

---

“To Love Work and Dislike Being Idle”:  
Origins and Aims of the  
Cleveland Jewish Orphan Asylum,  
1868–1878

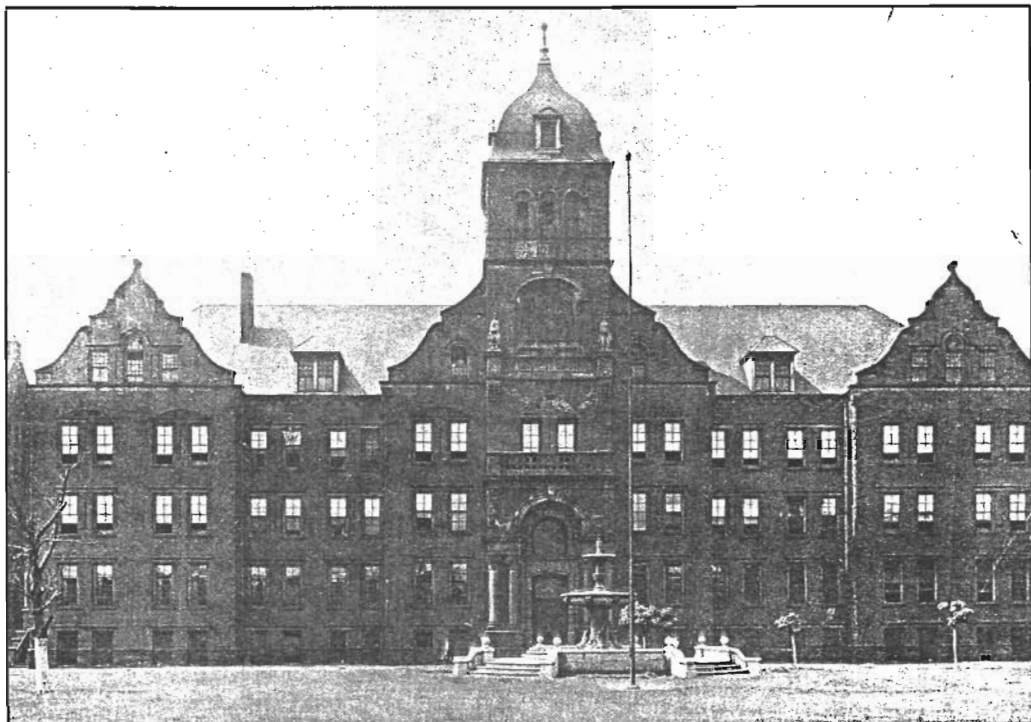
*Gary E. Polster*

Set back a considerable distance from the Woodland Avenue business district and isolated from surrounding ghetto homes and immigrant shoppers by a high iron-spiked fence, the large, imposing brick building offered little hint of what life stirred within its walls. The immaculately groomed green lawn and ornately designed marble fountain out front of the stately structure impressed passers-by, and unless they were quite perceptive and noticed the iron bars on the basement windows, they could not possibly have conceived that five hundred orphans clamored about inside like so many head of cattle crowded within its pen.

Spread out over seven acres of land near 55th Street and Woodland Avenue, the Cleveland Jewish Orphan Asylum was, during its first fifty years (1868–1918), the home for 3,581 mostly immigrant Eastern European boys and girls. For most of this time one man overwhelmingly loomed as the dominant figure influencing every aspect of the children's lives: Dr. Samuel Wolfenstein, the dogmatic, brilliant, charismatic, and authoritarian patriarch of the institution.

Wolfenstein began his forty-six-year association with the orphanage as a trustee from St. Louis in 1875, served as superintendent from 1878 to 1913, and then became an active honorary board member until his death in March 1921 at the age of seventy-nine. His disciple and protege, Rabbi Simon Peiser, teacher and assistant superintendent from 1901 to 1913 and superintendent from 1913 to 1919, continued most of Wolfenstein's practices and policies during his own administration. Not until the early 1920's did the orphan asylum change appreciably from the military-style institution it represented for four decades under the direction of these two German Jews.

In 1929 the orphanage was relocated to a thirty-acre site in University Heights, an eastern suburb of Cleveland, where it was built as a



*The Cleveland Jewish Orphan Asylum*



*Cleveland Jewish Orphan Asylum Girls at Play*

cottage-type institution and renamed Bellefaire. Bellefaire continued as an orphanage for Jewish children until 1943, when it changed its function entirely and became a residential treatment center for emotionally disturbed children. Today Bellefaire provides psychotherapy, academic training, and a therapeutic living environment for emotionally disturbed children regardless of their ethnic, religious, or racial background.

### *Origins and Purpose*

The Jewish Orphan Asylum was initially an expression of the Cleveland German-Jewish community's desire to symbolize their rise to power, authority, and respectability. Symbols of prestige and success became important for many of the fifteen hundred German Jews living in Cleveland during the early 1860's.<sup>1</sup> Proud of their rapid emergence and accomplishments in American society, they attempted to gain the acceptance of the Christian community by demonstrating to them that they indeed were Americans first and foremost.

Shedding their Orthodox, Old World heritage for a Protestantized version of the faith was one way to win approval. Patriotically fighting in the Civil War and dying for their newly adopted country was still another. A third way to gain acceptance was by building an orphanage and caring for their own needy and dependent children, much as the Protestants and Catholics had done a decade earlier. A Jewish orphan asylum would signal the Gentiles that the immigrant German Jewish community was wealthy and responsible enough to take care of its own poor, orphaned boys and girls.

### *The Role of B'nai B'rith*

Discussions about establishing an orphanage first began at Cleveland's B'nai B'rith Solomon Lodge during the early 1860's. The International Order of B'nai B'rith, the world's oldest and largest Jewish service organization, had been organized in New York City in 1843 as a fraternal order for the fifteen thousand Jews then living in the United States.<sup>2</sup> In the preamble of its constitution, the founders formulated the goals of the organization. Part of their objectives included molding

and uplifting character through the improvement of morals and values.

B'nai B'rith has taken upon itself the mission of uniting persons of the Jewish faith in the work of promoting their highest interests and those of humanity; of developing and elevating the mental and moral character . . . inculcating . . . principles of philanthropy, honor, and patriotism; . . . alleviating the wants of the poor and needy; . . . providing for, protecting, and assisting the widow and orphan . . .<sup>3</sup>

B'nai B'rith consisted primarily of German Jews until the early 1900's and remained a men's organization until 1897, when B'nai B'rith Women came into being with the founding of a ladies' auxiliary chapter in San Francisco. B'nai B'rith established a variety of social and benevolent programs during the nineteenth century dominated by mutual aid, social service, and philanthropy. Orphanages, homes for the aged, and hospitals were high on its list of priorities.<sup>4</sup>

B'nai B'rith appeared in Cleveland in 1853 as the first private, voluntary Jewish association. It was structured along the lines of the many secret and semi-secret societies that flourished all over nineteenth-century America. Each of Cleveland's two lodges during the 1860's, Solomon and Montefiore, had its own round of social, cultural, and charitable activities. They both provided an alternative to the synagogue for acculturated Jews to enjoy Jewish affiliation and identification.<sup>5</sup>

During the middle of the nineteenth century, the fledgling B'nai B'rith organization undertook many projects designed to work with the poor and needy. One such program, recommended by members of Solomon Lodge, led to the founding in 1868 of the Cleveland Jewish Orphan Asylum, the first regional Jewish charitable institution of B'nai B'rith's western division.<sup>6</sup> Its origins grew out of the annual meeting of Grand Lodge, District No. 2, which was scheduled to meet in St. Louis in July 1863.

