

# Family Lore or Accurate Oral History? The Case of the Peddler's Widow

by Carole Garbuny Vogel

According to family legend, Johanna (Hindel) Kohn née Müller, my third-great grandmother, was born circa 1814 to a wealthy textile factory owner and his wife, and orphaned in childhood. She married a peddler, and was widowed while pregnant with her fourth child (or just after its birth). The widow Johanna then made a most peculiar choice. She took over her husband's peddling route.<sup>1</sup>

I love a good tale about my ancestors, especially ones that portray the women as strong and adventurous, but I prefer ones that can be corroborated. This article will describe the various sources used to verify Johanna's history but first, here is her story.

Johanna's husband, Abraham Kohn, had received a *Schutzbrief* (letter of protection) from Baron Anton Freiherr von Doblhoff-Dier, the ruling aristocrat of Baden bei Wien,

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Austria. The *Schutzbrief* granted Abraham permission to live and work in Baden during the week, but not on the sabbath—presumably the Christian sabbath. But as an observant Jew, Abraham couldn't work on the Jewish Sabbath either, so he returned by Friday afternoon of each week to Mattersdorf, his home in western Hungary (now Mattersburg, Austria), 20 miles from Baden.

The baron permitted Abraham to have *Hausierer* (private customers) in Baden and the surrounding villages and farms whom Abraham could solicit by traveling from house to house, but he prohibited Abraham from setting up a shop. As a result, Abraham rented a room either in Baden or from a friendly farmer outside the town and used it as his base of operations.<sup>2</sup>

Abraham purchased dry goods from manufacturers in Vienna and sold them along an established route to customers in Baden and environs. His wares included cloth (linen, cotton, and wool, but not silk); feathers of varying quality for bedding; needles, pins, and thread; and other dry goods. He transported these wares in a pushcart or in an enormous pack strapped to his back. He was likely a welcome sight to his customers, who lived on isolated farms. In addition to his goods, he surely brought news of people and events in the local area and Vienna.

In 1859, a dozen years after Abraham died and Johanna had taken up peddling, the discriminatory law banning non-Christians from purchasing property in Austria was no longer enforced in Baden. Johanna decided to start her own dry

goods store in Baden and to sell the same type of products that she had peddled. She did this in partnership with her 20-year-old son, Jacob Kohn, who had joined her on the peddling circuit after he had attended trade and commercial school in Vienna for three years where he studied tailoring and business.

When Johanna launched her store in Baden, she lacked the money to fill the shelves with merchandise. Instead, she created the illusion of being well stocked by strategically placing items from her own trousseau, such as sheets, quilts, and towels, high on the shelves. After a slow start, the business thrived. Mother and son added ready-made clothing to their inventory, including pants and short coats for farmers and other manual laborers. For wealthier clientele, clothes were made to order by Jakob and a staff of tailors. The store eventually became the largest department store in Baden. Among the customers were the biggest hotels in the region.

These and other details about the lives of Johanna and Jakob were relayed to me in 1989 by Jakob's daughter, my great-grand-aunt, Gisa Kohn Dollinger (1902–2014). Gisa had a phenomenal memory and a gift for storytelling. She told me about our long-gone relatives, and they came alive once more in her telling. They ate, they laughed, they cried, they prayed, they even danced, and eventually they died. Gisa and I laughed and shed a few tears together over the memories.

I was skeptical, however, about the ability of a heavily pregnant or postpartum woman to carry an enormous pack strapped to her back or push a heavy cart, but I was willing to suspend disbelief if evidence could be found. As much as I wanted to believe Gisa's account of Johanna's life, it seemed improbable. With few exceptions, peddling had been a male occupation.<sup>3</sup>

My search for supporting documentation led me to the metrical records of the Jewish Community of Mattersdorf (*Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Mattersdorf* or IKG). A death record proved that Abraham Kohn had died from typhus in February 1847 at age 39.<sup>4</sup> A marriage record from 1833 confirmed that Johanna was his wife.<sup>5</sup> The records also revealed that Johanna's first pregnancy had ended in a stillborn, that she had one child who died in infancy, but she had four children who survived to adulthood and all married.<sup>6,7,8</sup>

