## RUSSELL LIPTON

# DECODING THE KAUDERS



## Author and researcher

As author, all responsibility for errors contained here falls to me. I may enlarge this booklet in a future version and publish it as a separate eBook. Please email me so I can include your corrections and insights.

Above all, if you should notice any Kauders of possible interest who are still hiding out in the thicket of Bohemian records, please get in touch.



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Julius Muller of Toledot welcomes your inquiries about his genealogical and travel services at any time. Consult the Toledot chapter at the back of this booklet for more details.

You may also download additional copies of this booklet from the Toledot website.



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## **Preface**

This booklet tells the story of how Toledot and Julius Muller helped greatly extend my knowledge of missing family (Kauders) in Bohemia ca 1720-1850. When we began, I knew only that my great-great grandfather Karl Kauders had a Bohemian father named David and a mother named Sara (Grunhut). I did not know where he had been born, whether he had siblings or what became of him.

By the time we were done, I not only had found Karl's father in Dolitschen, but seven older brothers. For extra credit, Julius found Karl's grandfather (Josue Kauder from Kynzvart, b 1726) and four of Karl's uncles (David's brothers). Naturally, the familiant and census records revealed other curious facts. They always do. But deceit, manipulation and a communal conspiracy to keep the authorities from finding out? As Julius wrote, "in fifteen years of studying familiant records, I have never seen such <u>balagan</u>." Now, *that's* saying something.

But why spoil the story?

I had written in my original draft of this preface: "If you are a seasoned researcher, I doubt you will learn anything new. You will probably smile repeatedly at my ignorance and grimace at my mistakes. However, if you are a beginner, these pages will fuel your search." The last two sentences remain true, but the first must be rewritten –

Even seasoned researchers will find our discoveries unusual and provocative.

This story includes, intentionally, both my discoveries and mistakes. I could have air-brushed over the rough edges to compose a very pretty research picture. This might have left beginners too intimidated to walk in my steps. *Analyze Czechoslovakian records inscribed in antique German?* Are you kidding me?

I puzzled over blurred, bizarrely-inscribed and hilariously stylized alphabetic

'letters' (letters so-called, though I remain suspicious) and lived to tell about it. You will too. Impress your friends at parties by showing them an old record and daring them to extract a single word. Unless a Bohemian has time-traveled (the ones from Bohemia, not New York's Greenwich Village), I guarantee complete victory.

But this booklet initiates us into the lives of Jewish families in Bohemia which were anything but a parlor game. The intentional viciousness as of the region's Familiant Law led as well to unintentional absurdities. Did the Kauders and Dolitschen escape the consequences of a bungling conspiracy to legitimize the marriage and family of rabbi David Kauders by dumb luck? Or had they shrewdly stuck a thumb-in-the-metaphorical-eye of a structurally anti-semitic system with such subtlety that government officials certified an illegal familiant record while 'apologizing' to the Kauders for having wronged them?

I will close with a confession. My title, "Decoding Familiant Records", seemed a tad grandiose at the start. Could I really show how a professional genealogist painstakingly 'decodes' familiant records?

My intuition proved sound. Translating mysterious German script was the least of it. We Kauders, present and past, made Julius Muller bring every one of his hard-won *decoding* skills to bear on interpreting our long-ago familiant schemes. Julius Muller managed, virtually speaking, to legitimize the marriage and family of David Kauders *yet again*. It hadn't been easy for Dolitschen folk then or for us now. The whole affair seems rather a balagan ...

Enjoy.

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The repressive familiant laws defined Jewish experience in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia from approximately 1720 to 1850. The records spawned by these regulations often become the key to finding our ancestors.

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My search for Karl Kauder's father began with valuable, but fragmentary, records pointing to a familiant who lived in Dolitschen.

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The Toledot website indices familiant families according to the district where they were licensed. Familiant research begins there.

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In my case, a single familiant record transformed my knowledge of the Kauders and suggested fresh strategies for pursuing more discoveries.

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I found a useful record online that confirmed a portion of the familiant license, while Toledot kept an eye out for related Kauders records which are not yet public.

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Additional records unearthed by Toledot taught me how familiant licenses were bought, sold and transferred. This gave an intuitive feel for the era which has helped me understand more conventional Bohemian data.

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The Kauders purchased their familiant license from Lobl Bloch. Did these two families

develop additional ties that I should integrate into my search strategy? Make your

judgment based on my experience.

Our Secret Decoder Ring 42

No such ring exists, but our final review of the data helped us make corrections,

stabilize what we knew and place into context the irregularity of the Kauders' familiant

records. So we thought.

Balagan 47

It seems the Kauders, Blochs and Dolitschen community leaders expertly fooled the

clerks and landlords, bumbled their way into a perilous solution to the dilemma which

faced David Kauders, or both. Either way, they claim the prize: Julius Muller has never

seen records like this across many years of research. You're welcome.

Knowns and Unknowns 58

I review plan the next stage in my search for more about the Kauders, Grunhuts and

Lehners of Bohemia. Might golf be on the agenda?

Toledot Making a Difference

This will help you evaluate Toledot's services on your behalf. Whether or not you retain

them for genealogical research, their non-profit archival work deserves your financial

support.

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# Familiants the Key

Nearly everyone with Jewish ancestors from Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia comes upon the 'familiant' as soon as they take up genealogical research. The rest of us may think, "oh, okay, something about ... families, right?"



Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia ca 1928. Borders shifted repeatedly with changes in sovereignty over the centuries.

Right. We will be wrong, though, if we take familiant as a Bohemian synonym for family life. Civil authorities legislated the Familiant Law expressly to limit the Jewish population<sup>1</sup> and suppress Jewish participation in the professions.

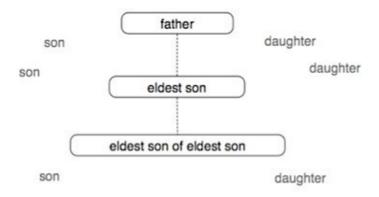
This was no case of a law wreaking unintended consequences. The familiant laws sought to produce social disruption, poverty and discouragement across multiple generations of Jews. How else (the reasoning went) could this destructive, yet energetic, people be suppressed? Outright banishment had been discarded because of the loss which would accrue to the Bohemian state and people.

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Sample of a detailed familiant record featuring a different Kauderer family in Tucapy

In simplest terms, the law set a numeric ceiling on the maximum number of Jewish families would be permitted to conduct themselves as citizens, rather than be treated en masse as illegitimate.<sup>2</sup>

To gain a sense of scale, approximately No more than 8,541 families were permitted in Bohemia.<sup>3</sup> In Moravia, the number was capped at 5,106. In both, Jews were segregated into separate living quarters.



All except the eldest sons of familiants might as well have been invisible

Jewish heads-of-houses (eldest males) in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century Bohemia who had inherited or acquired the rights of a <u>familiant</u> gained a pathway to licit marriage and

family.<sup>4</sup> A schutzjude (protected Jew) status was given to some men whose trade skills were deemed useful by a local landlord. This allowed legitimate marriage, but could not be inherited by sons. All other Jewish marriages and children were deemed <u>illegitimate</u>. Beyond the crushing religious, social and familial pressure, this societal stigma prevented younger brothers from seeking work. They often opted, reasonably, for emigration to Slovakia and, if feasible, to cosmopolitan Vienna.<sup>5</sup> Julius Muller and Randol Schoenberg wrote:

In 1726, due the order of the Habsburg ruler Charles VI, the number of Jewish families was limited by quota to 8,541 in Bohemia and 5,106 in Moravia. To enforce this quota (or "numerus clausus"), a so-called "Familianten" order was issued. According to this order, only the first-born son of each Jewish family was given permission to marry (called a "copulatio consensus"). The permits could also be sold if there were no son to inherit them. The Familianten order was in force until 1848. As a result, many Jews who could not obtain marriage permits emigrated from Bohemia and Moravia.

One other result of the Familianten laws was that the government kept very good records of which families lived in which towns. Records were collected in 1799 and in 1811 and updated until about 1830. Each record comprised the name of county, registration number of the family in the whole land (based on "copulatio consensus"), the registration number of family in the county (set up in 1725), name of the father, his wife, his sons and a few other family details.

(Consult their <u>must-have guide</u> for getting started with Czech-Jewish genealogy.)

With the notable exception of Prague, Jewish families in town like Dolitschen/ Kopetzen, Prestice, Malesice, Nedrazice and Kynzvart) were both small in absolute numbers (ten? twenty-five?) and a small proportion of the total number of families who resided there (five percent? fifteen percent?). They were forced both by poverty and social pressures to crowd into fewer homes than needed to sustain their families. Many were converted to multi-family dwellings by necessity.

Consequently, during the years 1750-1820 (at least) and sometimes to 1850 or later, Jewish families in a given town knew each other intimately – probably far more than

they would have preferred. Their children often married one another from necessity, if not choice, especially during the earlier period.<sup>6</sup> At least, their eldest sons did. Communities knew where their 'illegitimate' children had migrated to search for mates, work and a bit less oppression than the towns of their birth.<sup>7</sup>

We almost do better to think of them (and ourselves, their descendants) as the relatives of all families who dwelt together in the same town. If the Kauders were from Dolitschen, well, then, I am related also to the Blochs, Grunhuts, Lederers and Spitzes of Dolitschen. What it meant to be a Bohemian Jew in those days in those towns bound everyone together as *family* in an unnatural, but quite profound, manner.<sup>8</sup>

The Familiant Law was introduced in 1726 by Charles VI (1685-1740), a notorious anti-Semite. Yet, even that law seemed moderate against the far harsher designs of his daughter and Bohemia's next ruler, Maria Theresa.





Maria Theresa, reigned 1740-1780

Looting after Jewish banishment (from Prague City Guide)

She had outright banished the entire Jewish population of Prague in 1741 and wrote in 1777, "I know of no greater plague than this race, which on account of its deceit, usury and avarice is driving my subjects into beggary. Therefore as far as possible, the Jews are to be kept away and avoided (Wikipedia)."

Despite, as well as because, of Maria Theresa, familiant records provide a very good resource for researchers investigating their family histories. The unfriendly filing of familiant records *then*, becomes a most friendly genealogical key *now*.

Justly confident these Familiant records were well-recorded and maintained, we may use them to confirm the identity of many people from that era, including people from your ancestral families and mine.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Officials sought to cap the Jewish population in Bohemia to 30,000 souls. However, a century after its commencement, 75,000 Jews resided in Bohemia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Familiant families would be treated as second-class citizens. Other Jewish families held no legal rights at all. These might receive the irregular charity and even kindness of their neighbors, but were not entitled to legal protections.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>The Bohemia number was taken from this Jewish Virtual Library <u>article</u>. Also see Lenka Matusikova in a longer introduction to the <u>history of the Jews in the Czech lands</u> with emphasis on document archives. Finally, see the chapter on "Our secret decoder ring" for relevance to my search. Unlike the so-called "familiant", a *schutzjude* 'class' had long existed in Germanic lands under varying forms.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> In Bohemia, a widow was occasionally given the familiant rights which belonged to her husband.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Bohemian history was, with a few <u>exceptions</u>, free of the far worse pogroms which faced Jews living to the East. In Bohemia, <u>the rulers</u> were often more hostile than the general population. Still, a biographer of Kafka could write of the early 20th century that he lived in a world in which "anti-Semitism (was) so pervasive in Bohemia that in their daily life Jews, even assimilated Jews like Kafka, took it for granted ... It was part of their landscape, no different in its permanence from the Charles Bridge, the Altstadt, the Hradcany Castle, and the Moldau. Kafka notes in his diary that 'there were perhaps only two Jews in my class possessed of courage, and both shot themselves while still at school or shortly after." (cited from "<u>Franz Kafka: The Tremendous</u> World Inside My Head").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> But note that an informal network of religious teachers and, perhaps, even peddlers, freer than others to move between towns, developed an informal information network to put families with children of marriageable age in touch with one another. The ancient tradition of the shiduchim (match-maker) may also have continued, if somewhat hidden from view.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The familiant laws were rescinded in 1848. Jewish communities and families showed themselves unexpectedly prepared to prosper by means of well-established communal webs across Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia. Brothers and cousins who had long kept-up family communications now helped one another 'above the table'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Stated more precisely, the long-held Jewish commitment to close family life was distorted by the Law, though it continued, on balance, to sustain the community.