Delegates, however, were unable to reach their destination due to fighting going on in southern Ohio and Indiana by a rebel force of cavalry under the command of Confederate General John Hunt Morgan of guerrilla war fame. Because Morgan's troops destroyed railroad connections and burned bridges between Cincinnati and St. Louis, representatives of the twelve lodges of the district, having a

total membership of twenty-two hundred, met instead in Cleveland.<sup>7</sup>

At this convention, the national president of B'nai B'rith and the representative of Solomon Lodge from Cleveland, Benjamin F. Peixotto, proposed the establishment of a Jewish orphanage in the midwest to care for orphans of Jewish Civil War soldiers.<sup>8</sup> Concern about the loss of lives and the impact on Jewish families had been mounting: approximately ten thousand Jews served in the Civil War, about seven thousand in the Northern armies and three thousand in those of the South; over five hundred had lost their lives. Most were recent immigrants from Germany; some served in separate units of German-born soldiers.<sup>9</sup>

### *Funding*

Peixotto's plan to tax the B'nai B'rith membership a dollar a year to raise a charitable fund won hearty approval from the delegates of Grand Lodge No. 2, whose territory then comprised the fifteen states of Ohio, Indiana, Missouri, Kentucky, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas, Texas, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Alabama. They unanimously resolved that "the members of the District should be taxed, in addition to the regular dues, one dollar per year, in order to create a fund, which sometime in the future, might be used for the organization of a charitable or an educational institute."<sup>10</sup>

To supplement the revenue, Peixotto encouraged women from nine cities to form societies to raise money for the fund. Among these ladies groups, the orphanage plan "met with considerable opposition," according to Dr. Isaac M. Wise (1819-1900), organizer and early spokesman for Reform Judaism in the United States. Many probably felt that the women should devote themselves to their own local poor instead of an unrealized project in a faraway city.<sup>11</sup>

Some men also voiced opposition to the use of the money for an orphanage. At the Grand Lodge meeting the following year, Ramah Lodge of Chicago introduced a resolution to divert the fund to found a Reform Jewish seminary. The Chicago delegates strongly stated that they "consider the education of orphans in private families preferable to public asylums." The resolution was voted down.<sup>12</sup>

By 1867 the fund had collected \$11,994.92. At the July 1867 annual meeting in Milwaukee, it was formally resolved to use this money to



*Cleveland Jewish Orphan Asylum Boys*

establish an orphan asylum for B'nai B'rith's District No. 2. Delegates also voted to continue paying one dollar per year into the fund "which contribution shall forever hereafter constitute a part of the regular dues of members of the subordinate lodges." The following year this was raised to two dollars annually.<sup>13</sup>

### *Finding a Site*

A prestigious board of trustees consisting of Abraham Aub of Cincinnati, Isidor Bush of St. Louis, William Kriegshaber of Louisville, A. E. Frankland of Memphis, and Edward Budwig of Cleveland was organized to investigate purchasing a site "at or near St. Louis, provided suitable and sufficient grounds for the purpose can be obtained."<sup>14</sup>

Budwig, the Clevelander, was a partner in the commission business with his father-in-law, Simson Thorman, who had been one of the first Jews to settle in Cleveland. Thorman came from Unsleben, Germany, to the United States in 1835 and two years later moved to the city. By the early 1860's they were operating a prosperous business in the Near West Side area as commission merchants and dealers in hides and furs. The 1860 census lists Thorman's worth at \$10,000 in personal estate and \$10,000 in real estate. During the Pennsylvania oil boom of that decade Budwig along with several other prominent Cleveland Jews (including Peixotto) organized the Cherry Valley Oil Company with a starting capital of \$500,000.<sup>15</sup>

Unable to locate suitable grounds in St. Louis, the trustees began looking at sites in Cincinnati and Cleveland as well. In February 1868 they unanimously decided to purchase the buildings and grounds in Cleveland known as the Cleveland Water Cure of Dr. T. T. Seelye for \$25,000. A local committee of eminent B'nai B'rith members, comprising Abraham Wiener, Simon Newmark, Kaufman Hays, Jacob Rohrheimer, and Jacob Goldsmith, was appointed to assist with the arrangements.<sup>16</sup>

On March 3, 1868, District Grand Lodge No. 2 took possession of the grounds and large brick building located on Cleveland's Far East Side at Woodland Avenue and Sawtell (East 51st) Street a few blocks west of Willson Avenue (East 55th Street).<sup>17</sup> The site was located in a beautiful neighborhood immediately adjacent to an elite German

community. The large homes along Woodland Avenue, an attractive, wide, tree-lined street, east of Perry (East 22nd) Street were among the most fashionable in the city when built in the 1850's and 1860's. They housed many of Cleveland's most distinguished families.<sup>18</sup>

The following month the trustees bought an adjoining lot from Dr. Seelye for \$6,000. The first property purchased had a frontage of 165 feet on the south side of Woodland Avenue and a depth of 680 feet; the additional lot had a 165-foot frontage and a depth of 330 feet. The whole property covered about four and a half acres.<sup>19</sup>

The local committee hired architects and workmen to repair and remodel the building so it could be ready to be formally dedicated in July. An additional \$25,000 was spent furnishing and fixing the premises and preparing it for occupancy in the fall.<sup>20</sup>

### *Dedicatory Festivities*

The impressive inauguration ceremonies took place on July 14, 1868. A parade including flags, floats, bands, and civic dignitaries, including the mayor of Cleveland, Stephen Buhner, eighteen city council members, and B'nai B'rith officials, marched to the grounds, where they were entertained by a program largely German in flavor. It was a grand celebration of the power and respectability of the German Jewish community—a testimony to their spectacular rise in American society.

Over the entrance leading into the asylum was placed a white canvas cut in the shape of a heart bordered with and supporting festoons of leaves which proclaimed:

Seid gegrusst!  
 Vater und Mutter den Waisen sein,  
 Bringt der Liebe lehnend Streben  
 Selbst ein rechter Mensch zu sein  
 Und der Menschlichkeit zu lieben

(Greetings!  
 Be mother and father to the orphan  
 Striving to bring love  
 To be a just man oneself  
 And to love humanity).<sup>21</sup>

Rabbi Jacob Mayer from the Reform Tifereth Israel congregation opened the proceedings with a prayer in German. The Germania Band provided stirring music throughout the afternoon dedication. Isidor Bush read a poem in German composed by Mina Kleeberg of Louisville, Kentucky, entitled "The Orphan Asylum at Cleveland."