1. Meyer Wolf Kohn (1836–1910) was ten when his father died.<sup>9, 10</sup>

2. Jakob (Yaakov) Kohn (1839–1927) was eight at the time of his father's death.<sup>11,12</sup>

3. Rosalia (Zelda) Kohn Glaser (January 1846–1898) was barely a year old when she lost her father.<sup>13,14</sup>

4. Sofie Kohn Trebitsch (1847–1937) was either a newborn or still in *utero* when her father died.<sup>15,16</sup>

None of these records established Johanna as a peddler nor provided a clue to her motivation. Young Jewish widows in Johanna's milieu had limited options and few legal rights. The *ketubah* (marriage contract) provided some protections. A woman was entitled to her clothes, jewelry, and a sum of money from her husband's estate equal to her dowry. But under Jewish law she could not inherit from her husband and her children were deemed orphans. The *beit din* (rabbinical court) determined custody arrangements. Typically, women who were allowed to keep their children sank into poverty because they had few options for earning a living. Some widows were fortunate to remarry a man willing to provide a home for her fatherless children. Other widows, like Johanna's own mother, chose to give up the children in order to remarry for financial security.

My supposition is that Johanna's childhood, and that of one or more of her sisters, was so miserable that she vowed not to inflict similar pain on her own children. To support this contention, I needed to consider other primary sources. The Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem (CAHJP) houses a collection of records from Mattersdorf in its Burgenland, Austria, section.<sup>19</sup> Among the Hebrew and Yiddish documents from the *beit din* (Jewish court), community tax records, and *chevra kadisha* (burial) society were some pertaining to Johanna and her family. My colleague and fifth cousin, Rabbi Yitzchok Stroh, translated them.

The documents revealed that Johanna and her sisters inherited considerable wealth from their father, Meyer Müller, who appeared in Hebrew records as Meyer Böhm. The girls' guardians, along with their maternal grandfather Jakob (Yaakov) Pollak, controlled this inheritance. The *beit din* had placed Johanna with her father's cousin, Moritz (Meir) Böhm (ca. 1773–1842), who was also known as Mayer Stein.<sup>20</sup> Moritz's wife was Julianna (Yehudith); they had a son, Simon Stein, who was about Johanna's age. Except for what was needed for the children's immediate expenses, the rest of the sisters' large inheritance presumably was placed into the informal banking system in Mattersdorf to preserve and protect it. Loans were made directly from individual lenders to the borrowers and secured with collateral and/or promissory notes. The lenders charged interest and over time the proceeds were considerable. The *beit din* kept detailed records to safeguard the orphans' investments, which identified the borrowers, loan amounts, and interest charged.

In 1833, when Johanna wed Abraham Kohn, control of her inheritance should have transferred to Abraham. Under Jewish law, as a married woman, Johanna owned the principle, but her husband had the right to determine how it was invested, and how the interest was spent. The guardians, however, did not relinquish control of the funds. This led to disputes that could not be resolved privately and ended up in the hands of the *beit din*. In 1834, Moritz Böhm had a disagreement with the grandfather, Jakob Pollak, over tax payments to be made on the sisters' behalf. The *beit din* brokered a compromise. The credit and debit section of one of the

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### Story of Johanna's Mother Zelda

The story of Johanna's mother Zelda is told in "Four Orphaned Sisters from Prague and Their Widowed Mother." (AVOTAYNU, Autumn 2019). In 1823, the widow Zelda was in her thirties with four daughters, including an infant, when she remarried and gave up the three older girls. Her new husband lived so far away that she likely never saw the older children again. Johanna was about eight years old, Netti (Esther) was four, and Lisette was two when Zelda abandoned them. The *beit din* split up the three sisters and assigned physical custody to different male guardians. The youngest, Charlotte (Mottel), stayed with Zelda only because she was still nursing. Zelda died before 1833, when Charlotte was age eleven at the oldest. Abraham Reiter, Zelda's second husband, was no longer required to support Charlotte and Charlotte married a Mattersdorf man by age 14 or 15, which was young by Mattersdorf standards.<sup>17</sup> (The birth record of Charlotte's oldest child in January 1838 was used to calculate and approximate the marriage year.<sup>18</sup>)

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community tax records notes that "on behalf of the inheritors of Morenu Meyer Böhm Z"l, a compromise was reached between Jakob Pollak who obligated himself to pay 2/3 of the tax and [Moritz] Meir Böhm who paid 1/3. The total payment was 40 [gulden]."<sup>21</sup>

Jakob Pollak died in September 1836 and by the next year control of his share of Johanna's assets still had not been turned over to Johanna and Abraham.<sup>22</sup> Inexplicably, they came under the guardianship of Moritz Böhm. In addition, Abraham Reiter, Johanna's stepfather, refused to relinquish Johanna's portion of the inheritance from her mother.

