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## Article Title: The Workmen's Circle and Labor Lyceum in Omaha, 1907-1977

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Article Summary: In the early twentieth century the Omaha Workmen's Circle provided medical and insurance benefits to arriving immigrants while supporting their socialist values. Nostalgia for the balls and picnics of the early days kept the Circle going even after immigration quotas had severely limited the number of new members.

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Photographs / Images: Workmen's Circle membership certificate; illustration from *Forty Years Workmen's Circle, A History in Pictures*, by J Kaminsky (1940); a joint gathering of Omaha and Lincoln Workmen's Circle members in the 1930s; Labor Lyceum building and B'nai Jacob Ada Yeshuron Synagogue; Labor Lyceum leaders: Max Crouse, Sam Susman, Louis Gitlin, Sam Ruderman, H Ruderman, Max Sekicow, Ben Miroff, Sam Lerner, Louis Wilkin, [first name unknown] Greenfield, Sam Schwartz; Omaha Workmen's Circle members in the 1930s: Sam Kraft, Sam Lerner, Ida Paperny, Ben Gorelick, Sam Kaplan, Sam Colick, Ida Lerner, Isadore Shafer, Louis Paperny, Nathan Martin, Julius Schneider, Sam Canar; ad for the Grand Ball of the Workmen's Circle (*Jewish Bulletin*, December 19, 1919); ad for a theatre performance sponsored by the Workmen's Circle; cast of a Workmen's Circle Dramatic Club performance at the Jewish Community Center; arrangements committee for the Workmen's Circle Branch No. 173 fiftieth anniversary dinner, 1958: Sam Susman, Louis Witkin, Max Krantz, Sol Asch, Cecilia Lerman, Max Levine, Bessie Witkin, Hyman Oritsch, Pauline Binder, Sam Schwartz, Yetta Borenstein, Max Katz, Ben Miroff; Branch No. 258 leaders with a cake commemorating the branch's forty-fifth anniversary in 1954: A Fedman, Sam Tarnoff, Sam Kaplan, Ben Gorelick, Ida Paperny, Louis Paperny, Nathan Martin, Sam Canar, Milton Nearenberg, Morris Goodman

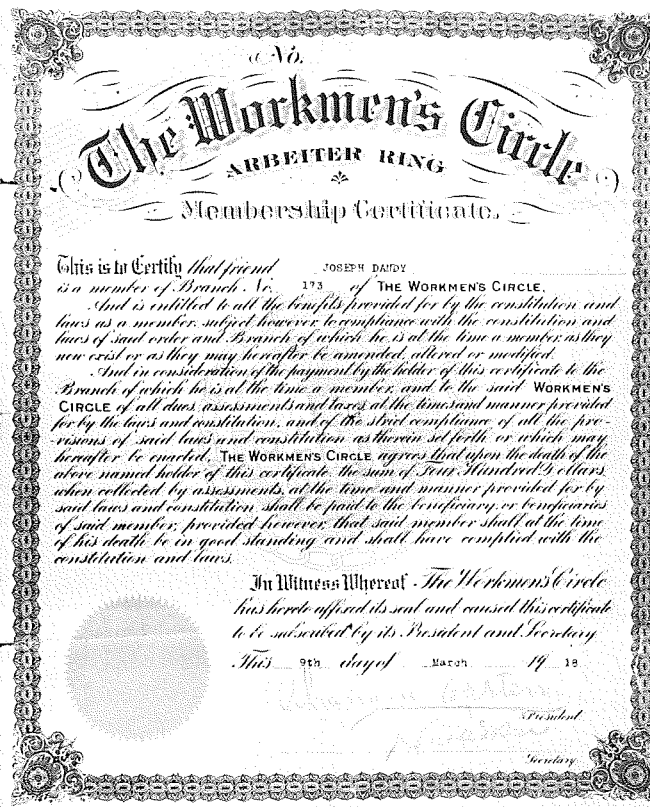
# The Workmen's Circle and Labor Lyceum in Omaha 1907-1977

By Oliver B. Pollak

The Workmen's Circle, an immigrant aid society also known by its Yiddish name, Arbeiter Ring, formed in New York in 1892, became a national order in 1900, and functioned in Nebraska for over sixty years. The Circle addressed the "milieu of loneliness and economic hardship" by providing insurance benefits for sickness, including the "proletarian malady" tuberculosis, and death. Membership soared after 1905 as refugee immigrants with socialist and bundist backgrounds, fleeing pogroms in eastern Europe, arrived in America. The State Insurance Department of New York granted the Circle a charter, making the medical and insurance benefits much more attractive.<sup>1</sup>

The Circle differed from the synagogue, temple, B'nai B'rith lodges, loan societies, and *landsmanshaften* (Jewish clubs based on regional European roots). The Circle provided workers with an atmosphere of comfort and belonging through "mutual aid, protection against death and disability, health and welfare services, and above all a circle of friends," a haven for the Yiddish-speaking, socialist-oriented, urban, working Jew.<sup>2</sup> Standard insurance policies, for members between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, provided sickness benefits of \$6 per week for twelve

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Nebraska Jewish Historical Society

weeks and \$400 upon death.<sup>3</sup> Some branches loaned members money and maintained cemeteries. These benefits cushioned newcomers against the shock of American urban industrial life.

Workmen's Circle histories naturally concentrate on the center of the Circle, New York, where most members lived. By 1925, however, the Circle flourished in at least thirty-four states with over 100 labor lyceums in various communities including Chicago, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, and

Kansas City.<sup>4</sup> In smaller communities like Omaha, the Circle played a special role as the sole socialist venue for Jewish workers and the middle class who desired to maintain spiritual identity outside of a major metropolis.<sup>5</sup>

In early twentieth-century New York, Circle members accepted the long-range social goals of its radical leaders, as well as the organization's financial support of the socialist movement. The *Jewish Daily Forward*, the leading Yiddish-language newspaper, the United Hebrew Trades, and the Workmen's Circle were vital to the Jewish labor movement and to socialism in the face of social and economic upward mobility that tended to weaken the immigrants' socialist vision and bonding.

Once the New York courts affirmed labor's right to strike for the closed shop in 1902, the Circle actively supported unions and strikes. In 1907 the Workmen's Circle and the United Hebrew Trades raised \$10,000 to assist striking New York reefer (children's cloak) makers.<sup>6</sup> The Circle also supported garment union strikes in New York in 1909 and 1910.

Beyond its union activities the Circle was involved in political and social affairs. The New York Circle assisted its socialist lawyer, Meyer London, in his 1914 election to Congress. In 1924 Chicago's 300,000 Jews supported forty-three Circle branches with over 5,000 members, and

## Omaha Workmen's Circle

ran secular Yiddish-language schools and camps to compete with religious instruction offered by *hederim* (Jewish elementary schools) and communal Talmud Torah. The *Jewish Daily Forward* had a Chicago edition. Detroit with 75,000 Jews had the largest branch in the U.S. and Canada. However, one half of its 800 dues-paying members were not workers.<sup>7</sup>