Remarks in the preface of the inauguration pamphlet hinted at the social and moral control function that would be served by the institution:

An inestimable blessing is conferred not only on the orphans themselves, but also on society, ample provisions having been made for the development of the inmates of the Asylum, physical, mental, and moral, to bring them up as useful citizens of the republic.<sup>22</sup>

Various speakers during the ceremony each reinforced the message that the asylum intended

to provide for the orphan, not alone for his body wants, such as food and clothing but also for his spiritual wants, education, and when the orphan leaves he shall have been brought up as a good member of society, as a good citizen, capable of maintaining himself.<sup>23</sup>

The founders obviously hoped that correct moral teachings and values would help orphaned German Jewish boys and girls grow up to become "good" and "useful" Americans who would contribute stability to the rapidly changing social order and thus be a credit to their people.

#### *The Board of Trustees*

After the inauguration program was over, the doors of the orphanage were opened for inspection by the public. During the meeting of the Grand Lodge held later that afternoon, a code of general laws for the government of the new institution was adopted and six trustees were chosen to act as an executive board. They organized by electing Abraham Aub of Cincinnati as the first president of the asylum, Abraham Wiener of Cleveland as vice-president, Jacob Rohrheimer of Cleveland as treasurer, and William Kriegshaber of Louisville as secretary. The other two members of the board were Isidor Bush of St. Louis and Henry Greenbaum of Chicago.<sup>24</sup>

Wiener was one of the earliest Jews to arrive in Cleveland. He came as an infant in 1841 and later became a very successful commission merchant, operating A. Wiener and Company on River (West 11th) Street. By the late nineteenth century his company conducted a large business on the Great Lakes and in all major cities in the country. Considered a pillar of civic and Jewish life, he was vice-president of the Cleveland Board of Trade and a director of the Cleveland Board of Industry.<sup>25</sup>

Wiener, the son-in-law of Abraham Aub, whom he succeeded in 1881 as president of the orphanage, played an active role in Cleveland's German cultural activities and was a prominent investor in the local German press. In 1912 his daughter, Florence, married Rabbi Louis Wolsey, spiritual leader of Congregation Anshe Chesed, one of two major German Reform temples in Cleveland.<sup>26</sup>

Jacob Rohrheimer, the treasurer, another early settler in Cleveland, came to America from Lorsch in Hesse-Darmstadt, Germany, in 1847 and reached the city in 1849.<sup>27</sup> Skilled in cigar-making, Rohrheimer and his brother Bernard established their own cigar manufactory in 1865 at 101 Superior Avenue and quickly prospered.<sup>28</sup>

### *The Children Arrive*

Two months after the dedication, the Jewish Orphan Asylum gathered in its wards. Kriegshaber, the secretary of the board, described the initial trip into Cleveland from Louisville:

We left Louisville, with 12 orphans adopted there. On Sunday, September 27th, previous to our departure, 5 orphans from Vicksburg, and 2 from Evansville, had arrived, who started with our party. The parting scene of their relatives and acquaintances on the mail-boat was heart-rending, yet they all soon cheered up and were all very happy on the voyage. In Cincinnati we met the orphans from that place, 12 in number. . . .

When the train arrived in Columbus, we were met by the noble ladies and gentlemen of that city, and a sumptuous lunch was given by them to the little ones. . . . At five o'clock we safely arrived in Cleveland, three omnibuses were awaiting and took our precious load to its destination, where already the children from St. Louis, Chicago, Indianapolis, Detroit, and other places had arrived. . . .

The following day . . . in the afternoon the children from Memphis arrived also. By this time there were already 65 orphans in the house. At six o'clock p.m. . . . all the children were officially received by the worthy president of the

Asylum, A. Aub, Esq., who made some very touching remarks to the little ones, who seemed all so affected, that every little child in the room was crying. . . . Mr. L. Aufrecht, the Superintendent, was introduced to the children by the president; he spoke so feelingly, and the scene was so affecting, that not a person of the sterner sex even could withhold from giving vent to his feelings—it was beyond description.<sup>29</sup>

By the end of September everything seemed in place. Mr. and Mrs. Louis Aufrecht of Cincinnati, who had been selected as superintendent and matron, had hired their staff and organized the institution and its school. At the close of 1868 the asylum already was home to forty-six boys aged three to fourteen and thirty-five girls aged five to fourteen.<sup>30</sup>

The coed congregate orphanage was not unusual in the United States at this time. In fact, another orphanage in Cleveland, the Protestant Orphanage, also had housed both boys and girls since its formation in 1852 by the ladies of the Martha Washington and Dorcas Society.<sup>31</sup>

The city's two Catholic orphanages, however, separated the children by sex. St. Mary's Female Asylum, formed in 1851 by the Ladies of the Sacred Heart religious order, cared for the increased numbers of orphaned Irish Catholic girls in Cleveland at the time. In 1853 St. Vincent's Orphan Asylum for Catholic boys was opened by the Sisters of Charity. A wide variety of dependent children, including the orphaned, half-orphaned, and abandoned, as well as those from very poor and supposedly morally unfit families, were admitted to both the Protestant and Catholic institutions. By the Civil War years of the 1860's Cleveland's orphanages simply were overwhelmed by the growing number of children needing their shelter and care.<sup>32</sup>

#### *Louis Aufrecht as Superintendent*

During its first decade, from 1868 to 1878, the Cleveland Jewish Orphan Asylum haplessly floundered to gain control over its own destiny. Guided by the unimpressive, inept Louis Aufrecht, a schoolteacher from Cincinnati, orphanage policy had no set purpose, philosophy, or direction. A pragmatic and punitive man, the ineffectual superintendent lacked the expertise and charisma necessary to lead the institution.

When it was convenient for him to permit a change in past procedures, he allowed it. At times the trustees needed to hold him closely in check—he frankly embarrassed them with his proposals and practices.

Under Aufrecht the JOA became a rigid, rugged, and depressing place. Described by one observer as “a schoolmaster of the old German type” who “believed in the rod as an educating medium and governed the children by fear,” Aufrecht ran the institution with regimented military discipline. Boys were whipped regularly for misbehaving.<sup>33</sup> Dr. Seelye, the former owner of the asylum property, who lived behind it on Sawtell Street, explained how Aufrecht maintained such precise order:

[Aufrecht] was a clever man; he kept strict discipline among the children, especially the boys, but he did not know what they were doing behind his back. They used to break down my fence, pillage my garden and pelting [*sic*] the fruit trees before the pears and apples were ripe. I rarely complained to the orphan-culprits, for whom I always had a sympathizing heart.<sup>34</sup>

Aufrecht, who never had children of his own, did not show any kindness, love, or affection when dealing with the boys and girls. The next superintendent once recalled in disgust how, as a trustee, he had observed Aufrecht’s heavy-handed control of the children during mealtime: “. . . there was perfect silence. The children were not permitted as much as to whisper. This I considered a cruelty—an unpardonable wrong.”<sup>35</sup>

### *Maintaining Discipline*

Humiliation and guilt were important disciplinary methods used by Aufrecht to control the children. His goal was to make them feel ashamed about their wrongdoings and motivate them to reform. Once when an eleven-year-old boy was caught stealing a purse containing about five dollars from one of the hired help, Aufrecht publicly reprimanded him. He called a meeting of the local trustees and all of the children to convene in the chapel where, in front of everyone, he lectured the boy in “a solemn way” about his bad conduct.<sup>36</sup>

Aufrecht experimented with many different strategies designed to keep control and order over the children. He periodically drilled and

paraded them in military exercises up and down the grounds during their recreation time. He explained that these exercises were limited “to the mere rudiments of the soldier’s drill, sufficient, however, to enable the children to move when necessary in large bodies from one place to another in a decent, orderly manner.”<sup>37</sup> The youngsters were continually forced to march together “two by two” in silence from one activity area to another. They marched to the chapel, to the classrooms, to the playrooms or playground, to the dormitories, and to the dining hall.