By this time, Johanna and Abraham had already been married four and a half years, and had children of their own. Fed up, Abraham appealed to the *beit din*. Susanna (Züssel) Böhm Löb entered the picture. She was Johanna's much older half-sister who was the daughter of Johanna's father and his first wife. Susanna was so outraged on behalf of Johanna that she documented Johanna's grievance, and this document was presented to the Jewish court. A *beit din* ruling dated December 5, 1837, contained the following judgment, (loosely translated from the Hebrew). In this ruling, Johanna is referred to as Hindel and her husband was called by his Hebrew name, Avraham Katz. (Records like this drive home the importance of ascertaining the Hebrew names of ancestors.)

These sentences are proof of a judicial ruling in the hand of Avraham Katz after he stood in a court of judgment in front of the *beit din* with Reb [Moritz] Meir Böhm, who was the guardian of the orphans of the deceased morenu Meyer Böhm, of blessed memory. Avraham was awarded for his wife Hindel that which is coming to her from her grandfather Yaakov, of blessed memory, as is stated in the orphans' ledger.

And also that which is coming to her as part of her inheritance of her mother, which was collected from the stepfather

of the woman Hindel, the wife of the above-mentioned Avraham Katz, a total 135 *Wiener Währung* (paper currency).<sup>23</sup> Eight of those will be deducted, which goes to the orphan Züssel, the daughter of Reb Meyer, the reward for her toil to collect the money from her [Johanna's] stepfather, and therefore after that is deducted, Avraham gets 127.

Signed on Monday, the 7th of Kislev 5598 [December 5, 1837] by David Katz [Rabbi David Kohn], Meyer Segal [Rabbi Meyer Schischa] and [another rabbi whose signature is illegible]. [For added authority some members of the board are also signing, Joseph [Hirshel?], Moishe Ber Breuer.]<sup>24</sup>

### Property Records Yielded Unexpected Information

Moritz Böhm, Johanna's guardian, is remembered more kindly than he deserves in the oral family history passed to Gisa Kohn Dollinger by her father Jakob Kohn. Gisa was told that Moritz had taken the orphan Johanna into his home and cared so much about her that he left his house and 200 gulden (a lot of money) to Johanna after his death. I thought that caring had nothing to do with it. I had been suspicious of Böhm's motives since I had discovered his unwillingness to relinquish control of Johanna's inheritance to her husband.

To find evidence of the property transfer, I examined scans from *Behauste Güter der Juden in Mattersdorf 1760–1845*, a *Grundbuch* (land registry) of the Jewish-owned houses in Mattersdorf. This ledger is stored in the Esterházy archive in the Forchtenstein Castle in Burgenland, Austria.

The *Grundbuch* revealed that in 1823, Moritz Böhm, under the name Mayer Stein, bought a new *Haus* (house) and registered the purchase in his and his wife's names.<sup>25</sup> The sale took place the same year that Moritz became Johanna's guardian, and I wondered if it had been purchased with part of Johanna's inheritance.

The *Grundbuch* provides the ownership history of the Jewish-owned buildings in Mattersdorf and specifies when and how each property came into the possession of the owner through marriage, inheritance, purchase, or transfer. Most properties were jointly owned by husbands and wives; a relative few were in the possession of widows. The time span in the title is misleading. The register provides detailed information for the homes between 1757 and 1765, and then again from 1820 and 1823. Occasionally, transfers are noted for additional years but they all reference a later *Grundbuch*.<sup>26</sup>

I noticed that no houses were registered in the names of orphans even though I knew from a census entry in the 1744 Jewish census and one in the 1828 Hungarian Property Tax Census, that there were at least two orphans who owned homes.<sup>27</sup> It occurred to me that house ownership in the *Grundbuch* was registered in the names of the guardians.