## David Kauderer of Dolitschen

You have little or no personal interest in my family story, but you will have even less interest in my treating Bohemian familiant research as a dry, abstract topic. What are familiant records but coded *stories* about people that log births, marriages, occupations, emigrations and deaths?<sup>1</sup> To best describe their role, I must tell you a story about my great-great-great grandfather, Karl Kauders.

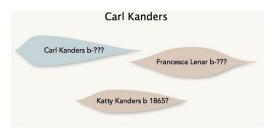
#### Karl who?

I had never heard the name 'Karl Kauders' or, for that matter, the names of anyone on my mother's 19<sup>th</sup> century maternal line until she was in her eighties. Due to a remarkable turn of events, I had begun researching my family history on both sides. Before she passed away, Mom handed me a piece of paper on which she had written in her then-wavering, yet still careful, script: "Katherine Kanders".

"That was my grandmother's name," she said. My mother either couldn't or wouldn't answer my rapid set of questions beyond a few fragmentary facts and stories that are not germane here.

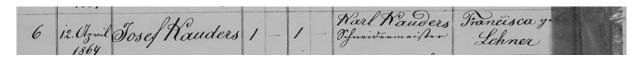


This was John and Katherine Munzinger's wedding photo. Katti had arrived in the states, I believe, only a month or two earlier.



What we know (1)

Thanks to FamilySearch, I soon found online the indexed wedding record for "Katty Kanders" (to the left of the wedding portrait above). However, I searched over five years for "Carl". Kanders was a fairly common name among American emigrants. I decided early that his surname was either mis-spelled or simply wrong.<sup>2</sup> Still, I could do little until I found a record to tie 'Carl Kanders' to himself in Europe. In spring, 2012, long, tedious research produced the so-called lucky break. I found *Karl Kauders*, master-tailor, in Vienna with Franciska Lehner at the birth of their son, Josef Kauders, in April, 1864. I had never heard of Josef...



Josef Kauders, b April 12, 1864, Vienna. Atypically, an origin was not recorded for Karl or Francisca, though the boy was circumcised in a regular manner.

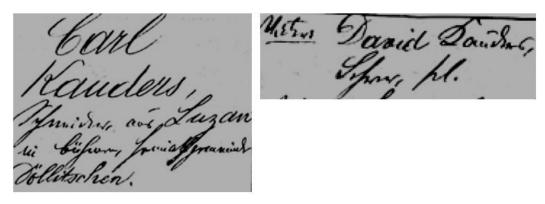
Recently, I borrowed microfilm from FamilySearch and inspected my great-grandmother's wedding certificate. It recorded her father's name as "Carl Kanders". However, my great-grandmother's own signature (see the wedding portrait and records at the top) above) showed her name to have been "Katty Kauders". From this, I have learned a costly lesson about the importance of obtaining the complete records for those indexed only partially online and inspecting them myself.

In any case, the Vienna birth record for Josef Kauders led fairly quickly to a fascinating set of records Karl Kauders supplied later to rabbis in Vienna upon the occasion of his third marriage in March, 1869. <sup>3</sup>With his divorce approved in Pilsen by noted rabbi Heinemann Vogelstein, <sup>4</sup> Karl Kauders married Leni Gluck in March, 1869.



Not Dolitschen, but a late middle-ages vision of <u>Eger</u> (today, Cheb near Koenigsberg/Kynzvart)

Karl's wedding record in Vienna named 'David Kauders', a religious teacher already deceased, as his father. Karl wrote down his birthplace as 'Dolitschen' and 'Luzan' in Bohemia and his birth year as 1832. All was new and exciting news to me.<sup>5</sup>



Karl's 1869 wedding recorded him as a tailor from Luzan (Dolitschen), Bohemia, born to the late David Kauders, a (religious) teacher.

I turned right away to Hugo Gold's historical survey<sup>6</sup> of Bohemian Jews. Articles are organized by town. Jewish families identified by choice and necessity with their local origins. Patience will reward a careful slog through the German with decipherable family names, occupations and, at times, photographs ca 1870-1920. Many chapters have also been translated into English.

# Geschichte der Juden in Dölitschen.

Bearbeitet von Oberlehrer Wenzel Wach, Mies.

Das Dorf Dölitschen (č. Telice) liegt 175 km südwestlich von der Bezirksstadt Mies in einer, den romantischen Siebenbergen vorgelagerten Talmulde. Es wird zum erstenmal im Jahre 1115 urkundlich genannt. Herzog Swatopluk stiftete im Jahre 1108 das Benediktinerstift Kladrau. Sein Nachfolger Wladislaw beschenkte das Stift im Jahre 1115 mit 25 Dörfern. lierung des Gutes erwarb im Jahre 1919 Wenzel Schwab aus Prostiboř den Restbesitz.

Die Judenfamilien sind in D. zu Beginn des 18. Jhts. nachweisbar. In der im Jahre 1716 von der Besitzerin des Gutes D. Anna Franziska Wolfinger verfaßten Bekenntnistabelle finden sich folgende Angaben:

The History of the Jews of Dolitschen, original German

Happily, Dolitschen's history had received detailed treatment then and an English <u>translation</u> today. More important, the author listed 'David Kauderer' as a familiant dwelling there within an 1830s time frame.

In the church archive in Prostibor is a Matrik of the Jewish community for 1794-1840 compiled by the priests Wenzel Stohwasser Johann Prohaska. There you find the following families listed: Markus Bloch, #I; Zacharias Ebstein, #VI; Simon Raumann, #VII; Lederer, #VIII & X; Benjamin Sperber, #X; Abraham Klein, #III; Moses Schleub, #IV; Moses Spitz, #7; Lobl Wudl, #XI & XIII; Schwarz, # I & II; Moses Steiner, # 21; Salomon Raumann, #3 & III; Salomon Spitz, #VIII; Abraham Wail, #III & V; Israel Auer & VII; Zacharias Steiner, #II</br>
 VI; Zacharias Steiner, #II</br>
 VI, X, 5; Ezechiel Raumann, #40; Ezechiel Ebstein#XI; Simon Beck #X; Salomon Lederer, #XIV; I Lobl, #III; David Kauderer, #VIII; Joachim Steiner, #35; Simon Brik, #X Abraham Habermann, #XV; Salomon Mohauer, #XI; V Groschl, #VI; Josef Lobl Bloch, #II; Jeremias weil, #III; Salomon Steiner, #IV; Nehemias weil, #V; Leopold Wolfler, Kopetzen.

David Kauderer, Dolitschen familiant, house number eight

Now, the savvy researcher cannot expect to find documented citations from historical writings for, say, a great-great-great grandfather. Those documents usually told the story of a town's illustrious citizens<sup>7</sup>. Most of our ancestors, like ourselves, were wholly obscure. Even when a similar surname and given name surfaces, we almost always find that two, three or even ten individuals shared<sup>8</sup> the same name in that place at that time. Caution must rule.

I decided the heck with caution. I shared my find within minutes with my wife and any descendants unfortunate enough to be within virtual hailing distance. After all, Dolitschen had been a small town. Not many Kauders families had lived there and fewer still whose bearer carried the given name "David". As for 'Kauderer' instead of 'Kauders'? That was a bit bothersome, but would prove trivial, or so I hoped.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I poke fun at the language as inscribed, but I dearly wish I could read the German. Not infrequently, those who recorded (usually a Jewish official who lived in the same community) left lengthy notes of explanation about 'this' or 'that'. But which 'this' and what 'that'? I have no idea. Unfortunately, I cannot ask my mother or grandmother, who were both fluent.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Reflecting, I would now advise my earlier self to research name variations/changes more carefully. Nearly all who used the surname 'Kanders' in the U.S. had used 'Kauders' in Bohemia or Slovakia. Though I was vaguely aware of the possibility, its probability somehow escaped me. <sup>3</sup> Let me express my deep gratitude to Wolf-Erik Eckstein of Vienna who so graciously provided initial translation and also searched for other records. As well, Dr Albert Posamentir and his sister kindly endured my silly questions, while investing time to help a stranger by a still more detailed, thorough translation of the Kauders wedding documents.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Though well-known in his own right, Heinemann became even better-known thanks to his famous son, rabbi Hermann Vogelstein of Breslau and New York. I did not know until recently of the Koenigsberg (Kynzvart) connection between Vogelstein and the Kauders, however tenuous it may actually have been.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> FamilySearch has photographed, though not indexed, many Jewish records from Vienna.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The book can be found online, but this English-language <u>index by towns</u> to its German chapters will prove helpful. See also the <u>partial English translation</u> at JewishGen.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Of course, Bohemian familiants became, by definition, noteworthy members within their community, whether they were merchants, rabbis, tailors or farmers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> This proves particularly vexing for Bohmian research. The familiant laws restricted the number of surnames and given names permitted for use, even by approved Jewish families. 'Dawids' (Davids) abounded.

## The familiant indices

Though David Kauders in Vienna seemed a plausible match to the David Kauderer of Dolitschen, this must remain speculation until a confirming record could be found. Since Dolitschen's David Kauderer had been a familiant, might not his familiant record prove the connecting key? <u>Toledot</u> to the rescue!

Toledot has long been the lengthened shadow cast by Julius Muller's personal and professional passion. Julius is a former cancer researcher who lives in Prague. The difficulties he encountered in his own family search led, by stages, to the founding of a non-profit organization, Toledot (for תוֹלְדֹת which means, roughly, generational descendants).

Fortified, I assume, by his Bohemian antecedents, Julius Muller can read the bizarre, migraine-producing German script misnamed "kurrent" which was used to torment (so I imagine) young schoolchildren. He has long experience coordinating familiant records with census records to find zayde (grandfather) and bubbe (grandmother), wherever they be.



Clickable indices map from the Toledot website

As resources permit, Toledot publishes regional <u>indices</u> (above) to family names recorded in the familiant books. Ultimately, they hope to publish most of the detail pages from those books as well.<sup>1</sup> It was time to venture forth and explore the terrain.

From the <u>Toledot site</u>, clicking "Klatovy (Region VIII)" gave me Telice<sup>2</sup> (<u>Dolitschen</u>) in Volume IV. I have highlighted Telice per the graphic below and to the left. The graphic to the its right shows a partial list of the families found in that same Volume IV.

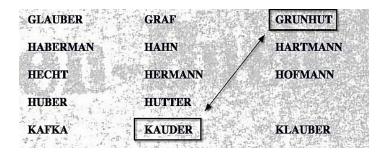
VIII/ volume IV.	GLAUBER	GRAF	GRUNHUT
Family Name Index Kout na Sumave	HABERMAN	HAHN	HARTMANN
Klenova Kolinec	HECHT	HERMANN	HOFMANN
Cervene Porici	HUBER	HUTTER	
Kopec, Prostibor, Telice Darmysl	KAFKA	KAUDER	KLAUBER

Telice above was formerly Dolitschen; to the right a partial list of familiants in Telice

The index of family names for Telice did not list a "Kauderer", but did record a "Kauder". This tended to confirm my intuition that David *Kauderer* might well turn out to have been David *Kauder/s*.

Of course, no given names were listed in the index above, nor was finding the Kauderer name a surprise. I would have been dismayed if a "Kauder(er)" had been missing. Still, it reinforced the likelihood Karl Kauders did hail from Dolitschen<sup>4</sup>, even if I could never identify him with this *this* 'David Kauderer'. Might these other surnames for Hubers, Hutters, Klaubers and the rest be of use as well?

One name leapt out from that original list of surnames: *Grunhut*. Karl Kauder's wedding record had listed "Sara Grunhut" as his mother. A <u>Grunhut surname</u> was quite common in that district of Bohemia. Still, Hugo Gold's Dolitschen chapter had named 'Josef Grunhut' as a familiant. Could my Sara turn out to have been a daughter, niece or sister to Josef Grunhut? I marked this down for later research.



