James Lowry, (2) third daughter Rebecca Patterson, and (3) the heirs of first daughter Sara's estate. In 1747 the joint owners embark on a complex transaction to dispose of their holdings.³²

Rebecca Patterson is identified as a "spinster" in a 1747 deed recording. In Colonial times, this was a legal term meaning has never married. Had she been previously married to a now deceased husband, she would have been referred to as "widow."

How does this chapter of the Patterson family saga fit into the question at hand? The relevant clue here is in the deed language identifying the parties in one of the contracts. Among the citation of parties that defines the sellers, reference is made to:

*...Rebecca Patterson (spinster) all of Lancaster County...*³³

Whereas in modern day usage the term "spinster" has multiple meanings – even a derogatory term – in the 18th century it was a legal term used to describe "a woman who has never married."³⁴ In 18th century records a woman's marital status was commonly specified: spinster, wife, widow. For instance, if her husband had died, she would have been defined as a widow in the deed.

³¹ Bell (1925) p. 22

³² Lancaster County Deeds (abstracts): B610; B612; B614; B616; B618; B620 in Mayhill R. (1988)

³³ Lancaster County Deed B610

³⁴ Harper (2010)

So in 1747 – some 30 years after she supposedly married Hans – she is legally described as having never married.

Susanna (Howard Patterson Ewing) Connolly’s Will – Rebecca’s mother Susanna (the widow Patterson) died in 1753. Susanna’s will provides additional evidence relevant to shattering the Rebecca Myth. (See Appendix VI) It tells us that Rebecca did eventually marry and had a son, George Polson, with no mention of any of the seven children she supposedly had with Hans Kägi.

Summary of evidence - It can be concluded from the evidence presented here that Hans Kägi and Rebecca Patterson **did not** marry for these reasons:

- Cultural barriers of language and tradition would have worked strongly against such a union.
- Religious barriers would have forbidden such a union for a faithful Mennonite, which Hans apparently was.
- Naming conventions would have dictated the appearance of the given name “Rebecca” at least by the second generation in Hans’ family tree.
- Rebecca was either not born or was at most an infant or toddler at the time Franklin Keagy claims she married Hans.
- She was among the youngest of the Patterson children, not the eldest which she would needed to have been to be of marriageable age by 1718.
- Rebecca was declared a spinster – i.e. never married – 30 years after she was to have married Hans.

Any one of these arguments leads to the conclusion that Rebecca Patterson – daughter of Trader James Patterson – **did not marry** Hans Kägi as stated in Franklin Keagy’s *History*. The Ellis-Evans reference, which was most likely the original basis for Keagy’s claim, was simply wrong.

In Conclusion – (But Not Yet) - This should be the conclusion of the evidentiary analysis, at least in the matter of de-bunking the Rebecca Patterson Myth. But there is another piece to examine.

The Patterson Manor farm sale – where Trader James’ heirs resolved their ownership issues and disposed of the property as Susanna moved to Lancaster with her third husband – was to buyer “John Caigy.”

This reference is potentially exciting for advocates of the purported marriage: a legal reference that potentially connects Hans Kägi (John Caigy?) to Rebecca Patterson – something to support the Rebecca Myth beyond the Ellis-Evans reference. However, the document has nothing to do with marriage; it is simply a land sale. But still, it must be addressed.

The simple answer is that the “John Caigy” referenced here is not **Hans Kägi** (which will be proved). The story suddenly gets more complicated.

It is at this point that it is necessary to introduce a new character to the mystery. It is time to learn of “Manor John” – the other John Kagy.

VII. The Migration of “Manor John”

The second Kagy migration to America came with the arrival of Johannes Kagie in 1739 – another “John” – on the ship Lydia. Passenger arrivals became easier to track after the Second Migration because Pennsylvania’s Governor, Sir William Keith, became concerned about the influx of Swiss-German aliens. Beginning in 1727 he required their registry and taking of a loyalty oath to the King upon arrival.³⁵

Because the new arrival’s first known property ownership was in Manor Township, a municipality which now borders Conestoga Township to its west, Franklin Keagy referred to the new arrival as “Manor John,” a convenience followed here. To further distinguish the men, the descriptor “Old Hans” will be used for the original Hans Kägi when the two names appear together.

The proximity of these two Kagys has the potential for creating serious and consequential confusion among family historians for several reasons.

Johannes Kagie (Manor John) arrived in Pennsylvania in 1739. He purchased the James Patterson plantation in 1747 from the Patterson heirs, which included Rebecca Patterson.

- For a period of about ten years 1739-1748, there were two Hans/Johannes/John Kagys in the area in and around Conestoga Township. Their names appeared on tax rolls and legal documents in many ways: Kaeige, Kagey, Kaigy, Keagy, etc. Recorders still used phonetic spelling and there is no consistent naming pattern in the legal record to differentiate them. (See Appendix XI for discussion of the Kagy family name).
- The naming of their children was similar. Old Hans’ children were: Jacob, Abraham, Henry, Rudolph, Anna, Susannah, and Barbara. Manor John’s children were: Anna, Jacob, Rudolph, John, and Isaac.³⁶
- Manor John purchased the Patterson plantation from several of Trader James’ heirs as joint owners, including James’ daughter Rebecca. And when Susanna Patterson died, the mortgage had yet to be paid in full, so Rebecca inherited Susanna’s share of the obligation. As a result, Rebecca’s name appears along with the name “John Keagy” in at least two legal settings: deeds involving the Patterson Manor Plantation and her mother’s will.

The land transaction involving Manor John and Rebecca Patterson could have been misinterpreted by Ellis-Evans as a marital relationship.

But these are the **only** proven connections between any “John Kagy” and Rebecca Patterson – and it’s not even the correct John/Hans Kagy; it is Manor John and not Old Hans.

³⁵ Eshelman (1917) p.22

³⁶ John Kaygy (Manor John) Will of 18 August 1763

But this opportunity for confusion could easily have been the original cause of the Ellis-Evans entry in their “*History of Lancaster County...*” in 1883, the quote that could well be the root of Franklin Keagy’s error, the genesis of this entire historical dilemma, that:

Rebecca married John Keagy, who purchased interest of her mother and sisters in the old mansion farm.

It is true that a “John Keagy” purchased the Patterson Plantation – “the old mansion farm” – but Rebecca did **not** marry that John Keagy – or any John Keagy. It could be that Ellis and Evans read more into the connection than warranted, enshrined their erroneous assumption for posterity, and that Franklin Keagy accepted it, compounding the error by attributing it to the wrong “John Keagy.”

Franklin Keagy could have compounded the Ellis-Evans error by connecting it to the wrong “John Keagy,” confusing “Manor John” with “Old Hans.”

But a word to the reader before proceeding: remember this second “John Keagy” - Manor John. He is a continuing character in this story and will reappear.

VIII. The Enduring Rebecca Patterson Myth

With such a strong case against the notion of a Kagy-Patterson union and an illogical case for support, why then would Franklin Keagy be so emphatic about its taking place? And why has the Rebecca “myth” achieved such deference and acceptance as a part of family lore by so many? And considering the usual accuracy and reliability of Keagy’s *History*, how could he have made such a critical error in evaluating available evidence?

The suggestion in Section VII is that Franklin Keagy relied on Ellis-Evans and that these historians got confused by the common names and connection in legal documents and simply got it wrong. Given the scope of their work and the data available, this is an easily understandable error, even if not so easily forgiven.

But why has the obvious error become so persistently accepted?

A quote often attributed to Napoleon is appropriate to consider here. He supposedly said, “What is history but a myth agreed upon?” And to appreciate how the Rebecca Myth came into such common acceptance, one must consider the time in which Franklin Keagy memorialized it.

The Mayflower Effect – Anyone doing family tree research identifies with the excitement of discovering a “significant” ancestor, one who was connected to an important event in history – the search for a “great-great” who was on the Mayflower, fought in the American Revolution, or was a participant in, or the cause of, some important historical event.

Part of early American genealogy was a search for prestigious ancestry. It was a part of defining one’s social status in a country without nobility and titles.³⁷ An historian of the subject, Francois Weil, uses the term “pedigree hunters” to describe many family tree researchers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.³⁸ Explaining the human tendency to be selective in their choice of ancestors when confronted with ambiguous or conflicting facts, he says:



*Far too many pedigrees, books, and articles were based on scant evidence, and countless Americans assumed glorious ancestors to emphasize social prestige.*³⁹

Introducing this notion here is not intended to denigrate or minimize Franklin Keagy’s character or work. His volume is obviously a labor of love created from a passion for recording and preserving Kagy family history. It has served, and will continue to serve, as the basis for countless family trees, and will continue to do so with remarkable accuracy. One can only imagine the logistical task of assembling, evaluating and organizing the information he received from letters, interviews, and visits to county record offices, and doing so in the late 1800’s.

³⁷ Weil (2013) p.46

³⁸ Ibid. p.190

³⁹ Ibid. (2013) p. 167

But one can also imagine the jubilation that would have greeted his announcement at a Kagy family reunion that he had connected the family to James and Susanna Patterson, the famous Indian trading family of earliest Pennsylvania history, a couple connected to heroes of the French and Indian Wars, the opening of Western Pennsylvania, and the American Revolution. His ease in accepting this connection would also have been a function of the difficulty in discovering the true identity of Hans' wife, which (as the present authors can attest) is problematic even with modern resources and digital aids.

This study's authors freely confess to including Rebecca Patterson in their family trees for years and more than once recounting her family's history and feeling pride in connection to it, even in the light of conflicting fact.

This is *The Mayflower Effect*.

When Franklin Keagy found reference to the Kagy-Patterson union in earlier Lancaster County histories, it is easy to understand his accepting it without much critical inquiry. But was he also reinforcing pre-existing family lore? Or was he perhaps taking sides in an ongoing family dispute? Or was he delivering previously unknown news that surprised his audience? Again, this cannot now be known. But it does not change the evidence of this inquiry.

Addressing the Conflict – Since Franklin Keagy's *History* (1899) there have been several significant genealogy research projects that addressed early Kagy family history. Each addressed the Kagi-Patterson conundrum in different ways.

***Edward Bowman Espenshade: My American Ancestors and their Descendants* (1949)⁴⁰** - This is a massive 662-page work that discusses several of Espenshade's ancestors and their Conestoga neighbors, including the families of Bowman, Kagy, Brenneman, Patterson, Wenger, Funk, Hauri, and Espenschied. Author Espenshade was born in Lancaster County, PA in 1873, became a college-educated civil engineer, worked in the railroad and steel industries, and lived for many

years in the Chicago area. Though neither a historian nor a professional genealogist, Espenshade – rather like Franklin Keagy before him – devoted years of his life to researching his forebears.

Since Franklin Keagy's *History*, family historians have recognized difficulties with the Rebecca Patterson myth, but most have found ways to accept it or ignore the inconsistencies.

Espenshade wrestles with some of the same puzzling or incomplete evidence regarding Hans and Rebecca that has been examined for this project. But at each turn he finds ways to dismiss, downplay, or finesse its implications. For instance, when considering James Patterson's will in which he refers to daughter Rebecca as under age in 1735, Espenshade concludes: "It would be futile to give any reason why this was so written."⁴¹

⁴⁰ Espenshade (1949)

⁴¹ Ibid. p. 182

He notices that Susannah Connolly's 1753 will gives to Rebecca half the interest John Caigy owes her, but interprets this to mean that Hans's estate is paying interest on land in Manor Township that Hans bought shortly before he died.⁴² He seems to confuse Old Hans with Manor John. And Espenshade says of both parents' wills: "These two wills...no doubt have and will continue to confuse the historian and genealogist..."⁴³

Of the failure by Patterson family biographers like Bell and Colwell to even mention the Kagy-Patterson marriage in their 1925 book *James Patterson of Conestoga Manor and His Descendants*, he says: "Were both these authors unaware or doubtful of the earlier marriage because of the impossibility of the time element? The latter book has given very few sources of record and some odd conclusions have been made from data used."⁴⁴ He overlooks the possibility that a Patterson-Kagy marriage was not mentioned in the Bell-Colwell book because it never actually occurred.

So, although Espenshade considers much of the actual evidence, he finds reasons to discount each piece on an ad hoc basis and so never discerns a larger pattern or tries to build a case. Thus, he ultimately accepts the Hans-Rebecca match, reinforcing the conventional wisdom received from Franklin Keagy.

John Walter Wayland, Jr.: *Wayland Family Genealogy* (1981)⁴⁵ - This is a 133-page manuscript from the rare book collection at the Virginia Historical Society. Its largest section is devoted to that author's Kagey line. Wayland Jr.'s father had been a distinguished college history professor known as the "Historian of the Shenandoah Valley." Wayland Jr.'s grandmother -- Wayland Sr.'s mother -- Anna (Kagey) Wayland, had been a great recorder of the Shenandoah Kageys during the second half of the 19th century and was a major regional informant for Franklin Keagy's 1899 *History*. Wayland Jr. appears to accept Franklin Keagy's version of the Kagy-Patterson marriage without reservation. There is no evidence of his further research into primary records or of any independent testing of the received wisdom.

Although Wayland Jr.'s body of historical writing does not have the same gravitas as his father's it is presented here to illustrate how Franklin Keagy's 1899 *History* seemingly discouraged or effectively shut down subsequent research and debate regarding Hans Kägi's spouse.