I discovered in the *Grundbuch* that Johanna's grandfather, Jakob Pollak, had bought two new houses in 1823 in his own name. I believe he used the inheritance money from Johanna and her sisters for the purchase as it made good sense.<sup>28</sup> One of the duties of a guardian was to preserve and protect the children's inheritance. Except for the fire risk, houses were a sound investment.

Jakob Pollak's wife was not listed as a co-owner of these new houses even though he was married. However, the wife of Moritz Böhm was listed in his house record. Had Moritz purchased it with his own funds? A list of homeowners in 1820 found in the *Grundbuch* revealed Moritz living as a tenant in the home of an unrelated person. Was this a sign that he lacked the money to be a homeowner?<sup>29</sup>

I suspected that Moritz had purchased the new house with Johanna's inheritance and planned to pass it onto his wife and son. Typically, in Mattersdorf when a man died, his widow or children inherited the family home. Moritz's only child, Simon Stein, died in 1833 at age 21, so his inheritance became moot.<sup>30</sup> Was making Moritz's wife the co-owner of the house on paper enough to secure her ownership even if the money had been purchased with Johanna's funds?

The *Grundbuch* did not cover the time period of Moritz Böhm's death in 1842, so I was unable to ascertain when the house was put in Johanna's name. But I verified Johanna's home ownership indirectly by finding her entries in the existing tax ledgers, beginning in 1852.<sup>31,32,33</sup> She likely paid taxes on the house earlier, but the tax ledger for the 1840s is missing. Significantly, Moritz's wife, Julianna Stein does not appear in the tax records from the 1850s, even though she outlived Moritz by 13 years.<sup>34</sup> The absence of her name confirmed that she no longer owned the home.

It occurred to me that the documentation supplied to the *beit din* in 1837 by Johanna's half-sister Susanna probably provided proof that Böhm had used Johanna's money to purchase the house.

A *chevra kadisha pinkas* (burial society ledger) found among the Mattersdorf Jewish community records at the CAHJP also furnished insight into Johanna's relationship with the Böhms. Prior to his death, Moritz Böhm had arranged for an endowment to be paid to the *chevra kadisha* by his wife and Johanna's husband, using Moritz's money.<sup>35</sup> This was to ensure that candles would be lit on Moritz's *yahrzeit*—the anniversary of his death—and prayers recited at his grave. His widow, Julianna, made a similar endowment in 1855 near the end of her life. However, she entrusted her nephew, Isak Löb Schey, to use her money to pay for the endowment fund.<sup>36</sup> Traditionally, this task was left to a son, son-in-law, or daughter. It seems telling that Julianna did not involve Johanna; clearly, she did not view her as a daughter.

How had Johanna fared in Julianna's household for the 11 years that she lived with her? Is it significant that Julianna's existence was not preserved in the oral family history passed on from Johanna to her son Jakob to his daughter Gisa and then to me? Gisa referred to Moritz Böhm as "*Onkel* (uncle) Moritz" I wondered why there wasn't a fond recollection of a *Tante* (aunt) Julianna or even the memory of her name. Was it because no one wanted to speak ill of the dead?

### Would I Find a "Smoking Gun" to Prove That Johanna Had Become a Peddler?

One day my colleague Yitzchok Stroh called with exciting news. He had been sifting through the correspondence of the

Mattersdorf Jewish community government in the CAHJP collection and found a letter written in 1852. The letter established Johanna as a businesswoman who sold merchandise on credit and needed an infusion of funds to keep her enterprise afloat. Since she did not yet own a store, this proved to be indirect evidence that she was a peddler, although she was not identified as one. The correspondence makes it clear that Johanna's financial woes started earlier than 1859 when she set up shop in Baden, as Gisa had reported. The text was composed in a mixture of languages, mainly Yiddish, but with a little Hebrew and some German in the Burgenland regional dialect. It was written by Johanna's brother-in-law Abraham Löb (husband of her half-sister Susanna) and sent to Abraham Löb Hirsch, the *Rosh Hakohol* (leader of the Jewish municipal government) of Mattersdorf. The letter was sent from Baden to Mattersdorf.