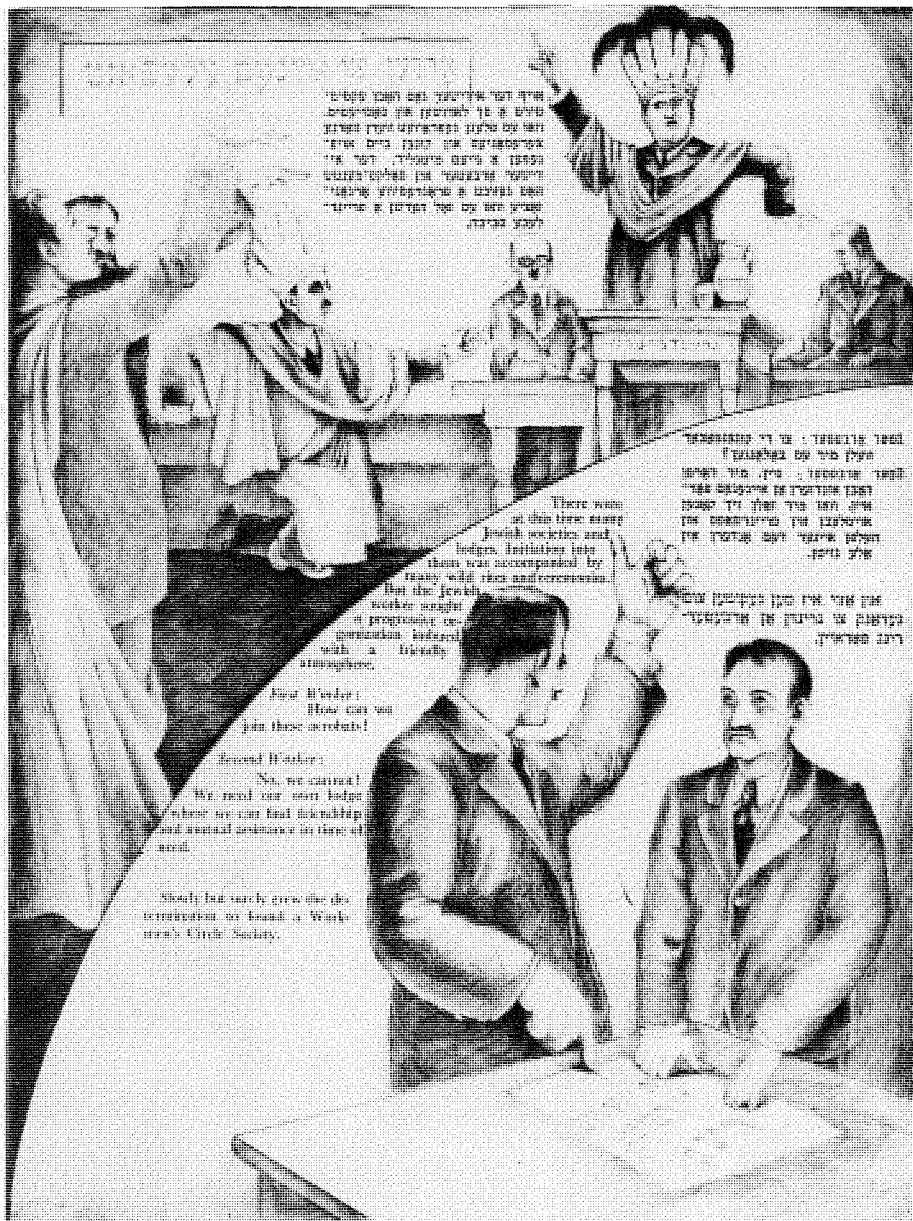
Omaha had six Circle branches, but only two endured for significant periods. Omaha Branch No. 173 was chartered on December 18, 1907, with about twenty-five members. South Omaha Branch No. 258, chartered January 29, 1910, met at the Congregation of Israel at Twenty-fifth and J streets. Lincoln had two branches and Sioux City and Des Moines each had three branches at one time or another. Membership fluctuated.<sup>8</sup>

Unlike larger cities, Omaha, with no more than 10,000 Jews, lacked the critical mass of Jewry to support Circle activism. Nevertheless the "Jewish Socialists" of Omaha's Branch No. 173 temporarily turned militant in 1913 when they attempted to organize a local Kosher meat cooperative to reduce the impact of a nationwide, 25 percent increase in the price of meat.

Morris Minkin, a carpenter, chaired the meeting at B'nai Anshi Sholom Synagogue on March 20, 1913.<sup>9</sup> Three days later a devastating tornado struck Omaha, cutting a path through the immigrant Jewish neighborhood and disrupting not only plans to establish the cooperative, but Jewish efforts to establish a Jewish community center.

In smaller midwestern Jewish communities, the Circle incorporated disparate and sometimes hostile factions. In Columbus, Ohio, "men with conflicting ideologies joined together uneasily, for they did not have enough followers to survive independently."<sup>10</sup>

Assimilationists, who detested nationalism such as Zionism, argued with Yiddish culturalists. Omaha's Workmen's Circle appears less contentious. Many members were self-employed craftsmen



From J. Kaminsky, *Forty Years Workmen's Circle, A History in Pictures* (1940)

or small businessmen. When the Trade Union Educational League solicited the Workmen's Circle to contribute to the packinghouse worker strike fund, a league writer observed that "the majority of its members [were] small businessmen" and though "the vast majority of these Jewish friends are not eligible to join our unions . . . they show by their

actions how sincerely they sympathize with the struggle of the unions." The two Omaha circles donated \$49.<sup>11</sup> While New York Circle members may have embraced a common Jewish culture and avoided its religious manifestations and congregational affiliations, many Omaha Circle members maintained synagogue membership. The curtail-

ment of immigration in the 1920s led to the Circle relaxing its membership standards to admit middle class Jews, and in Indianapolis, even ideologically correct non-Jews.<sup>12</sup>

The tensions between Jewish socialists and communists tore the Circle apart in New York in the 1920s. This rift led to the expulsion of about 100 branches and 9,000 communists. In 1929 the expelled members formed the International Workers Order (IWO). The conflict lost some of its urgency by the time it left the northeast and crossed the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. In Omaha the struggle against the communists by loyal Omaha Circle members was recalled as valiant and successful.<sup>13</sup> Although the secular and socialist-oriented Circle existed on the fringe of Jewish religious life the extreme left, the communist IWO, was “not accepted as a legitimate part of the Jewish community.”<sup>14</sup>

After the split between Jewish socialists and communists around 1929, Omaha members became more socializing than socialist. They sought to preserve the Yiddish language and reconcile their socialism, Yiddishkeit (Jewishness), and the celebration of secular events like May Day and annual observances of branch existence, with participation in Jewish holiday and funerary functions.<sup>15</sup> By the 1930s the Circle’s espousal of social justice, epitomized in the saying *ah shennere un bessere velt* (a more beautiful and better world), expressed and emphasized cultural rather than political or economic ideology.

During the mid-1930s the Circle represented itself as the largest and wealthiest immigrant labor fraternal order and the largest Jewish organization in America, with more than 700 branches in thirty-eight states and several Canadian provinces, a membership of 70,000,

and assets exceeding six million dollars. As the second largest organization of Jewish workers in the world, and despite congressional curtailment of immigration in the mid-1920s, the Circle was confident that its more than 104 elementary and advanced schools would ensure a continuing stream of new members. “Think of it! Seventy-five thousand children have been imbued with those lofty ideals . . . which constitute the very soul of the Workmen’s Circle. What a potential reservoir of membership, all ready and waiting to be tapped!”<sup>16</sup> Nationally the B’nai B’rith, led by Henry Monsky of Omaha, was about to overtake the Workmen’s Circle. In Omaha B’nai B’rith and the local variant of a landsmanschaft, the Omaha Hebrew Club, always overshadowed the Workmen’s Circle.<sup>17</sup>

The establishment of brick and mortar centers increased the Circle’s visibility and provided an identity separate