The Kauders and Grunhuts might plausibly have been related by marriage.

Returning to Toledot's regional index for Klatovy, what else could I surmise which might help my research?



Luzany proved to be a tiny village which was walking distance from Telice

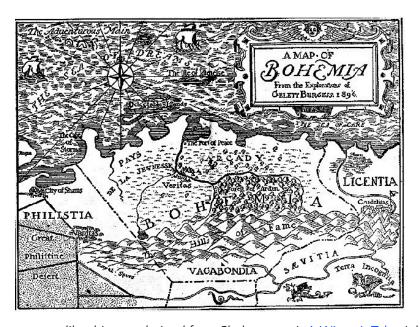
I noticed Telice, Kopec (Kopetzen) and Prostibor were joined at the hip, with Kout na Sumave, Klenova, Kolinec, Cervene Porici and Darmysl close behind.

I noted too that the <u>Klatovy Region page</u> included records for a "Luzany" in Volume V. Even a noted Austrian researcher had been unable to identify the "Luzan" of Karl's 1869 wedding record. Since several widely separated Bohemian hamlets used a similar name, this was hardly surprising. Thanks to Toledot, I now had evidence that the "Luzan" closely connected with Dolitschen/Telice was probably Karl's "Luzany".

Naturally, I opened the <u>Volume V</u> index that contained Luzany, hoping to find Kauders as a familiant. I was a bit surprised to find neither a Kauder nor a Grunhut. On reflection, this meant little. These Toledot indices recorded the names of families who held a familiant license, not the names of all the families who may have been living in a given place.

David Kauders had been issued a familiant license for Telice/Kopec (Kopetzen)<sup>5</sup>, not for Luzany<sup>6</sup>, but this did not mean he (or Karl) could not have chosen to live in Luzan. The civil authorities viewed these towns as a single administrative district, so no special approval from possibly hostile officials was necessary.

Finding "Kauder" for the volume including Luzany would have further strengthened my confidence that I was on the right track, but I already had sound reasons to believe I had hit upon a solid search and geographical path.

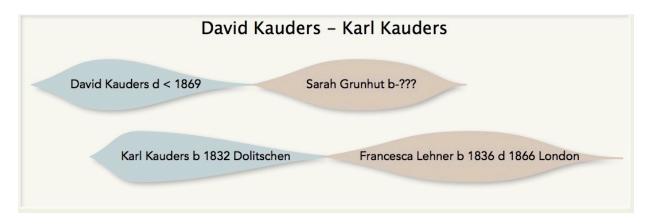


Admittedly, fantasy maps like this one derived from Shakespeare's <u>A Winter's Tale</u> yield limited value.



These maps, however, are both in the public domain and may be used freely.<sup>7</sup>

While Toledot's familiant indices were useful, nothing available on the site was likely to answer my specific questions. I decided to review what I knew, only to realize I was again listing all that I *didn't* know.



What we know (2)

- 1. We didn't yet know where the David Kauders from Karl's wedding record had been born, though Hugo Gold's book and the familiant records encouraged us to keep our attention fixed on Dolitschen.
- 2. We didn't know when David Kauders had married Sara Grunhut and whether Karl Kauders had other siblings. Nor did we know anything about David's own parents or siblings. A 'Moritz Kauders' served as Karl's witness at the 1869 wedding, but we didn't know whether Moriz was a child of David Kauders or some other relation.

Summing up, despite a few tantalizing hints, I still knew little more about my great-grandfather, Karl Kauders than when I begun.

I wouldn't say I conceded defeat, but I realized it was time to enlist Toledot to find and decode familiant records which could only be studied on-site in Czechoslovakia. *Did*Julius Muller know his stuff or not?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Toledot has made the entire content of an important handful of these books accessible (see especially the nine books from <u>Region XV (Tabor)</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Name changes for villages, towns and entire regions between 1800 and today were frequent, driven usually by political and nationalist considerations. The Czech 'Telice' succeeded the Germanic 'Dolitschen'.

- <sup>3</sup> Variant names prove tricky because no single rule handles all cases. Often, a Kauder will never become a Kauders, but remain always and stubbornly a Kauder. Meanwhile, another Kauder may move 'carelessly' during one lifetime between Kauder, Kauders and Kauderer. In still other cases, the variants occur through transcription errors by clerks. As a starting assumption, minor name variants cannot disprove identity, though they hardly confirm it.
- <sup>4</sup>The Viennese wedding records were quite accurate. While I could not prove by this record alone that Karl Kauders was this David Kauderer's son, I could assume Dolitschen/environs to have been Karl's birthplace.
- <sup>5</sup>At the time, I had not read the Gold chapter carefully enough to realize his list included familiants from several surrounding towns, not Dolitschen alone. Thankfully, my instinct was correct, though my knowledge was sloppy.
- <sup>6</sup> A Kauders or Grunhut familiant in Luzany would almost certainly have known the Dolitschen families well, at a minimum.
- <sup>7</sup> See also this <u>public domain map</u> of Bohemia, as well as <u>this map</u> and <u>this map</u>, these <u>many</u> <u>maps</u> and, finally, this most charming map of Bohemia, the <u>earliest known</u>.

# Little boy Kauders

Did Julius Muller know his stuff or not? It didn't take long to find out. I received this email from him a few days later:

Hi Russ,

I checked some of my records that I gathered during last couple of years and this is what I found on previous generations.

Domicile Kopetzen; land familiant licence no.5341; domicile familiant licence no. 14 from Bloch Lobl of Dolitschen/Telice; his only son died as a child and the licence was transfered (bought by):

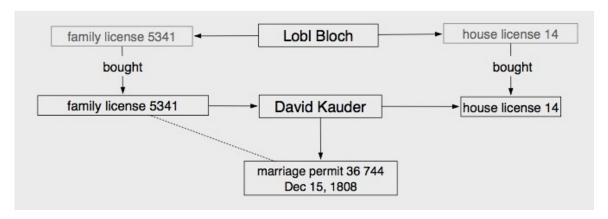
Kauder David of Konigswarth/Kynzvart, son of Josue Kauders and Kreisel nee Moises; wife Sara nee Grunhut. His marriage permit no. 36 744 was issued on December 15, 1808

David's sons: 1812 Elias (he became the next familiant), 1813 Samuel, 1818 Josue (so the grandfather died), 1820 Jakob, 1822 Benjamin, 1824 Moises, 1829 Markus, 1832 Karl.

So that's why I like familiant books so much.

Enjoy,

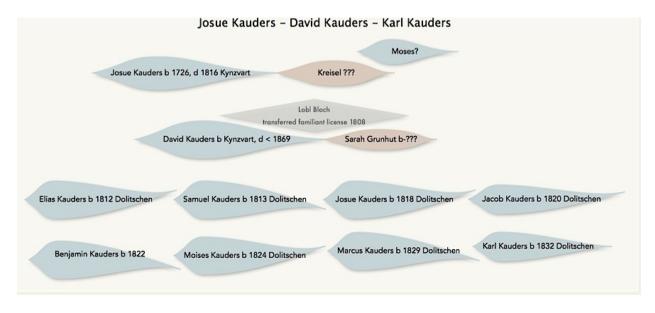
Julius



Familiant license 5341

Lobl Bloch owned familiant license 5341. As was customary, Dolitschen community leaders reassumed control of his license once he realized he would bear no more sons.

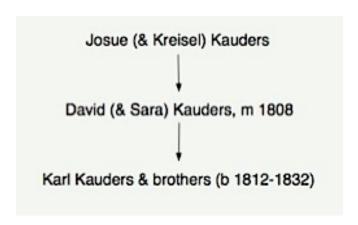
The community sold the license to David Kauder. From that point forward, this license number belonged to the David Kauder family, not the Lobl Bloch family. The familiant license also enabled David to obtain a house permit as well as a legal marriage license (36 744)<sup>1</sup> and marry Sara Grunhut.



What we know (3)

I was not surprised to find confirmation about David, Sara and Karl Kauders and Dolitschen. I was surprised to learn Karl had been the youngest of David and Sara's eight sons and who-knows-how-many daughters.<sup>2</sup> What could I learn from this familiant record beyond the obvious?

#### 1. Who were these Kauders?<sup>3</sup>



- a. Josue and Kreisel Kauders (see Julius Muller's email above) were David Kauder's parents.
- b. David Kauder married Sarah Grunhut on Dec 15, 1808. David and Sara Kauders had eight sons: Elias (b 1812), Samuel (1813), Josue (1818), Jakob (1820), Benjamin (1822), Moises (1824), Markus (1829) and Karl (1832).

#### 2. Where did the Kauders live?

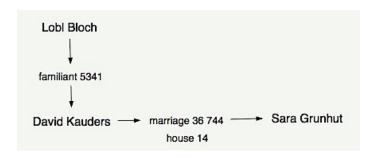


detail from Bohemia map ca 1850 A.D.

- a. David Kauders was from (born in) Kynzvart, home to his father Josue Kauders.
- b. David Kauders lived in Kopetzen after he acquired the familiant license.

Kynzvart was to the northwest of Kopetzen, though both were in the Klatovy region of central Bohemia. Pilsen served as the industrial, cultural and administrative hub of that area and the world-famous center of <a href="mailto:beer-making">beer-making</a>. But, possibly, I digress.

#### 3. What was the status of the familiant license?



- a. David Kauders acquired his license from Lobl Bloch of Dolitschen.
- b. Lobl Bloch had borne one son. That son had died.
- c. The land license number was 5341; David Kauder's permit to marry Sara Grunhut was 36 744. The house license was "14" though Gold listed him at house VIII in the Dolitschen area<sup>4</sup>.

#### 4. What can we deduce from these facts?



a. Sara Grunhut's inclusion in the Dolitschen/Kopetzen familiant record confirms we have located the David Kauders we sought from the original 1869 wedding record of Karl Kauders. We could proceed confidently to further research.<sup>5</sup>



b. Most Jewish families named children after parents or grandparents only after their death. Therefore, we may assume that Josue Kauders (David Kauder's father) died after Samuel's birth (1813) and before the birth of Josue Kauders (David Kauder's son,1818).

## 5. How should I adjust my search strategy?

For starters, I decided to look for Josue Kauder in Kynzvart. Learning more about his origins might lead me to the right towns and related Kauders of future years. But even before I had settled on a larger strategy, I heard again from Julius Muller.

Once more, I would rewrite the family narrative ...

.... oh, and it turned out that my deductions above included one serious error (which was wholly avoidable) and another, related one which was not, at least not at that point. Can you spot it?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Familiant licenses, domicile licenses and marriage licenses were awarded independently. If David Kauder had been widowed, he would have requested permission to marry a second time under a new license.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>As of the conclusion of this research, I have still not found a single daughter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>I will use the most common spelling (Kauders), rather than the minor variants of Kauder, Kauderer or Kauter.

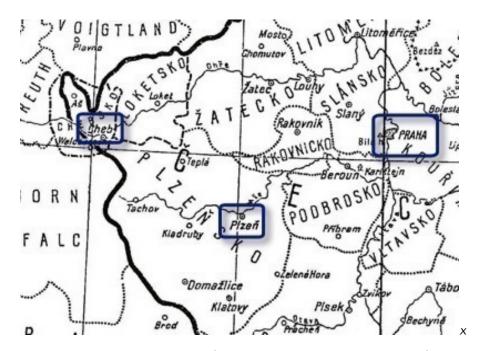
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Jews were required to use Roman numerals by contrast with their Gentile neighbors.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>The Kauders name was fairly common. The names David and Karl were quite common. Sara was a very common given name and the Grunhuts were so common they could be found everywhere in that region. We were fortunate to secure such clear confirmation of my great-great grandfather's family.