Tuesday the 3rd day of the Torah [portion] Tzivaḥ 5612. (March 2, 1852)

Greetings to my beloved relative, honored Sir, to the *Katzin* Abraham Löb the son of Z Segal! On behalf of my sister-in-law Hindel, I take it upon myself to appeal to you as a friend and friend of the people to continue an unforgettable friendship.

Next Thursday, Mr. Kaufman Lipschitz is due to pay his purchase sum (principle of the money he borrowed from the Kohn children's inheritance) to the district court, where the district judge, as legal guardian, is taking care of the money in the best interest of the orphans.

But because the mother (Hindel) feels that she has financial difficulties and wants to use (borrow) the money under the same terms for her business, I think that you should do your best in order to support her.

She has to support four underage children, which costs lots of money and she cannot possibly make a living solely from selling her merchandise on credit. (Farmers typically bought on credit and then paid their debts at harvest time.)

Why should she leave the money (children's inheritance) in the hands of outsiders when in these times the interest amounts to five percent?

Therefore, I kindly ask you to hand the money over to her and to nobody else. If her house is not sufficient coverage (collateral) for her children (for their inheritance), she will also produce a guarantor.

I hope you will support this case and send me an answer by return mail. If things will not change then, I shall be forced to visit you at home and discuss the matter with you personally.

Be well and happy Purim.

Regards, your friend

[Signature]

Abraham Löb son of Gershon Heim Löb<sup>37</sup>

### Absolute Proof

When Gisa Kohn Dollinger died in 2014 at age 111, I inherited many of the old documents that she had collected, including Johanna's *Hausirbuch* (peddling book) issued in 1850. Gisa had told me about Johanna's "passport" years earlier, but had not given me the opportunity to examine it closely. "It will be yours," she had said, "someday when I



(Left) Johanna's Legitimations karte (identification card) was found loose inside the Hausirbuch. (Right) Johanna's Hausirbuch (peddling book) issued in 1850.

am no longer here." (I cringed when she said that.)

The Hausirbuch provided incontrovertible proof that Johanna was indeed a peddler. It had been issued to *die Hausierer* (the female peddler) Johanna Kohn born in Mattersdorf, Hungary, in 1816, widow, of the *Mosaische* (Jewish) religion. This information, along with the seal from the town of Oedenburg (Sopron, Hungary) and a 30 Kronen stamp, appeared on the first page. The second and third pages gave a physical description of Johanna: small stature, round face, brown hair and eyes, nose and mouth proportional to face. It noted that the Hausirbuch was valid in the Crownland of Hungary until December 15, 1857, and Johanna was registered with the police in Buda, Pest, and Óbuda (separate cities that merged to form Budapest in 1873). The next page stipulated the wares she could sell—*Schnittwaren* (draperies, cut goods, dry goods). And what she could not sell—*Baumwollwaren* (cotton goods).<sup>38</sup> At the back of the book was a lengthy list of additional prohibited goods. It included spices, flasks of oil, beverages, medicines, bandages, ointments, poisons, mercury, lead preparations, precious metals, church jewelry or ornaments, military clothing and weapons, lottery tickets and similar games of chance, literary and artistic work, as well as sugar, chocolate, gingerbread, and all delicacies in general.

Even though Johanna had the right to peddle in Lower Austria, she was required to present her peddler book to an official of each town or marketplace that she visited. The official then recorded the place name and date she must leave by. The official signed his name and affixed an ink stamp with the town's seal. Each town's seal had a different design in the center. Johanna had peddled in Baden, Weiner Neustadt, Mödling and Leobersdorf. A Mattersdorf official had also signed and stamped the book.

Gisa also left me Jakob Kohn's *Wanderbuch* (traveling

book). He was identified as a *Schneider* (tailor) and provided his signature. It was issued on June 4, 1854, a few months after Jakob's 13th birthday, the age when the community considered boys to be capable of earning a living. Official stamps from 1854 and 1855 documented Jakob's travels between Mattersdorf and Baden, undoubtedly with his mother. This suggests that Jakob had left the Mattersdorf "German School" for Jewish children before aging out at age 14 and started an apprenticeship in tailoring. It also augments Gisa's story about Jakob attending school in Vienna when he was in his later teens, as she had specific details to accompany it. "While in business school, Jakob took dancing lessons with his friend Karl Oppenheim at the *Drittes Kaffeehaus* (Third Coffee House), a high-class Viennese coffee house on Praterstrasse."