A staff governor and governess closely watched over the boys and girls and quickly punished acts of disobedience. Permissiveness was not allowed. The objective was to control all aspects of their lives and give them as little freedom as possible. Aufrecht and the trustees believed that a carefully regulated social system would help to rehabilitate and reform the morals and values of poor German-Jewish orphans by forcing them to conform to middle-class standards of behavior.

The superintendent felt that it was especially important to shape new children quickly so that they did not negatively influence those who had already been indoctrinated. Preventing them from talking to anyone was one effective means of social isolation. Once Aufrecht compared a group of newcomers with those who had been in the institution for some time: “The morals of the new inmates are somewhat below the general average of children of their age; but the older inmates, I am happy to state, show distinct marks of improvement.”<sup>38</sup>

### *Separation of Boys and Girls*

Many other different methods of control were employed to produce obedient, respectful, and well-behaved children. One was to keep boys and girls separated from one another. Boys seem to have been thought of as having lower morals than girls. The orphans were segregated by sex when they ate at the long bare tables in the dining hall. They each sat on different sides of the large room silently eating under the scrutiny of their supervisors so, as Aufrecht said, they would use “good judgment” and eat all of their food.<sup>39</sup>

They were separated from each other in the chapel, in the classrooms, in the play areas, and, of course, in the dormitories. Brothers

and sisters, unless they met in secret, had few opportunities to talk, let alone see one another. Even older brothers were separated from younger ones by age-segregated dormitories, dining hall tables, and marching groups.

Sometimes boys and girls did manage to get together, and this greatly disturbed Aufrecht. In the early 1870's he informed the trustees about "the impracticality of our building to keep the sexes separated" and "the need for better facilities to keep boys and girls apart."<sup>40</sup>

Another favorite tactic of social control involved keeping the children constantly busy with household chores, school studies, military drills, religious classes, and physical exercises. Making sure that they never had any free time on their hands, as Aufrecht viewed it, "greatly assists in keeping the children from mischief"—especially the older ones.<sup>41</sup>

Household tasks and institutional education worked hand in hand to develop the children into a reliable, well-disciplined working class. Habits of industriousness, politeness, punctuality, diligence, and achievement were stressed, and the results must have been good. Aufrecht, sounding very pleased with the system, proudly boasted in 1875, "As a general thing our children, with a very few exceptions, are very tractable and obey all orders of their superiors, with alacrity."<sup>42</sup>

### *Vocational Training of Girls*

Girls' education emphasized domestic training. From a young age they were regularly instructed by Aufrecht's wife, Rosa, in needlework, knitting, sewing, crocheting, braiding, embroidering, darning, and tatting. Older girls had daily tasks both before and after school for which they were responsible. They made beds, set tables, scrubbed, mopped and swept floors, washed, ironed and mended clothes, dusted, and washed dishes.<sup>43</sup>

JOA's president, Abraham Aub, in his first official report of 1869, recommended that the girls be prepared to be dressmakers, milliners, and other "occupations adapted to their capacities," and that "those intelligent enough . . . be educated so that they could teach school." "It is our constant aim and object," he said, "to raise the girls in such a way so that in all the walks of life they are fitted out to provide for themselves."<sup>44</sup> Aufrecht also frequently stressed the importance of

girls mastering skills necessary to “make themselves generally useful when they are old enough to leave the institution.”<sup>45</sup>

Those who learned their duties well were rewarded in various ways. Some were hired by the asylum as domestics after they were officially discharged at age fourteen or fifteen. Others were given prizes. In July 1874 Julia Wolf was awarded a sewing machine and Ophelia Hirshberg received forty dollars in gold. Several were usually placed in good homes as servants.<sup>46</sup>

Many people regularly wrote the JOA requesting the polite, well-mannered girls for domestics. In 1876 William Levi from Peru, Indiana, asked for “a girl of about fifteen years old, very stout, and able to nurse five children, and do general housework.” J. Solomon of Glasgow, Kentucky, also needed “an orphan girl of 14–15 years” for general domestic duties the same year.<sup>47</sup>

### *Vocational Training of Boys*

Boys, too, were trained to be dependable, obedient workers, although they had far fewer responsibilities than the girls: At the very beginning Aub had pointed out that the institution’s education mission was to “fit them [boys] out for their future life. As we intend to bring them up as good mechanics, it would be best to train them now for such vocation, hence I recommend earnestly the teaching of studies for such purposes.”<sup>48</sup> He saw to it that the board in 1869 established a fund to assist boys who were discharged in learning a trade.<sup>49</sup> Aufrecht reiterated the importance of Aub’s remarks when he later discussed the value of teaching the boys to have “polite manners and good conduct” as they “are raised and educated with the design of becoming mechanics.”<sup>50</sup>

Older boys were regularly charged with specific duties. Some worked in the stables, others cultivated the vegetable gardens, while still more kept the grounds clean, helped in the boiler house, or performed household chores. All of them were instructed to “love work and dislike being idle.”<sup>51</sup>

Looking ahead to the days when industrial education would become an important part of the JOA curriculum, the Industrial School Committee in 1874 recommended establishing a shoemaking and re-

pair shop and "if this department proves successful to try other branches as recommended."<sup>52</sup> In 1876 the shop opened, operated by a master shoemaker paid \$28 a month plus board and two thirteen-year-old boys who worked there as full-time apprentices. The next year two more apprentices were added.

All apprentices were required to work at least two years in the shoe shop. At the end of this time they either were discharged and apprenticed to a private shoe business or else continued working at the orphanage. The boys received twenty-five cents per week the first six months on the job, provided their conduct and work habits were satisfactory. Aufrecht deducted money from this amount as a penalty for misbehavior and laziness. After six months they got an additional dollar a week. At the start of the second year they received another increase of fifty cents a week, followed by a third raise to two dollars per week after another six months.<sup>53</sup>

In order that they would learn habits of thrift and self-denial, Aufrecht did not allow them to keep any of their earnings except for twenty-five cents per week. All wages were "deposited monthly by the apprentices in the savings bank under their own name added to that of one of the local trustees so that the money cannot be drawn without the consent of that trustee."<sup>54</sup>

By the end of 1877 the shoe shop was a huge financial success. The apprentices were able to repair all of the old shoes, while the master shoemaker made new ones. Aufrecht did not want to lose his newly trained boys when they were discharged, especially since they were contributing such a nice profit to the asylum. He tried to entice them to stay by depicting life outside as hopelessly corrupt and immoral.