# Josue Kauder of Kynzvart

Before I heard back from Julius Muller, I made a discovery of my own. As I concluded the last chapter, I had reasoned, "why not look for records on Josue Kauders en route to learning more about Karl Kauders?" I began with this fragment from Muller's earlier email about one of the sons (Josue), born to David Kauders: "... (born)1818, Josue (so the grandfather died)."

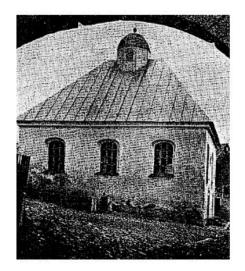
Since both *grandfather* Josue and *father* David Kauders were connected with a "Kynzvart", I turned to Hugo Gold's history for help. Kynzvart wasn't listed. Searching the web for <u>Kynzvart</u>, I learned that *Lazne Kynzvart* had been known, in German, as Konigswart and was a spa town in the Cheb district of Karlovy. I went through my map collection. A modern map showed Cheb to be about 60 miles from Pilsen, the city and administrative hub for the area that contained Dolitschen.



Cheb is shown to the northwest of Pilsen and Pilsen south and west of Prague.

Returning to Hugo Gold's book, I found he *did* have a chapter on Konigswart (Kynzvart) after all. The name meant "the king's guard". European history, it seems, had expended much political and intellectual capital on little Kynzvart.<sup>1</sup>

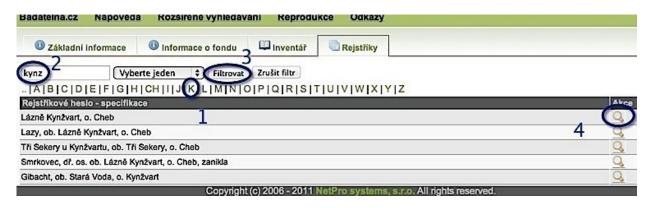
Renowned for its healing waters, Kynzvart had served as an historic refuge for Jews fleeing periodic pogroms in nearby Cheb (Eger)<sup>2</sup>. Kynzvart's medieval mikvah (ceremonial bath) in the basement of a local home outlasted even the Nazis and can be visited today. Surely, Josue Kauders and, perhaps, David Kauders as well, bathed ritually at that spot.





Kynzvart synagogue (Hugo Gold); a mikvah in Rokycany similar to the one in Kynzvart.

With a heightened sense of time-and-place, I opened the irreplaceable <u>Badatelna</u> records of Jewish communities in Bohemia<sup>3</sup> and searched on "kynz":



Names of Kynzvart-area localities for which records are online.

Following my lead may help you on your first approach to similar records. I clicked "K" (1); typed "kynz" into the search field (2); clicked 'Filtrovat" (3) and then clicked the

magnifying glass for the first entry of 'Lazne Kynzvart, o Cheb' (4). That displayed the following set of documents ("N" stands for birth records, "O" for marriage records and "Z" for death records):

	KYNŽVART
957	N 1783-1839
958	N 1839-1895
959	O 1840-1893
960	Z 1784-1839
961	Z 1840-1895
962	N 1841-1866 O 1840-1865 Z 1840-1866

The specific record volumes available for Lazne Kynzvart o Cheb per list above

I worked through volume 957 (birth records between 1783-1839). I couldn't find a record<sup>4</sup> for David Kauders or *any* Kauders. The next most useful volume seemed to be 960 (death records for the years 1784-1839). Would it contain a record for Josue Kauders, his wife or perhaps a child?

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Deaths recorded in Kynzvart, volume 960, page 16

The handwriting for Bohemian records varies wildly. I classified this one as "crazy, but not entirely ridiculous." I decoded the line below with high confidence:



Detail of record for 'Josue Kauter'

I read this line as "died Aug 19, 1816; house 12; Josua Kauter, aged 90 years, cause of death: old age". (I'm not certain the German word means "old age", but if it didn't, it should.

Granted, "Josua Kauter" was not "Josue Kauder", but this record was consistent with Josue's likely lifespan. His 1816 passing fit nicely with the range of years given in David Kauders' familiant records for the births of his sons – Samuel Kauders had been born in 1813 and Josue in 1818. While I had not added to our existing knowledge, we could now insert birth- and death-dates, provisionally, for Josua (Josue) Kauders.<sup>5</sup>

However, Julius Muller stood poised to supply a set of new facts even before the 'ink dried' on my own small finding. I was about to learn much more about my great-great-great-great grandfather, Josue Kauders.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Find relevant information on Kynzvart's <u>prominent citizens</u> and, again, <u>here</u>, as well as facts on the <u>town cemetery</u> and, finally, a charming article about the life of <u>Rabbi Oppenheimer</u>. The article says he was born in Worms, but it seems he was born in Kynzvart.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Eger had been the birthplace of Bohemia's most famous Rabbi (David Oppenheimer, whose life overlapped Josue Kauders). It boasted the oldest synagogue in Bohemia, continuously used across seven centuries until it was destroyed by the Nazis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>The records archived at <u>this link</u> contain a wealth of birth, marriage and death records collected between 1770 (approximately) and the 1930s. The user interface (Czech, of course) combined with the handwritten German records can be intimidating, but repay browsing and study. Consult this guide, co-authored by Jullius Muller.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Since these volumes do not always contain all the records, I could not determine whether David was born elsewhere, or whether he simply wasn't listed here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> For consistency, I will use the given name "Josue" throughout this booklet.

## The Kauders as Familiants

Hi Russ.

OK, let's do it in more detail.

In the attached copy of Josue Kauder (Familiant book HBF 66), you can see him as son of Josue (?) Kauder and mother unknown. It could be just the ignorance of the clerk who wrote the book. Or his father may really have been Josue from unknown!? mother side ..."

Anyway, Josue Kauder spent time in Nedraschitz (today Nedrasice), very likely desperately looking for familiant status. He finally received a marriage permit in 1784 in Dolitschen (Telice) in Kopetzen (Kopec) herrschaft. His wife was Gressel nee Moises (alias Kreisel). It could Grete/Margarete which is Pearl in German. They had three sons, your David, Isaak and Aron.

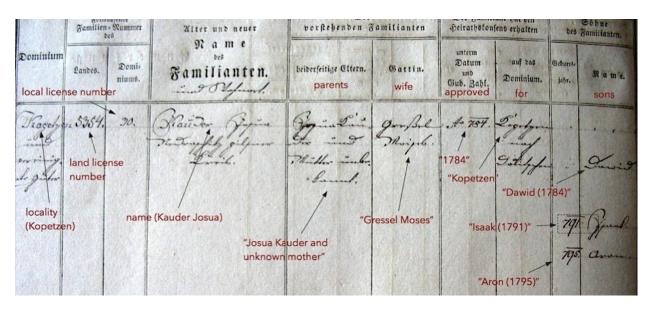
Page 2 shows it was really him - he died in Kynzvart on August 19, 1816. I do not know all the tricks of the past, but the notes read that the status was transferred / predated in December 15, 1808 to Josue's son David.

Regards, Julius

Julius Muller's email above confirmed, independently, that we had identified the 'right' man.<sup>1</sup> More exciting by far, though, was the discovery of David Kauder's younger siblings – Isaak and Aron. I couldn't help wondering immediately what had become of them. Do I have cousins alive today through them?

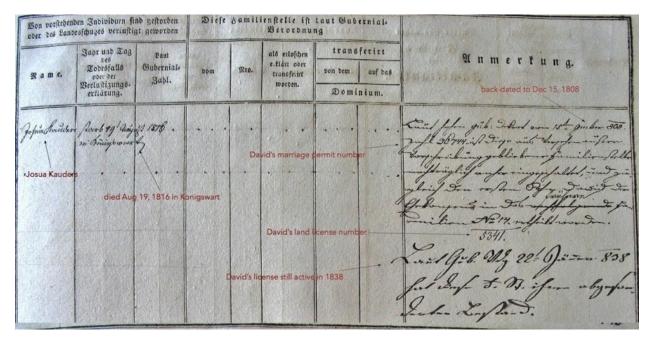
Julius hinted at the possibility of something a bit unusual about the back-dated transfer of Josue's license to his son, David.<sup>2</sup> However, it was also unlikely that Josue's own father had also been named Josue, given naming patterns in Jewish families. Any irregularities in the record were probably due to an ill-trained government clerk.

Here is how, with Muller's help, I decoded the familiant records attached to his email.



Josue Kauder's familiant license as recorded in the book for Kopetzen

- 1. This record was filed in Kopetzen for land license 5354 under a localized license 30.
- 2. The familiant's name was Josua Kauder. His parents were listed as Josua Kauder with an unknown mother. Gressel Moses was recorded as his wife.<sup>3</sup>
- 3. This license was approved in 1784 for Kopetzen in Dolitschen. Three of Josue's sons were listed: David (born 1784); Isaak (1791) and Aron (1795).



The second sheet of Josue Kauder's license.

- 1. The sheet showing the license transfer to David Kauders was filed in the Kopetzen district for land license 5341.
- 2. The familiant's name was David Kauder. However, Josua Kauders is still listed as the license-holder, because the record was being transferred from father to son.
- 3. This license was backdated from Josue Kauder's death in Kynzvart in 1816 to Dec 15, 1808, when David married Sara Grunhut under marriage license 36744. David was also assigned house number (domicile) 14, the same one assigned to Lobl Bloch from whom the original license had been acquired.

I won't repeat word-for-word the questions I asked Julius Muller, but give his answers here. It will be helpful to review again this portion of an email from Muller that I posted in the chapter, "Little boy Kauders" –

"Domicile Kopetzen; land familiant license no.5341; domicile familiant license no. 14 to Bloch Lobl from Dolitschen/Telice. His only son died as a child and the license was transferred (bought by): Kauder David of Konigswarth/Kynzvart, son of Josue Kauders and Kreisel nee Moises; wife Sara nee Grunhut' marriage permit no.36 744 issued in December 15, 1808.

Once Josue had purchased the license from Lobl Bloch in 1784, I would have thought that David would not have been required to purchase it later as well. Surely, Josue could have stipulated it would be given to David at his death, since the record was heritable? Julius commented that these records might have been cobbled together by a clerk in Prague from several different records. Possibly, they did not grasp the relationship between the original license and the transferred license. In other words, however irregular the process appeared, it was unlikely David was forced to pay for his father's license.

The boldly inscribed text which was added in 1838 (see lower right of license above) merely reiterated that the 'David Kauder' license remained active. This suggested to me that David Kauders was still alive on that date (June 22, 1838).<sup>4</sup>

Finally, though Josue died in Kynzvart, he resided for some years in Nedrazice. Conceivably, David, Israel and Aron were born there or, perhaps, Kopetzen.



Nezvestice (Nedrazice) was scarcely ten miles from Prestice (Dolitschen, Kopetzen and Luzany).

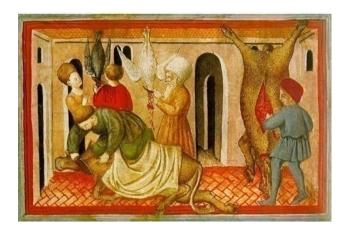
Almost before I could complete my own analysis of these records, Julius Muller contacted me again. I have divided his email into three parts for clarity:

It is getting even more fascinating. I checked the 1793 census records and found Josue Kauder neither in Telice nor Kynzwart but elsewhere; well not very much farther, but 30 miles from Telice. This was the only Josue with that name. Well, he was listed as 'Kautter', but this must have been him.

During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the central government took a <u>periodic census</u> of its Jewish inhabitants. These can be extremely valuable for deeper genealogical research, but, like the familiant books, are not yet available online.

Josue 'Kautter' was a schulmeister (religious teacher which in those days mean a rabbi and a shochet! living in Malesice near Pilsen and having his domicile in Kopetzen. This domicile record identifies him.

A <u>shochet</u> did kosher butchering for the community. In 1700s Bohemia, rabbis from small communities often added the duties of a shochet to their other religious tasks.



Medieval painting of a shochet at work.

