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# **Arnold W. Brunner and the New Classical Synagogue in America**

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## **Abstract**

Arnold W. Brunner (1857–1925), Albert Kahn (1869–1942), and other Jewish architects played an important role in reviving the classical style for American synagogue design at the turn of the twentieth century, putting their stamp on American Jewish identity and American architecture. The American-born Brunner was the preferred architect of New York’s Jewish establishment from the 1880s until his death. He adopted the classical style with his third New York synagogue, Congregation Shearith Israel, dedicated in 1897, and then championed the style in his extensive public writing about synagogue design. The classical style was subsequently widely accepted nationally by Reform congregations, especially in the South and Midwest. Classicism was a mediating device, and served as a new emblem of religious and civic identity. Mixing a variety of architectural and cultural traditions, Jewish architects and their patrons created a bridge between Judaism—or Jewishness—and Americanism.

## **The Classical Synagogue**

“The most successful buildings in all great architectural periods are simple in design; whether large or small, richly decorated or not, simplicity is their main characteristic, and the desire to produce the picturesque and unusual is fatal to the dignity which should characterize the synagogue.” This pronouncement by architect Arnold W. Brunner appeared in a long article about synagogue architecture in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, published in 1905.<sup>1</sup> He further wrote: “Many synagogues are designed in the Classic style, and the Shearith Israel Synagogue in New York and the synagogue in Warsaw have four great Corinthian columns supporting pediments on their main fronts. The use of the Classic orders seems especially adapted to the synagogue, and many variations in design are possible.”<sup>2</sup> Brunner was the architect of Shearith Israel, completed in 1897 (Fig. 1). That synagogue, the fifth home of America’s oldest Jewish congregation, helped set the stage for a popular new version of Classicism in American synagogue design.

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Figure 1. (Color online) Congregation Shearith Israel, New York. Brunner and Tryon, architects (1897). Photo: author

How did the classical style, which had not been in vogue since the early nineteenth century, come into favor again for synagogues, and how did it move from the style of the Orthodox Sephardic Congregation Shearith Israel to become the signature architectural style of the American Reform movement at the turn of the twentieth century? Classicism was not a style imposed upon Jewish congregations by Christian architects, as had been the case with the creation and adoption of the Moorish style synagogues in Central Europe in the mid-nineteenth century. In Europe, emancipated Jewish communities had been pressured by governing authorities to build large and prominently situated synagogues, but in styles, such as the Moorish, that would not cause confusion with (or rival) churches.<sup>3</sup> American classical synagogues, however, emerged within the American Jewish community as a way of controlling its own communal identity. Arnold W. Brunner's buildings and writings were critical in articulating a new rationale for the use of the classical style within the American Jewish context, and defining the architectural limits of the style.

Brunner did not differentiate among different groups of Jews when he wrote that classicism was especially appropriate for synagogue design. He himself had designed, or would design, classical style synagogues for the venerable Sephardic Orthodox Shearith Israel in New York, and for many Reform congregations, as well. Like the audience for the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, the Jewish audience for Brunner's buildings was English speaking and Americanized.<sup>4</sup> They read the *American*

*Hebrew*, the *American Israelite* and other Jewish publications, but they also sent their children to secular schools and read the *New York Times*.<sup>5</sup> *The American Hebrew* advocated for the establishment of the Jewish Theological Seminary, for which Brunner designed the first building. Reform Jews outside New York, including many who adopted architectural classicism, were probably more likely to read the *American Israelite*, founded in 1854, the Cincinnati-based organ of the Reform movement. According to Leo Wise, son of Rabbi Isaac Wise and longtime editor of the paper, the *American Israelite* “has constantly maintained that American Jews are differentiated from American Christians in religion only, not in nationality, and that there is no such thing to-day as a Jewish nation.”<sup>6</sup>

For Brunner and many of the Jewish architects who followed him, classicism was historically approved for synagogues, and culturally appropriate. At the beginning of the twentieth century, many American congregations, but especially Reform congregations united in the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC), found in classicism a distinctive building style that easily conveyed group identity, and also reflected the contemporary values of Reform Jews. The UAHC was founded in July, 1873, when representatives of 34 congregations met in Cincinnati. In thirty years the movement expanded to include 115 affiliated temples with about 11,000 contributing members.<sup>7</sup> Gradually, a unifying architectural “branding” of UAHC synagogues followed other movement-building activities, notably the adoption of the *Union Prayer Book* in 1895 and its subsequent dissemination.<sup>8</sup> The universalist orientation of the *Union Prayer Book* was in keeping with the appeal of classicism, which could be linked to Jewish traditions, but also easily satisfied the broader tastes that acculturated Jews were absorbing at the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>9</sup>

Reform Jews were not alone in choosing classicism. During the same period discussed in this article, Christian Scientists, too, were searching for an appropriate architectural style for their new church. Neoclassicism and especially neo-Roman architecture were used in some instances, most notably in the First Church of Christ Scientist in Chicago, designed by Solon Spencer Beman and built in 1897.<sup>10</sup>

### **Arnold W. Brunner, an Architect Who Bridged Two Worlds**

Arnold W. Brunner’s role was critical in the introduction and acceptance of classicism in the American Jewish world. Brunner commands our attention for many reasons. He was the first widely successful American-born Jewish architect, he was a favorite architect of influential Jews of the Gilded Age, he was a major force in the creation of the American architectural profession, and he was one of the most successful proponents of monumental planning in the first decades of the twentieth century.<sup>11</sup> His career clearly illustrates the rejection of the Romanesque and Moorish styles in favor of classicism in the 1890s.