Lottie M. Bausman: "Kagey Family of Lancaster County, Pa.: abstracts from wills, deeds and miscellaneous notes" (not dated, but estimated to be mid-1930s). Lottie M. Bausman was librarian of the Lancaster County Historical Society around 1916 and wrote many papers on Lancaster County topics. A descendant of the Brenneman family of Conestoga, she researched the Brennemens and their neighbors and in-laws. Because Hans Kägi's son Abraham married a Brenneman, there is material in her notes pertaining to early Kagys -- some 20 pages of will

⁴² Espenshade (1949). p. 183

⁴³ Ibid. p.183

⁴⁴ Ibid. p.184

⁴⁵ Wayland, Jr. (1981)

abstracts, deeds and notes on family relationships, preserved in a genealogical folder at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Because there was no narrative text accompanying her notes and abstracts the present authors had to infer what Bausman concluded about Hans and his wife. Fortunately, that was fairly straightforward as summarized by a Kagey family tree she constructed on the final page in the folder, which showed Hans Kagey married to Rebecca Patterson.

It was clear that Bausman confronted many of the same 18th century deeds and wills the present authors have struggled with, similarly tried to disentangle Manor John's activities from Old Hans' after 1739, but she accepted the Kagey-Patterson marriage, seemingly without question. However, she never found or cited any actual evidence for (or against) Rebecca.

It seems that Bausman never published her findings about the Brennemens and their neighbors (perhaps because she became aware that Albert Gerberich would publish his monumental 1,217-page *Brenneman History* in 1938), but her acceptance of the Rebecca Myth – as demonstrated by her research – is noteworthy. It shows that even seasoned writers and researchers who directly struggled with sparse 18th century primary records acquiesced to Keagy's 1899 *History*.

Helen Ummel Harness: Brenneman-Keagy Roots and Branches (2001)⁴⁶ - Harness descended through the Shenandoah Valley Kageys. Her book includes prominent source listings – although only secondary sources regarding the issue at hand here..

She accepts the Hans Kägi-Rebecca Patterson story, acknowledging Franklin Keagy's *History* and Espenshade's *My American Ancestors* as her main – albeit secondary – sources. While she acknowledges that “Statements of various historians seem to conflict,” she declares:

*I agree with the conclusions of Edward Bowman Espenshade which I believe are the most accurate. He has researched James Patterson and his family quite extensively...*⁴⁷

She asserts that Rebecca was born circa 1703 and that Rebecca and her brother James, Jr. (b. circa 1712) were both children of James Patterson's first wife, Susanna Chambers, from Northern Ireland. She has Rebecca marrying Hans Kägi about 1717 and then after his death remarrying George Polson. There is no evidence of any further inquiry beyond citing Keagy (1899) and Espenshade (1949). In forcing 1703 as Rebecca's birthdate, Harness does not account for the birth order in James Patterson's will, where Rebecca can be concluded to be youngest and born in 1720 or later in order to be underage at the time of Patterson's death.

A different possible circumstance to fit the known facts would be some second Rebecca Patterson, which is pure speculation. No specific candidate for a second Rebecca Patterson, such as a sister of Trader James or a daughter from some different Patterson family, has ever been proposed or identified.

⁴⁶ Harness (2001)

⁴⁷ Ibid. p.193

The preceding summaries are representative of four research projects directly influenced by the Rebecca Myth – each with a different level of inquiry ranging from acceptance without question to critical analysis and problem recognition followed by ultimate acceptance.

Richard Warren Davis: A fifth researcher, R. W. Davis has spent decades studying many 18th century Mennonite immigrants to southeast Pennsylvania, tracing them when possible back to the

The index to genealogies on R. W. Davis's subscription website MennoSearch.com contains 700 surname entries. Some of these just represent alternate spellings, but by any measure his genealogical collection is an extremely valuable research tool.

German Palatinate and Switzerland. He published his growing corpus of family genealogies during the 1990s in three printed volumes each titled *Emigrants, Refugees, and Prisoners*⁴⁸ He keeps his work updated on the subscription website “MennoSearch.com” and has been a frequent contributor to journals that address early Mennonite history.

Unlike the four previous researchers just described, Davis believes that Rebecca Patterson and Hans Kägi **did not** marry.⁴⁹ Davis concludes (in a correspondence to author Kagay) that:

It is impossible that Rebecca Patterson, daughter of James Patterson and Susanna Patterson of Lancaster County, was the wife of Hans Kagey....This misinformation from the Kagey [Keagy] book has been taken as fact and is now included in most genealogies of that family. Apparently no one has taken the time to search the early records.

But, while rejecting the Rebecca Myth, Davis also does not nominate a spousal replacement.

He does, however, discuss the marital status of Manor John – the “other” (Hans) John Kagy – who has caused so much confusion to date. And so -- as promised – Johannes Kagie returns to the story.

⁴⁸ Davis (1999)

⁴⁹ Davis (2011)

IX. Introducing Anna (Meyer) Kagie

Richard Warren Davis identifies Manor John's wife as Anna Meyer and, as will be shown, there is strong evidence to support that claim. Davis is almost certainly correct.

But in the context of this search who cares about the identity of Manor John's wife? Why is it important? The stated mission is to identify Old Hans' wife, not Manor John's.

The significance is rooted in how Franklin Keagy addresses Manor John's marital status. Remember, Keagy's work addressed six Kagy migrations (with descendant listings for five), not only Old Hans'. He says:

*It is known that Johannes Kagie [a.k.a. Manor John] was not married before he came to this country. His wife's name was **Ann Kendig**, a daughter of Martin Kendig, the head of one of the seven first families of Mennonites who came into Lancaster Co., Pa. in 1708-9.⁵⁰*

So, Davis says Manor John married Anna Meyer and Franklin Keagy says Manor John married Ann Kendig, daughter of Martin Kendig, who was one of the original founders of Lancaster County's Swiss colony.

Franklin Keagy positively identifies Anna Kendig as Manor John's wife. Refuting this claim is an important part of the search for Hans Kägi's spouse.

Who is correct?

The first problem with Keagy's claim is that it connects Anna Kendig with Martin Kendig as a daughter. As one of Lancaster County's earliest pioneers and among the foremost Mennonites in the area, his family has been well studied and documented. And in well cited research, there is no mention of a daughter, let alone one who married a Kagy. But this is an ancillary concern and negative confirmation. The real issue is the true identity of Manor John's wife.

It is known that Manor John married an "Anna" because there are several recorded land transactions involving John Kagy "and his wife Anna."

And there is evidence in the legal record that Manor John had a close connection with the Meyer family.

- Manor John was an executor of Jacob Meyer's will. Jacob was Anna Meyer's father and Meyer family patriarch.
- Manor John was an executor of Adam Meyer's will. Adam was Jacob Meyer's son
- Manor John was involved in several land transactions with members of the Meyer family.
- Manor John's wife married James Jacks after his death. The children, over whom Jacks assumed guardianship, are Manor John's and Anna's (Meyer's) children.

⁵⁰ Keagy. (1899). p.430

- Most importantly, Jacob Meyer's will specifically names his daughter Anna as "wife of John Keagy."

Manor John's wife was Anna Meyer and **not** Anna Kendig as stated in Franklin Keagy's *History*.

But one item of housekeeping needs to be addressed before moving on: the troublesome passage in Ellis-Evans that has haunted the search since it was written some 130 years ago:

Rebecca married John Keagy, who purchased interest of her mother and sisters in the old mansion farm.

Yes, a John Keagy (Manor John) **did** purchase the Patterson's Manor farm, but could he possibly have married and divorced Rebecca Patterson and then remarried Anna Meyer, which would have made Ellis-Evans correct?

Not likely. Taboos against divorce aside, Manor John was married to Anna Meyer at the time Rebecca Patterson was identified as a spinster (i.e. never married) in 1747.

So Manor John married Anna Meyer and Franklin Keagy erred again in identifying the wife of another first generation Kagy.

But before moving on to the story's climax, it is important for the reader to review and accept the authors' conclusions from the evidence presented to date.

Figure 9: Summary of Conclusions and Critical Analysis to Date	
Franklin Keagy's Assertion	Authors' Conclusions
Hans Kägi (Old Hans) married Rebecca Patterson	Rebecca Patterson could not have married Hans Kägi
Johannes Kagie (Manor John) married Anna Kendig	Manor John did not marry Anna Kendig; he married Anna Meyer

X. Correcting the Record and Naming Hans' Kägi's Wife

The preceding analysis has led us to this point – solving the elusive riddle.

To this point, the study has focused on refuting Franklin Keagy's assertion that Hans Kägi married Rebecca Patterson, the youngest daughter of Trader James Patterson. The authors believe they have proved beyond a reasonable doubt that – despite the myth's widespread acceptance – Rebecca Patterson could **not** have been the Kagy family's American matriarch.

But who, then, was it?

The authors believe that a strong case can be made for Anna Kendig in this role – the same Anna Kendig that Franklin Keagy mistakenly attached to Manor John. And the unlikely path to this conclusion comes from the history of the American Methodist Church.

The Boehm Family – The Boehm story is significant to understanding the evolution of both the Methodist Church and the United Brethren Church in America. But it is first a Mennonite story.

Jacob Boehm (Beam) was a part of the Second Migration, arriving on one of the “Three Ships” in 1717 and settling in the Swiss Colony. He married Barbara Kendig and the couple reared a large family – 10 children reaching adulthood – on a 180-acre plantation in Conestoga Township, about a mile east of Hans' land, in what later became Pequea Township.⁵¹ Jacob was a blacksmith – the first in the region – and was also a church elder.⁵²



Boehm's Chapel

Jacob's close association with Hans Kägi can be proved by the circumstantial and written record. Not only were they part of the tightly-knit Mennonite community in the Conestoga and had endured a common, grueling pilgrimage at sea, their bond likely extended to Germany. The Boehms lived in the Palatinate⁵³ (although on opposite sides of the Rhine River) in the same time as the Kagys, and both families were members of the Mennonite communities there with a history of persecution. Jacob and Hans were both attracted to William Penn's new land based on the glowing reports Martin Kendig made upon his return to Palatinate around 1715.

Jacob was born in 1693 and Hans was born circa 1692, meaning that they both arrived in the New World as single men in their early 20s.

⁵¹ Davis R.W. (2017)

⁵² Boehm, H. (1866) p.11

⁵³ Ibid. p. 10

The lifelong friendship between these two men is also evidenced by Hans naming Jacob as an executor of his estate.⁵⁴

Family Ties – Further proof of the connection between these two families comes from the genealogical record.

- Jacob's son Martin (who appears later in this story's telling) married Eve Stoner and Hans' son Henry married Barbara Stoner, who was Eve's sister
- Henry Kagey and Barbara (Stoner) joined Jacob's son John Boehm in leading a group of Mennonites into the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia in 1768.
- A generation later, Hans' grandson Abraham married one of Jacob's granddaughters.

While such intermarriage was the norm in the Swiss Colony, it is further evidence of a family connection between the Boehms and the Kagys in particular.

Jacob Boehms' Wife – Reference has been made above to Barbara Kendig as Jacob's wife. This assertion is an important part of the quest for the identity of Hans' spouse.

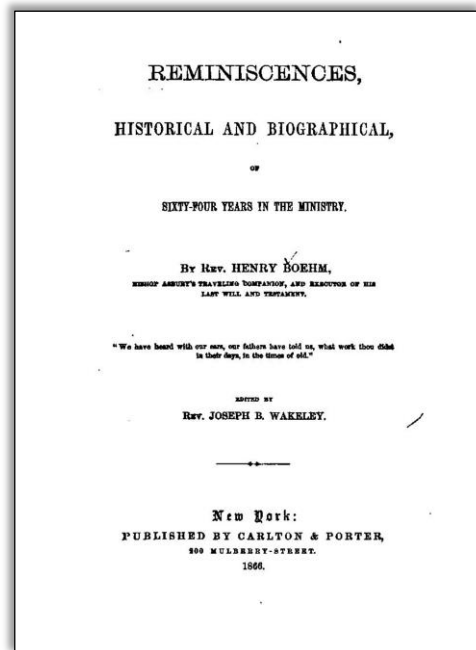
Evidence of Jacob's wife's name comes from his will, written in 1778, where she is identified as "Barbara." (See Appendix VII.) Her identity as a Kendig comes from the 1866 memoirs of Jacob's grandson Henry – *The Reminiscences of Henry Boehme*.⁵⁵ Henry writes of Jacob's arrival:

He landed in Philadelphia, from thence went to Germantown, then to Lancaster, and finally settled in Pequea, Conestoga Township. Soon afterward he married a Miss Kendig.

So, based on this chain of evidence, Jacob Boehm's wife, whom he married shortly after his arrival, was Barbara Kendig.

Martin Boehm – Jacob and Barbara's youngest son was Martin Boehme, who became a bishop in the United Brethren Church. Martin's youngest son was Henry, who became a prominent leader in the early Methodist Church and authored *Reminiscences*, previously cited as identifying his grandmother as Barbara Kendig. In that same writing, The Good Reverend also identifies Hans' Kägi's wife.

Henry includes in his *Reminiscences*, a transcription of an interview his father Martin gave to the



⁵⁴ See Appendix IV

⁵⁵ Boehme (1866) pp. 10-11.