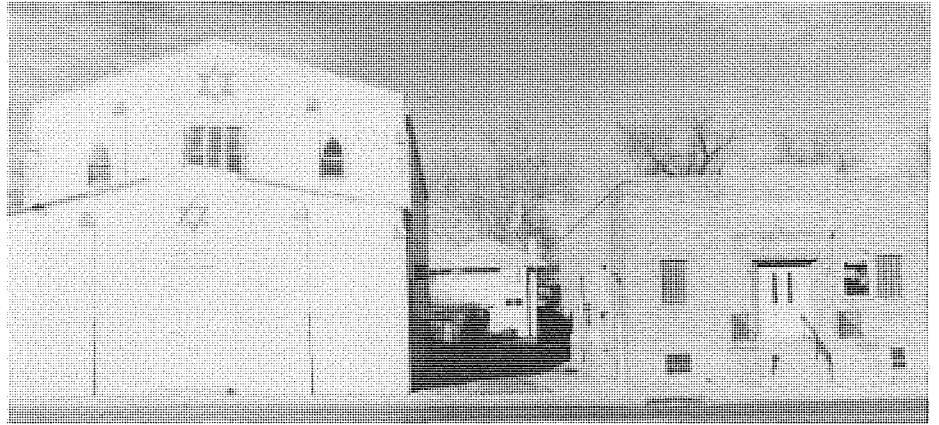
A joint gathering of Omaha and Lincoln Workmen’s Circle members, probably sometime in the 1930s. Nebraska Jewish Historical Society

## Omaha Workmen's Circle

from religious and communal edifices. For example, the Chicago Circle purchased the Douglas Auditorium for \$225,000 and turned it into the Labor Lyceum. The Denver Circle acquired a building in 1917. The Indianapolis Circle met in the Jewish Welfare Federation's communal building until purchasing its own building in the 1920s. In Omaha fundraising for operating expenses, local and international charitable projects, and a building fund, were constant features of Circle work. Funds were raised by activities such as the widely advertised annual ball and bazaars.

The Labor Lyceum Association of Greater Omaha, closely allied with the Circle, was formed "to inculcate, disseminate and promulgate a spirit of brotherhood among those persons and their families who obtain their livelihood as employees of other persons or corporations in the capacity of laborers, mechanics, office employees and kindred vocations." The Lyceum provided a "social club or home" where members and families could have meetings and entertainment and spread "the principals [sic] of brotherhood, aid and progress" through education and instruction.<sup>18</sup> In March 1920 "Jewish men of Omaha, active in the Jewish labor movement, together with businessmen... formed an organization to build a labor lyceum building."<sup>19</sup> The Omaha and South Omaha Circle branches supported construction and 250 stockholders purchased the \$10 shares. The two-story building cost about \$15,000 and opened in August 1922 at Twenty-second and Clark streets. Its meeting hall held 100 people and its auditorium seated 250. Renting the dance hall and meeting rooms to other organizations and for weddings raised about \$1,000 per year. Bazaars made up the annual deficits of about \$150.<sup>20</sup>

Four years later the Jewish Welfare Federation built its Jewish Community Center at Twentieth and Dodge, across from academically-oriented Central High School, and provided after-school



The Labor Lyceum building (r.) was sold to a church in 1974. The building at left is B'nai Jacob Ada Yeshuron Synagogue, which closed in 1985. Oliver B. Pollak Photo

activities for Omaha's Jewish youth. The Circle, fostering Yiddishkeit and socialism, existed on the margin of the established "uptown," religious, and communally-inspired community center. Nonetheless, a sense of common purpose prevailed between the Labor Lyceum and the Jewish Community Center that may not have been found in larger, more differentiated communities. The leadership of the Jewish Welfare Federation and the B'nai B'rith spoke at the Lyceum in 1926 to raise funds for the United Jewish Campaign. Max Selicow, a Circle member, president of Mutual Loan Association, and proprietor of Selicow and Ackerman Tailors, sat on the Federation Welfare Board as the Workmen's Circle representative.<sup>21</sup>

Several New York Circle leaders attended the formal dedication of the Labor Lyceum building on Sunday, September 3, 1922. In 1923 more than 250 people met to approve the issuance of \$15,000 in additional stock to expand the building. In 1936 the building was thoroughly remodeled to include a new oil heating plant. It had a fine library and reading room.<sup>22</sup>

A new "family home" was built in 1940, about a mile south and west at 3020 Cuming, which contained a meeting hall with a stage for dramatic performances. The new Lyceum was strategically located across the street from Technical High School.<sup>23</sup> The ceremo-

nal mortgage burning occurred in 1945.<sup>24</sup> The Lyceum served as the meeting place for the Metropolitan Utilities District Union, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the International Federation of Post Office Employees as well as Workmen's Circle No. 173, No. 258, and the Ladies' Auxiliary.<sup>25</sup>

The Workmen's Circle, especially Branch No. 173, and the Labor Lyceum were intimately connected; eight of Branch No. 173's ten officers were also listed among the ten Lyceum officers during the 1930s. A core of perennial leaders held uninterrupted office for several years in both the Circle and the Lyceum. In 1926 these individuals formed the Mutual Loan Association. Four Labor Lyceum board members also served on the Mutual Loan Association board, which was headquartered at the Lyceum building. Meetings of the two labor-oriented organizations were often combined.<sup>26</sup>

The Lyceum and the Circle had "a passion for lectures." Heated yelling often accompanied the weekly Sunday open forum that drew about eighty-five listeners. About sixty people attended the semiannual meetings.<sup>27</sup> The library, dramatic club, semiannual free concerts, lectures, Sunday School, occasional religious services, and other educational and social features filled "an important need as an Americanizing influence among immigrants who arrived