Continuing under the wholesome influence of their fostering home, they remain intact from the company of corrupt youth, which lurks at every corner and poisons the good morals of the unsuspecting young man who happens to be thrown in its way. Saving all their wages, and merely spending the little allowance granted them weekly as a reward for their industry and good conduct, our apprentices become inured to parsimony without falling into the extreme of sordid niggardliness.<sup>55</sup>

The aim of both industrial and formal education at the JOA was to prepare the residents to become an inoffensive, well-behaved, dependable urban work force. Supervisors and teachers demanded good hab-

its and polite manners. Boys and girls learned to be orderly, industrious, punctual, law-abiding, polite, reliable, and obedient. Education emphasized good moral conduct rather than intellectual learning. Fourteen- and fifteen-year-old orphans needed to be taught how to support themselves and infused with values of patriotism and good citizenship.

### *The Absence of Aftercare*

Once they were out of the orphanage children were often on their own. After spending on the average about five and a half years there, the youngsters usually were discharged without the asylum taking any further responsibility for them. It was then up to their surviving parents, relatives, or friends to give them protection and employment. Institution care rather than aftercare was stressed.

In 1875 the institution was involved in a minor scandal of sorts. Jerusalem Lodge No. 6 of B'nai B'rith charged that the JOA had been discharging children who were improperly clothed. Embarrassed trustees requested names of the parties involved and additional details.<sup>56</sup> The following year, in July 1876, the board approved a motion recommending that a list of children soon to leave should be "published in the *American Israelite* [a Cincinnati Jewish newspaper] so parents, relatives, or benevolent co-religionists could provide means for their protection or employment."<sup>57</sup>

Sometimes, though infrequently, the orphanage did help support a few youngsters. In 1874 it assisted a printer's apprentice who was making \$2.50 a week while his board cost him \$4 weekly. Trustees helped defray his expenses as they searched for a relative to aid him.<sup>58</sup> At other times children were instructed to look up the B'nai B'rith representative from their region who might help them secure a position.

The Fifteenth Annual Report, issued in 1883, indicates that most of the 281 children, 118 girls and 163 boys, who had been discharged during this early period had, in fact, entered business-oriented jobs as clerks, bookkeepers, and stockboys instead of the trades. Only thirty-eight were listed as mechanics. Not one of the boys who had worked in the shoe shop as an apprentice continued in this line.<sup>59</sup>

The annual reports provide just glimpses of orphans' later careers: Jacob Schultz went to work with his uncle in 1875 to learn watchmaking.<sup>60</sup> In 1877 Louis Schwab became a machinist's apprentice, L. Meidner a printer's apprentice, and (?) Morgernstern and Louis Hirshfeldt stayed on as apprentices in the JOA shoemaking shop.<sup>61</sup> Sam Adler began working with his uncle as a bookkeeper, and Sam Blitz joined Henry Greenbaum, Esq., in the banking business that same year.<sup>62</sup> Some of the girls were retained by the orphanage in 1871 and hired as domestics.<sup>63</sup> Eva Swaab remained in 1875, but since "she causes a lot of trouble with the other domestics," Aufrecht attempted to find a place in a private family for her.<sup>64</sup>

Several promising boys who had attended high school and were recommended by Aufrecht received scholarships from the newly established Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati (the first seminary established in the United States to train rabbis) to study for the Reform rabbinate. Four went in 1875, the year of its founding, and three more in 1876—Moses Hahn, Fred Stadler, and Herman Hirshberg.<sup>65</sup>

By 1877 Aufrecht had second thoughts about the advisability of raising Jewish boys to be mechanics. They simply weren't going into the trades once they left, and so he suggested something else.<sup>66</sup> In his superintendent's report on October 7, 1877, he recommended that the JOA establish a model farm in the vicinity of Cleveland where boys after completing their education could be taught farming. He explained that farming would be "as profitable and perhaps surer of success than the trades." "Experience," he said, "has taught during the last ten years that a trade is nowadays not quite so sure a means for a living as farming is."<sup>67</sup> The board, however, disagreed and turned down his proposal. For the time being at least, the trustees appeared reluctant to turn Jewish city boys into farmers. Forty years later they would change their minds.

### *Formal Education*

The schoolroom was another place where a youngster's values and morals could be reformed. In his first years as superintendent Aufrecht spent much of his time and energy organizing and teaching in the school he established at the JOA. Most of the children had little or no previous formal education.

Boys and girls thirteen years old could barely understand McGuffey's second reader. In 1870 only five (all boys) of the 138 children between the ages of four and fifteen attended the city grammar or high school. The remainder over six years old were all placed in grades one through five at the asylum school.<sup>68</sup>

The four- and five-year-old children presented Aufrecht with a difficult problem. He would not put them into first grade and was against running a nursery school. There were less than twelve kindergartens in the entire United States in 1870, and none appeared in the Cleveland public school system until 1896. What should he do with them?<sup>69</sup>

In January 1876 Aufrecht recommended to the board that "children not be admitted until six years of age so they can go right into the schoolroom." That way they could be closely supervised along with the rest. But once again the trustees denied him his request.<sup>70</sup> Aufrecht could not convince them to see his point of view. He grew increasingly frustrated and impatient over his inability to implement ideas.

The school curriculum at the JOA in the early 1870's stressed the basic skills of reading, spelling, writing, and arithmetic as well as German, Hebrew, geography, and Bible studies. Each subject was taught in a class period of one and a quarter hours.<sup>71</sup> Teachers conducted strict courses usually typified by repetitive, monotonous drills such as first counting up to one hundred and back, next doing it by odd numbers and then again by even ones. Slate exercises consisting of copying straight lines, printed lower case and capital letters, and numbers were routinely done. Beginning in third grade students received three classes a week in German. This emphasis on German continued for over fifty years until 1919 when, in accord with the practice adopted by the public schools, it was dropped from the curriculum as a reaction to World War I.

In 1875 Rabbi B. Felsenthal, a trustee, attempted to make German an equal language with English in the schoolroom and chapel. His motion maintained that since "most if not all the children were of German parentage," a great need existed to emphasize more German literature and language studies. He resolved:

that the German and the English be considered as coordinate languages in the Asylum, and that they shall have equal claims and rights in the plan of instruction and for this reason, German shall be used as the linguistic medium in some

branches of learning; and shall alternately with the English, be the language of the exhortations, sermons, and lectures, given in sabbaths and festivals, to the inmates of the Asylum.