Methodist Magazine. The text of that interview is also included in Nathan Bangs' *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church*⁵⁶. Franklin Keagy uses the Bangs translation from Boehm's German in his *History*. The interview purports to have a strong pedigree, having originally come from the personal papers of Bishop Asbury, founder of the American Methodist Church. Martin is speaking about his early years in the ministry. An alternate and more readable translation by Spayth is used here, where Boehm says:

*I was sincere and strict in the religious duties of prayer in my family, in the congregation, and in the closet. I lived and preached according to the light I had; I was a servant and not a son; nor did I know any one, at that time, who had felt and enjoyed the sweet influence of the love of God in the heart **but Nancy Keaggy, my mother's sister**; she was a woman of great piety and singular devotion to good.*⁵⁷



In Colonial times, Nancy was a diminutive (nickname) for “Anna,” so the pious woman who had such an impact on the Reverend Martin Boehm’s life was Anna Kendig “Keaggy,” sister of Barbara Kendig Boehm.

Connecting Anna Kendig to Hans Kägi requires deductive reasoning and the process of elimination following this path.

1. Both Jacob Boehm and Hans Kägi arrived in America single at the same time and at about the same age – in 1717 in their early twenties. They took land and needed wives.
2. The Kagy family and the Kendig family were likely acquainted from their Canton Zurich origins. The Kagys who moved to the Palatinate, according to Richard Warren Davis, had lived in Bäretswil and Unterhittnau. There were also Kendigs in Bäretswil parish and Pfaffikon district where Unterhittnau is located.
3. At least one Kendig family (that of Henry d. 1725) was in the Three Ship migration with Hans.
4. Hans’ connection to the Kendig family is also supported in the legal record. Administrative records archived at the Lancaster County Historical Society show that “John Kegue” was called on to take the inventory of the younger “Henry Kindig’s” 1736 estate. (Henry is considered as a likely candidate for Hans’ brother-in-law). Further evidence of the presumed link between Hans and the Kendig family comes from the final accounting of Henry Kendig’s 1736 estate, from which “Hans Cayge” and “Jacob Bheme” received payments. (See Appendix X) Of course, Hans’ involvement in the inventory-taking could have been routine as a neighbor (Kendig lived in nearby Lampeter

⁵⁶ Bangs (1833) p. 367

⁵⁷ Spayth (1851) – Page 31

Township), and the payments could have been as part of debt liquidation or some service rendered during the probate period. But these transactions add to mounting circumstantial evidence and narrative that the Kendig, the Boehm, and the Kagy families were bound by more than casual relationship. The authors believe they were in-laws, bound by marriages to Kendig sisters – Barbara and Anna -- whose brother was the Henry who died in 1736⁵⁸

5. Both married shortly after their arrival almost certainly within the pool of available single Mennonite women. Jacob's wife is identified in the written record as Barbara Kendig. Barbara had a sister named Anna (or Nancy) who married a Keaggy, a fact also from the written record.
6. The only available Keaggy (Kagy) in the area was Jacob's travel-mate Hans. The previously mentioned "Manor John" (Johannes Kagie) did not arrive in America until 20 years later in 1739 and his wife is known to be Anna Meyer. And even discounting the age differences, Anna Keaggy could not have been married to Hans' sons; they are accounted for with their own wives.
7. Absent an unknown Kagy in the area around 1718 it follows that Hans' wife was Anna Kendig
8. And in the circumstantial record: The name "Anna" was given to one of Hans' daughters and to four of his grand-daughters -- in four out of four families where we have a full record of the children. (Only the name Barbara was close in frequency, the name of one daughter and of three grand-daughters.)

Franklin Keagy's Conclusions – Franklin Keagy's *History* addressed Boehm's *Reminiscences*, and recognized its importance, proof that Anna Kendig, Jacob Boehm's sister-in-law had married a Kagy. Franklin's dilemma was that he had already assigned Old Hans to Rebecca Patterson. He needed a Kagy for Nancy (Anna) Kendig.

And thus (as promised) the reemergence of Manor John into the saga. Franklin Keagy says:

*I now wish to call particular attention to the following questions and answers, as in them I claim to have proof, and the only proof, that the wife of Johannes Kagie, called Manor John, was Nancy Kendig, a sister of Martin Boehm's mother, and the daughter of Martin Kendig...*⁵⁹

And the Rest is History (?) - So Franklin Keagy evaluated the conflicting evidence (Ellis-Evans and Martin Boehm) and resolved his dilemma by:

- Assigning Rebecca to Old Hans, acknowledging the Ellis-Evans highly regarded history of Lancaster County, which (incorrectly) stated that Rebecca Patterson married "John Keagy," and

⁵⁸ See Appendix X for transcription or original found in Lancaster County Historical Society archives

⁵⁹ Keagy (1899) p.

- Assigning Anna Kendig to Manor John, acknowledging the writings of the highly regarded clergyman, Martin Boehm, because he accepted that Anna (Nancy) Kendig had married a Kagi, and Manor John was the only other Kagi available.

The Kendig Sisters' Parents – Franklin Keagy compounded his errors (or at least made a significant assertion without proof) by saying that Anna Kendig was Martin Kendig's daughter.

Actually, the identity of the Kendig sisters' parents remains a mystery. Some Boehm family trees assume that they are Martin Kendig's daughters, although no proof is offered of this relationship. To the contrary, evidence suggests that Martin had no daughters. This could well be another example of "The Mayflower Effect" by some Boehm genealogists and also Franklin Keagy. In the same way that Kagys have wistfully attached their tree to the colorful historical figure James Patterson, Boehms have seemingly attached theirs to the historically significant name of Martin Kendig.

A Whimsical Speculation – To this point, the present authors have adhered to a standard of evidence-based exposition and have avoided unsubstantiated claims. But as this study approaches conclusion, leeway is asked for a whimsical journey.

Consider this scenario as an explanation for events unproven – and probably never to be proven.

The "Three Ship" families of Kagi, Boehm, and Kendig may have been acquainted from their time in the Palatinate – and perhaps from an even earlier time in Zurich Switzerland. If not there, then they certainly interacted in their layover in Rotterdam and – if on the same ship – on the voyage to the America.

It is assumed that Hans Kagi and Jacob Boehm travelled alone, but there were at least two Kendig families on the voyage and, considering the complexity of the Lancaster County Kendigs, there could have been more.

It is easy to suppose that Barbara and Anna Kendig were on the "Three Ships" voyage. We know that Barbara Kendig married Jacob Boehm shortly after Jacob's American arrival and the Swiss-Mennonite settlement was in its earliest stage growth. It is unlikely that Barbara and Nancy Kendig were in Lancaster County before the Three Ships arrived.

And could it be that they don't appear in Kendig genealogy because their parents died in transit? These were tortuous voyages with a high mortality rate.

Barbara and Anna arrive in Philadelphia as young, marriageable-age girls, without parents, but members of a tightly-knit Mennonite community with a long history of mutual support. It is almost unthinkable that the sisters would have been abandoned upon arrival or placed as indentured servants. They would have been taken in by the Three-Ship-travelers and made the trip to the Pequea settlement with them.

Enter Hans Kägi and Jacob Boehm, single men beginning a hard life and needing spousal support to survive. Another whimsical notion would involve shipboard romances with a logical

conclusion. But understanding Colonial Mennonite culture and marriage customs, an arranged marriage involving Hans, Jacob, and the Kendig sisters also works in this scenario.

So Hans married Anna Kendig and Jacob married Barbara Kendig. The couples take land close to each other and maintain close friendships throughout their lives. Nancy (Anna) visits her sister – Barbara Boehm – often and becomes an inspiration to her nephew Martin who is so moved by her grace and piety that he acknowledges her in his memoirs. When Hans dies, he names his good friend and brother-in-law, Jacob Boehm, as an executor of his estate, thus assuring that his beloved wife, Anna, is properly cared for during the rest of her life after having specified her quality of life in his will.

The preponderance of evidence – direct and circumstantial – leads to the conclusion that Hans Kägi's spouse was Anna (Nancy) Kendig, sister of Barbara (Kendig) Boehm.

While this story line contains key elements of supposition, the presented evidence is woven into it and it fits. The authors feel that -- at the end of six months struggling with this material – they owe readers what they have come to think-believe-suppose even when they can't prove every last element.

But back to the evidence – The preceding diversion only fills in some of the story's missing parts, but the speculative pieces are not critical to this study's main objectives, which was answering this question: Who was Hans Kägi's spouse?

The preponderance of evidence – direct and circumstantial – leads to the conclusion that it was Anna (Nancy) Kendig, sister of Barbara (Kendig) Boehm.

XI – Summary and Conclusions

The stated research objective was to identify the spouse of Hans Kägi, the first of his name in America. Through an admittedly circuitous route, the present authors believe they have presented a credible case that refutes a Hans Kägi-Rebecca Patterson marriage myth and identifies Anna Kendig as his most likely spouse.

The empirical evidence suggests that acceptance in family histories and in on-line family trees should **not** be automatically construed as proof. Their root is likely from an errant statement in an early Lancaster County history, which was perpetuated by Franklin Keagy in his *History* and eagerly accepted by a willing audience swayed by the motivation of completing family trees and influenced by The Mayflower Effect.

Hans Kägi (1717 migration) did not marry Rebecca Patterson: The reader is referred to Section VI for a complete discussion of the evidence. But in summary:

- The ages do not match. The legal record proves that, at the time of the purported marriage, Rebecca would have been, at best, an infant or toddler, and most likely not yet born.
- She is referred to as a spinster in a 1747 recorded document – a deed – thirty years after she is alleged to have married Hans. In Colonial time, the term “spinster” implied that the woman never married
- In a culture where naming daughters and granddaughters to honor mothers and grandmothers was common, the name “Rebecca” does not appear in Hans’ early family tree.
- Such a marriage would have violated so many established cultural norms of the time it would have been unthinkable

Johannes Kagle (1739 migration) did not marry Anna Kendig: The reader is referred to Section IX for a complete discussion of the evidence. But in summary:

- Meyer family genealogy – through land records and wills – clearly identifies Manor John as having married Anna Meyer. So Manor John married Anna Meyer, not Anna Kendig.

Hans Kägi married Anna Kendig – The reader is referred to Section X for a complete discussion of the evidence, but in summary:

- The writings of Reverend Martin Boehm establish that his father Jacob married Barbara Kendig.
- Those same writings establish that Barbara had a sister named Nancy (a diminutive for Anna) who married a Kagy.
- Franklin Keagy recognized the existence of a Kendig-Kagy union, but simply paired her with the wrong Kagy, seemingly under the sway of an Ellis-Evans misreading of historical records. Keagy needed to assign Anna Kendig to some Kagy and – in Franklin Keagy’s world – Old Hans was already linked to Rebecca.

- The only known adult male Kagy in the area at the time Nancy/Anna would have been married to a Kagy was Hans Kägi from the 1717 migration.
- The names “Barbara” and “Anna” are common in Hans’ subsequent family tree.
- The Boehms and the Kägis were part of the Swiss Colony’s Conestoga Cluster and legal documentation proves their connection.

Is this search concluded with certainty?

No – and it never will be.

And that is the nature of Colonial Mennonite genealogy – a search for validation in a culture that avoided record-keeping at a time when document preservation was sometimes random.

In many cases, the best that can be done is assembling the few available shreds of evidence and inferring conclusions. Thus is case with the *Search for Hans Kägi’s Spouse*.

To be continued...

CODA (or AFTERWORD)

This project was initiated during the authors' discussions at an annual Family History Conference of the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society. Held in May 2017, that Conference focused on the 300th anniversary of the Second Migration of 1717. The project concluded six months later in November 2017.

Before the authors suspended their search they felt they had consulted almost every relevant class of sources they could think of – wills, deeds, published and unpublished genealogies, historical works, private diaries, etc. One exception was church records, specifically 1718-19 marriage records, which the authors were explicitly advised against pursuing on practical grounds (no good Mennonite records, no other formal churches in Lancaster County as of 1718-19, far too many churches in Philadelphia and Delaware).

But there is one other type of record they attempted to find but failed to locate: Hans Kägi's 1748 estate papers. Typically such papers, filed with the court, can include some or all of the following: 1) an inventory itemizing personal goods in the estate of the deceased; 2) an accounts ledger showing the estate's expenditures; and 3) a letter of Administration appointing executors or other administrators to legally represent and settle the estate.

When the authors sought Hans' estate papers they were not found where they "should" have been deposited at the Lancaster County Historical Society. Yet they certainly would have existed at some time in the past.

The authors have seen at least one other set of estate papers (for Henry Kendig d. 1736) which identified his wife. In that case he died intestate so he had appointed no executors which may account for why his widow was formally involved in settling his estate. By contrast, Hans named two executors in his will who might have handled such details without involving his widow. Still, this is a relevant stone left unexamined during this project.

In any case, the authors nominate these estate papers as a promising but missing piece of the puzzle which may yet legally confirm the identity of Hans Kägi's spouse.

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CITATIONS FOR FIGURES

Figure 2 – Map of Palatinate – "Google Search" of free images

Figure 3 – From Mayhill (1988). *Lancaster County Deed Abstracts and Revolutionary War Oaths of Allegiance*. Knightstown, Indiana: The Bookmark.

Figure 4 – From Eshelman, "Old Conestoga Neighbors."

APPENDIX I – Discussion of Cluster Genealogy

We first encountered the term "Cluster Genealogy" in Emily Anne Croom's 2000 book *The Sleuth Book for Genealogists*.⁶⁰ Her Chapter 3 was devoted to the concept as a strategy for broadening one's search beyond the target ancestor by including his or her relatives, friends, neighbors, and associates.