at too late an age to enter the public schools."<sup>28</sup>

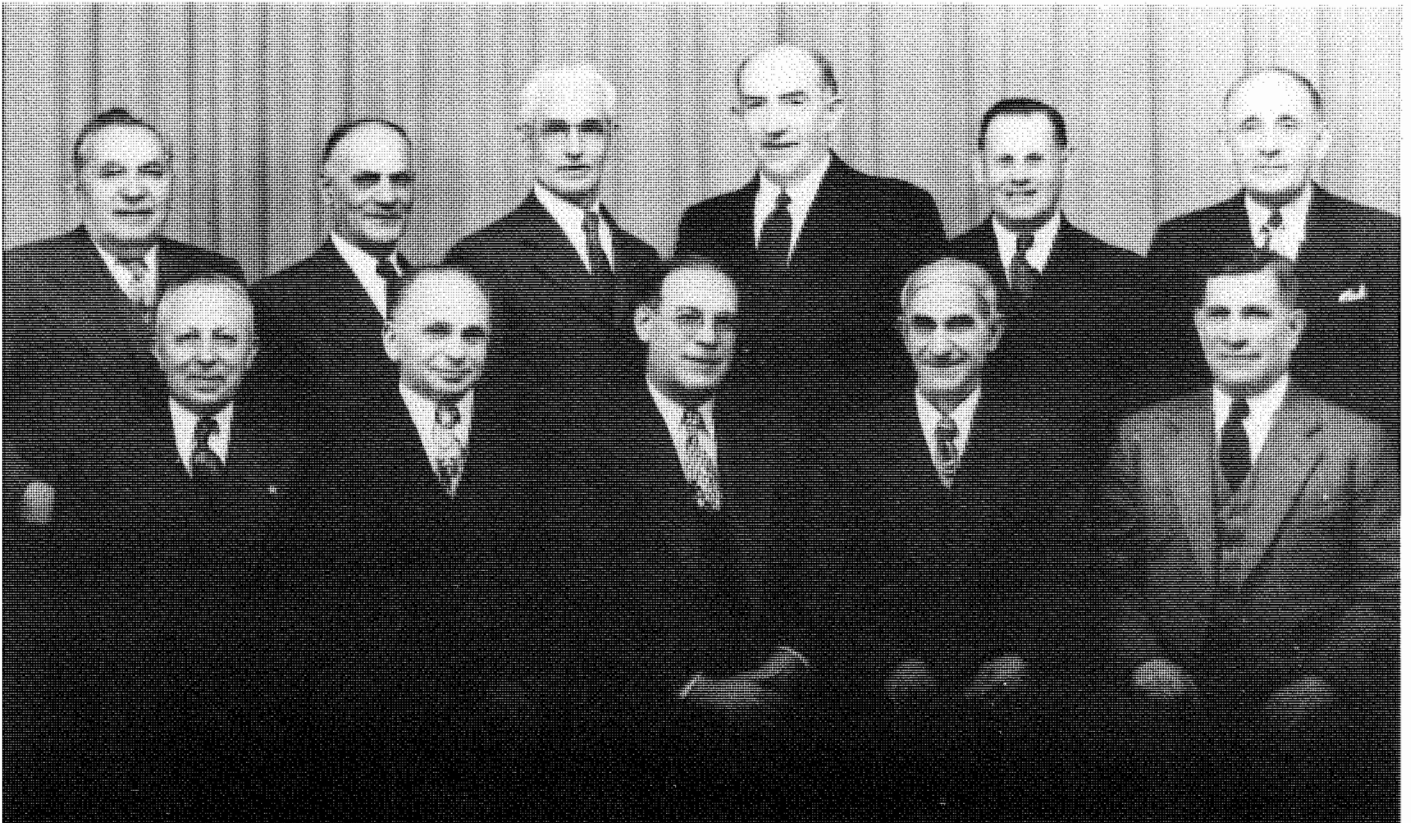
The Circle sponsored cultural programs and lectures as well as social and familial activities, with meetings every Friday evening at the Labor Lyceum. As many as 150 attended family picnics, featuring beer, pop, and ice cream, at Hanscom, Fontenelle, and Elmwood parks. The Labor Lyceum donated classroom space to the Board of Education's citizenship program.<sup>29</sup> An annual branch birthday and May Day were celebrated in lieu of religious holidays. At the Lyceum's twenty-fifth anniversary in 1947, Harry Disbrow, a local tenor, sang Jewish folk songs and Cantor E. Sellz presented a program of Hebrew and Jewish music.<sup>30</sup>

The Workmen's Circle also responded to changing family needs. In

1925 it authorized the first English-speaking Young Circle club comprised of children of adult members. Omaha installed its first Young Circle League branch, No. 1014, on October 15, 1929. The Omaha Young Circle branch called itself Voltaire, while the Des Moines Young Circle branch identified itself as Spinoza.<sup>31</sup> Omaha organized two more short-lived youth branches in 1933 and 1940, whose brief duration may be attributed to their hasty formation on the eve of a branch anniversary. "[T]he parent branches soon forgot about them [the youth branches] and they fell apart."<sup>32</sup>

In late 1933 the Omaha Young Circle League, Voltaire Branch, was revived. Abraham Lipsman inspired his niece, Sophie Halperin, to join. She served as recording secretary, Maurice Katz as

treasurer and then financial secretary, and Lillian Lerner as club reporter. Milton Wallman, a student from New York attending Creighton University, served as educational director. The group was serious-minded but still had fun. Some marriages emerged from the associations. Diverse topics were discussed such as in 1933, "The Next War." In 1934 Fannie Witkin spoke on "Where are Youth Going." The members debated "Is Life Worthwhile?" Sophie Halperin reviewed Ludwig Lewisohn's autobiographical novel *Upstream*. Leonard Korney spoke on "Fascism—Its Aims and Purposes." Harry Lerner, an inveterate organizer, also affiliated with Yipsel (Young People's Socialist League) and brother of Tillie Olsen, spoke on "The New Deal" and "Racial Prejudice."<sup>33</sup>



**Labor Lyceum leaders:** (seated, l. to r.) Max Crouse, Sam Susman, Louis Gitlin, Sam Ruderman, H. Ruderman; (standing, l. to r.) Max Selicow, Ben Miroff, Sam Lerner, Louis Witkin, \_\_\_\_\_Greenfield, Sam Schwartz. Nebraska Jewish Historical Society

## Omaha Workmen's Circle

In 1939 an English-speaking Circle branch, No. 690-E, was installed. Officers included Harry Lerner, son of Sam and Ida Lerner, and Fanny (Witkin) Pezzner, Max Halperin, Dave Wine, and Herbert and Doris Wintroub. They contributed \$19 to the Workmen's Circle Committee for Palestine, the National Association for the Jewish Blind, the Jewish Labor Committee, the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Society, Jewish Philanthropies, the Red Cross, and the Kinder Zeitung.<sup>34</sup>

Jewish history and public affairs held the attention of Branch No. 690-E members. Dr. Harry Williams, a historian at the University of Omaha, talked on "The Background of Anti-Semitic Prejudices." In 1941 Mrs. David A. Goldstein, wife of the Conservative Synagogue Beth El rabbi, taught a course on Jewish history.

Bob Freshman and his "Make Believe" orchestra performed at a dance to raise money for the Jewish Labor Committee.<sup>35</sup>

Dr. Israel Knox, Socialist and national director of the English-speaking branches from 1939 to 1945, visited Omaha in February 1940 as part of an eighteen-week national tour that took him to over fifty cities. His goals included "strengthening the ideological fabric" and thwarting the "tendency in some cities for our Workmen's Circle movement to become somewhat absorbed into the general flow of community life." Knox complained that "instead of acting as spokesman for the labor philosophy of the Jewish masses, we fade into the general composite of the Jewish community." One day he spoke in Yiddish on "A Realistic Ap-

proach to Jewish Life." The next day he spoke to the English-speaking branch and then traveled to Sioux City to present "Jewish Life in Present World Conditions."<sup>36</sup> Other visitors included Mendel Elkin from YIVO (the Yiddish Scientific Institute, now known as the Institute for Jewish Research), who spoke to the Circle, Labor Lyceum, auxiliaries, Jewish National Workers Alliance, Poale Zion, and Pioneer Women.<sup>37</sup>

The new Labor Lyceum building dedication in 1940 was accompanied by the usual festivities and speechmaking. Sam Lerner produced the dedicatory *Labor Lyceum Journal* for the occasion. An unsigned editorial noted that the second Labor Lyceum was opening in "one of our darkest years" because "Hitlerism has undertaken to . . . exterminate our people," and because "our former



Omaha Workmen's Circle members sometime in the 1930s: (seated, l. to r.) Sam Kraft, Sam Lerner, Ida Paperny, Ben Gorelick, Sam Kaplan, Sam Colick; (standing, l. to r.) Ida Lerner, Isadore Shafer, Louis Paperny, Nathan Martin, Julius Schneider, Sam Canar.  
Nebraska Jewish Historical Society

friends . . . from our own ranks” were putting up “obstacles.” Mrs. Sam (Ida) Lerner greeted guests to the grand opening.<sup>38</sup> Harry Lerner, secretary of the English-speaking branch, No. 690-E, addressed the subject, “Shall Youth Be Away?” Harry, a first generation American, noted the roles of immigrant status, working class heritage, and the Yiddish language in forging the Workmen’s Circle. Although he proudly proclaimed labor’s role and cautioned against “frowning” on being a “workman,” this theme already comprised a minority position.<sup>39</sup>