Johanna Kohn died from pneumonia in Baden on March 26, 1884 at age 72 and was buried in Mattersdorf.<sup>39</sup> Her epitaph notes that she was a working mother.<sup>40</sup> A nearly complete translation of her tombstone inscription follows.

#### Hindel Kohn

Her soul departed in the city of Baden on Wednesday the day before Rosh Kodesh Nisan (the first day of the Hebrew month of Nisan). She was brought here to be buried with her forefathers on Thursday 5644. Here lies the widow, modest and respectable. A woman of valor, Mrs. Hindl. May peace be upon her, the wife of the precious honorable Avraham Kohn z"l. She was a businesswoman who brought sustenance to her children, young orphans after the death of her husband, when she was in her youth. She gave from her bread to the poor. And to the destitute, she stretched out her hand. Her ways were ways of pleasantness and awe of G-d was her path. She guided her children to go in the path of the awe of G-d. Her children will arise and praise her. And in the gates, all who knew her will also praise her actions, To the mount of G-d she went up to reap the fruit of her actions. Her soul will rest in the shadow in Eden with her ancestors until the time of the coming of the righteous Messiah. The earth will cover her glory and beauty from before our eyes. The name of her mother is Zelda.

The Baden store that Johanna and Jakob had started in 1859, stayed in Jakob's hands until his death in 1927 and then it was passed on to two of his sons. In 1938, the Germans confiscated it after the Anschluss. Johanna's descendants, along with descendants of her sisters, were swept up in the maelstrom of the Holocaust. Many were murdered. Nearly all the survivors became part of the great Jewish migration that occurred during and after the Shoah. This migration included Gisa who fled with her husband Bernard Dollinger in 1939 to Shanghai, China, taking care to bring along old family documents. In 1949, the couple moved to Israel and in 1950 they settled in New York City. I met Gisa in 1989, when I learned of her existence. She was 87 years old, the youngest of Jakob Kohn's 15 children, and the guardian of the family history. I am the great-granddaughter of Gisa's oldest sister. Gisa had no children of her own. In me, she



*Baden store pre-World War II*

found a kindred spirit and was satisfied that the family history would be in good hands.

#### Notes

1. Oral history of Gisa Kohn Dollinger (1902–2014), granddaughter of Johanna Müller Kohn and daughter of Jakob Kohn.
2. The *Schutzbrief* remained the possession of the Kohn family until the family fled Austria during the Holocaust.
3. Another woman peddler was my husband's third-great grandmother, a Russian immigrant who became a peddler in the American South in the mid-1880s. See: "Chana the Peddler." (AVOTAYNU, Winter 2013.)
4. Abraham Cohen death record. Died: February 16, 1847. Age: 35. Cause of death: typhus. IKG Mattersdorf BMD records 1833–1895, p. 65, #4.
5. Abraham Cohn-Hindl Müller marriage record. Married: March 26, 1833 in Mattersdorf. Groom's parents: Mandel Cohn and Babetha. Bride's parents not listed. IKG Mattersdorf BMD records 1833–1895, p. 3. #6.
6. Stillborn birth record. Born: July 10, 1835 in Mattersdorf. Parents: Abraham Cohn and Hindel Müller. IKG Mattersdorf BMD records 1833–1895, p. 11
7. Isak Löb Katz circumcision record. Date: 13th of Iyar 5601 (May 4, 1841) record #89. *Mohel Pinkas* 1827–1866 of Meyer Schischa of Mattersdorf. Son of Avraham Katz. The *sandik* (godfather) was Abraham Löb Segal, the son of Mister Gershon Heim Segal [and brother-in-law of baby's mother].
8. I.L. Kohn birth record. Born: May 7, 1841, in Mattersdorf. Parents: Abraham Kohn and Hani. IKG Mattersdorf BMD records 1833–1895. Note: The birth date was recorded incorrectly as the mohel records notes he was circumcised on May 4.
9. Meyer Wolf Kohn birth record. Born: Dec 18, 1836, in Mattersdorf. Parents: Abraham Kohn and Hani. IKG Mattersdorf BMD records 1833–1895, p. 21 #26.