Croom observes that our ancestors often witnessed each other's documents, lived near one another, bought and sold land from/to each other, inter-married, worshiped together, and migrated as groups.

She says "We must train ourselves to look for its (the cluster's) members...We cannot have long-term success if we limit ourselves to a one-name-one-person approach."⁶¹ Croom goes on to say, "When you run into that old brick wall in your search...it is cluster time...Many tough searches can be solved. The successful ones often involve the cluster."⁶²

This insight and the strategy it suggests may be old as the hills, well understood and appreciated by generations of family researchers. Earlier writers sometimes referred to "whole family research" or "collateral research" instead of "Cluster Research." But now it also has a catchy name and can be deliberately carried as one more item in our genealogical toolkit.

"When you run into that old brick wall in your search...it is cluster time. Many tough searches can be solved. The successful ones often involve the cluster.

Another name for Cluster Genealogy is the "FAN Principle." That is Elizabeth Shown Mills' term from her *The Historical Biographer's Guide to Cluster Research (the FAN Principle)*.⁶³ She advises "To prove identity, origin, and parentage, study individuals in the context of their FAN Club: Family, Associates, and Neighbors."⁶⁴

As Mills explains "Successful projects expand research, in ever widening rings, to cover all members of the target's circle of acquaintances...Some of their records, invariably, offer valuable information on the target that cannot be found elsewhere."⁶⁵

We have found the insights and strategy described by both Croom and Mills to be invaluable during our search for Hans Kägi's spouse. We thought of Hans Kägi as enveloped in a cluster of Swiss-German Mennonite relatives, in-laws and neighbors in Conestoga. And we found some of our most important clues not in Kagi records, but in deeds, wills, and other records created by the Boehm family, the Kendig family, and other members of Hans' FAN Club. Whenever we hit a brick wall, we deliberately tried to recover and regroup by looking to that wider cluster for new clues. And, often, the strategy worked.

⁶⁰ Croom (2000)

⁶¹ Ibid. p.40

⁶² Ibid. p.42

⁶³ Mills (2012)

⁶⁴ Ibid. p.1

⁶⁵ Ibid. p.4

A fine extended example of Cluster Genealogy as applied to the Conestoga area is the book by John S. Shenk II, *The Path of Faith: A 300 Year Heritage (The Shenk Family of New Danville, Lancaster County, PA)*. In telling the Shenk Family Story the author's organizing device is to focus on the 16 properties and families immediately surrounding the New Danville Mennonite Church in its early years – including the 16 family patriarchs, their wives, children, inter-marriages, deeds, and wills, along with maps of their land and pictures of their houses and barns.

Shenk's Cluster was drawn a bit too tightly to include Hans Kägi's property and family, but Shenk's Cluster and Kägi's Cluster overlap enough to inspire us with what's ultimately possible with this style of research -- if one has years of work to devote and 500+ pages available !

APPENDIX II – Early Descendants of Hans Kägi with Observations

The following consolidated list of Hans's children and grandchildren draws on both Franklin Keagy's *History* (1899) (**FK**) and Richard Warren Davis's website MennoSearch.com (2017) (**RWD**). Each offers some information the other does not. When they disagree such incidents are noted. Names below are listed in birth order when the two sources do not disagree.

1. **Jacob Keagy:** b. 13 Sep 1719. d. 28 Dec 1788, Heidelberg Township, York County, Pa.
First married Fronica Stehman or Stoneman (daughter of Joseph Steinman). An Oldest Son was often named after the husband's father, i.e. the boy's paternal grandfather. According to Richard Warren Davis, Jacob Kägi back in Pfalz (German Palatinate) is most likely to have been Old Hans's father and thus the paternal grandfather of this younger Jacob (b.1719).
 - a. John Keagy, b. RWD says c1744. FK says c1746.
 - b. Anna Keagy, b. RWD says c1746. FK gives no info on her.
 - c. Jacob Keagy, b. RWD says c1750. FK says 1760.
 - d. Abraham Keagy b. RWD says c1754. FK says c1748 or 1750.
2. **Abraham Keagy (or Kege):** b. RWD says 2 May 1726. FK says c1723. d. 8 Nov 1784.
Married Ann(a) Brenneman, daughter of Christian Brenneman about 1747. Second sons were often named after the wife's father, i.e. the boy's maternal grandfather. But we have not yet identified any elder Abraham as a candidate for that role. Note there is a multi-year gap between baby Jacob and baby Abraham. It is possible that an earlier boy had died so that Abraham was not actually the second son.
 - a. Ann(a) Kagey b. 19 Dec 1748.
 - b. Abraham Kagey b. RWD says c1750. FK says 1757.
 - c. Christian Kagey b. RWD says c1754. FK says 1751.
 - d. Henry Keagy b. RWD says c1752. FK says 1753-54.
 - e. Barbara Keagy b. FK says 1760. RWD does not list.
 - f. Rudolph Kagey b. 17 Feb 1764.
 - g. Fronica (Fanny) Keagy b. FK says 1766. RWD does not list
 - h. Mary (Polly) Keagy b. FK says 1768. RWD does not list.
 - i. John Keagy b. FK says 1770. RWD does not list.
 - j. Susannah Keagy FK gives no date. RWD does not list.
 - k. Elizabeth Keagy FK gives no date. RWD does not list.

3. **Rudolph Keagy (AKA Richard Cagey)** b. FK says 1723-25 and labels him “Third Son.” RWD says 1736(?) Wife unknown. Additional children unknown. Moved west to Fayette Co. in SW Pa. If no earlier son died, Rudolph would be the third son, sometimes named after his father. But if, as speculated above, an earlier son in the gap between Jacob and Abraham had died, Rudolph would not actually be the third son. See Observation #5 following.
 - a. Abraham Cagey FK lists him, but no date. RWD does not list.
 - b. Michael Cagey FK lists him, but no date. RWD does not list.
4. **Henry Kagey**, b. 11 Nov 1728. d. Oct 1783. Married Barbara Stoner, daughter of Hans Steiner. Moved to Shenandoah County, Virginia in 1768.
 - a. John Kagey, b. 7 Mar 1757.
 - b. Henry Kagey b. 24 Sep 1758.
 - c. Jacob Kagey b. 3 Oct 1760.
 - d. Anna Kagey b. 25 Jun 1762.
 - e. Abraham Kagey b. 7 Jul 1764.
 - f. Christian Kagey, b. 22 Aug 1766.
 - g. Rudolph Kagey b. 14 Jan 1768.
 - h. Barbara Kagey b. FK says Feb. 27, 1770. RWD says 1769.
 - i. Isaac Kagey b. Apr. 12, 1772.
 - j. Martin Kagey b. Aug. 26, 1774.
 - k. Elizabeth Kagey b. Dec, 5, 1776.
5. **Susannah Kagey**, b. RWD says c1730 FK gives no date but labels her the “Oldest Daughter.” The oldest daughter was often named after the wife’s mother (but sometimes the husband’s mother). See Observation #6 following.
6. **Barbara Kagey**, b. RWD says c1733. Married John Stoneman, son of Joseph Stoneman or Steinman. This was the same family her brother Jacob married into. All info from RWD. FK labels her the “Second Daughter” but does not list husband or children. Second Daughters were often named after her other parent’s mother, the one not involved in the naming of the first daughter.. (NOTE: Anna Kendig’s likely mother was a Barbara.) See Observation #4 following.
 - a. Henry Stoneman b. 17 May, 1748 says RWD. FK does not list.
 - b. Anna Stoneman b. c1750 says RWD. FK does not list.

- c. Peter Stoneman b. c1752 says RWD. FK does not list
 - d. Barbara Stoneman b. 1754 says RWD. FK does not list.
 - e. Margreta Stoneman b. c1756 says RWD. FK does not list.
 - f. Susannah Stoneman b. 1758 says RWD. FK does not list.
 - g. Fronica Stoneman b. c1760 says RWD. FK does not list.
7. **Anna Keagy** b. RWD says 1723(?) FK gives no date but labels her the “Youngest Daughter,” still a minor at Hans’s death in 1748. Our best estimated birthdate: circa mid-1730s. If no earlier daughter died, she would be the third daughter, often named after her mother. See Observation #2 following.

NAME ANALYSIS AND OBSERVATIONS

Once names and birth order have been arrayed in such a list, they can be analyzed for patterns that allow some interesting observations about the family.

OBSERVATION #1: There is no daughter named Rebecca and no grand-daughter is named Rebecca. This seems unlikely if Rebecca Patterson were the mother or grandmother of them all.

OBSERVATION #2: There is also no daughter named Nancy and no grand-daughter is named Nancy. But in the early-to-mid 18th century “Nancy” was the diminutive for Ann(a), still on its way to becoming a separate given name in its own right, so a woman known as Nancy at that time would likely have been Christened Ann(a). Hans’s youngest child was named Anna. If no earlier daughter died, she would be the third daughter, often named after her mother. There are also several grand-daughters named Anna. In fact, there is an Anna among 4 out of 4 sets of grandchildren for which we have a full list. Moreover, in each case it happens to be the name of the oldest girl who survived. We can’t tell for certain whether each is meant to honor the wife’s mother or the husband’s mother (or both), but the name Anna clearly honors someone very important to each couple.

OBSERVATION #3: John was the name given to the oldest son in two of the four complete families, almost certainly in honor of Old Hans. This suggests they are following one of the common naming patterns favored by many 18th century Mennonite couples. In a third family John is the lastborn son, raising the possibility that an earlier son named John had died and that the name was subsequently used again. In the fourth family no John survived at all, but the last four of the seven children were all girls, raising the possibility that an earlier John had died but no subsequent opportunity to reuse the name had occurred. It is also possible that some of the couples followed a different naming procedure.

OBSERVATION #4: Barbara seems to have been an important girl’s name in Hans’ family tree. Hans had a daughter named Barbara and three grand-daughters named Barbara. With just one additional Barbara the name would be tied in frequency with Anna.

Barbara was the second of Hans' surviving daughters, possibly named for one of her grandmothers. We don't know the name of Hans's mother back in Pfalz. And, although we don't know for sure who Anna Nancy Kendig's parents were, it is intriguing to note that Henry Kendig (d. 1725), one of the 1717 voyagers who is sometimes identified as the most likely (or least unlikely) Kendig to be Anna's father, was married to a Barbara. And Anna's sister, wife of Jacob Boehm, was also named Barbara.

Among Hans' grandchildren three out of the four families for which we have a complete list contain a Barbara. Moreover, the name was given in each case to the second surviving daughter, often named after a grandmother. But by this time both Hans' mother and Anna's mother would be their great-grandmother, often honored by a fourth or subsequent child. So it is not clear exactly whom these Barbaras are named after. (While we have never identified any Barbara as a serious candidate for Hans' wife, we cannot completely dismiss this possibility.)

OBSERVATION #5: Franklin Keagy's *History* gives "Rudolph" as Hans's middle name, the name by which most German-speakers would have been known as adults. But Richard Warren Davis doubts that name, observing that Hans never seemed to use it. The present authors found that Kāgi preferred to use "Hans" even in Chester County records long before Manor John's immigration necessitated some way of distinguishing the two Johns. Hans' third surviving son was named Rudolph. A third son was sometimes named after his father but, as cited above, it is not certain whether Rudolph was actually the third son due to the multi-year gap between Jacob and Abraham. Rudolph eventually began using the alias "Richard" which he seemed to prefer even for legal records, as in witnessing a deed in 1758 and his brother Abraham's will in 1784. Preferring an alias would seem unlikely if he had been named to honor his father, although Hans was dead before we found any usage of Richard. Rudolph also appears twice among the grandsons but never very high. This confirms that it was in general usage in the Kagy family, but the fact that it was never the name for a firstborn son suggests it was probably not used to honor Hans in particular.

OBSERVATION #6: Hans' oldest surviving daughter was named Susannah. We mentioned her earlier as among the few possible supports for Rebecca Patterson as Hans' wife since Rebecca's mother was named Susannah. But we subsequently rejected the Patterson connection. So whom else might daughter Susannah have been named after?

First daughters were sometimes named after the husband's mother when not named after the wife's mother. It is possible that Hans and his wife followed this second popular naming custom in which BOTH first son AND first daughter were named after the husband's side. That would make Susannah the given name of Hans' mother back in Pfalz, wife of Jacob Kāgi. Unfortunately, we can't test this against presently known information from Pfalz. Richard Warren Davis could not identify Hans' mother. But it seems a reasonable hypothesis for future research.

SOURCES: Franklin Keagy, *A History of the Kägy Relationship in America from 1715 to 1900* (1899) and Richard Warren Davis “Kägi/Kagey” and “Steinman/Stoneman/Steman” files on the subscription website MennoSearch.com (accessed July 2017).