This time, I wasn't surprised. My family on both sides, all centuries, every culture, seems to "get around". Families throughout the Pilsen region probably met Josue Kauder, either to be taught Torah, buy meat or both. Still, this was, indeed, fascinating. Josue had not only been a rabbi but a kosher butcher. His father's profession no doubt explains how David Kauders became a religious teacher, as his son Karl noted on his 1869 wedding record. The real surprise was learning that David had at least two more brothers and *older* ones at that: Lieberman and Marcus.

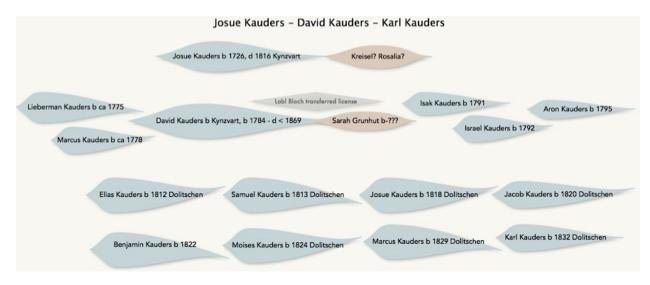


Malesice lay to the north and northwest of Nedrazice and due north of Prestice and Kopetzen.

Josue's wife was Rosalia. His children were Lieberman, Marcus, David, Isack and Israel. Aron was born after 1793. It could be that Israel died young. Lieberman and Marcus were already out of the house, I guess, when he was recorded in the familiant book. These books were compiled in 1811, retrospectively, from earlier documents.

Once again, both familiant records and census records, unavailable online, had supplied vital family information that I might have never found otherwise. Within a few

days, my knowledge of my mother's mother's family had traversed an additional century in time and grown to include numerous uncles and great-uncles as direct relatives. If Julius was correct about Lieberman and Marcus, we might also be able to take a reasonable guess at their birth-dates.



What we know (4)

What next? For some reason, as I worked through the records and imagined myself a Kauders, I felt that LobI Bloch and his familiant license might be the key to making further discoveries. I had a story rolling around in my head ...

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I have made minor copy-edits to Julius Muller's emails. Though a superb writer of English for a non-native speaker, he would not have expected at the start that his informal emails would be published to the world. He has most graciously allowed me to do so.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>I learned later that eldest sons could exercise the familiant rights of their father even while the father was still alive. Why would back-dating, then, have been necessary in David's case?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> I found later in Kynzwart records a long-resident Mosauer family. While I couldn't find a record that seemed to fit 'Gressel', I suspect she may have been a Mosauer.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>This seems cogent, since David had sons who surely would have gladly received his familiant license as their own if he had already died.

### Getting It All Wrong

I followed up Julius Muller's work with another discovery of my own. The record below, from Prestice, lists the death of a Loebl Bloch of Luzan on May 1, 1841. Prestice was a modest town about 80 miles southwest of Prague, but larger than Kopetzen or Dolitschen and so became their archival site. More pertinent, Luzan fell within Dolitschen's administrative sphere.



Loebl Bloch, familiant in Luzan, died March 2, 1841 aged 88

This Lobl Bloch had been born 88 years earlier in 1753 and was a true contemporary of Josue Kauders. Moreover, Karl Kauders described himself as a Luzan native in his 1869 wedding record. Could this be the same "Lobl Bloch" from whom Josue had purchased his familiant license?

I spun out an entire story (let's give it the grander title of "hypothesis") based on this notion. In my mind's eye, I envisioned the Blochs and the Kauders becoming fast friends and perhaps even intermarrying with one another. I devised a fascinating-to-me theory about how Josue and Lobl Bloch might have met. My story ran into trouble, though, over one solidly contrary fact: the Lobl Bloch above would have been a fairly young man of 30-or-so when he sold his license to Josue Kauders in 1784. How did Bloch know he would never bear another son of his own? Might he have suffered a physical injury of some kind?

I asked Julius Muller to consider my theory. That lead to this simple, concise communication:

Lobl Bloch died in 1788! By saying that Josue or David bought it, I meant bought it from the landlord's office - not from Lobl Bloch. It was the office (sometimes even involving Jewish community leadership) who dealt with free/available licenses.

Oh. Happily, I find every insight into the history of familiant "product marketing" ca 1800 quite interesting. Given the impact of familiant licenses, wouldn't community leaders be involved? Could local 'politics' be avoided, both Jewish and otherwise? As for my Loebl Bloch above? *Never mind*.

Besides, my story hadn't been so very implausible for three reasons.

Muller's own email had stated that David Kauders purchased his license directly from Lobl Bloch. I had myself raised with Julius the possibility that Josue might have purchased a different license than David. If I had known from the beginning that Josue had purchased it himself from Loebl Bloch, let alone that he had died in 1788, I would never have ventured down this road.<sup>1</sup>

Second, the Lobl Bloch who did sell his license to Josue Kauders lived barely 15 miles from Kopetzen and the same distance, from a different direction, to Pilsen.

Finally, the Kauders license was tied tightly to Dolitschen and Kopetzen/Luzany. The Lobl Bloch who died in Luzan in 1841 may well have been related, even closely related, to the older Bloch.

Fourth, well, there is no fourth. I'm an idiot. If the Lobl Bloch who was a peer and familiant of David Kauder(er) in Dolitschen was the same Bloch who had sold his license to Josue or David, he would no longer be a familiant himself. But the Lobl Bloch record shown above describes the man, clearly, to be a familiant at the time of death. Q.E.D. If 'my' Lobl Bloch had surrendered his license, he couldn't have gone down later to the Familiant Store and purchased another one. In other words, he would never have shown up in the same Dolitschen familiant list in Hugo Gold's book as David Kauderer, because David would have taken his place.

Why expose my inexperience here? I want to convey, truthfully, the "feeling" of genealogical research. Mistakes are. Genealogical research is difficult. Families recover

the truth of their past by constructing the most plausible possible stories about their ancestors.<sup>2</sup> To make progress, we must stitch together fragmentary records and make sense of their *possible* connection by forming a story about the people they connected (then) and connect (today). Whether families do this consciously and intentionally or intuitively and subconsciously, all families do it. Mistakes are inevitable and forgivable, provided we correct them.

Even many families without the weighty ties of inter-locked familiant licenses, living in the same town, married one another. I would still wager that the Kauders and Blochs grew close between the years1784 and 1841. Did rabbi David Kauders<sup>3</sup> preside or, at least, eulogize this Loebl Bloch and the larger Bloch family on that occasion? Did the eight-year old Karl Kauders of Luzan attend Loebl Bloch's funeral in Luzan? The former was possible. The latter was likely. At the very least, the Dolitschen Kauders must have known the younger Lobl Bloch well. Avoiding your Jewish neighbors would have been the truly insurmountable challenge in towns with scant Jewish populations like Luzan.

I could dream up a few other plausible stories as well. For instance, Josue Kauders, rabbi, might perhaps have been related to the famous rabbi <u>Samuel Loeb Kauders</u> of Prague (1768-1838), himself the son of a David Kauders<sup>4</sup>. Josue surely knew of this talented younger rabbi from Prague, only 60 miles away, and may well have met him.

While most Bohemian rabbis lived in poverty,<sup>5</sup> Josue may have been the son of a relatively prosperous or, at least, long-established family. Both Josue and his father had been born before the familiant laws blocked Jewish prosperity. Josue was able to travel widely and had found the means to purchase what was, usually, an expensive familiant license, especially if its communal holders had put it out for the Bohemian equivalent of a silent auction.<sup>6</sup>

I had planned this as the final chapter. But as Julius Muller and I dug deep to understand why the familiant record of Josue and David Kauders had proved irregular and, so, confusing, we realized we were looking at something more than confusion. Words like "manipulation", "deceit" and even "conspiracy" appeared in our mutual emails ...

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The fault does not belong to Julius Muller. The 'fog of war' becomes confusing amidst multiple search paths with multiple records which must be vetted repeatedly against both old and new finds. Even here, I myself got the process wrong. Licenses were purchased from the community, not from the holder of the familiant license.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Healthy families do. Other families, like some on both my paternal and maternal side, suppressed, confabulated or outright lied about their family stories.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>While I have described David Kauders throughout as a rabbi, the descriptive term of his son's 1869 wedding record ('lehrer') might have placed him instead as a full-time religious teacher. While Bohemia did not develop yeshivas in the mold of a Poland, Galatia and points north and east, devout families did support (poorly) men who led informal yeshivas. Their vocations disappeared gradually in the 19th century as Bohemian Jews sought and gained access to secular education for their children.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Just as farmers and tailors knew of one another, so rabbis, if not more so. Though David was a common name, Jewish naming practices followed ancestral patterns and Josue did, we know, name a son "David". While there were doubtless a handful of Kauders patriarchs in the region whose own genetic ties may have been quite distant, I doubt there were more than a handful, if that, of distinct Kauders "lines". Josue and Samuel David Loeb Kauders could quite possibly, if not even probably, been first- or second-cousins. I find it very odd that no one seems to have identified this famous rabbi's forebears until now.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Most 18th century Bohemian Jews lived in poverty. Due in large part to the intentional design of the Familiant Law, nearly all rural Bohemian Jews and most in Prague, were *wretchedly* poor. Considering their Gentile neighbors were hardly well-off, this says something.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> From the <u>Yivo Encylopedia</u>, "The system lent itself to bribery (regarding the inscriptions in Applicants Books), disputes over expired Familiants status, and blackmail by authorities, among other abuses. The system was often misused even by Jews themselves in personal quarrels."

## Our Secret Decoder Ring

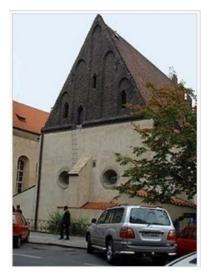
During the 1950s, Captain Midnight helped boys and girls decode mysterious messages with the magic 'decoder ring', courtesy of commercials for the chocolate-flavored drink, Ovaltine.



Watch Captain Midnight of the Midnight Squadron explain how to use the ring.

No such decoder ring has yet been found or created to solve the mysteries of Bohemian Jewish genealogy. Even <u>the Golem of Prague</u> never found the key, so far as we know.





The Golem of Prague and the synagogue where his 'remains' are said to lie still in the attic.

Still, we can decode our Bohemian ancestry by doggedly reviewing the data so long as this corrects earlier assumptions or clarifies what we thought we knew. For simplicity, I will let a rapid set of emails exchanged between Julius and myself comprise the main content here.

We begin with Julius Muller's reply after my questions. These may be expressed elegantly as – what the ... ??!!%^&\$\*\*#\$?!? is going on?

#### Dear Russ:

I will try to somehow summarize what I think about this agenda. I hope it makes things clearer :-)

Josue Kauder's familiant record looks like regular familiant status. This indicates that he did not have to bother to get it. In other words he inherited it from his father.

(The record did not contain notes included to explain how a non-familiant had obtained a license.)

David Kauder had to work on it, not being the first-born. So he got it from someone named Lobl Bloch. Why his license was 'removed' or 'abandoned' (abgesondert) for almost 40 years, I do not know.

(I had focused two questions on the licence, because I had not realized Jewish communities would leave them 'lying around' as it were. They didn't. Across many years of research, this marked the first time Julius had seen this annotation. Despite both expertise and fluency, we cannot yet decipher the writer's intent.

I also asked whether the changed numbers of the familiant license were common.)

When any son (= firstborn) got the licence/status after his father, the number NEVER changed. The different numbers (5354 and 5341) mean the licence was not transferred from Lobl through Josue to David, as we now know. I would expect the first-born son (Lieberman) got it from Josue, but we do not have any evidence yet.

I will check the register of all Kauder/Kauders familiants. Let's see if I can locate the other sons. Concerning other Kauders of Telice (Dolitschen), the local archives in Klatovy may have some records (Civil Censuses starting in 1857, register of inhabitants, last wills, probate records). We will go there together one day, I hope.

Regards,

Julius

I followed up this email with detailed questions about Josue Kauder's travels, licenses and children and especially the data from the 1793 census:

Hi Russ,

Well, genealogy is not easy stuff, we both know that. And it is about real people, which makes it more real, but also more surreal...