10. Meyer Kohn death entry. Died: Jun 28, 1910, in Vöslau, Mühl-gasse 4, Austria; age 74; cause: old age. Death recorded on Dec 20, 1911. Civil Registration Nagymárton (Mattersdorf), Hungary.
11. Jakob Kohn birth record. Born: March 14, 1839, in Mattersdorf. Parents: Aberh. and Hani. IKG Mattersdorf BMD records 1833–1895.
12. Oral history of Gisa Kohn Dollinger.
13. Sali Kohn birth entry. Born: Jan 22, 1846, in Mattersdorf. Parents: Aberh. Cohn and Hani. IKG Mattersdorf BMD records 1833–1895.
14. Rosalia Glaser burial entry. Wien IKG Friedhof database online. Died: Nov 24, 1898, in Baden. Buried in Baden Jewish cemetery, row L2, grave 562.
15. Sofie Kohn residence entry. IKG Baden Matrikel Book I, 1837–1878. Born: 1847. [Note: the 1847 birth records from IKG Mattersdorf are missing.]
16. Sofie Trebitsch née Kohn death record. Died. 9 Jan 1937 at 4, in Baden, Grabengasse 4 AM. *Privat*; widow. Age: 90. Born in Mattersdorf in January 1846. *Heimat* and residence: Baden. Cause: *Altersschwäche, Herztod* (age weakness and heart death). Buried 10 Jan in Baden. IKG Baden Sterbebuch 1918-1938, p. 74 #1. Note: The birth record from January 1946 belongs to Sofie's sister Rosalie, not to Sofie.
17. Under the terms of the *Tanayim*—the prenup agreement between Zelda and her husband Abraham Reiter—Abraham was no longer legally obligated to keep Charlotte in his home after Zelda's death. But he was still obliged to provide her with a dowry of 100 gulden. (See Vogel's article in Avotaynu Fall 2019) It is not clear where Charlotte lived after Zelda's death.
18. Fani Löb birth record. Born: Jan 14, 1838, in Mattersdorf to Abraham Löb and Charlotty. IKG Mattersdorf metrical records 1833–1895, p. 23, #4. [To be a mother in January 1838, Charlotte was married at the latest by 1837.]
19. The usefulness of these primary documents is discussed in "Constructing a Town-Wide Genealogy: Jewish Mattersdorf, Hungary 1689–1939" published AVOTAYNU, Spring 2007.
20. Moritz (Meir) Böhm used a third alias—Mayer Müller.
21. Pollak-Böhm tax compromise entry, 5594–5595 (1834–1835). *Das Goldene Buch* tax ledger, p. 312a. *Grundgelt für ihren Platz* (basic fee for their place). An agreement between the orphans' guardians: Jakob Pollak had to pay 2/3 of the tax, Meyer Böhm paid 1/3.] CAHJP Microfilm 8187.
22. Widower Jakob Pollak (1765–1836) death record. Died: Sep 14, 1836, in Mattersdorf. Age 71. IKG Mattersdorf BMD records 1833–1895, p. 31, #12.
23. The *Wiener Währung*, a form of paper currency, was in circulation from 1812 to 1857, when it was replaced by the *Österreichische Währung*.
24. Katz vis Böhm inheritance disagreement. Mattersdorf *Beit Din* loose document with the number 54 in the corner. CAHJP microfilm 8187, frame 405. Translated by Rabbi Yitzchok Stroh.
25. Ein Klein Haus #6. A small house. Newly built. Purchased by Julianna and Mayer Stein in 1823. *Behauste Güter der Juden in Mattersdorf 1760–1845*, p. 207. Protocol number 458 Grundbücher, Urbare, Konkskriptionen und Grundbücher aus der grundherrschaftlichen Periode, Fürstlich Esterházy'sches Archiv Burg Forchtenstein.
26. Note: Both the *Conscriptio Judaeorum* 1738 and *Conscriptio Judaeorum* 1744 provide the early history of home ownership for the Jewish-owned houses in Mattersdorf. When used in conjunction with the *Behauste Güter der Juden in Mattersdorf 1760–1845*, one can trace home ownership from the early 1700s through 1760.