APPENDIX III – Swiss Origins of Selected Conestoga Settlement Surnames (Hans Kägy’s “Conestoga Cluster”)

Table 1: Swiss Origins of Selected Conestoga Settlement Surnames			
Family Surname	Swiss Canton of Origin as Identified by:		
	Gratz¹	Schelbert & Luebking²	GAMEO³
Bachman	Zurich/(Bern)	Many	Bern/Aargau
Brenneman	Bern	-	Bern
Eby	Bern	Zurich/Many	Zurich
Eshelman	Bern	Bern	Bern
Funk	Zurich	Zurich/(Bern)	Zurich
Groff	Zurich	Bern/Many	-
Harnish	-	Bern	-
Herr	Aargau	Zurich/Bern	St. Gallen
Hershey	Bern	Bern	Bern
Hess	Bern/(Zurich)	Bern/(Many)	-
Kagi	Zurich	Zurich	Zurich
Kauffman	Bern/(Zurich)	Bern	Bern
Kendig	Zurich	Zurich/(Many)	-
Kreider	Aargau/Basel Landschaft	-	-
Kurtz	Bern	Aargau	-
Landis	Zurich	Zurich	Zurich
Lehman	Bern	Zurich	Bern
Miller	Many	Many	Many
Moyer	Bern	Many	Aargau
Neff	Zurich/(St. Gallen/Aargau)	-	Zurich/(St. Gallen)
Oberholtz	Zurich	Zurich/(St. Gallen)	-
Sauder	Zurich/(Aargau)	St. Gallen/(Thurgau)	-
Shenk	Bern	Bern/(Many)	Bern
Sneider	Zurich/(Bern)	Bern/(Many)	-
Stauffer	Bern	Bern/Luzerne	Bern
Stehmnan	Bern	-	-
Stoner	Bern	Bern	Bern
Witmer	Bern	-	-
Note: When within parentheses, the Canton is a lesser contributor to that surname			
Key to Research Sources:			
¹ Delbert L. Gratz, Was Isch Dini Nahme? (What Is Your Name?) A Collection of Swiss Family Names			
² Leo Schelbert & Sandra Luebking, “Some Mennonite Family Names: An Annotated Checklist”			
³ GAMEO, Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online			

OBSERVATION: The Cantons of Bern and Zurich dominate among Hans Kägi’s Conestoga Cluster in the early years. Bern is located in the west central part of Switzerland, Zurich in the northeast.

APPENDIX IV - The Will of Hans Kägi

I John Kegay in the County of Lancaster and province of Pena, Township of Conestogoe being very sick & weak in body but of Perfect mind and memory Thanks be unto God for it, do make this my Last Will and testament & desires it May be Recevd by all as such. Imprimis it is my Will and I do order that in Ye first Place All my Just Debts and funeral charges be pad and Satisfied.

Item [1] I give and bequeath unto my well beloved Son Abraham Kagey, my Plantation whereon I now Lives upon to Possesst by him & his heirs and assigns for Ever, Containing two hundred acres, Ye land & Plantation is to be valued by two or three men chosen by Ye Elders of our Church or Meeting & whatsoever they shall value it at above a hundred Pounds he shall pay unto my Ex^{rs} hereafter mentioned within four years after my Death. his Mother shall live with him dureing & he shall Provide firewood for her & he shall give fifteen bushells of wheat every year & six bushells of malt. Three Barrells of Syder, half a barrel of stilld Lique, one hundred weight of meat, Either Beef or Pork at her choice to be paid to her yearly & every year dureing her pleasure to live with him, He shall Keep a Cow for her and give her her choise of Ye Cowes; Every he Shall Keep a mare for her dureing Ye Term & shall give her four Apple trees Every year bearing fruite at her own Choice & give her half an acre of ground for flax and half Ye Garden.

Item [2] I give and bequeath unto my Son Henry Kegay Two hundred Acres of Land to him his heirs and assigns for Ever joining Ye Above sd Lands to be valued by our Elders as aforesd & he to pay accordingly within four years after he shall Settle upon or ocquepie Ye Same.

Item [3] I give & bequeath unto my Eldest Son Jacob & my Son Rudolph, my tract of Land Situate on Ye West side of Susquehanah River joyning Yorktown to be equall Divided between them to be valued by the Elders or Such men as they choose asafsd & they to pay Each of them as above sd to.

Transcription appearing in Franklin Keagy's *History* (1899) compared to microfilm copy of original ledger book of wills. Some variations in capitalization and conjunction are left unresolved since they do not affect content. Paragraph and item notations [#] have been added to facilitate reference and discussion. Colonial legal terms to understand when reading this will:

- Imprimis = first and most importantly
- Ye = the;
- Ex^{rs} = Executors (responsible for administering the deceased's wishes)
- Asafsd = as previously described
- Sd - said

In items 1, 2, and 3 Hans passes land ownership to his sons. However they are required to pay an amount into Hans estate at fair value. Whether such payment is to liquidate outstanding debt or to finance his widow's care is not known. Abraham is charged with his mother's care and he is required to live on the homestead with her and provide her with enumerated staples. Henry is given a 200 acre adjacent farm but is required to live on and also pay fair value for it. Jacob and Rudolph were given Han's recently acquired York County land, but also required to pay fair value. (Jacob and Rudolph sold the York land shortly after Hans death. See Appendix VIII for deed transcription)

Item [4] I give and bequeath unto my daughter Susanah
Ye Sum of one hundred pounds Lawful money to be
paid within five years after my decease.

Each of Hans daughters
receive £100 at different
times. Whether this is a
function of their age or cash
flow issues in Hans' estate is
not known.

Item [5] I give & bequeath unto my daughter Anne the
Sum of one hundred pounds Lawful money to be paid
when she Comes of Eage.

Item[6] I give unto daughter Barbara Ye Sum of one
hundred pounds Lawful money, and I do appoint Jacob
Myers & Jacob Beam my whole and Sole Executors of
this my Last Will and Testament.

Hans naming of executors is
important. Jacob Beam is a
key figure in his life mosaic.
He was a shipmate and (the
present authors believe) a
brother-in-law.

In witness whereof I have hereunto Set my hand and
Seal this 8th day of May 1748

Jh^o. J.R his X Mark Kegay, [L.S.]

Signed Sealed & Delivered in the Presence
of us ye Subscribers Adam Ponneman &
John Jones.

Personally appeared before me Adam
Ponneman & John Jones, the witnesses to
ye above Will, & the Said Ponneman on his
Solemn affirmation and the sd John Jones
on his oath declard they were present and
saw and heard John Keagy the testator Sign.

NOTE: Wills were apparently copied by a
court clerk into an official ledger. Thus the
signature line would have been the in the
hand of the clerk (perhaps "L.S."?), not by
Hans himself. That makes it difficult to
draw any conclusions based on the
signature line. One such puzzle is how to
account for "Jho." (presumably an
abbreviation for Johannes) immediately
followed by the initial "J."

Seal. publish and declare the Same as his last Will & Testament and the at the doing he was of
Sound and disposing mind and memory according to Ye best of their Knowledge. 31 October
1748.

Before THO COOKSON

Dep Regr

APPENDIX V - The Will of James Patterson

IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN. I James Patterson of the Township of Hempfield in the County of Lancaster & Province of Pennsylvania being Weake & Sick of Body but of Sound & Perfect Sence & Memory thanks be to God for the same Do make this my last Will & Testament as followeth viz't

Imp'es I give & Bequeath to my Eldest Son James Patterson all my land in Conycocheek ab't Three Hundred accres To have & to hold to him his Heirs & assigns for Ever.

Secondly I give & Bequeath to my son Thomas Patterson all that Plantation & tract of land in the Manor of Conestoga where I now Dwell containing about two Hundred Accres lately purchased by me from Jas. Logan To have & to hold the same to my sd Son Thomas his Heirs & Assigns forever.

Thirdly I give & Bequeath to Each of my Daughters Sarah Susanah & Rebecka one Hundred Pounds to be paid to Each & Every of them on the Day of their Marriage after they arive at the Age of Sixteen Years or Else after they arive at the age of Twenty one Years.

Lastly I give and bequeath to my well beloved wife, Susanah Patterson all the Residue & Remainder of my Estate both real & Personall to have & to hold to her & her heirs & assigns forever & I do hereby Appoint my sd wife Sole Executrix of this my last Will & Testament as allso Guardian over my said Children until they arive at the age of Twenty one yeares and my Will is that my sd wife shall have & Enjoy the Plantation whereon I now Dwell & bequeathed to my son Thomas as aforesaid untill my sd Son shall arive at the age of twenty one yeares w'th all the Issues & profits thereof & I do hereby Declare this to be my last Will & Testam't hereby revokeing all Wills heretofore by me made

Witness my hand & Seal this third day of October one thousand seven hundred & thirty fiye.

Ja. Patterson (Seal)

Signed sealed & published by the Testator as his last Will & testament he being of sound & fe Disposing memory in the presence of us

Jn Wright Jnr
Samuel Bethel
Jo'n Emerson

Transcription appearing in Bell & Colwell's book on James Patterson. Paragraphs have been added for ease of reading. Colonial legal terms to understand when reading this will:

- Viz't = namely
- Imp'es = first and foremost
- sd - said

James Patterson's establishes three benchmark dates for his daughters to receive their inheritance of £100. The wording proves that **none** was married as of 1735 and **all** were under age 21.

This evidence alone proves that Rebecca Patterson could not have married Hans Kägi in 1718. She would have been a child or not even born.

APPENDIX VI - The Will of Susanna Connolly

IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN. I Susannah Connolly of ye Borrough of Lancaster widow being low and weak of Body but of Sound and disposing Mind and Memory do make this my Last Will and Testament.

Transcription appearing in Bell & Colwell's book on James Patterson. Paragraphs have been added for ease of reading.

First and principally Recommending my Immortal Spirit into the Hands of my great Creator, Trusting in the Merits of my blessed Saviour & Redeemer for Pardon & Remission of all my Sins & an happy Admission into the Regions of Immortal Bliss & Glory. And as to such worldly Estate wherewith it hath pleased God to bless me in this Life I give devise & bequeath ye same in manner & form following. Imprimis I order & Direct that all my Just Debts & Funeral Expences be paid off & discharged as soon as possible by my Executors hereinafter mentioned.

Item I order & direct That the House in ye Borrough of Lancaster wherein I now live be sold by my Executors, to such Person or Persons, his or their Assigns for ever in ffee as they or the Survivor of them shall think fit.

Item I give & bequeath to my Son James Ewin ye Sum of Sixty Pounds.

Item I give to my Son John Ewin ye Sum of One Hundred Pounds.

Item I give to my Son John Connolly ye Sum of Two Hundred & fifty Pounds, to be paid him at his Age of Twenty One Years. And if ye said John Connolly Should die before he attains to his said Age of Twenty One Years, I then order & direct That the said Two Hundred & fifty Pounds be equally Divided between my Children James Ewin, John Ewin, my Daughter Rebecca Poison & her Son George Poison, or the Survivors of them Share & Share alike.

Item I give to my Son in Law James Lowry, the Sum of Seven Shillings & Six pence.

Rebecca is now married with a son. As part of her inheritance, she receives rights to the interest on the mortgage owed by John Caigey (Manor John). Manor John purchased the original Patterson plantation from Trader James Patterson's heirs.

Item I give to my Son in Law Benjamin Chambers The Sum of Ten Pounds. Item I give to my Grandson James Chambers Son of ye said Benjamin Chambers The Sum of Ten Pounds.

Item I give & bequeath to my Daughter Rebecca Polson half ye Interest Money of ye Two Hundred Pounds that I have out at Interest in ye hands of John Caigey till my Grand Son James Chambers attains his Age of Twenty One Years, Till which time I give to ye said James Chambers ye other half of ye said Interest Money. And if the said James Chambers should

die before he attains to ye sd Age my Will then is That the said Two Hundred Pounds be paid to my Daughter Rebecca Poison & her Heirs.

Item I give to my said Grandson George Poison ye Sum of Sixty Pounds. Item I give to my Son John Connolly one Silver Table Spoon. Item I give to my Daughter Rebecca my Large Bible.

Item All ye Rest & Residue of my Estate whatsoever both Reall & Personal I give & bequeath to my Daughter Rebecca Poison & her Heirs forever.

And I Nominate & appoint my Trusty Friends James Wright of Hempfield and Arthur Patterson of Dunagl Executors of this my last Will & Testament Giving & Granting unto them full Power to Grant, Bargain & Sell in due form of Law unto one Samuel McCrea his Heirs & Assigns forever a certain Tract of Three Hundred Acres of Land or thereabouts in York County, which I lately bargained Sold & Agreed to Convey to him his Heirs & Assigns for ever, He or they paying ye Remaindr of ye Consideration Money.

Item I give towards ye Building of ye Wall round the Grave Yard of Dunegall Meeting House ye Sum of Five Pounds. Item I give towards repairing ye Fence round ye Grave Yard of St James Church Lancaster the Sum of Three Pounds.

Item I request that my Trusty Friends James Wright & Arthur Patterson yt they or one of them will be so kind as to have my Son John Connolly put under a proper Master for his good & Virtuous Education, till he is fit to put out to Business.

And I do hereby revoke & An null or make void all former or other Will or Wills by me at any Time heretofore made, Declaring this & no other to be & Contain my Last Will & Testament. In Witness whereof I have hereto set my Hand & Seal the 27th Day of April Anno Domin 1753

SusannaConnolly (Proven July 7th, 1753.)

APPENDIX VII – The Will of Jacob Boehm⁶⁶

In the name of God, Amen. I, Jacob Beam, of Conestoga Township, in the County of Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, growing weak in Body but of Sound & Retaining Memory and understanding – Blessed be Almighty God for the Same – do make and publish this, my last will and Testament, in Manner and form following (viz.) First of all, I commend my Soul to God who gave it & my Body to the

Transcription appearing on Boehm Chapel website. Highlights are added to identify sections which deal with Jacob's wife Barbara. Analysis offered here is only on items connected to the Hans Kägi study, although the document represents a wealth of information for Boehm family genealogists.