The motion was defeated for the given reason that both school and religious instruction “would lose their value when delivered to the inmates in a tongue which they but very imperfectly understand.” English had already become the boys’ and girls’ primary language.<sup>72</sup>

### *Americanization and Moral Education*

The Americanization of poor immigrant German-Jewish children and their assimilation into middle-class Anglo-Saxon culture became an important goal of the prominent Jewish trustees directing the institution. While on one hand they were extremely proud of their German heritage and constantly promoted its history and values, on the other they realized that an urgent need existed to transform these orphans of the streets into a morally conforming cohesive group. “The education of our orphans,” Aufrecht continually reminded the community, “which I indeed consider the most essential object of our Institution, is American and Jewish at the same time.”<sup>73</sup> After all, the Protestants and Catholics had established orphanages in Cleveland to rescue their own children from lives of delinquency and poverty. Jews could do the same.

Books helped teach the right morals and values. In 1871 Cleveland’s B’nai B’rith Montefiore Lodge and the Literary Society donated seventy-five volumes of English classical works and historical juvenile books to establish a library at the JOA.<sup>74</sup> By the following year the library already contained 450 volumes. One of the fourteen-year-olds acted as the librarian. During their recreation time older boys and girls were allowed “the privilege” of reading library books, though not for too long, “so that bodily exercises, so much needed in the development of youth may not be set aside.”<sup>75</sup>

When the city in 1874 built Outwaite Grammar School within five minutes walking distance from the Asylum, Aufrecht, being the pragmatist that he was, welcomed the chance to send more youngsters to the public school and thereby relieve his overcrowded facilities. Praising the city schools in October 1875 he said, “The advantages which

our children derive from attending the public schools are marked, as the public school system of Cleveland is excellent, and the competency of her superintendents of education and her teachers are widely known."<sup>76</sup>

Thirty-five boys and girls went to Outwaite and five to Central High School in 1874, while 147 stayed at the JOA primary school.<sup>77</sup> Three years later twenty-seven were at Outwaite, five at Central, and 181 in the institution school.<sup>78</sup>

Teachers at Central frequently praised the orphans' "good deportment and steady application to their studies."<sup>79</sup> If they misbehaved, students in the city schools, just like at the JOA, could expect to receive a good thrashing with a rod or whip.<sup>80</sup>

### *Overcrowding*

By the end of 1875 a major yellow fever epidemic in the South had resulted in a sudden increase of residents to 210 (111 boys and 99 girls) and the orphanage was bursting at its seams. Children came to the JOA from all over B'nai B'rith's western district, although the largest number were from Ohio (45). They arrived from Michigan (13), Indiana (14), Illinois (17), Wisconsin (6), Minnesota (2), Iowa (2), Kansas (3), Missouri (35), Arkansas (2), Mississippi (11), Alabama (1), Tennessee (29), Kentucky (17), and Louisiana (3).<sup>81</sup>

Aufrecht was unhappy. The institution was not meant to accommodate so many youngsters. Things weren't working out the way he had hoped they would. The board didn't seem to respect his ideas. He began to think of resigning.

The great number of inmates taxing the full capacity of the Asylum, the insufficiency in our assistants to take proper care of such vast numbers; an unusually long, and in severity, an almost arctic winter, and without the proper means to procure adequate heat to check the cold; sickness among the inmates, besides frequent prostrations of my wife, our matron; all these circumstances combined to tax my patience and energies to the utmost.<sup>82</sup>

Discipline seemed to be breaking down at times. With his wife ill much of the year and the governess quitting on him, Aufrecht was frustrated at not being able to provide proper supervision for the girls. On many

occasions when there were no adults to watch over them, they were completely on their own.<sup>83</sup>

Epidemics, ravaging the city, also affected the orphanage. Four children had died during the past four years, two from scarlet fever in 1871. Illnesses such as chicken pox, scarlatina, consumption, erysipelas, dropsy, diphtheria, malaria, anemia, pneumonia, tuberculosis, rheumatism, and tonsillitis periodically hit the institution.<sup>84</sup> Medical facilities were cramped and inadequate.

The resources of the asylum were being strained. The great depression of 1876–1877 only compounded the problem. Larger numbers of children needed to be managed and controlled on fewer and fewer dollars. Yearly expenses rose from \$22,000 in 1869 to \$30,065 in 1876, while the annual amount spent to care for one child decreased from \$186.44 in 1869 to \$143.85 in 1876.<sup>85</sup>

### *The Daily Routine*

As the number of residents increased from 118 in 1869 to 217 in 1877 Aufrecht struggled to implement a number of changes designed to improve order, precision, and control. He feared that large numbers of children would get into trouble if they were not kept constantly occupied and supervised. A rigorous and well-ordered schedule, hopefully, could help to prevent misbehavior.

The rigid daily routine he set up was followed throughout most of the year except on Saturdays, Sundays, certain holidays, and during the one and a half month summer vacation in July and August. The object was to bring the children under as absolute control as possible by following a fifteen-hour schedule in which segments of time were precisely divided.

Boys and girls were awakened in their large, neatly spaced barracks-like dormitories at 6:00 a.m. in the winter and 5:45 a.m. in the summer. They were allowed forty minutes to wash, dress, and be inspected for neatness and cleanliness and then spent fifteen minutes in morning prayer. They next marched to the dining hall, where they silently ate their breakfast of bread, butter, coffee, and oatmeal mush from 7:00 to 7:30.

After eating, the younger children filed out to their playrooms or playground areas for seventy-five minutes of recreation, and the older

boys and girls went to work at their assigned household duties. At 8:45 they all went to school for two morning sessions that were divided by a twenty-minute recess. Aufrecht, three unmarried women, and one other man taught approximately 180 students in the mid-1870's.

At 11:45 they marched back to the dining hall for their main meal of the day, which was referred to as dinner. It usually included soup, meat, potatoes, and other vegetables and fruits in their season. After they had finished eating they were taken back to the play areas for recreation, exercises, or drills until 1:45 p.m. when they returned to their classrooms.

There were two afternoon school sessions between 1:45 and 4:45 with an intermission of thirty minutes at 3:00 during which time they were served a light snack called lunch. Generally this included a piece of bread with molasses syrup on it or, more rarely, some fruit. Between 4:45 and 6:00 younger children played while older ones worked again at their chores until supper was served. After supper, a very skimpy meal consisting of tea, bread and butter, and rice or potatoes, the still-hungry youngsters marched back again to their schoolrooms to prepare, under the supervision of their teachers, the next day's lessons. They were dismissed from their studies to the dormitories, class by class, after roll-call and evening prayers. The youngest went to bed first at 7:30, and by 9:00 all children were under the covers with the lights out.

On Friday nights, instead of homework study sessions, the residents attended thirty minutes of Sabbath worship in the chapel. Religious services were also conducted on Saturday mornings between 10:00 and 11:00. Aufrecht, who presented his weekly sermon, conducted the ritual and was assisted by a few of the bigger boys. Older children also attended Saturday morning classes in Bible studies, Hebrew, and catechism, and along with the rest of the boys and girls received one hour of instruction in the afternoon in Jewish history taught by Aufrecht and an assistant. Classes were also conducted on Sunday. Girls studied needlework under the supervision of Mrs. Aufrecht, and some of the children had sessions in drawing, singing, gymnastics, and religion.