Wives had been active in Lyceum and Circle activities before their role was officially recognized. The Ladies Labor Lyceum Club, officially formed in 1922, had grown to over ninety members by 1923. In 1929 forty-five members each paid dues of \$3 a year and met two Tuesday evenings a month. They raised about \$300 per year from card parties and teas, and turned the proceeds over to the Labor Lyceum.<sup>40</sup> The first official Circle women’s clubs date from 1928. The ten members of Omaha’s Ladies Auxiliary, started in the mid-1930s, grew to fifty within six months. The ladies sponsored fundraisers to support Omaha philanthropies, the labor movement, and the American Organization for Rehabilitation through Training (ORT).<sup>41</sup> Bessie Witkin, a mainstay of the women’s program, started her Workmen’s Circle career in 1924. She recalled,

There was singing twice a week, shows, Yiddish, people helping people, bazaars. Everything. We sent a lot of money to Israel but helped a lot of places, not only Israel. Always readings out loud of good books. Discussions—a lot of them, about working class, about how everything goes, how life goes, how this goes. About real life. Life, you know, life.<sup>42</sup>

Branch No. 173 met every Friday evening. Membership fluctuated between 80 and 130. In 1929 the 130 men and 15 women members whose dues were current were entitled to fifteen weeks of relief and a \$400 death benefit. Cases were “rarely referred to the Jewish

**GRAND BALL**  
GIVEN BY  
**The Workingmen’s Circle**  
-:- or -:-  
**ARBEITER RING**  
SUNDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 21  
AT THE KEL-PINE ACADEMY  
25th and Farnam Streets  
SPLENDID MUSIC—GOOD TIME ASSURED  
Admission 55c

*Jewish Bulletin*, December 19, 1919

Welfare Federation for relief” as the Circle cared “for its own members.”<sup>43</sup>

Despite the Depression, Branch No. 173 maintained its 100 plus membership throughout the 1930s. The goal was for every member to remain in good standing and not jeopardize the right to insurance benefits of between \$100 to \$3,000 and to sickness benefits of \$10 per week. Chicago, in 1932, had over 50,000 unemployed Jews. More than 4,000 Workmen’s Circle members let their membership and benefits lapse because they could not afford to pay dues. By 1933 membership had declined to 1918 levels.<sup>44</sup>

Nationally in 1934 the Workmen’s Circle carried \$18,631,650 in insurance and disbursed sickness and death benefits of \$600,000 annually. Since 1929 more than \$200,000 had been distributed to needy members. Disability benefits of more than \$6.6 million and death benefits of \$4.5 million had been paid out since the Circle’s founding more than thirty years earlier. During the previous fifteen years, nearly a million dollars had been distributed: \$80,000 to various labor unions, \$70,000

to relief of World War I victims, \$100,000 to the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS), \$70,000 to Jewish schools in Poland, \$40,000 for famine relief in Russia, and thousands of dollars to hospitals, orphanages, and convalescent homes.<sup>45</sup>

Branch No. 173 celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary in 1932. Guests from the Lincoln, Sioux City, South Omaha, and Des Moines branches, as well as the Women’s Auxiliaries, the Ladies’ Labor Lyceum club, and the Mutual Loan and Labor Lyceum Association of Omaha were treated to a violin, piano, cello and clarinet quartet and a speech by Irving Hill of Lincoln.<sup>46</sup>

The South Omaha Workmen’s Circle No. 258, whose members came from near the stockyards and packing houses, may have been a little “pinker” than Branch No. 173. South Omaha celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary in February 1934. A festive dinner for about 100 guests took place in a hall decorated in red, white, and blue with a flower arch over the stage inscribed in electric lights, “Br. 258 - 1909-1934.” Various Circle branches and sympathetic groups sent bouquets.<sup>47</sup>



## Omaha Workmen's Circle

During the first half of the twentieth century South Omaha supported a distinct Jewish community with its own synagogues, mutual aid, loan and burial societies, B'nai B'rith lodge, and Workmen's Circle branch. There was a gradual northwesterly migration of South Omaha Jewry that accelerated following World War II. The South Omaha Jewish institutions closed, or like the South Omaha Workmen's Circle, merged with their Omaha brethren.<sup>48</sup>

The Midwest District of the Workmen's Circle, comprising branches in Nebraska and Iowa, held annual conventions beginning in 1929. Various lodges hosted the meetings. Lincoln hosted the 1932 meeting, which elected Omahans Max Crouse as chairman, S. Lipp as secretary, and Louis Witkin as treasurer. At the 1933 conference held at the Elks Club in Lincoln, the popular Lincoln speaker, Irving Hill, addressed the subject "What American Jewish Youth can do for the German Jew."<sup>49</sup> Going to conventions, by Greyhound bus to Des Moines, Sioux City, and Lincoln was a special treat for children accompanying their parents. They "had a ball," seeing the city, eating, playing cards, and socializing.<sup>50</sup> Omahans rarely attended the national conventions held in New York, Chicago, or Toronto.

Yiddish-language theater, the social plays of life, proved an endearing bond and offered hope that popularizing the Yiddish language would preserve its role in subsequent generations to serve as a cultural and economic conscience. The New York Circle subsidized the ensemble theater, *Folksbiene*.<sup>51</sup> The earliest record of Omaha Workmen's Circle involvement with theater dates from April 26, 1908, when the Lyric Theatre was "well filled" for a drama and a concert.<sup>52</sup> The Jewish Drama Unit in Omaha was created July 1, 1936. Its first play, *Der Frender*, was performed on January 31, 1937. Milton Nearenberg, a furrier with his own store, and his wife Mollie, were active in Yiddish theater.<sup>53</sup>

The Workmen's Circle Dramatic Club, organized April 17, 1937, con-




**THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE**  
PRESENTS  
A GROUP OF CELEBRATED JEWISH  
**THEATRE PERFORMERS**  
OF NEW YORK

IN THE FAMOUS ISRAELI COMEDY

*Reuben Wendorff* *Victor Packer*

# Dreams AND Deeds

IN 3 ACTS

By ISAAC SELA Translated from Hebrew by WOLF YOUNIN

אליעזר בארישע זינגער

מעאטער -

קונסטלער -

אין דער ישראלי קומדיע



דער

ארבעטער -

רינג -

פריענדער

## חלומות אין מעשים

אין 3 אקט

פון יזאק סעלא געשריבן וואלף יונין





*Sonia Zomira* *David Ellin* *Lea Noemi*

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1937  
JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER  
8:00 P. M.

LIBRARY  
Jewish Community Center  
333 South 132nd St.  
Omaha, Nebr. 68154

Nebraska Jewish Historical Society

sisted of thirty-eight members and held Saturday evening business meetings followed by a social hour. The annual plays raised funds through ticket sales and the sale of advertising in handsome theater programs. Surplus theater proceeds were used for Circle and Lyceum expenses as well as for charities. In 1937 two Abraham Goldfaden operettas were staged. Profits went to the Labor Lyceum and \$50 was donated to Jewish sufferers in Europe.<sup>54</sup> Dramatic presentations frequently accompanied the musical fare at the annual meetings.