Earth from whence it came, to be decently buried by my Executor. And as for such worldly estate wherewith it had pleased God to Bless me in this life, I herein Devise and dispose of the same as forthwith to wit: I give and bequeath unto **my Beloved wife, Barbara**, the full Use and Sole Possession of my Dwelling House wherein I now live. Together with my plant and cabbitsh garden Thereunto belonging. Together, also, with all and Singular and all my moveable goods Furniture & Effects & Cattle & one horse, with the same House 40 pounds for her own Use & Benefit and Behalf for and During her Natural life & also yearly the following Articles for her support, viz.

Twenty Bushels of Wheat, Ten Bushels of Rye, Ten Bushels of Indian Corn, thirty Bushels of Oats, Thirty pounds of clean Hackled Hemp or Flax, Six pounds of wool, Two wagon loads of good First Cropp Hay and two Waggon loads of Second Cropp Hay

As it applies to the search for Hans Kägi's spouse, this document is offered as proof that Jacob's wife was named Barbara, supporting the written recollections of Martin Boehm, which are crucial to naming Hans's Kägi's spouse.

off my meadows, one hundredweight of Good Pork, Fifty Pounds of Good Beef, Three barrels of Good Cyder, Twelve Gallons of Apple Liquor already made and Stilled and as much fruit out of my orchard as she shall choose to take for her own use, Sufficient firewood for her use, pasturing and stable room for two cows & one horse creature. All of which articles of support Shall be allowed and Delivered unto my said Wife, yearly and every year During her Natural Life After my Decease, If She, my said Wife, Shall Demand the Same occasionally, which Shall be in full in lieu of her Thirds or part thereof out of the Rest of my Estate.

Item I give and devise unto my son, Martin Beam, all my Messuage Plantation and Tract of Land on which I now live situated in Conestoga Township & in Lancaster County aforesaid, containing one hundred and eighty Acres of Land with the Allowance Thereunto Belonging and with all the Rights and Appurtenances thereto appertaining. To have and to hold unto him, my said son, Martin Beam, his Heirs and Assigns, for Ever yielding, Paying & Allowing unto **my said wife Barbara** The above mentioned articles of Dowry out of the Same Estate & if they Shall Demand it and subject likewise to the Payment of the Sum of three hundred pounds – in full – Money of Pennsylvania for the Use hereinafter mentioned. And I do hereby fully Empower my herein Named Executors, their Survivor or survivors to locate & Deliver

⁶⁶ Transcription of Jacob Boehme's Will from www.BoehmsChapel.org

unto my son, Marin, or his Heirs or Assigns, a Sufficient Title or Deed of Enforcement to the said Tract of Land by me hereby Devised unto him.

ITEM: I give unto my daughter Mary, wife of Henry Steigler and to my daughter Anna, Wife of Martin Byer, and to my Daughter Elizabeth, wife of Michael Myer, all that Sum of three hundred pounds, which my son Martin is to pay out of the Lands Devised unto him as I have said, Together with all the Residue of my personal Estate of Moveables if any Remains after the Decease of my said Wife, to be equally Divided Between them. The said Mary and the said Anna and the said Elizabeth, every one Share and Share alike. The said sum of three hundred pounds to be paid by my son Martin Out of the Estate devised unto him as aforesaid unto Them, my said named and aforementioned three Daughters in Manner following, to wit: the Sum of fifty pounds lawful Money adoresaid to be paid out of the income year after the Decease of my Said Wife, If She survives me, and thence fifty pounds yearly and every year until the said Sum of three hundred pounds is all paid, But if my Said Wife Should Not Survive Me, then the first yearly payment as aforesaid Shall be made in one year after My Decease.

Like Hans, who predeceased Jacob Boehm by over 30 years, Jacob was meticulous in ensuring the manner by which his wife was to be cared for. Unlike Hans, he was also meticulous in providing information about his wife's name and children's marriages.

And Whereas the Rest on my Children, viz. My sons Jacob Beam, Abraham Beam, & John Beam and my Daughters Barbara (dead) Susanna, Wife of Henry Resh, Magdalena, ye wife of Frederick Shoof and Fronica, ye wife of Jacob Shoof, have been heretofor financed by me and have each of them Received their full Share out of my Estate, I allow and give unto the Each of them the Sum of Five Shillings, Lawfull Money of Pennsylvania, to be paid unto them after my Decease if they Should Claim or Demand It.

And lastly, I constitute to Name & Appoint **my said Wife Barbara** an Executrix and my Trusty Friend & Son in Law, Henry Resh Executor of this my last Will & Testament, Revising & Dishonoring all former Wills & Testaments by me heretofore made, Ratifying and confirming this and no other to be my Last Will and Testament & In Witness whereof I have hereunto Interchangeably set my Hand and Seal the Eighteenth Day of September in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and seventy Eight.

Signed, Sealed, Published & Declared by the said Jacob Beam as his Last Will & Testament in the presence of us who have hereunto Set our Names as Witnesses in the presence of the Testator.

JACOB BOEHM (Seal)

Note: The will was witnessed by Everard Gruber and Christian Echanracht on 12 July 1781 declaring that the aforesaid witnesses Jacob Beam's signing and he was of sound mind and well disposing of Mind, Memory, and Understanding. The Will was recorded on that date by Lancaster County Registrar John Hubley.

APPENDIX VIII – Deed Transcription – Hans Kägi York Land Sale

This indenture made the twenty first day of August in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred Fifty One BETWEEN Jacob Kegay of the County of York in the Province of Pennsylvania Yeoman and Phryna Kegay his wife and Rudolph Kegay his brother of the one part and John Wright of County of York Esquire and James Wright of the County of Lancaster Esquire and William Willis of the County of York and aforesead Yoeman of the other part.

WHEREAS John Kegay late of the County of Lancaster Yeoman deceased obtained in his lifetime from Samuel Blunston Esquire a Grant and a Warrant from the Secretary's office to survey a tract of land now lying in York County which was surveyed according to the said warrant but the survey was not returned which land is thus bounded to west southward by the town land of Yorktown, next by the land of Francis Worley north by the land of John Smith and Charles Jones and on the east by Codorus Creek

This document offers nothing to the search for Hans Kägi spouse, but it is included here for the benefit of related searches. It was discovered in its original form in the rare document section of the York County Historical Society and transcribed. This is the 600 acres Hans purchased as a part of William Penn's effort to expand his Holy Experiment across the Susquehanna River.

AND WHEREAS

The said John Keagy by his last will and testament in writing duly published under his hand and seal bearing the date the eighth day of May one thousand seven hundred forty eight did give and bequeath in the words to the effect following (ITEM I give and bequeath unto my eldest son Jacob and my son Rudolph my tract of land situate on the west side of Susquehannah River joyning Yorktown to be equally divided between to be valued by the Elders or such men as they choose and they to pay each of them abovesaid to) as by the said will in the registers office at Lancaster may more fully appear

NOW THIS INDENTURE WITNEFSETH that the said Jacob Kegay and Phryna his wife and Rudolph Kegay for and in consideration of the sum of eleven hundred pounds

current lawful money of Pennsylvania to them or some of them in hand paid or secured to be paid by the said John Wright James Wright and William Willis or one of them on the perfection hereof the receipt whereof they do hereby acknowledge and whereof acquitt and discharge the said John Wright James Wright and William Willis their heirs [assigns] and [administrators] HAVE granted bargained sold aliened released and confirmed and by these present do grant bargain sell alien release and confirm unto the said John Wright James Wright and William Willis ALL that the before mentioned tract of land so bounded as

Although ownership of Hans 600 acres in York County passed to Jacob and Rudolph, they had no interest in keeping it. They inherited the property in 1748 and by 1751 had disposed of it.

aforesaid with all houses edifices buildings and improvements thereon be the same more appearances thereunto belonging and the reversions and remainders Rents Offices and Profits thereof and all the estate right title interest property claim and demand whatsoever of them the said Jacob Kegay and Phryna his wife and Rudolph Kegay of in and to the same and every part thereof by virtue of the said survey and grant and will or otherwise together with all deeds evidences and writings relating to the premises and the full benefit of the aforesaid John Keagy to survey six hundred acres more or less. TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the said hereby granted land and premises with the appurtenances unto the said John Wright James Wright and William Willis their heirs afsigns as tenants in common and not as joint tenants to the only proper use and behoof of them the said John Wright James Wright and William Willis their heirs afsigns as tenants in common and not as joint tenants forever. AND the said Jacob Keagy for himself and his heirs [assigns] and [administrators] and for the said Phryna his wife and the said Rudolph Kegay for himself his heirs [assigns] and [administrators] do covenant promise and grant to and with said John Wright James Wright and William Willis their heirs and afsigns as follows (to wit) that they now have in themselves good right and full power to make this present grant and release in manner and from aforesaid notwithstanding any act or thing by them or any of them done or suffered to the contrary AND that the said Jacob Kegay and Rudolph Kegay their heirs [assigns] and [administrators] shall and will with all convenient speed before the said purchase money shall be paid at their own proper cost and charges procure for the said John Wright James Wright and William Willis their heirs and afsigns a patent or grant under the great seal of the said province in all point executed in due form of law for all the land contained in the said survey freed and discharged from all just rents to the date or title thereof and from all other titles pretenses and encumbrances whatsoever had made done or suffered by them or either or any of them IN WITNESS whereof the parties aforesaid have hereunto interchangeably set their hands and seals the day and year first above written sealed and delivered in the presence of us the words (and the full benefit of the narrator granted to the said John Kegay to survey six hundred acres more or less) being first interlined by the above named Jacob Kegay and Rudolph Kegay.

APPENDIX IX – Sale of Hans Kägi’s Conestoga Plantation

Christian Kagey & uxor to Christian Shenck

THIS INDENTURE made this Twenty seventh Day of July in the Year of our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and Eighty seven. Between Christian Kagey of the Township of Conestogoe in the County of Lancaster in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Yeoman and Mary his Wife of the one Part. And Christian Shenck of the said Township of Conestogoe in the County of Lancaster aforesaid Miller of the other Part. WHEREAS the Honorable William Penn Esquire late Proprietary of Pennsylvania in and by his certain Patent or Grant under the Hands of Richard Hill, Isaac Norris and James Logan Commissioners of Property and the Great Seal of Pennsylvania aforesaid bearing Date at Philadelphia the thirtieth Day of November in the Year of Our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and seventeen for the Consideration therein mentioned did grant and confirm unto a certain John Kagey (by the Name of Hans Kaigey) a certain Tract or Parcel of Land situate and being (then in Strasburg but now) in Conestogoe Township in the County of Lancaster aforesaid by Metes and Bounds in the same Patent particularly described containing One hundred and six acres with the Appurtenances. To hold to him the said John Kagey his Heirs and Assigns for ever. As in and by the said recited Patent or Grant recorded in the Office for Recording of Deeds for the City and County of Philadelphia in Patent Book A Vol. 7 page 426. Reference thereto being had may more fully and at large appear. AND WHEREAS the said John Kagey being so seised in Fee as aforesaid of and in the said Tract or Parcel of Land with the Appurtenances (among other Lands) died having first made his Last Will and Testament in Writing bearing Date the eighth Day of May in the Year of Our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and Forty eight and therein and thereby did give and bequeath unto his Son Abraham Kagey his Plantation whereon he (the said Testator) then lived (whereof the aforesaid Tract of Land is Part and Parcel). To hold to him the said Abraham Kagey his Heirs and Assigns forever. As in and by the said recited Last Will and Testament duly proved and remaining in the Registers Office for the Probate of Wills etc at Lancaster reference thereto being had may more fully and at large appear. AND WHEREAS the Honorable Thomas Penn and Richard Penn Esquires late Proprietaries of Pennsylvania aforesaid in and by their certain Patent or Grant bearing Date the Eighteenth Day of October in the Year of Our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and Forty nine for the Considerations therein mentioned did grant and confirm unto the said Abraham Kagey (by the Name of Abraham Kaigee) a certain Tract or Piece of Land situate and being in Conestogoe Township in the County of Lancaster aforesaid by Metes and Bounds in the same

This document has no direct significance to the study at hand but is offered for the benefit of future researchers. This is the land that Abraham inherited from Hans in 1748. Abraham left it to his son Christian and its sale appeared a generation later. It also puts to rest any hope that Hans' wife's name would ever appear on a document conveying land; Hans did not sell land. He left it to his sons and they subsequently sold it.

This deed contains valuable information about the Kägi plantation history in the Conestoga, but does not mention the name of Hans' wife.

Patent particularly described containing Two hundred acres and an half of an acre and the Allowance of six acres cent* for Roads and Highways with the Appurtenances. To hold to him the said Abraham Kagey his Heirs and Assigns forever as in and by the said recited Patent or Grant recorded in the Office for Recording of Deeds for the City and County of Philadelphia in Patent Book A Vol 15 Page 260 etc. Reference thereto being had may more fully and at large appear. AND WHEREAS the said Abraham Kagey being so seised in Fee as aforesaid of and in the aforesaid to Tracts or Pieces of Land with their Appurtenances died having first made his Last Will and Testament in Writing bearing Date the thirtieth Day of October in the Year of Our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and Eighty four and therein and thereby did order and direct and empower his Executors to sell at Public Vendue to the best Advantage all his Real and Personal Estate and to give sufficient Titles or Conveyances unto the Purchasers of every Part of his Real Estate and of his Last Will and Testament did nominate and appoint his Son Abraham Kagey and his Son in Law the said Christian Shenck Executors, as in and by the said recited Last Will and Testament duly proved and remaining in the Register's Office at Lancaster aforesaid Reference thereto being had may more fully appear. AND WHEREAS pursuant to the Directions of the said Last Will and Testament of the said Abraham Kagey deceased, they the said Abraham Kagey and Christian Shenck the Executors aforesaid after having exposed to Sale by Public Vendue (of which they had given due and Public Notice) did sell

and in and by their certain Indenture bearing Date the Sixth Day of August in the Year of Our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and Eighty five for the Considerations therein mentioned grant and confirm unto the said Christian Kagey Party hereto (the highest and best Bidder at the said Sale) a certain

A "cent" = 1/100 acre. But as used here it is never preceded by a number, so it appears to mean "and small change" or "and a few bits extra."