Aufrecht became so desperate to keep the inmates quiet, obedient, and busy that he even resorted to organizing a "vacation school" dur-

ing July and August.<sup>86</sup> Children spent five days a week in two one and a half hour morning and afternoon classes where they reviewed the lessons learned during the previous academic year. In the absence of their teachers, fourteen- and fifteen-year-old boys and girls served as monitors to maintain order. In addition to their summer studies, those in the higher grades were given library books and were told to spend two hours every day reading the “instructive and amusing literature.” In 1877 Aufrecht, with great relief, said that the vacation school “greatly assists in keeping the children from mischief.”<sup>87</sup>

### *Rebellious “Inmates”*

While most boys and girls probably adapted to the rules, regulations, and harsh regimentation of institutionalized life, there were certainly those who did not. Wolf Moses, a new boy from Chicago in 1877, was one such rebel.

Being used to the open, carefree life of the streets did not predispose Wolf to the strict JOA discipline. Life on the outside was too tempting for him to stay cooped up in the asylum. So on many occasions Wolf, when he felt like it, quietly sneaked out. Sometimes he returned on his own and other times he was escorted back by the police. One can only imagine the number of whippings he received from Aufrecht. By the end of 1877 the superintendent smugly reported that Wolf was “getting used to the Orphanage and its discipline.”<sup>88</sup>

Boys and girls like Wolf needed to be reclaimed by society and converted to right thinking and proper conduct. This was the primary mission of the JOA. It was no secret. The German Jewish press continually emphasized the importance of rescuing homeless Jewish children and reforming them. A newspaper article about this in May 1876 commented:

... orphanages founded for poor Jewish orphans not only to supply their physical wants. but [*sic*] mainly for the purpose of giving them a sound education and to bring them up in the fear of God; in fact to reclaim to society so many good and useful men and women who otherwise, from circumstances for which they could not be held responsible, would grow up as outcasts of society.<sup>89</sup>

Those who were too troublesome were dealt with in special ways. The

1883 Annual Report noted that two youngsters who did not conform to asylum norms were expelled for “incorrigible conduct.”<sup>90</sup>

### *Religious Education*

Religious education at the JOA helped to instill the fear of God into small, impressionable youngsters. Besides regular school classes in Hebrew, Bible studies, and catechism and weekend sessions in Jewish history, Aufrecht’s sermons from the pulpit every Sabbath, along with morning, evening, and mealtime prayers, stressed correct behavior, “what is worthy of imitation and what is to be shunned.” Children were instructed to love their schoolwork, act politely, dislike idleness, have good conduct, and learn about Judaism. The best students in religious classes were awarded prizes of money.<sup>91</sup> The few children attending public schools received special instruction in Hebrew, German, Bible studies, singing, and drawing at the orphanage on the weekends and evenings. Aufrecht’s net caught them all.<sup>92</sup>

In 1877 ten boys and ten girls were confirmed from Tifereth Israel by Rabbi Aaron Hahn. They had studied under him for this important Reform ritual throughout the year. There were no Bar Mitzvahs at the orphanage during the first decade.<sup>93</sup>

Clubs also helped to promote appropriate morals and values. In 1874 two Literary Societies formed, one for boys and one for girls, with the specific function of transmitting moral and intellectual culture and watching over the morals of fellow-members. They elected officers, wrote bylaws, and held regular meetings for the purpose of discussing essays, reading poems, and holding debates, all of which were closely monitored by one of the teachers.<sup>94</sup>

### *Adoptions*

Policies controlling the number of inmates permitted at the orphanage also helped to ensure tighter control with a limited budget. Children older than eleven years usually were not admitted. Neither were youngsters whose parents were divorced, separated, or seriously ill.<sup>95</sup> Boys and girls were immediately dismissed whenever trustees learned that either surviving parent had remarried. Other children were given

in adoption to families recommended by B'nai B'rith representatives. Eight were placed with families who adopted them during 1870.<sup>96</sup>

In the summer of 1876 Mr. and Mrs. Polk from Quincy, Illinois, applied to the JOA to adopt a seven- or eight-year-old girl. Aufrecht wrote the relatives of two girls to obtain their permission for adoption. He received consent from one girl's relatives but did not get an answer from the other. The board decided that the Polks could adopt either one of the girls.<sup>97</sup>

In making this decision the trustees followed the adoption policy they had established the preceding year:

Resolved that whenever hereafter application is made for the adoption of an orphan child from the asylum, the Board shall consult the former guardian before such application is finally granted, and the child surrendered; and it shall not be granted if valid objections be raised by said former guardian within thirty days from notification by the Secretary.<sup>98</sup>

As guardians of the inmates, orphanage trustees had the power to give them out in adoption. Ten were so placed during the first decade.<sup>99</sup>

### *Aufrecht Resigns*

By the end of 1877 Aufrecht had had enough. Both he and his wife were ailing, and he wanted to leave his very strenuous and frustrating job for a more rewarding position in education. On January 6, 1878, he submitted his resignation to take effect on July 1.<sup>100</sup>

He returned to Cincinnati, where he was named Professor of Hebrew at the Hebrew Union College. He died four years later, on July 26, 1882, from kidney disease. The first decade of the Cleveland Jewish Orphan Asylum was over.

The years between 1868 and 1878 were formative ones for the young orphanage. Aufrecht and the German Jewish merchants sitting on the board of trustees wrestled with ways to effectively socialize, educate, and control the growing number of German orphans in the asylum. Aufrecht, the pragmatic though hapless drillmaster, never quite succeeded in implementing any of the expensive plans he devised. Constantly frustrated by the trustees, overcrowded facilities, inadequate finances, children's epidemics, poor discipline, and his

wife's and his own failing health, he resorted ultimately to harsh military order to maintain control. In the end the task proved to be too much for him. Having run out of devices and expedients, he finally and somewhat shamefully quit. In their next superintendent, the Cleveland trustees would get more than mere respectability. The stage was set for the entrance of Dr. Samuel Wolfenstein, the charismatic, forceful, and brilliant personality who would dominate the JOA for the next thirty-five years.

### Notes

1. Lloyd Gartner, *History of the Jews of Cleveland* (Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society and Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1978), p. 51.

2. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 1971 ed., s.v. "B'nai B'rith."

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. Allan Peskin, *This Tempting Freedom* (Cleveland: Fairmount Temple, 1973), pp. 16-17.

6. Gartner, p. 58.

7. *Fiftieth Anniversary Commemorative Pamphlet*, 14 July 1918 (Bellefaire Jewish Children's Home Papers, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio), pp. 9-10.