Yiddish- and English-language theatrical productions were a communal staff of life performed at the Lyceum, the Jewish Community Center, and other auditoriums and halls. The Thorpeian Club, Young Men's Hebrew Association, and other groups had rich amateur theatrical schedules.<sup>55</sup> The Auflebung Club performed at least thirteen plays from 1923 to 1926. The So Ed So Club (Socialist Education Society Club), sponsored by flamboyant Eugene Konecky, met at the Labor Lyceum in 1926 and performed his plays.<sup>56</sup>

The "shows," the annual Yiddish performances at the Lyceum and the Jew-

ish Community Center, were recalled fondly. The Women's Auxiliary members made a lot of strudel and sang in the women's choir. They raised money for charity, entertained the elderly at the Dr. Philip Sher Home for the Aged, and adopted children in Israel. Thank you letters were read aloud at the Circle meetings. The 1950 program at the Jewish Community Center and the Dr. Sher Home included two one-act plays, *Mazolton* by Sholom Aleichem and *The Father's Daughter* by Zvulum Levin, a concert of fourteen Jewish songs by the Dramatic Club choir, and a reading. A four-act play, *Schlemke and Rickle*, was performed for the Pioneer Women in 1951.<sup>57</sup> A New York touring company appeared at the Jewish Community Center in 1957. In 1956 the Circle and the Jewish Community Center sponsored lecturer and poet Itzik Manger's presentation, "The Contribution of Yiddish Literature to American Jewish Life."

*Tzedakah*, the Hebrew and Yiddish word suggesting that charity is justice, was extended to HIAS, ORT, the Jewish Labor Committee, YIVO, the Central Yiddish Cultural Organization (CYCO), People's Relief, Jewish Sufferers in Eu-

rope, the Naturalization Aid League in New York, the Jewish Federation of Omaha, adopted refugee children, and Polish and German refugees. Contributions to tubercular charities such as the Denver Sanitarium, the Denver Ex-Patients Home, the Los Angeles Sanitarium, and the Deborah Sanitarium had reciprocal benefits.<sup>58</sup> When Ben Katz fell ill and the doctor suggested that he go to Denver to recuperate, the Circle arranged transportation. When he died in Denver, it brought him back to Omaha for the funeral.<sup>59</sup>

In its early years the Circle was anti-Zionist and internationalist.<sup>60</sup> The Omaha Branch No. 54 of the Jewish National Workers' Alliance, the Farband, founded in 1912, and the Circle were mutually exclusive. Although the Farband sponsored Hebrew and Yiddish schools and provided members with insurance benefits, it also raised funds for settlement in Palestine. Omaha Farband membership dropped from seventy-five in 1923 to thirty-five in 1936. Despite the Circle's anti-Zionist outlook, Hitler's rise and the Holocaust converted it to support Palestine and the creation of the state of Israel.<sup>61</sup>



Cast of a Workmen's Circle Dramatic Club performance at the Jewish Community Center. Nebraska Jewish Historical Society

## Omaha Workmen's Circle

The Workmen's Circle responded to Hitler and World War II both nationally and locally. The Jewish Labor Committee represented the Circle in General Jewish Council and American Jewish Conference affairs. The sixth annual Midwest District Conference in 1934 passed resolutions protesting Nazi discrimination and advocating an economic boycott of Germany. During the war, the branches formed a Social Service Club to send gifts to Jewish boys in the armed forces, purchased war bonds, and at the thirty-fifth annual banquet in 1942 pledged more than \$13,000 to the Nebraska State War Savings Committee. Lawyer Max Fromkin and his wife, and Stephen Spitznagle, advertising manager for Falstaff Brewing, represented the Nebraska State War Savings Committee.<sup>62</sup> During 1943 the Workmen's Circle nationally purchased \$4 million in bonds and \$30 million in bonds from 1940 to 1945.<sup>63</sup>

To commemorate the Workmen's

Circle's fortieth year in Omaha, a *Jewish Press* editorial noted its moral, social, and cultural contributions to thousands of immigrants. The lectures, concerts, open forums, and other programs provided "for those to whom English was still a strange tongue or to whom Yiddish was still their precious Mame Lashon, their mother tongue" and the Labor Lyceum "stood as a symbol of secular Jewish education and culture." The editor hoped that the coming years would continue to prove fruitful. Prominent local musician Myron Cohen performed as violin soloist at the anniversary banquet at the Labor Lyceum.<sup>64</sup> Jacob Fishman, chairman of the National Organization Committee, visited Omaha, Lincoln, Sioux City, Des Moines, and Kansas City on a ten-week tour. Somewhat somberly he observed that "the original founders of our W.C. branches are not as young as they used to be [and] they have not been able to persuade the younger Jew-

ish generation to come into the Workmen's Circle and take over the tasks and responsibilities."<sup>65</sup>

The *Jewish Press's* New Year's edition published highlights of communal group activities. For example in 1957 it reported:

The Workmen's Circle Dramatic Club had their annual Jewish play at the Community Center . . . the Ladies Auxiliary had their annual card party at the Labor Lyceum . . . the Jewish Labor Committee had their annual membership drive dinner at the Labor Lyceum . . . and the whole group had their annual bazaar at the Labor Lyceum.

Over \$2,500 went to charity, of which \$1,000 helped adopt three Jewish orphans.<sup>66</sup>

Branch No. 173 celebrated its Golden anniversary in 1958. The anniversary was noted in *Forward*, which pridefully recounted a tumultuous and glorious past. The Labor Lyceum's educational mission was the jewel of the Jewish



Arrangements committee for the Workmen's Circle Branch No. 173 fiftieth anniversary dinner, 1958: (seated, l. to r.) Sam Susman, Louis Witkin, Max Krantz, Sol Asch; (standing, l. to r.) Cella Lerman, Max Levine, Bessie Witkin, Hyman Oritsch, Pauline Binder, Sam Schwartz, Yetta Borenstein, Max Katz, Ben Miroff. From *Forward*, YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York

## Nebraska History – Spring 1995

community. The Workmen's Circle, a fortress of loyalty, had withstood the attempted communist takeover.<sup>67</sup> A. Gale from Chicago was the guest speaker and delegates from Kansas City, Des Moines, and Sioux City attended. L. Witkin served as toastmaster and Max Crouse as chairman of the arrangements committee. Branch No. 258 celebrated its Fiftieth Jubilee in June 1959 with a banquet at the Fireside Restaurant.<sup>68</sup>

During the 1960s the Jewish Press's New Year and Passover edition regularly

published a pro forma statement concerning the Circle's purpose: "Benevolent aid; allied with [the] labor movement; educational, cultural, and humanitarian activities." Then followed a list of branch, Midwest District, Ladies Auxiliary, and Dramatic Club officers.<sup>69</sup>

Membership dwindled. Branches No. 173 and No. 258 were last listed separately in 1963. The last Circle-sponsored Yiddish play appeared in 1967. Louis Witkin, a mainstay of both the Circle and Lyceum, died in 1968. Obituaries

frequently mentioned membership in the Workmen's Circle and sometimes noted membership in the Building Trades Union, the Plasterers Union, and the American Federation of Labor. Services were usually at the orthodox synagogue, Beth Israel, with burial at Golden Hills.<sup>70</sup>

In 1950 the secretary of state dissolved the Labor Lyceum for nonpayment of annual fees. Nonetheless, the Lyceum continued to function. Max Katz and Sol Ash, president and secre-



Branch No. 258 leaders pose with a cake commemorating the branch's forty-fifth anniversary in 1954: (l. to r.) A. Fedman, Sam Tarnoff, Sam Kaplan, Ben Gorelick, Ida Paperny, Louis Paperny, Nathan Martin, Sam Canar, Milton Nearenberg, and Morris Goodman. Nebraska Jewish Historical Society

## Omaha Workmen's Circle

tary, revived the corporation in 1971 to facilitate deeding the Labor Lyceum building in 1972 to the Jewish Federation of Omaha, which sold it to a church in 1974. The Labor Lyceum was finally dissolved for nonpayment of tax on June 5, 1975. The Workmen's Circle was last mentioned in the pro forma statement of Circle goals in the September 9, 1977, New Year's edition of the *Jewish Press*.