(Any genealogist who uses the word 'surreal' should be retained immediately. I am serious. This is especially true for Prague genealogists, rightful spiritual heirs of Franz Kafka.)

I wrote something at first like 'Josue Kauder struggled to obtain a marriage permit (= familiant status)'. I did not know now what I believed I did then. Anyway, it is obvious that he did move from place to place looking for a living permit or for marriage permit or, very likely, both.

(Again, a familiant license did not offer an automatic route to stability. "Living" (house) and "marriage" permits could also pose obstacles to normal family life.)

What we know for sure:

The 1793 census reads Josue's domicile as Kopetzen, but he lived in Malesice, 30 miles away. The Kopetzen familiant book showed him as a familiant with a marriage in 1784, who died in Kynzvart.

(We were fortunate the Malesice census record had not read "Malesice" for domicile. Thus, Julius could confirm that our Josue Kauder from Kopetzen was the one listed by the 1793 census.)

We do not kow what happened to David's brothers Lieberman and Marcus. I checked the register of familiants of all Bohemia. They were not listed. This means that they either died in childhood or left for Hungary (most likely). Did I mention to you that one son of David Kauder, Josue, born 1818, left for Hungary in 1843? Maybe, he followed his uncles' path.

(No, you hadn't. Grrrr. )

David got the his permit in 1808 in Kopec (Kopetzec) - this we know for sure. We know also the number of this act was listed (no. 36744). We do not yet know why the note about the empty licence was made in 1838. Elias Kauder used David Kauder's license in 1840, anyway.

Kind regards,

Julius

Facts and interpretation interact, leading to more questions. After reflection, I asked, "why couldn't Josue simply live in Kynzvart, since he had his own familiant license?" Julius answered below, introducing the concept of the schutzjude:<sup>1</sup>

Hi, Russ,

I guess that Josue Kauder could not look for a marriage permit of the 'schutzjude' type (the only other chance for Jewish regularization besides the familiant status). He was a rabbi, but only craftsmen (glaser, shoemaker) were considered important enough for a community landlord to allow them a non-familiant living (house) permit.

(Did we have reason to believe that Lleberman and Marcus, David's older brothers, were still alive in 1816 when their father, Josue, died in Kynzvart?)

... and 2) We do not know what happened to Lieberman and Marcus. Josue died in 1816, but David got his permit in 1808. So he did not have to wait.

(I asked where Julius had found the new-to-me information about David's son, Josue).

- ... and 3) It was on page b of David's sheet (Familiant book of Kopetzen HBF 66). It also looks as though Josue Jr. got married in 1843 (act no. 68442). I do not know more.
- ... and 4) the license said in 1840: "wife of Elias Kauder, Johanna nee Hübschner, permit September 17, 1840, act no.50468".

(I stated my assumption that sons had to wait for the father's death before they could excercise the privileges of the familiant license).

... and 5) wrong assumption: firstborns did not have to wait till their father died. It is sometimes written that way in textbooks about Familiant Law, but this was not reality. Often, you can see from the list of sons on a licence that the third or fourth son was named after grandpa (the familiant). We know the others were born before the grandfather had died.

(... because of then-standard Jewish naming practices).

Regards,

Julius

If I have trouble keeping up with 'what we thought we knew' and where we stood at this point, how can I blame my readers if this becomes their experience?

Before— We believed, originally, that Josue Kauder, a non-familiant, had purchased a license in 1784 from Lobl Bloch. After Josue's death in 1816, that license was transferred to his eldest son, David, and back-dated to 1808 when he had married Sara Grunhut. At that point, we knew nothing of David's older brothers.<sup>2</sup>

After— We now felt confident that Josue Kauder had been a familiant and that his license had gone to the eldest son, Lieberman. David had acquired his own license from Lobl Bloch. While the process seemed rather irregular, given the inexplicable 'inactivity' of the license and the 1838 note, well, the past is as big a mess as the present, no? Besides, one has to end this booklet somewhere. What had been envisioned as a high-level, 20-page overview of familiant records was threatening to turn into a Bohemian version of Dostoevsky's Crime and Punishment.

### Precisely.

I wrote Julius Muller that I was now prepared to fix things up and put the booklet to bed within a day or three. I couldn't. After blaming myself for coming down with a twenty-four hour case of writer's block, I realized something else was on going on. This chapter worked out okay, but when I reviewed the earlier chapters against the entire set of 'facts' about the Kauders, I couldn't explain their situation even to myself. How could I possibly explain it to readers?

Oddly and uncharacteristically, I became angry and, then, discouraged. I bombarded Julius with a blitz of questions and conjectures which boiled down to ... well, this much I knew. I would need yet *another* chapter to explain it all.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Schutzjude status in Bohemia meant that the head of a household had somehow become valuable to the area landlord, for instance, as a Glasier (glass-cutter). This status included a non-transferable marriage permit. The same familiant and schutzjude status existed in neighboring Moravia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>These reasons fit together. If we had known then of David's elder brother, Lieberman, the irregularities of Josue's license would have come to the fore earlier. Likewise, we would not have assumed that a licit (if irregular) transfer had been made from Josue to David as 'eldest son'.

# Balagan

I had erred grossly about the (later) Dolitschen 'Lobl Bloch'. He was not the Lobl Bloch from whom David acquired his familiant license. Still, would a family to whom the Kauders were mere strangers have put their preciously obtained familiant license at risk, first by leaving it dormant and then (far worse) releasing it for communal manipulation? Why were there two records with two different numbers? Why did clerks inscribe notes, three decades later, cunning enough that we couldn't really translate them? Where were Lieberman and Marcus Kauders during all this? Why was the community scheming on David's behalf?

Because I had absorbed, step-by-step, my guru's teachings about familiant records, I had become convinced these records were profoundly 'wrong' or, even, illegal and said so in rather heated language.

Hi Russ,

We do not know if Josue's licence went to Lieberman or Marcus. What we have is the note (amerkung) which read that "David was Josue's first son."

It could be as you suggest that the Bloch family had been 'sitting' on Lobl Bloch's license. I agree that they (or the community leadership in charge of managing the permits) wanted it to look as though David had inherited his license from Josue. An explanation was offered for the license having gone unused for so long: 'versehenauser verschreibung gebliebener familienstelle'.

There was a kind of conspiracy behind that, I believe.

Julius

I had first used the word 'conspiracy' myself, not melodramatically, but purely descriptively. The Kauders and the Blochs (at least) had devised a *plan* to mislead the authorities. But I didn't grasp the shocking risks their chutzpah posed for them and all Jews in Dolitschen until I read Muller's email: "David Kauders, the eldest son of Josue Kauders."

The Kauders and, it seems, others, flat-out lied to the authorities, in writing, on the dreaded and powerful familiant license record itself.

If their deceit had been found out, the anti-semitism<sup>2</sup> which hovered just below the surface of Bohemian life might have ignited with unforeseeable consequences. The same disconnect between this record and thousands of others that Julius had noted as unprecedented suggests that the authorities could well have chosen to exact an equally unique punishment.

#### Hi Russ,

Concerning your latest questions, I really appreciate your thoroughness asking the questions to make things clearer.

(I had asked whether David's license mentioned his father. Julius had also noticed my anger and frustration (not at him, of course) and teases me about it a bit below.)

Josue Kauders was not mentioned at all on David's own familiant sheet. But I am afraid I will make you mad at me again by one single phrase - guess which it is? The fact that the clerk used the term "versehenauser verschreibung gebliebener familienstelle" is another reason for lifting an eyebrow...

On Josue's sheet, a note (amerkung) stated that this licence (no.5354) "which was left aside/unnoticed due to a mispelling mistake (versehenauser verschreibung gebliebener familienstelle) was transferred by act no.36744 in December 15, 1808 to his FIRST son David, who till then had the number 5341. This act no. 36744 is also mentioned on David's sheet, which confirms the continuity.

Is the logic of the process clearer now?

I guess the clerk who wrote the books in 1811 simply did not want to say straight out that permit 5354 was manipulated or corrupted, so he wrote rather diplomatically and it went unchallenged. Considering what we know about how difficult it was to get such a permit and that many left the country because they couldn't obtain one, this was a sign of enormous hypocrisy.

Julius

I suspect that Julius observed the flagrant hypocrisy of the government clerk. Quite possibly, the clerk<sup>3</sup> had recognized a problem. He may have decided an opaque note which seemed to explain everything while conveying nothing would protect local officials from taking blame later for a crazy Jewish scheme. If this meant one less familiant record available, these were just Jews, after all.

But could 'hypocrisy' not be assigned to the Kauders and Dolitschen's community leaders as well? They controlled an unused license over years to protect (and favor) the Kauders family. Some Jewish family in Dolitschen known to them, with father, mother and son(s), was deemed illegitimate because an available familiant license had been removed from circulation.

#### Hi Russ,

(For some reason, I continued to ask whether Josue was listed on David's license. My feeble defense is that I had not yet viewed David's license, but only Josue's license.)

Josue Kauders is not mentioned at all on David's familiant sheet, but David was listed on Josue's one. The note read:

"laut hohen gubernial dekret von 15ten Dmber (=Dezember) 1808, zahl nr. 36744 ist diese aus versehenauser verschreibung gebliebener familienstelle nachtraglich? eingeschaltet, und zugleich der ersten sohn Dawid der ehekonsens in das wahren familiantstelle nr.14/5341 ertheilt worden."

"By governmental decree on December 15, 1808, act no. 36744, this mistakenly overlooked familiant license has been belatedly reinstated and granted immediately to the first-born son, David.

Truly amazing,

Julius

I find it striking that Julius Muller had himself been so 'caught' by the uniqueness of these records that he retranslated the note on Josue's record a second time above, even as I kept repeating a question I had asked earlier.

"Truly amazing..."

Not only was the community enmeshed in a conspiracy, but the clerk asserted that he now endorsed the conspiracy – *officially*. The record was made to say the government *office* misplaced the license (5354, evidently) which had belonged by right all along to David Kauders as Josue's 'eldest son'. Benevolently, Bohemia had now, graciously, righted this wrong for the Jew, Josue Kauders.

"Rather than wait and re-use the 5354 license, we belatedly and immediately corrected our mistake so the first-born son could marry ...' as though the 5354 license had disappeared behind some time-space warp and couldn't simply be copied

or written on a fresh sheet of 19<sup>th</sup> century paper with David's name on it and filed normally.

Perhaps the fault did lie with the government office. Julius Muller had proposed that solution when the irregularities first began to force themselves upon our attention. Why had Muller changed his mind?

#### Hi Russ,

We know from historic reading that the familiant law enormously disrupted the climate within families. It produced conflicts between brothers and other family members, of course, especially with the father, holder of the status.

(I had speculated on steps we might take to confirm, finally, our new conspiracy theory and/or discover a better way to understand what took place ...)

This is my comment on this particular case. We need to find out what happend with Lieberman and Marcus if we want to solve the issue 'properly'. I have seen many, many familiant books and the fact that neither David nor Lieberman or Marcus were listed on Josue's sheet as the following generation is very strange indeed. I have regularly seen that second- or even third-born sons were able to get familiant status after someone else could not bear sons. However, they were always given their own page in the familiant book. I have never seen such balagan with this kind of note before.

(Balagan comes from a Yiddish expression which could be translated as "mess" or "chaos". My family would translate my own use of this by one of my own frequent and notorious declarations, "what a joke" or as I myself prefer, "what a disaster!"

I had been unable to find any of David's sons (or daughters?) in the area, so I speculated they might wisely have looked for chances to skip town ahead of future trouble over their meshugener elders.)

I do not think that, as you wrote, David's own sons would have begun leaving the Dolitschen area even more readily because of the risks that arose by this kind of record. No, they were used to living with constant uncertainty about the attitudes of clerks and landlords. They would not view this alone as a reason to emigrate. Young men (second, third-born, etc.) left because of the Familiant Law itself.

I do agree that the community lied knowingly about David Kauders to arrange an irregular and, really, illegal transfer of license 5354 to 5341.