8. *Jewish Orphan Home Alumni Association Bulletin* (Cleveland: Jewish Orphan Home Alumni Association, July 1968). Three Jewish orphanages already existed in the United States. The first one was started in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1801, the second in Philadelphia in 1855, and the third in New York City in 1859. Arthur Goren, "Jews," in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, ed. Stephan Thernstrom (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), p. 578. Peixotto (1834-1890) was a native American Jew of Sephardic (Spanish ancestry) parents who first came to Cleveland in 1836 with his father, Daniel L. M. Peixotto, M.D., a professor at the newly founded Willoughby University Medical School (which later merged into Western Reserve University Medical School). Benjamin Peixotto became a prominent businessman and investor in western Pennsylvania oil. He served in Cleveland as the first president of the Young Men's Hebrew Literary Society and was a leading member of B'nai B'rith's Solomon Lodge. In 1864 he completed his term as national head of B'nai B'rith. Peixotto helped organize the Hebrew Benevolent Society in Cleveland in 1855, a society for local charitable purposes and a Hebrew Sunday School at Tifereth Israel Congregation. In 1856 he became the associate editor of the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*. Gartner, pp. 5, 21, 23, 24, 26, 40, 57.

9. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. "United States." Fifty-two of the 1,134 Ohio Jews who fought in the Union Army were killed in action. Gartner, p. 27.

10. *Fiftieth Anniversary Commemorative Pamphlet*, pp. 9-10; Gartner, p. 58.

11. Gartner, p. 58.

12. *Report of Exercises in Celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Founding of the Jewish Orphan Asylum*, July 1918 (Bellefaire Jewish Children's Home Papers, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio), p. 6. One of those opposed to the resolution was Isaac Wise, the subsequent founder of Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

14. *Ibid.*

15. Judah Rubinstein and Sidney Z. Vincent, *Merging Traditions: Jewish Life in Cleveland* (Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society and Jewish Community Federation of Cleveland, 1978), pp. 82, 86.
16. *Fiftieth Anniversary Commemorative Pamphlet*, pp. 10–11.
17. *Ibid.*
18. John J. Grabowski, “A Social Settlement in a Neighborhood in Transition, Hiram House, Cleveland, Ohio, 1896–1926” (Ph.D. diss., Case Western Reserve University, 1977), p. 26.
19. *Fiftieth Anniversary Commemorative Pamphlet*, pp. 10–11.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
21. *Jewish Orphan Asylum Inauguration Pamphlet*, 14 July 1868 (Bellefaire Jewish Children’s Home Papers, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio).
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Fiftieth Anniversary Commemorative Pamphlet*, p. 32.
25. Gartner, p. 71.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
28. Rubinstein, p. 93.
29. Gartner, pp. 59–60; *Cincinnati American Israelite*, 8 October 1868.
30. Gartner, pp. 59–60.
31. Lucia Johnson Bing, *Social Work in Greater Cleveland* (Cleveland: Welfare Federation of Cleveland, 1938), pp. 60–63.
32. *Ibid.*
33. Samuel Wolfenstein, *Fiftieth Anniversary of the Jewish Orphan Asylum* (Cleveland: By the Author, 1918), p. 12. Military discipline pervaded orphanages throughout the United States during the second half of the nineteenth century. Regimentation, uniformity, and the whip were a routine part of orphans’ lives in institutions according to David J. Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1971), pp. 224–229, 234.
34. Wolfenstein, p. 13.
35. *Ibid.* p. 12.
36. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 23 January 1876 (Bellefaire Jewish Children’s Home Papers, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio).
37. Ninth Annual Report, October 1877 (Bellefaire Jewish Children’s Home Papers, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio).
38. *Ibid.*
39. Eighth Annual Report October 1876.
40. Fourth Annual Report, October 1872.
41. Ninth Annual Report, October 1877.
42. Seventh Annual Report, October 1875.
43. Ninth Annual Report, October 1877.
44. First Annual Report, October 1869.
45. Seventh Annual Report, October 1875.
46. Sixth Annual Report, October 1874.
47. Eighth Annual Report October 1876.
48. First Annual Report, October 1869.
49. *Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Jewish Orphan Asylum*, July 1893 (Bellefaire Jewish Children’s Home Papers, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio).

50. Second Annual Report, October 1870.
51. First Annual Report, October 1869.
52. Sixth Annual Report, October 1874.
53. Ninth Annual Report, October 1877.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
56. Seventh Annual Report, October 1875.
57. Eighth Annual Report, October 1876.
58. Sixth Annual Report, October 1874.
59. Fifteenth Annual Report, July 1883. Some of the trades that the boys had entered were plumbing, photography, watchmaking, carriage-making, tinning, and printing.
60. Seventh Annual Report, October 1875.
61. Ninth Annual Report, October 1877.
62. Ibid.
63. Third Annual Report, October 1871.
64. Superintendent's Report, April 1876 (Bellefaire Jewish Children's Home Papers, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio).
65. Seventh Annual Report, October 1875; Eighth Annual Report, October 1876.
66. The rapidly growing American economy during the late 1800's offered attractive opportunities for young men to become entrepreneurs. The role model of successful German-Jewish businessmen reinforced the idea that Jews could achieve prominence through hard work and good salesmanship.
67. Superintendent's Report, 7 October 1877.
68. Second Annual Report, October 1870.
69. Akers, pp. 294–295; Evelyn Weber, *The Kindergarten* (New York: Teachers' College Press, Columbia University, 1969), p. 36.
70. Superintendent's Report, January 1876.
71. Second Annual Report, October 1870.
72. Seventh Annual Report, October 1875.
73. Ninth Annual Report, October 1877.
74. Third Annual Report, October 1871.
75. Fourth Annual Report, October 1872.
76. Seventh Annual Report, October 1875.
77. Sixth Annual Report, October 1874.
78. Ninth Annual Report, October 1877.
79. Fourth Annual Report, October 1872.
80. Akers, p. 175.
81. Seventh Annual Report, October 1875.
82. Ibid.
83. Superintendent's Report, January 1876. The governess probably was overburdened by the extra work resulting from Rosa Aufrecht's relinquishment of her duties as matron.
84. Annual Reports, 1871–1878.
85. Eighth Annual Report, October 1876. Per capita contributions and donations to the orphanage were down during the depression year of 1876. The institution received its operating income from B'nai B'rith lodge dues, benefits and sales conducted by ladies' auxiliary societies, interest on investments, legacies, donations, and yearly subscriptions to orphanage literature.
86. Trustees and staff routinely referred to the children as "inmates."
87. Superintendent's Report, October 1877.

88. Ibid.
89. *Independent Hebrew*, 12 May 1876.
90. Fifteenth Annual Report, July 1883.
91. Ninth Annual Report, October 1877.
92. Seventh Annual Report, October 1875.
93. Ibid.
94. Ninth Annual Report, October 1877.
95. Eighth Annual Report, October 1876.
96. Second Annual Report, October 1870.
97. Board of Trustees Minutes, July 1876.
98. Seventh Annual Report, October 1875.
99. Fifteenth Annual Report, July 1883.
100. Board of Trustees Minutes, January 1878.

---

Gary E. Polster teaches sociology and anthropology at Ursuline College in Pepper Pike, Ohio.