27. The official names for these censuses are *Conscriptio Judaeorum 1744* and *Vagyönösszeírás 1828*
28. Ein Klein Haus #2 and Ein Klein Haus #5. Newly built. Purchased by Jacob Pollak in 1823. *Behauste Güter der Juden in Mattersdorf 1760–1845*, pp.196, 206.
29. Meyer Müller tenant entry. House Haus 2 no. 7 owned by Israel Pollak. *Behauste Güter der Juden in Mattersdorf 1760–1845*, p. 225.
30. Simon Stein death record. Died: Oct 18, 1833 in Mattersdorf. Age: 21. IKG Mattersdorf metrical records 1833–1895, p. 4, #11.
31. Meyer Stein death record. Died 7 Nov 1842 in Mattersdorf. Age: 69 years. Place of death: Mattersdorf. Birthplace: Böhmen. Mattersdorf Jewish metrical records 1833–1895, p.35.
32. Hani Abrah. Kohn widow tax entries 1852–1853. "*Steuerangelegenteiten und Abgaben*" (Tax Business and Social Contributions), 1816–1902. Landesarchiv Burgenland, Jüdisches Zentralarchiv Microfilm Reel 8183, image 1888. CAHJP.
33. Kohn Johanna widow tax entries 1879–1887. Haus #291. "*Judengemeinde und Grundherrschaft*" (The Jewish Community the Dominion of the Lord of the Manor) 1770–1889. Landesarchiv Burgenland, Jüdisches Zentralarchiv Microfilm 8175 image 50. CAHJP. Note: payment of taxes on the property continued to be paid after her death in 1884, presumably by her heirs.
34. Julie Stein death record. Died: 12 May 1856 in Mattersdorf. Age: 74. Residence #304. Birthplace: Mattersdorf. Mattersdorf Jewish metrical records, 1859, entry 7. Burial: Mattersdorf.
35. Mayer Stein entry. *Pinkas of the Chevra Kadisha of Mattersdorf*, p. 85b. He gave an endowment for his soul to be paid by Yehudit his wife and Abraham the son of Mordechai Katz on the condition that the principal would stay forever with the government (IKG Mattersdorf). The interest would be paid to the Chevra Kadisha forever. Signed by Yehudit the wife of Mayer Stein and by Mayer Stein. Microfilm 8179, CAHJP
36. Jehudith Böhm entry. *Pinkas of the Chevra Kadisha of Mattersdorf*, p. 98, Year: 5615 (1855). Jehudith created an endowment. She wrote, "My signature below testifies as witness that the money in the hand of my brother's son, Itzik Löb F""K, belongs to the Chevra Kadisha." She signed it "Jehudith, wife of Meir Böhm." Jehudith's Yartzzeit is the 7<sup>th</sup> of Iyar and her mother was Gittel. Microfilm 8179, CAHJP.
37. Letter from Adolf Löb, Mar 2, 1852, Baden bei Wien to Abraham Löb Hirschel son of Hirschel Moses Löb and head of the Mattersdorf Jewish community. Correspondence of IKG Mattersdorf, Microfilm Reel 8175, image 442. CAHJP. Yiddish with some Hebrew and Old German in Burgenland dialect, written in Hebrew letters. Translated by Claudia Markovits Krempke. Note: letter writer and recipient were first cousins.
38. Translated by Elka Frank.
39. Johanna Kohn née Müller death record. Occupation: *Privat* (self-employed). Widow; age 72. Died: Mar 26, 1884, 5:00 AM in Baden, 15 Wassergasse. Cause of death: *Lungenentzündung* (pneumonia). Burial: Mar 27 in Mattersdorf. IKG Baden Sterbebuch 1, p. 12 #9.
40. Kohn Johanna/Kohn Hendl gravestone. Friedhof Mattersburg. *Koschere Melange: Das Blog des Österreichischen Jüdischen Museums*. <<https://www.ojm.at/blog/2010/05/13/kohnhendl-26-maerz-1884/>>

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