Tract or Piece of Land situate and being in Conestogoe Township in the County of Lancaster aforesaid (Part and Parcel of the above mentioned two Tracts of Land whereof the said Abraham Kagey died seised as aforesaid) containing Two hundred and sixty eight acres and forty perches and the Allowance of Six acres and Cent for Roads and Highways with the Appurtenances. To hold to him the said Christian Kagey his Heirs and Assigns forever as in and by the said recited Indenture recorded in the Office for Recording of Deeds in and for the County of Lancaster in Book DD Page 143 etc. Reference thereto being had may more fully and at large appear. NOW THIS INDENTURE WITNESSETH that the said Christian Kagey and Mary his Wife for and in Consideration of the Sum of One thousand and Eight hundred Pounds current or lawful Money of Pennsylvania in Gold and Silver Coin to them or one of them in Accord well and truly paid by the said Christian Shenck at and before the Sealing and Delivery of these Presents (the Receipt and Payment whereof they do hereby acknowledge and thereof and of every Part thereof do acquit exonerate and discharge the said Christian Shenck his Heirs Executors Administrators and Assigns by these Presents) Have and each of them hath granted bargained sold and aliened enfeoffed released and confirmed and by these Presents Do and each of them Doth grant bargain sell alien enfeoff release and confirm unto the said Christian Shenck and to his Heirs and Assigns All that certain Tract or Piece of Land situate lying and being in the Township of Conestoge in the County of Lancaster aforesaid (Part and Parcel of the above mentioned Tract of

Two hundred and Sixty eight acres and forty perches sold and conveyed unto the said Christian Kagey by the said Abraham Kagey and Christian Shenck the Executors as aforesaid) bounded and described as follows, to wit, Beginning at a post in the Line of Lands of Michael Hess and from thence extending by the same South seventy four degrees West One hundred and eighty four perches to a post and South sixteen degrees East nineteen perches and eight tenths of a perch to a post thence by other Lands of the said Michael Hess South seventy four degrees West One hundred fourteen perches to a post, thence by Lands of Melchor Hackman North sixteen degrees West One hundred and ten perches and an half of a perch to a post and thence by Lands of John Bear North sixty two degrees East One hundred and forty nine perches to a post thence by Lands late of Adam Bronnenman deceased South twenty eight degrees East forty one perches to a Stone and North sixty five degrees East One hundred and forty five perches and three quarters of a perch to a Black Oak, thence by Lands of John Baker South sixteen degrees East One hundred and four perches and two tenths of a perch to the Place of Beginning containing One hundred and eighty eight acres and twenty seven perches and the Allowance of six acres and cent for Roads and Highways together with all and singular the Houses, Outhouses, Edifices and Buildings thereon erected and being and all Ways, Passages, Waters, Watercourses, Woods, Underwoods, Trees, Fences, Fields, Pastures, Meadows, Marshes, Orchards, Gardens, Liberties, Privileges, Advantages, Hereditaments, and Appurtenances whatsoever thereto belonging or in anywise appertaining and the Reversions and Remainders Rents Issues and Profits thereof and also all of the Estate, Right, Title, Interest, Use, Trust, Property, Possession, Claim and Demand whatsoever of them the said Christian Kagey and Mary his Wife and each of them at Law and in Equity or otherwise howsoever of into and out of the said described Tract or Piece of Land and Premises with the Appurtenances and every or any Part thereof. TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the said described Tract or Piece of Land containing One hundred and eighty eight acres and twenty seven perches and the Allowance as aforesaid Hereditaments and Premises hereby granted and released (or meant mentioned or intended so to be) with their Rights Members and Appurtenances unto the said Christian Shenck his Heirs and Assigns. To the only proper Use Benefit and Behoof of the said Christian Shenck his Heirs and Assigns forever at and under the proportional part of the Yearly Quit Rent (if any) issuing out of the same Premises to the Land or Lands of the Fee thereof. AND the said Christian Kagey doth hereby grant for himself and his Heirs. That he and they the said described Tract or Piece of Land containing One hundred and eighty eight acres and twenty seven perches and the Allowances aforesaid Hereditaments and Premises hereby granted and released (or meant mentioned or intended so to be) with the Appurtenances unto the said Christian Shenck his Heirs and Assigns against him the said Christian Kagey and the said Mary his Wife and his Heirs and against all and every other Person and Persons whomsoever lawfully claiming or to claim the same or any Part thereof by from or under him them or and or either of them shall and will Warrant and forever Defend by these Presents. AND the said Christian Kagey for himself his Heirs Executors and Administrators doth covenant promise and grant to and with the said Christian Shcnck his Heirs and Assigns by these Presents. That he the said Christian Kagey and his said Mary his Wife and his Heirs and all

The Shenck family is a part of the Kagy family cluster. The connection stretches over generations.

and every other Person and Persons whomsoever now having and lawfully claiming or hereafter to have and lawfully claim any Estate Right Title or Interest of into or out of the same described Tract or Piece of Land and Premises or any part thereof by from or under him her or them or any or either of them shall and will from Time to Time and all Times hereafter upon the Request and at the proper Costs and Charges in the Law of the said Christian Shenck his Heirs or Assigns make do execute acknowledge and deliver or cause and procure to be made done executed acknowledged and delivered all and every such further and other lawful and reasonable Act and Acts, Deed and Deeds, Conveyances and Assurances in the Law whatsoever for the further better more sure perfect and absolute granting conveying and assuring the said described Tract or Piece of Land Hereditaments and Premises hereby granted and released (or mentioned or intended so to be) with the Appurtenances unto the said Christian Shenck his Heirs and Assigns forever as by him the said Christian Shenck his Heirs or Assigns or his or their Counsel learned in the Law shall be reasonably advised or devised and required. IN WITNESS WHEREOF the said Parties to these Presents their Hands and Seals have hereto interchangeably set. Dated the Day and Year first above written.

Sealed and Delivered in the Presence of James Jacks. Philip Gloninger.

Christian Kägy. (seal) Maria Kägy. (seal)

Received on the Day of the Date of the above written Indenture of and from the above named Christian Shenck the sum of One thousand Eight hundred Pounds current or lawful Money of Pennsylvania in Gold and Silver Coin in full for the consideration Money above mentioned. Hans(?) Christian Kägy. Witnesses present at Signing James Jacks. Philip Gloninger.

Lancaster County to wit. Before me the Subscriber one of the Justices of the County Court of Common Pleas in and for the County of Lancaster aforesaid personally appeared the above named Christian Kagey and Mary his wife and acknowledged the above written Indenture to be their Act and Deed and desired that the same might be recorded as such according to Law. She the said Mary thereto voluntarily consenting she being of full Age and separate and apart from her said Husband by me thereon examined the Contents of the same Indenture having first been made known unto her. In testimony whereof I have hereto set my Hand and Seal the Twenty seventh Day of July in the Year of Our Lord One thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven. James Jacks.

Recorded 27th Day of July 1787. James Jacks Recorder

APPENDIX X: Summary of Estate Papers for Henry Kendig (d. 1736)

The estate papers for Henry Kendig, who died intestate in 1736 at Lampeter Twp., are deposited at the Lancaster County Historical Society. They include: 1) An inventory of his estate, 2) An accounting of disbursements from his estate, and 3) An Administrators' Bond.

1) Inventory of Henry Kendig's Estate 1736

Inventory conducted by "John Kegue" and "John Bronneman."

This is a list of 17 itemized contents ("goods and chattels") of Henry Kendig's estate and their respective values. It is hardly legible and looks like a working draft or field copy with some items crossed out. Value of total contents: 79 pounds, 0 schillings and 2 pence.

2) Administration Account - Katharine Kendig - 1736 Henry Kendig, deceased

This is a list of 24 names receiving payments and disbursements out of the estate of Henry Kendig, totaling 72 pounds, 7 schillings, and 5 pence. It is signed by (Hie)ronimus Miller and Katharine Kendig (Miller).

Of particular import are two recipients: "Hans Cayge" (9 pounds, 3 schillings) and "Jacob Bheme" (7 pounds).

3) Administrators' Bond - Katherine Kendig - 1736 Henry Kendig, deceased

This is a one page document written in cursive and signed by Katharine Kendig, Andrew Shults, Jacob Kendig and (Hie)ronimus Miller. It appears to be an Administrators' Bond in the amount of 150 pounds arranged with Peter Evans, Register General for Probate of Wills and Granting Letters of Administration. When a deceased died intestate his spouse was typically appointed as Administrator unless she renounced the role in favor of someone else.

OBSERVATION: Note that Hans Kägi helped to conduct the inventory and that both he and Jacob Boehm received estate payments. From these documents the authors infer that Kägi and Boehm and the deceased Henry Kendig may have been brothers-in-law. The documents do not "prove" the relationship, but they are "consistent" with it. The authors believe that all three men were linked by the Kendig sisters, Barbara and Anna – Jacob and Hans via marriage and Henry as a sibling. Helping to settle one another's estate is exactly the kind of service brothers-in-law typically did for one another. These are the only legal documents we have found linking these individuals and they "fit" with the hypothesized relationship.

APPENDIX XI – Family Name Information

Identifying a “genuine” “Kagy” can be a research challenge. The name appears in legal documents with a range of spelling derived from both Swiss, German adaptation of the original, and the tendency of Colonial recorders to use phonetic spelling as they transcribed from German-speaking immigrants.

Examples from 18th century deed records include: Keagy, Kegy, Kagey, Kaigey, Kaygey, Kaigy, Kaghy, Kege, Kegee, and Kegey, not to mention variations beginning with “C” like Cagey, Caigy, and Cayge.) Even more examples are available from Wills (Kegay) and Tax lists Keague). A researcher must also be on the lookout for the occasional “Hagey,” the result of a Colonial scribe misreading a stylized “K.” The fact that Hagey is a legitimate Swiss migrant name complicates research even further.

There is no single authoritative account of the origin of the Kagy surname in Switzerland. Rather there are several alternate explanations, some perhaps plausible, others surely fanciful. Here are five:

Surname derived from Kago (or Chago), a Celtic tribe in Gallic-Helvetian times: This explanation comes from a 1981 letter written in English on behalf of Swiss genealogist Hans Kägi of Eschenbach, St. Gallen, Switzerland by his daughter-in-law Claire Kägi (in the possession of author Kagay). This modern Hans is author of a Kägi genealogy in German, “Die Nachkommen des Claus Kägi geb. um 1520 in Fischenthal” (Eschenbach, SG, 1981).

Surname derived from south German & Swiss topographic term “Gehage” or “Gehagi” meaning fenced or hedged or enclosed settlement in otherwise wild territory. (Source: Patrick Hanks, *Dictionary of American Family Names*, Oxford University Press, 2003.)

Surname derived from south German dialectical term “Kege” for “cabbage stalk” suggesting the occupation of cabbage grower. (Source: Patrick Hanks, *Dictionary of American Family Names*, Oxford University Press., 2003)

Surname derived from a geographical place name such as “Kagiswil” in Canton Obwalden in the center of Switzerland. But that causation might well run the other way with the place named after some Kagy clan who once lived there. Or both the surname and the place name may similarly reflect some common influence cited above. (Source: Delbert L. Gratz, *Was Isch Dini Nahme? (What Is Your Name?) A Collection of Swiss Family Names* (Revised Edition, 1997. Morgantown, PA: Masthof Press).

Tale of judicial creation from a divorce decree: By far, the most colorful and interesting explanation (and the one most likely to be used when regaling relatives with knowledge of family lore) comes from Franklin Keagy’s *History* (p.30). Giving attribution to a correspondent Jacob Kägi from Zurich, Keagy relays this legend.

Many, many years ago a Mr. Kaller fell in love and married a Miss Gibler. Their union was blessed with a son. From some cause or other, after a time they disagreed and finally separated, and the lady became so bitter toward her husband that she would not allow her child to bear his father’s name. The matter was finally decided in the courts, and the decision was that the child should bear

a name composed of two letters from the father's name, Ka(ller) and the two first letters from the mother's, Gi(bler); so the name Kagi, as it is yet written in Switzerland, was started.

While accepting this tale might be seen as pure fun, there is some logic to it. Drawing from both parents' names has some basis in Swiss judicial custom.

The North American Versions: In North America the Kägi surname got Anglicized fairly quickly. The final "i" was changed to "y" easily and harmlessly enough. And the German umlaut (double dots) was dropped. Thus, "Kagy" was one commonly seen American version.

But family members were not strict about English orthography. A few purists among us might appreciate that dropping an umlaut from German "requires" inserting an "e" in English AFTER the formerly umlauted vowel (thus, "Kaegi" or "Kaegy"). But one seldom sees that rendering. As a practical matter various branches of the family handled the task in different ways.