The Omaha Workmen's Circle, reflecting national trends, failed to maintain its early twentieth century momentum. The end of immigration in 1924 deprived it of fresh immigrant blood. The Depression and the New Deal brought Social Security. Immigrant parents failed to pass their socialist, communalist, and worker's organization values to their children. The Circle's leftist orientation may have frightened away youth who sought assimilation. Members of the second generation were Americans, and articulated their aspirations in English. Upward mobility and professionalization further eroded Circle membership. Jewish workers had virtually ceased to exist, and the Circle stretched to incorporate "small shopkeepers and white-collar workers."<sup>71</sup> The immigrant cohort aged as the two surviving Omaha Circles celebrated their thirtieth, fortieth, and Golden anniversaries. Only nostalgia for the balls, outings, picnics, and theater benefits remained. But nostalgia was not fresh blood. Early twentieth century downtown Jews and their brand of working-class, nonreligious consciousness centered on Yiddishkeit outside the framework of synagogue life, were eclipsed by midcentury prosperity, suburbs, the Jewish Community Center, and synagogue affiliation for the good of the children and grandchildren.<sup>72</sup> Jews had become middle class. Yiddishkeit and radicalism separated. Middle-class liberalism superseded socialism. Workmen's Circle "radicalism ha[d] been consigned to the dustbin of history."<sup>73</sup>

### Acknowledgments

I wish to thank the Workmen's Circle in New York for access to its records. To the Institute for Jewish Research (YIVO) in New York, and especially Leo Greenbaum, I am indebted for the translation of Yiddish-language documents. I thank Carol Gendler for sharing records in her possession and William Pratt, my colleague in the UNO Department of History, for his knowledge of socialism in the Midwest and of the Lerner family. Finally, I thank my Omaha informants for sharing their memories: Max Katz, his daughter Clara Katz, Ida Mann, Mollie Nearenberg, Sophie Halperin Katz Schulman, Bess Stern, and Tillie Olsen.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Gerald Sorin, *A Time for Building, The Third Migration, 1880-1920* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 118; Nora Levin, *While Messiah Tarried, Jewish Socialist Movements, 1871-1917* (New York: Schocken Books, 1977), 168; Judah J. Shapiro, *The Friendly Society, A History of the Workmen's Circle* (New York: Doron Book, 1970), 128.

<sup>2</sup> Shapiro, *Friendly Society*, 30; J. Kaminsky, *Forty Years Workmen's Circle, A History in Pictures* (New York: Workmen's Circle, 1941), 11.

<sup>3</sup> Israel Kugler, "A Life in The Workmen's Circle," *Labor's Heritage* 3 (1991):45.

<sup>4</sup> Kaminsky, *Forty Years Workmen's Circle*, 40-41.

<sup>5</sup> Shapiro, *Friendly Society*, 127; Kugler, "Workmen's Circle," 42; Melech Epstein, *Jewish Labor in the U.S.A., 1882-1914* (New York: Trade Union Sponsoring Committee, 1950), 310; Arthur Liebman, *Jews and the Left* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1979), 290.

<sup>6</sup> Sorin, *Time for Building*, 118, 120, 123-24. See also William C. Pratt, "Socialism on the Northern Plains, 1900-1924," *South Dakota History* 18 (1988): 1-35.

<sup>7</sup> Sorin, *Time for Building*, 142, 152; Hyman L. Maites, ed., *History of the Jews of Chicago* (Chicago: Chicago Jewish Historical Society, 1924, rpt. 1990), 673; Sidney Bolkosky, *Harmony & Dissonance, Voices of Jewish Identity in Detroit, 1914-1967* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991), 66.

<sup>8</sup> Nationally, Circle membership peaked in 1925 with 84,791 members. The membership of Omaha Circle Branch No. 173 for selected years was: 1907/25; 1929/145; 1932/123; 1938/100+; and 1952/80. Members' average age rose from 35.9 in 1924 to 48.1 in 1941 and to 55 in 1952. English-speaking branches rose from 3.5 percent of all Workmen's Circle branches in 1944 to 30 percent in 1969. See Shapiro, *Friendly Society*, 88; Liebman, *Jews*, 288; and Hurwitz, *Workmen's Circle*, 109.

<sup>9</sup> Carol Gendler, "The Jews of Omaha: The First Sixty Years," *Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly* (April 1974):230; *Omaha Daily Bee*, Mar. 21, 1913; *Omaha Daily News*, Mar. 21, 1913. Minkin subsequently became chairman of the Jewish National Workers Alliance, Branch No. 54, and Poale Zion. See the *Jewish Press* (Omaha), Dec. 16, 1938.

<sup>10</sup> Marc Lee Raphael, *Jews and Judaism in a Midwestern Community, Columbus, Ohio, 1840-1975* (Columbus: Ohio Historical Society, 1979), 209.

<sup>11</sup> *Mid-West Labor News*, Oct. 6, 1922. I thank William Pratt for bringing this source to my attention.

<sup>12</sup> Judith E. Endelman, *The Jewish Community of Indianapolis, 1849 to Present* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 71, 73.

<sup>13</sup> *Jewish Daily Forward*, Jan. 19, 1958. I am grateful to Leo Greenbaum of YIVO for providing me with this source and for the Yiddish-to-English translation.

<sup>14</sup> Henry L. Feingold, *A Time for Searching, Entering the Mainstream, 1920-1945* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 119, 134; Kugler, "Workmen's Circle," 46; Raphael, *Jews and Judaism*, 209; Endelman, *Jewish Community*, 73.

<sup>15</sup> Irving Howe, *World of our Fathers* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1976), 358-59.

<sup>16</sup> Hurwitz, *Workmen's Circle*, 177.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 107; Oliver B. Pollak, "The Omaha Hebrew Club, 1892-1953," *Memories of the Jewish Midwest* 7 (1991):1-15, and "B'nai B'rith in Omaha: 1884-1989," *Memories of the Jewish Midwest* 4 (1989), 1-52.

<sup>18</sup> Articles of Incorporation, Douglas County Clerk's Records, G2-312. The articles were signed by D. Kuklin, Louis Gitlin, Louis Rubin, M. Schwartz, H. Forman, Louis Kraft, M. Selicow, A. Klein, Wolf Jonisch, P. Haykin, and J. Rosenstein, the latter three all living at 2764 Burt Street. Occupations included plasterer, driver, butcher, clerk, cutter, and tailor, as well as a tailor who had his own store and employed other tailors.

<sup>19</sup> *Jewish Bulletin* (Omaha), Mar. 12, 1920.

<sup>20</sup> *Jewish Press*, Apr. 5, 1923; Ella Fleishman Auerbach, "Jewish Settlement in Nebraska" (Omaha, Nebr.: typescript, 1927?), 82; "Jewish Communal Survey" (New York: Bureau of Jewish Social Research, typescript, 1929), 94, copy located at the Jewish Federation Library, Jewish Community Center, Omaha, Nebraska (hereafter cited as Federation Library).

<sup>21</sup> *Jewish Press*, Mar. 15, 1923; Nov. 4, 11, 1926; Jewish Federation Minutes, 1923-26, at Federation Library.

<sup>22</sup> *Jewish Press*, Aug. 31, 1922; Mar. 15, 1923; Sept. 17, 1936.

## Nebraska History – Spring 1995

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., Sept. 13, 1940. Lyceum president in 1940 was Sam Susman, furniture repairman and later furniture manufacturer, and secretary was Julius Schneider, a cleaning store owner.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., Mar. 9, 1945. The building was valued at \$45,000 in 1949. See also Labor Lyceum Association minute book, Nov. 28, 1949, in possession of Carol Gendler, Omaha, Nebraska.