This brings me to David's son, Josue Jr. In the enclosed sheet, note this on page 2 (David Kauder HBF66 p2) in the middle part: "Josue nach Ungarn uebersiedelt (Josue relocated to Hungary), according to (or based on) Gubernial act no. 68442 in the year 1842."

(I assume the younger Josue was required to leave Bohemia by the government as though banished. I hope we will someday find "government decree 68442" and decode its ground and intent.)

The other note (1838) was, interestingly, written on both sheets, Josue's sheet as well as David's sheet. This confirms your theory: all involved, even the clerks, tried to keep everyone from getting in trouble over the earlier mess and, certainly David's eldest son, Elias.

#### Julius

Julius Muller had changed his mind because there were simply one too many unprecedented aspects to these records – aspects which verged on illegal or had, more likely, broken the law explicitly and intentionally.

First, recall from the last chapter that the number given to a family never changed in successive generations. It didn't matter who had erred. Yet, David Kauders was said to be Josue's eldest son while ending up with a familiant license which had a different number than the one the government assigned his father. No one did this by mere 'mistake' or, at least, no one ever had.

Second, the son to whom the father passed his familiant license was always listed on the father's record. Yet, neither Lieberman (Josue's eldest son) nor David (the miraculous second-yet-eldest son of the same Josue) were listed on Josue Kauder's record. No son was listed. Yet, Josue Kauder's license had not been assigned to another Jewish family. This could hardly have been a mere mistake.<sup>5</sup>

Third, we emphasize again what makes even weighty reasons seem minor: the Kauders and allies had lied brazenly to the government about David's birth order within the family.

Finally, reducing even the third consideration to a triviality, the government took 'responsibility' for all of these mistakes and tacitly apologized for them. Julius Muller's comment was, if anything, understated:

"Truly amazing."

European governments had never developed a habit or even an impulsive tendency to apologize to Jews about anything, ever. Neither the clerk nor a landlord would have lied about David's birth order because they cared for the Kauders or Dolitschen Jews. They could have been deceived by the Kauders, but they would not deceive on behalf of the Kauders.

Recall that non-Jewish community leaders as well as Jewish leaders managed familiant records. Indeed, the former held real authority; the latter only an informal, delegated authority. If anything, this makes the affair more shocking still. What brought these two parties together at such risk to the entire town, should their arrangement be exposed to far greater authorities than both in Prague?

I judge it possible, if not probable, that Dolitschen's landlord and/or other officials had been offered a quid pro quo from the Jewish community in return for passive cooperation. You say this constituted a bribe? No, dear friend, t'were merely a consideration and favor ...

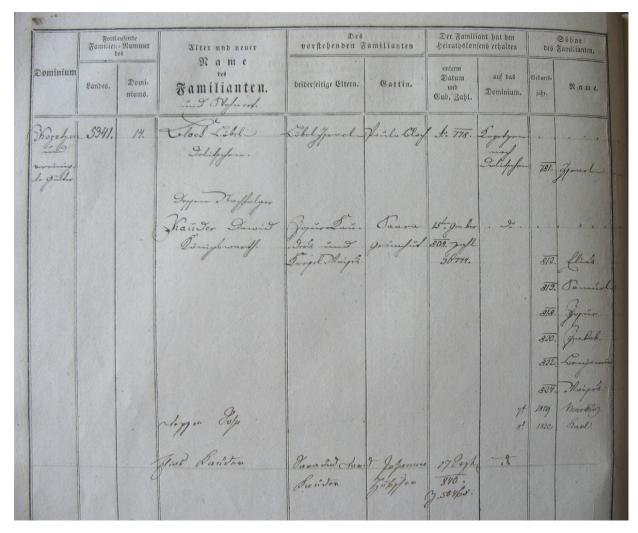
By this, both sides gained assurance neither would later renege on the other. If the Jews exposed the town officials, the latter would be shamed, but the punishment meted out to the Jewish community might have been awful. However, the town officials would hardly have wanted to expose the Jews and, so, as well, their tacit if not explicit cooperation with a familiant conspiracy. Whatever happened to the Jewish perpetrators (who cared?), their own careers, lives and families would face ruin.

This simplifies our hypothesis. It explains why the effrontery of the Jews was complemented by the surreal (thank you, Julius) note entered by clerks on *both* Josue and David's records. The odd phrasing of the 1838 note might then draw admiration. Just as Julius Muller was at a loss to interpret *or* reject its content, so those who read this in Prague probably concluded that the whole mess – what a balagan! – was best left as something inexplicable, probably foolhardy, but not criminal.

Even so, their combined efforts could not keep David's son, Josue, from emigrating (no, being emigrated) by the government to Slovakia in 1843. Why

would the emigration of one of David's middle sons have attracted any notice, let alone been recorded formally on the Kauder's familiant license? Again, this too was never recorded on familiant records because no one cared about any Jewish son except the one holding the license. Elias Kauders had held the license for three years by 1843 and would until the Law was finally rescinded. But recall Julius Muller's final comment on the email above: "all involved tried to keep everyone from getting in trouble and certainly David's eldest son, Elias." 6

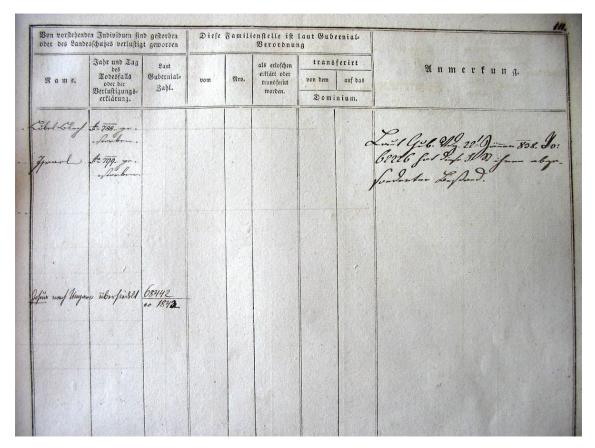
Only one thing remained before I could finish my not-so-little booklet. Could I see David's familiant record? I simply hadn't thought to ask.



David Kauder's familiant license, sheet one

Taken alone, this looks surprisingly 'regular'. David Kauders acquired license number 5341 from Lobl Bloch of Dolitschen. Bloch's father had been Lobl Israel and his mother, Paula Bloch. The license was activated in 1778 and his son, Israel Bloch, was born in 1781.

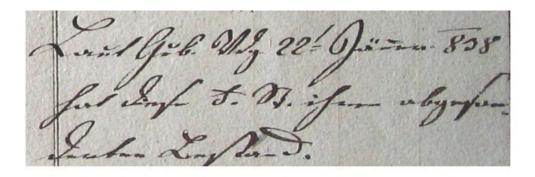
David's parents (Josue Kauder and Gressel Moses) and wife (Sara Grunhut) are listed above as well as his sons. Elias Kauder (see bottom, center) inherited use of the license, marrying Johanna Hubscher in 1840.

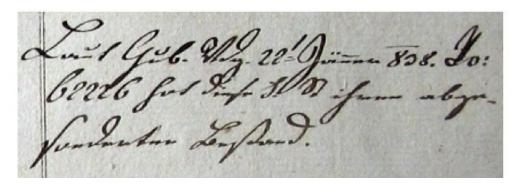


David Kauder's familiant license, sheet two

The second sheet of David's license gives Lobl Bloch (1788) and Israel Bloch's (1799) deaths. This served as routinely supplied data to explain why the license had gone from the Blochs to the Kauders.

The relevant portion of Josue's license from "The Kauders as familiants" is reproduced below along with the portion from David's license above:





Josue Kauder's license, top; David Kauder's license, bottom.

Both notes were penned in 1838, but by different clerks. I believe the clerk working with David's license had been instructed to copy the note already written, with more formally administrative penmanship, on Julian's note. He introduced a reference to another government decree (62226) which probably supplied separate verbiage to defend the unprecedented actions taken for the Kauders against both the letter and spirit of the Familiant Law itself.

Some who have read this chapter may ask, "why didn't David simply buy Lobl Bloch's license outright in 1808?" I myself had proposed in a footnote that the Dolitschen leaders had been keeping it for him.

He couldn't. Lieberman and/or Marcus, had not cooperated by their premature deaths. I loved the answer Julius gave when I asked him to comment:

Hi Russ,

By saying each license was assigned on the basis of "one family - one married son", I meant this was the general concept behind the Law.

It is good to realize that the clerk(s) who wrote the books in Prague in 1811 did not know very much about the whereabouts of people whose names he/they put in the books. Sometimes, you can even figure out who were the 'unknown' parents of someone just by looking at another page of the same book!

Julius

Whether the clerks who entered the 1838 notes were equally casual was another matter, already discussed. Two sons could not possess the same familiant license number simultaneously, even if one had received his by inheritance and a younger son had purchased a separate license. This 'problem' of David's need and the relative longevity<sup>8</sup> of Josue's eldest sons became the genesis for this entire escapade. It does not follow from this that Josue and Lieberman, or Lieberman and David, were estranged<sup>9</sup>.

I realize and want to underline that the story I have just told remains, unapologetically, a *story*. It seems quite plausible to me and, happily, to Julius Muller, but others (you?) might supply a hypothesis which better fits the data given in this booklet. We're all ears. Yours will be a story as well. This does not mean we should not prefer the most probable story. The best story may well prove to be the true and factual account.

Until we learn more, what, finally, had I learned about my great-great grandfather Karl Kauders and his family? What remains to be discovered?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This, though they did share the same or similar given names and were both familiants in the Dolitschen area. Lobl was, though, a common given name and the latter 'Lobl' was at least one generation younger, if not two than the older. Keep in mind, also, that Jews were only permitted to select from a small number of approved given names.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>It is true, as a footnote explained early-on, that Bohemia did not exhibit the crude anti-

semitism of some nearby countries. Still, Jews were despised. The Familiant Law alone offers terrible confirming evidence. Furthermore, the Jewish-only records we search mask this reality: Jews were a minority everywhere and, in small towns, a tiny percentage of the population. Dolitschen was not a Jewish shtetl or ghetto but a Gentile or 'christian' village which tolerated two handfuls of Jewish families so long as they kept to their quarter and it seemed more profitable than frustrating.

<sup>3</sup>Records came under the responsibility of civil servants in Prague. We do not know how much communication was conducted with officials elsewhere, though some exchange must have occurred. Otherwise, the Law could not have been administered centrally with any consistency. <sup>4</sup>Lobl Bloch's son died in 1799. For the next ten years, it seems that the license was shelved. Since Josue was already a Dolitschen familiant, the license might have been 'locked up' all along for David's later use. Alternatively, this suggests that Dolitschen leaders were not above 'managing' licenses politically against future exigencies, though unknown. Useful historical research might study whether this had become a pattern in other communities as well as Dolitschen.

Elf Lieberman had been listed on Josue's record, the Dolitschen scheme could never have been launched. But they could hardly write David's name in there until the boy was old enough to marry. Either in 1799 when Bloch died, or later, they decided to use Bloch's record but minimize risks by noting only that David was the eldest son without also writing him formally into the official column of the son to whom the license had come by right. Leaving that column blank might afforded important, if slight, protection against the consequences of later discovery. El suspect it was his name, "Josue", that had caught someone's eye. This may have led to a reexamination of Josue's license, a search for Lieberman as well as the same reflections on conspiracy that we have made. Part of the local Jewish cover-up might have entailed 'moving' Josue, the rabbi grandfather's namesake, for the sake of protecting the very name (reputation) of his grandfather. Coupled to a bit of help in resettling with good employment in Slovakia, why not?

<sup>2</sup>Note this is my own opinion as an amateur. A number of the character strokes seem to differ markedly between the two notes.

<sup>8</sup>As still further evidence to support our theory of a lengthy plan, not only was Lieberman not written into Josue's record, but only David, Israel and Aaron were listed on Josue's license. Julius Muller himself had concluded from this early-on that David had been Josue's eldest son. By keeping Lieberman's name from appearing in the column reserved for the eldest son, Josue's license had been constructed to mislead its readers.