For example, (author) Dale's line which went from Lancaster through York inserted the "e" BEFORE the "a" and created "Keagy." On the other hand, (author) Mike's line, which went from Lancaster through the Shenandoah Valley, inserted the "e" BETWEEN the "g" and the "y" and created "Kagey." (Or that was so until Mike's grandfather unaccountably changed the "e" to a second "a" around 1910 in Ohio – and thus created "Kagay").

And the spelling which Franklin Keagy used for Manor John positioned the "e" at the very end, yielding "Kagie." Although it never seemed to catch on with many family members it has the virtue of preserving our original Swiss spelling and removing the umlaut by virtue of adding the final "e," thus creating "Kagi + e."

But such variability never seems to have bothered us very much. Orthographically speaking, the family's motto might roughly be summed up as: "What's a wandering vowel among friends?"

One sometimes sees other variations, including some containing a double "g" and versions starting with "C." They are less frequent.

But the important thing is we've all made it for 300 years in North America without umlauts !

And we all share the same Soundex code (K200).

Finally, the title of Franklin Keagy's 1899 book, *A History of the Kägy Relationship in America from 1715 to 1900* presents one last puzzle which we have left until now. Why, one might wonder, did he change the "i" to a "y" but still retain the umlaut over the "a" in that title?

That seems like a half-measure, yielding a half-Anglicized or Euro-American hybrid of the family name. Moreover, it's a form that hardly anyone actually uses. Why not go all the way, especially by 1899?

The best hypothesis we have been able to come up with is that this expediency enabled him to sidestep any spelling controversies that might have exercised his relatives in the audience at those late 19th century family reunions where he reported his progress each year. It had been the removal of the umlaut that originally unleashed the diversity of spellings we have lived with ever

since (along with the propensity of Colonial clerks to phonetically spell unfamiliar German surnames).

Franklin would have been aware that by his time there was a plurality faction favoring “Keagy” and a minority (but still substantial) faction favoring “Kagey” and perhaps partisans of other versions, too. How bitterly they used to argue over the proper spelling has not come down to us. But Franklin may have simply wanted to avoid taking sides and exacerbating that family dispute.

Just as we do, too.

And that’s why we endorse no particular version of the surname as being the most preferred or most authentic. If one seeks authenticity one is free to revert to the original Swiss “Kägi.”

APPENDIX XII: The Kagy Family in Europe

Franklin Keagy in his 1899 *History* offered almost no information at all about the Kagy family in Europe, perhaps because so little was known (or remembered) by that time.

Since then perhaps the most valuable and detailed information has been provided by Richard Warren Davis in his 16-page pdf on “Kägi/Kagey” at his subscription website, MennoSearch.com. This is part of his impressive corpus of family genealogies of many (700 surnames indexed) of the early 18th century Mennonite immigrants who settled in southeastern Pennsylvania.

According to Davis, three Swiss Kagy brothers – Felix, Johannes, and Jacob – who were born in Bäretswil parish in the Zurich Highlands and later lived in nearby Unterhittnau, migrated to Pfalz (the Palatinate) in southwest Germany in the third quarter of the 17th Century, fleeing persecution as Anabaptists.

Davis identifies the brother Jacob as Hans’ most likely father using a process of elimination. The children of Felix and Johannes were accounted for and there were no other Kagys in the area. Jacob’s wife, Hans’ mother, remains unidentified. Ditto for any of Hans’ siblings. Jacob and family lived in the village of Westhofen in Alzey District north of Worms, all west of the Rhine. The nearest Mennonite church would have been at Ibersheim on the Rhine River.

Back in Switzerland Davis traces several generations of Kagy ancestors in the Zurich Highlands, drawing on census records, tax lists, church records, and the like. We have not yet been in a position to test and confirm the details of these names, dates, and relationships, but they are the most specific and plausible information we have ever encountered about our likely European ancestors.

We can, however, confirm the geographical information that Davis presents. Author Kagay, drawing on the “Familiennamenbuch der Schweiz” and 1981 correspondence from Swiss genealogist Hans Kägi of Eschenbach SG, had independently narrowed down the heart of Kagy ancestral territory in Switzerland to the districts of Hinwil and Pfaffikon in the Zurcher Oberland (Zurich Highlands), the hilly area southeast of Zurich city. Fischenthal parish (on the Töss River) and Bäretswil parish (in the hills west of the Töss) were confirmed as the historic seat of the Kagy family. Both are located in Hinwil District of Canton Zurich. Hittnau and Unterhittnau are in adjacent Pfaffikon District. Bäretswil is the site of the famous Taufer Hohle or Anabaptist Cave where Mennonites once gathered to pray in secret.

Davis’s information about the family’s sojourn in the German Palatinate after exile from Switzerland and before emigration to Pennsylvania is also welcome news but also still awaits opportunity for our testing and confirmation.

APPENDIX XIII - Acceptance of Rebecca as Spouse In Family Trees

Many family trees have also accepted the Hans Kägi-Rebecca Patterson union, which could be interpreted as support for its correctness. In an attempt to quantify the degree of such acceptance, a filtered search was conducted on the popular subscription website Ancestry.com[®] using these search criteria in conjunction with several first and last name combinations for Hans Kägi:

- Kägi's Birth date = 1692 (+/- five years); AND
- Kägi's Death date = 1748 in Lancaster County PA (exact)

The name spelling combinations do not exhaust all the possibilities. The objective was to test some of the chief candidates. There could be hundreds (or potentially even thousands) of additional Kägi family trees on Ancestry.com, using other spelling/date/location combinations, which could be accessed with expanded (i.e., loosened or relaxed) search criteria.

TABULATION OF KÄGI FAMILY TREES FROM CONTRIBUTORS ON ANCESTRY.COM SATISFYING STATED SEARCH CRITERIA			
SPELLINGS TESTED	# Using Spelling Tested	# Identifying Rebecca Patterson as Spouse	Degree of Acceptance (Rebecca / Total)
SURNAME = KAGY	307	294	96%
Combinations using "Hans"	(280)	(267)	(95%)
Combinations using "John"	(192)	(185)	(96%)
Combinations using "Rudolph"	(128)	(120)	(94%)
SURNAME = KEAGY	305	285	93%
Combinations using "Hans"	(219)	(201)	(92%)
Combinations using "John"	(166)	(160)	(96%)
Combinations using "Rudolph"	(176)	(170)	(97%)
SURNAME = KAGEY	40	35	88%
Combinations using "Hans"	(20)	(16)	(80%)
Combinations using "John"	(34)	(31)	(91%)
Combinations using "Rudolph"	(34)	(30)	(88%)
TOTAL # OF FAMILY TREES TESTED	652	614	94%

NOTE: Numerical entries represent a tally of the number of Family Trees on Ancestry.com in September 2017 using a particular spelling of Kägi's name. Entries in parentheses include unpreventable "double counting" due to contributors using more than one given name (for example, John Rudolph) and thus qualifying for more than one tally. **Boldface** figures avoid such double counting, but may include additional given names other than Hans, John, or Rudolph.

OBSERVATION #1: Rebecca is widely accepted as the spouse by those who include a Kägi family tree (as defined above) in their genealogy on Ancestry.com. There are a total of 652

Family Trees that satisfy the search criteria and 614 of them specify Rebecca as the wife. That is a 94% acceptance rate. (The authors suspect that tallies of other Kägi family trees using different spelling/date/location combinations would yield roughly similar acceptance rates due to Observation #2.)

OBSERVATION #2: The consistency of results across various surname spellings and various given names suggests a robust pattern: Anyone who consulted Ancestry.com would conclude he/she had found virtual consensus on Kägi's wife, approaching unanimity. But such consensus does **NOT** necessarily represent the convergence of results from rigorous independent research efforts. An apparently frequent pattern on Ancestry.com is for a user to copy some previous contributor's information and to cite that tree as one's source. This practice amounts to (at worst) plagiarism or (at best) "crowd sourcing" of one's genealogy. It reinforces the appearance of consensus. But it is no guarantee against unknowingly accepting a widespread error or myth.

OBSERVATION #3: The authors' view is that the seeming consensus found on Ancestry.com is convincing about the widespread acceptance of Rebecca-as-spouse, but represents only weak evidence for its accuracy or truth.

About the Authors

MICHAEL KAGAY

Sixth great-grandson of Hans Kägi through Henry

Michael Kagay retired in 2005 from *The New York Times* where he served as Editor of News Surveys and Director of Public Opinion Research.

Prior to joining The Times in 1987, he was vice-president and division head for five years at Louis Harris and Associates, the national polling firm in New York City.

Prior to that he was a faculty member for 10 years at Princeton University, where he taught the University's courses and seminars on public opinion and polling.

He earned his Ph.D. in political science at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. He was a National Science Foundation postdoctoral fellow at the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research in Ann Arbor.

During 1998-99 Kagay served as national president of the American Association for Public Opinion Research.

His chief hobby since the mid-1970s has been genealogy research, which he likens to his own "Busman's Holiday."

He and his wife, the former Carol Rhoades, live in Princeton, N.J.

DALE KEAGY

Sixth great grandson of Hans Kägi through Jacob

Dale Keagy is a retired public school administrator with over 45 years of professional experience as a Certified Public Accountant, Chief Financial and Operations Officer, lecturer and consultant.

Dale has published many technical books currently used in business manager training programs in Pennsylvania and Maryland.

His most ambitious text, *Pennsylvania School Business: A Guide for Educational Administrators* has been adopted for use in nearly 20 Pennsylvania universities as the school business component of their doctoral and masters programs.

He was instrumental in developing and authoring an on-line Master's Degree program in School Business Leadership at Wilkes University, where he also served as an adjunct instructor.

He received a bachelor's degree from Franklin and Marshall College and a master's degree in business administration from Lebanon Valley College.

His interest in serious genealogical (i.e. Hans Kägi) research is recent, piqued by attendance at the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society's 2017 conference on the Second Migration.

He and his wife, the former Jacklyn Seiverling, live in York, PA.

An Author's Personal Reflection

Recently, while working on this project, I happened to come across an invoice dated 1976 from the Historical Society of Pennsylvania when they billed me for microfilming the 675 pages of Franklin Keagy's *A History of the Kägy Relationship in America from 1715 to 1900*

No copy of the Kägy *History* book had come down in my family line, so I had never seen it before, though I had heard some vague mention of it by more distant relatives.

After discovering a citation to the work in the Union Catalogue at the library of Princeton University where I was then teaching, indicating that the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP) was the nearest institution with a copy, I had gone to Philadelphia to see for myself what the book might contain.

I still remember the moment, as I sat at a table in the HSP reading room, when a copy of the 1899 volume, retrieved from the stacks, was laid before me.

As I turned through hundreds of pages of unfamiliar names, dates, and lists of offspring, I suddenly recognized (on page 383) the name of my great-grandfather Willis Kagey who had died in Fairfield County Ohio of typhoid in 1892 at age 32. Working backwards, I then learned the names of his parents, and then his grandparents and so on back into the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, and then further back into Lancaster County, Pennsylvania and the original Kägy immigrant.

And I remember thinking, "Yikes! I'm holding in my hands the entire history of my family for the past 250 years ! What a gift I've just been handed: The details of my heritage, through precious little merit or effort of my own."

Naturally, I couldn't wait to have the volume microfilmed so I could have a copy printed and bound for my recently retired father (who, as I recall, was pleased and amused but not much given to reflection on dead relatives from long ago).

As the decades have gone by since 1976 I have also used standard genealogical methods to trace back my line from Central Ohio, through the Shenandoah Valley, and then to Lancaster County, PA, sweating under the hoods of hot microfilm readers, consulting musty records in courthouses and archives, paying my respect before deteriorating grave stones, seeking the locations of old farms. And my admiration for Franklin Keagy's great 1899 achievement has grown. I have found the book impressively accurate -- at least for my line -- and at least on those matters where I have gained some direct knowledge.

But it is unrealistic to assume that any 675-page work can possibly be error-free. Franklin Keagy had to depend on a network of regional family informants in compiling his work during the last quarter of the 19th Century. And their collective task involved tracing the family back 175 years or more before that time. The information flowing in by letter and recall must have been of variable quality and reliability with inconsistent documentation, presenting the compiler with numerous challenges of double-checking, verifying, and correcting.

Gradually, my confidence in some of the earliest details described in the 1899 book began to wane. In particular, Rebecca Patterson as the wife of Hans Kägi, our original immigrant, never quite seemed to “compute.” While I would appreciate and enjoy as much as the next man being related to a prominent Indian trader on the Colonial Pennsylvania frontier, that story always seemed a bit of a “stretch” to me.

How would a German-speaking farmer recently off the boat with a religious background that had unorthodox ideas on adult baptism possibly even meet, much less communicate with, much less successfully court and marry an English-speaking Presbyterian Scots-Irish lass whose father was a prominent commercial figure on the Colonial Pennsylvania Frontier? Sound improbable? I felt so too.

And then I met Dale R. Keagy, 7th cousin, at the 2017 Family History Conference of the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society as we both sought to observe the Tricentennial of our Kagy family in America. It turned out Dale harbored similar reservations. We eventually decided to team up to examine whatever records we could find that were relevant, mainly to satisfy our own curiosity, not necessarily expecting we could discover any truth that had eluded others who had struggled before us.

This article is the product of our joint search.

Michael Kagay
July, 2017