<sup>25</sup> Lyceum minute book, 1940-56.

<sup>26</sup> *Jewish Press*, Sept. 17, 1936; Oliver B. Pollak, "Omaha's Jewish Loan Associations, 1911-1979," *American Jewish History* 76 (1988):27-28.

<sup>27</sup> "Jewish Communal Survey," 94-95; Howe, *World of our Fathers*, 238.

<sup>28</sup> Auerbach, "Jewish Settlement in Nebraska," 82.

<sup>29</sup> *Jewish Press*, Sept. 27, 1935; Sept. 17, 1936; July 29, 1938.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., Mar. 14, 1947.

<sup>31</sup> *The Friend*, 21 (Jan. 1930):5; Hurwitz, *Workmen's Circle*, 228. The youth branch of B'nai B'rith, AZA, originated from among Omaha's Central High School students in 1922. See also Mordecai Soltes, *The Yiddish Press: An Americanizing Agency* (New York: Columbia University Teachers' College, 1925), 174-76.

<sup>32</sup> *Report of the National Youth Committee to the Workmen's Circle Convention*, May 1935, 5, Workmen's Circle, New York.

<sup>33</sup> Interview by author with Sophie Halperin Katz Schulman, Sept. 19, 1993; *Jewish Press*, Dec. 15, 22, 1933; Feb. 16, Mar. 9, Apr. 6, 13, 20, 1934. Lewisohn (1883-1955) in his 1922 autobiography recounted his experience with anti-Semitism in academia.

<sup>34</sup> *Jewish Press*, Sept. 1, 1939; Melech Epstein, *Jewish Labor in the U.S.A., 1914-1952* (New York: Trade Union Sponsoring Committee, 1953), 266. Nationally the 100 youth branches in 1940 had 4,000 members.

<sup>35</sup> *Jewish Press*, Jan. 12, 1940; Jan. 17, 24, 1941.

<sup>36</sup> "Knox Ends National Tour," *The Workmen's Circle Call* 8 (Apr. 1940):5; *Jewish Press*, Feb. 16, 1940.

<sup>37</sup> *Jewish Press*, Apr. 11, 1941.

<sup>38</sup> *Labor Lyceum Journal* (New York: Sachs-Davidson, Inc., 1940), 2, 11, at Federation Library. I thank Leo Greenbaum for the Yiddish-to-English translation.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., Epstein, *Jewish Labor, 1914-1952*, 262.

<sup>40</sup> "Jewish Communal Survey," 239.

<sup>41</sup> *Jewish Press*, Sept. 20, 1933.

<sup>42</sup> Interview by Cynthia Schneider of Bessie Witkin, Oct. 17, 1983, cited in Maria F. Crosby, "The Workmen's Circle of Omaha, Nebraska," typescript, 1983, 7.

<sup>43</sup> "Jewish Communal Survey," 239.

<sup>44</sup> *Jewish Press*, Sept. 20, 1933; Feingold, *Time for Searching*, 149, citing Shapiro, *Friendly Society*, 164-65.

<sup>45</sup> *Jewish Press*, Sept. 6, 1934.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., Dec. 23, 1932.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., Febr. 16, 1934.

<sup>48</sup> Abraham Lipsman, a prominent South Omaha resident of twenty-seven years, died in 1934. Besides being a member of the Circle, he belonged to the Vaad (community Kashrut [Kosher] authority), was former president of the Congregation of Israel, and past treasurer of the Independent Workers Loan Association and the South Omaha Merchants Association. See *Jewish Press*, July 27, 1934, for Lipsman's obituary. On the Jewish community of South Omaha, see Louis E. Lipp, "Recollection of the Jews of South Omaha, 1884-1984," *Memories of the Jewish Midwest* 1 (1985): 1-22.

<sup>49</sup> *Jewish Press*, Sept. 16, 1932; Sept. 1, 1933.

<sup>50</sup> Interview by author with Clara Katz, Dec. 16, 1991.

<sup>51</sup> Howe, *World of our Fathers*, 485; David S. Lifson, *The Yiddish Theatre in America* (New York: Thomas Yoselof, 1965), 218; Feingold, *Time for Searching*, 66; Epstein, *Jewish Labor, 1914-1952*, 265.

<sup>52</sup> *Socialist Herald*, May 6, 1908. I thank William Pratt for bringing this source to my attention.

<sup>53</sup> Interview by author with Mrs. Mollie Nearensberg, Dec. 17, 1991.

<sup>54</sup> *Jewish Press*, Sept. 23, 1938.

<sup>55</sup> The role of theater and debate as leisure and educational communal activities is an elusive, untapped topic.

<sup>56</sup> See Oliver B. Pollak, "The Jewish Press: Captive or Critic?, Nebraska Jewish Journalism, 1916-1921," *Western States Jewish History* 27 (1994): 39-52.

<sup>57</sup> *Jewish Press*, Sept. 8, 1950; Sept. 28, 1951.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., Sept. 20, 1933; Sept. 23, 1938; Sept. 14, 1939.

<sup>59</sup> Interview by author with Max Katz, Dec. 16, 1991.

<sup>60</sup> Sorin, *Time for Building*, 208; Carla L. Klausner, "The Zionist Spectrum" in Joseph P. Schultz, ed., *Mid-America's Promise: A Profile of Kansas City Jewry* (Kansas City: The Jewish Community Foundation of Greater Kansas City and The American Jewish Historical Society, 1982), 85.

<sup>61</sup> Stuart E. Knee, *The Concept of Zionist Dissent in the American Mind, 1917-1941* (New York: Robert Speller & Sons, 1979), 156-57, 166.

<sup>62</sup> *Jewish Press*, Aug. 31, Sept. 6, 1934; Dec. 25, 30, 1942.

<sup>63</sup> Shapiro, *Friendly Society*, 182.

<sup>64</sup> *Jewish Press*, Jan. 2, 1948.

<sup>65</sup> Jacob Fishman, "The Workmen's Circle in the West," *The Workmen's Circle Call* 16 (May 1948):17.

<sup>66</sup> *Jewish Press*, Sept. 20, 1957.

<sup>67</sup> *Jewish Daily Forward*, Jan. 19, 1958.

<sup>68</sup> *Jewish Press*, Mar. 14, 1958; June 12, 1959.

<sup>69</sup> For example, *ibid.*, Sept. 27, 1965. Officers included Max Crouse (shoe store owner); Sol Ash, (Union Pacific electrician); Sam Susman, Benjamin Gorelick, Aron Zeiderman (tailor), Sam Novak, Max Katz (butcher, and later grocery store owner), and Max Pfeffer.

<sup>70</sup> This indicates the change from the 1930s when Hurwitz observed that Workmen's Circle members were freethinkers and nonconformists who established their own cemeteries rather than be buried in conformity to the laws and customs of Orthodox Judaism and the difference between the more intense big city Circle ideology and that in Omaha. Hurwitz, *Workmen's Circle*, 134.

<sup>71</sup> Edward S. Shapiro, *A Time for Healing: American Jewry Since World War II* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 155-56, 159; Deborah Dash Moore, *B'nai B'rith and the Challenge of Ethnic Leadership* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981), 183.

<sup>72</sup> Sorin, *Time for Building*, 179; Feingold, *Time for Searching*, 157; Howe, *World of our Fathers*, 614; Endelman, *Jewish Community*, 71, 197.

<sup>73</sup> Liebman, *Jews*, 305; Howe, *World of our Fathers*, 358-59.