<sup>2</sup>They probably were not estranged. It was Lieberman's rightful license, after all, that was being manipulated. When it came to punishing Jews, Lieberman would not have been overlooked. To the contrary, I think it unlikely that the Dolitschen elders, at least, would have proceeded unless Lieberman was known to have been on-board, if only passively.

### Knowns and Unknowns

I began looking for "Carl Kanders" almost seven years ago, armed with nothing more than his name (below left). I couldn't say whether Carl Kanders had been born in Bohemia, Hungary or even Romania. I didn't know if he had been born ca 1810 or as late as 1845. I knew nothing of his father, mother, siblings or grand-parents.



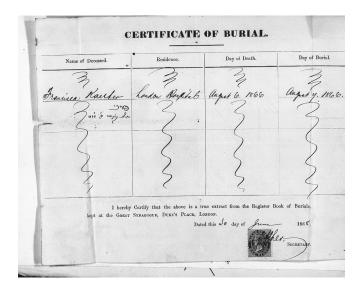
John and Katalin Munzinger on their wedding day in 1892

I made three serendipitous discoveries in fall, 2012 which identified Carl Kanders as "Karl Kauders". First came the discovery of my great-grandmother's brother, Josef Kauders, born to Karl and Franciska Kauders.



Josef Kauders

Second was the discovery of my great-great grandmother's death in London on August 6, 1866. She was buried the following day. Both Karl and Francisca were attendees at London's Great Synagogue. Not coincidentally, the Yiddish noted her husband to have been the son of a "David".



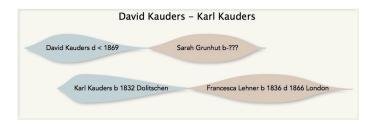
Francisca almost certainly died at the height of the terrible cholera epidemic of 1866.

The final discovery explains the second one. Francisca's burial certificate was contained within a set of wedding documents that Karl Kauders provided to rabbis in Vienna to legitimize his (third) marriage to Leni Gluck in March, 1869. These documents, in turn, included a letter from Heineman Vogelstein, Pilsen rabbi, certifying that Karl's divorce from an "Anna Woefler" had been justified. I will leave that fascinating story for the future.<sup>1</sup>



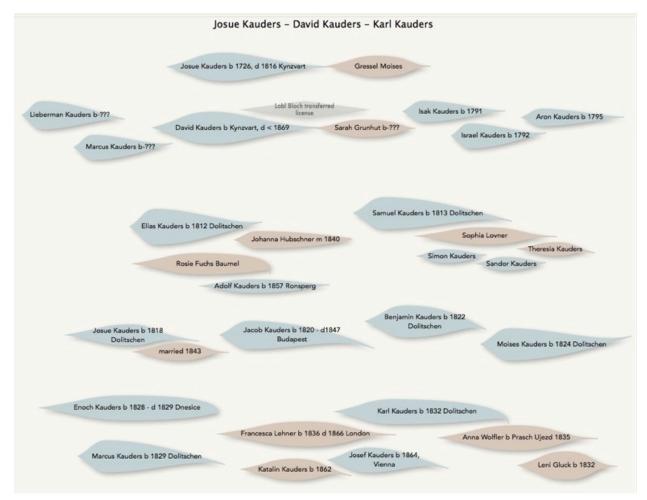
A portion of Karl Kauder's 1869 wedding record

The wedding record in the Vienna archives supplied Karl's birth year and birthplace, the names of his parents and references to his first two marriages.



What we knew at the start of this research

With the help of Toledot and Julius Muller, I have gained a remarkable degree of knowledge about Karl and his family over a few months of research.



What we knew at the conclusion of this research

But wait (as an American television commercial declares), there's more! Genealogical research follows a strange pattern. Periods of seemingly fruitless search give way to repeated finds. Because I now possessed facts about actual relatives, my searching into Bohemian, Slovakian and American records was bound to become more productive. Within days after completing the research here, I found:

David Kauders (the man himself) and Sara Grunhut in Dnesice, where Enoch Kauders was born in 1828 and Markus Kauders in 1829. I also found the death record for little Enoch in 1829.

The birth of Adolf Kauders to Elias Kauders (b 1811) and his second wife in 1857 in Ronsperg. Elias had become a rabbi, like his father and grandfather before him.

Samuel Kauders (b 1812), wife and children in Slovakia in their 1848 census.

The death of Jacob Kauders (b 1820) in Budapest in 1847.

Leads on David's son, Marcus (b 1829) and (I believe) a grandson who emigrated to America and may well have been known to David's grand-daughter, my great-grandmother, Katalin Kauders Munzinger, in New York ca 1900.

And leads on a number of the other cast of characters ...

These finds were rightly included in the graphic above. Each was connected connected with this round of research. Does more remain to be discovered?

The life (and death) of Karl Kauders after he married Leni Gluck in Vienna in March, 1869.

The birth record (with parents) for Sara Grunhut, as well as her death record.

The birth record (with parents) for Francisca Lehner (1836-1866), Karl's first wife and my great-great grandmother.

The Malacky wedding record for Karl and Francisca in November, 1860. This will probably include data about her birth parents).

The birth record for my great-grandmother, Katalin Kauders ca 1862. She connected her childhood with Vienna, but no record confirms that yet.

The whereabouts of Katalin's younger brother, Josef Kauders, born to Karl and Franciska in Vienna in May, 1864. So far as I know, my mother had been told nothing of Josef by her grandmother.

The reasons for the marriage and the divorce between Karl Kauders and Anna Wolfler. We are hopeful that Rabbi Vogelstein of Pilsen kept a record of Karl's letter to him and notes on the discussion held with Kohner Steiner (long-time rabbi in Dolitschen who would have known Karl as a child) and Marcus Lowy of Prasch-Ujezd, a long-term leader of that community.

The relational ties, if any, between my Kauders rabbis (Josue, David and Elias) and the great rabbi of Prague in the early 1800s, Samuel David Kauders. As well, we are searching for the birth family of Josue Kauders.

We have almost reached the currently known edge of the Kauders 'universe' in Bohemia or Slovakia (ca 1700). Filling in this gap about Josue may help connect our Kauders to other Kauders families in Bohemia, Moravia or Slovakia.

Have you seen any of these people in virtual time-space? Please let me know. Someday, I may be back with a few more chapters to add to this booklet.

Speaking of coming back ... home – wasn't I?



A view to the rear of Metternich's castle from the 17<sup>th</sup> green

The photo above looks out from the seventeenth green of the Kynzvart golf club to the back lawn of one of Europe's most famous castles. A long-forgotten Jewish rabbi, my GGGG grandfather, Josue Kauders, must have gazed towards the castle from this spot when just a lad – agog at the colossal spectacle of European royalty gathering to decide the continent's fate at picnics on that lawn.

Now, how can I justify a trip to Kynzvart so I can <del>play golf</del> visit this sacred spot and conduct sober genealogical research?

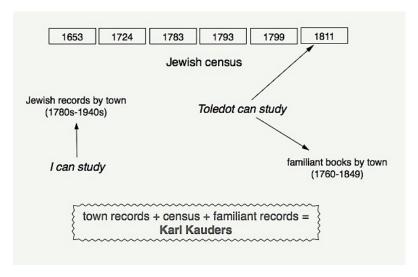
I feel certain I can come up with a plan, or at least a plausible story. After all, one thing leads to another in genealogical research. Or, I might better say, one Kauderer leads to a Bloch who leads to a Kauders who leads to a Grunhut who leads to me .... but also to you. What did you say your family's surnames were back then? And they lived where?

(Oh, um, Julius ....!!!)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A story which turned out to include, to my amazement, Karl's voyage to America in December, 1866, with six-year old Katalin and two-year old Josef, in tow. He married Anna (Nani) Wolfler on December 6, 1866 at the Mischkan Synagogue on the corner of Allen and Gand St. in lower Manhattan. H. Wasserman was the rabbi.

### Toledot making a difference

I am sure Julius Muller would never assert I could not have found David Kauders, Josue Kauder and the rest of the gang without his help. What I can say, for certain, is that I found them more quickly and with clearer confirmation of their identities than I would have without his help, unless I had invested the time and money to travel to Czechoslovakia myself – more on that in a moment. This graphic depicts my reasoning:



Bohemian census, town and familiant records

My share in this Bohemian familiant research was important. I *did* find some information of value from Jewish town records available online (see above). Even there, language difficulties hindered my deep understanding.<sup>1</sup>

I do not diminish my contribution to our research. What I knew or suspected served Muller's own research well. My questions led him to dig into records he might not otherwise have thought relevant. Still, Toledot can gain access to records offline (Jewish census and familiant records, as well as others tucked away in odd administrative cubby-holes), which will always be closed to me, absent travel.

Bottom line? Nearly all that I learned about the Kauders in Bohemia so far has come from offline records in Bohemian familiant books. My first chapter was titled, most intentionally: "Familiants the key".

I have mentioned travel twice here. Toledot and Julius Muller welcome, enthusiastically, individuals and families who wish to explore their family ancestry on-site and in-person, either before-, during- or after- he has provided research assistance. Toledot can coordinate some or all of your time in Czechoslovakia. Those who have taken these trips report them to have been special, if not life-changing, family experiences. Besides, you have to love a guy who published a book of Jewish jokes ("Chutzpedia") that was written in Czech. That's a subtle, rich Jewish joke in itself, not to mention a case study in chutzpah that even a Jew raised in the capital of chutzpah, say, Brooklyn, N.Y., would applaud.





The man himself and see this Prague article for the whole story

Finally, a word about my relationship to Julius Muller and Toledot. As of this writing, we have never met nor even spoken by phone. This only emphasizes further what might be achieved on-site by an adventure I hope to accomplish for my own family in the future. Though I do view this booklet as glad repayment to Julius for his generous help, I am promoting Toledot at the back of my booklet because I believe, sincerely, in its mission: to place as many vital Bohemian Jewish records online at the disposal of Jewish families world-wide as funds permit and to provide genealogical services at reasonable prices, whether done remotely or together in the Czech republic.

It is in this spirit of respect and affection that I commend Toledot to you. My story serves as proof that your investment will repay your family richly. As for me, can you imagine what I will learn once Julius Muller takes off in hot pursuit of Lieberman Kauders and the other miscreants in my family?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>I won't even raise the mistakes I made from lack of historical and cultural understanding.

### Postscript: never again

Without humor, could I have written at all? But I do not forget that my great-great grandfather (Karl Kauders) was as real and three-dimensional a human being as you and me. He lived in hope as well as pain. He died in hope, I'm sure. So, too, had his father, David and his grandfather, Josue also lived.

How did this young man of 33 cope with the sudden loss of his beloved wife in foreign London in 1866, far from family, left widowed to care for a grieving four-year old girl and confused two-year old boy? Can I ever understand the emotions which took him across the ocean four months latter to marry and then tragically, again, divorce two years later? Raised in a devout home with forebears as rabbis, he must have felt ashamed as well as bereft. Yet, Karl remarried and continued on .... though I do not yet know where and how.

As for the Dolitschen community, the evidence shows that, despite obstacles we would find crushing, Bohemian Jews ca 1840 were optimistic about their families and, especially, the future of their children. Straws in the wind foreshadowed the soon-end of the Familiant Law which followed within the decade. This ushered in a time of tremendous opportunity, though not without new threats to communal cohesion which may ultimately have proved more damaging than the terrible Law. Has it not always been so?

In 1840, the oldest members of Dolitschen still remembered when Bohemian Jews had been made to wear the hated "yellow star" that marked them out as a despised people. This had ended once-and-for-all in the 1780s, just in time for David Kauders to have seen this degradation as a little boy. Would he not have shared the hopefulness of this nineteenth century with a wide-eyed little boy named Karl while his mother Sara doted over her last baby of nine sons?

No doubt, David, Sara and the older Kauders boys still living at home would have said to each other, quietly, "never again." The dark middle ages of Europe and the world had ended. And then, they might have said it more loudly still in the forgivable, but foolish, story that they told Karl: never again!