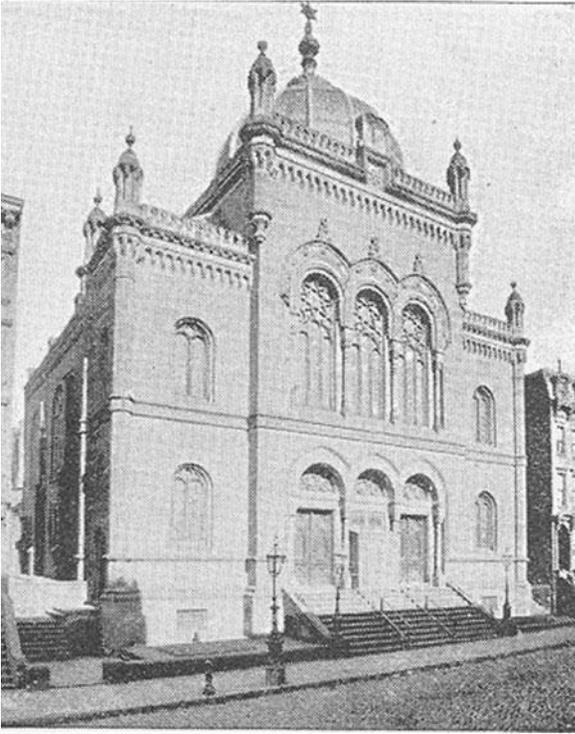
Brunner was born in New York in 1857, the son of William Brunner (1823–1908) and Isabella Solomon (1838–1905). His father was

born in the Swiss Tyrol, came to America at a very young age, served in the engineering corps of the 12<sup>th</sup> State Militia for seven years and was discharged before the Civil War. Arnold's mother came from distinguished English Jewish families on both sides. She was the daughter of Barnet Solomon (1806–1897) and Julia I. Hart Solomon (1814–1880), who had moved to New York before their children's birth.<sup>12</sup>

Throughout Arnold's boyhood, his grandfather Barnet Solomon was a successful businessman and a Jewish community leader. He was a vice-president of the Ninth National Bank and also president of the nominally Orthodox Congregation Shaaray Tefila at the time of the planning and erection of its new building on West 44<sup>th</sup> Street.<sup>13</sup> The building was designed by New York's leading Jewish architect at the time, Henry Fernbach (Fig. 2). Barnet and his extended family were leaders in many Jewish charitable causes. In 1881, Barnet was president of the Hebrew Benevolent Society and he was the first president of the Hebrew Free School Association in New York. Barnet and Julia's two youngest daughters married into the family of Dr. Samuel M. Isaacs (1804–1878), the second English-speaking rabbi in the United States and the spiritual leader of Congregation Shaaray Tefilah. The Isaacs family published the *Jewish Messenger*, founded by Samuel Isaacs in 1857 and merged with the *American Hebrew* in 1903. Thus, at an early age, Arnold was exposed to many facets of New York's Jewish society, including those involving business, religion, and philanthropy.

At eighteen, Brunner entered the College of the City of New York. He first took a commercial course and then apparently entered the sophomore class. He also took a night class in higher mathematics at Cooper Institute and decided to study architecture, leaving college to enter Fernbach's office as a draughtsman.<sup>14</sup> Then, in 1877, Brunner entered the Massachusetts Institute of Technology to study architecture under William R. Ware, whom Brunner later described as the "kindest and most delightful of men."<sup>15</sup> At that time, MIT did not have a formal school of architecture—there were none yet established in the United States—though architecture was first taught at MIT in 1868.

Brunner graduated in 1879 and returned to New York to work for five years in the office of George Post, then one of the largest and most successful architectural businesses, at a time of its expansion. His Judaism



**SHAARAI TEPHILA SYNAGOGUE, HEBREW, 127 WEST  
44TH STREET.**

*Figure 2.* Congregation Shaarey Tefila, 127 West 44<sup>th</sup> Street, New York (demolished). Henry Fernbach, architect. Photo: *King's Handbook of New York*

does not appear to have been an impediment to employment.<sup>16</sup> Post and William Ware had both studied with William Morris Hunt, who in his New York atelier had established the model for American architectural education, and who also espoused the principles of the French Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Post moved his office uptown to Union Square in 1881 and expanded the staff from 12 to 21. Brunner would have learned the business of architecture at Post's firm. Brunner had other connections in Union Square; the family firm of B.L. Solomon's Sons had located at numbers 25 and 29 in 1879. Brunner later established his own office at Union Square, too.

From 1883 to 1885 Brunner traveled extensively in Europe, studying and sketching the architecture of many countries. When he returned to New York and began his own firm with MIT classmate Thomas Tryon (1859–1920), much of the firm's business in the 1880s and 1890s came from New York's German-Jewish community, though Tryon seems to have tried to use his Hartford, Connecticut, connections, too. A good deal of the

business was public architecture for Jewish-sponsored charities, for which Brunner became the favorite designer. Philanthropists Jacob Schiff, Adolph Lewisohn, and members of the Seligman family especially favored Brunner for their projects, and he also interacted socially at the highest levels of New York's Jewish society. Among the Jewish projects of Brunner & Tryon during this period were the Hebrew Technical Institute (1886–1887), the Montefiore Home for Chronic Invalids (1889), the Educational Alliance (1889–1891), the Mount Sinai Dispensary (1890), the Schiff Fountain (originally at Rutgers Park, 1894–1895), and the Clara de Hirsch Home for Working Girls (1899–1901). On his own, Brunner designed the Public Baths at 538 East Eleventh Street, at Seward Park and at Jefferson Park (1904–1905); the Young Men's Hebrew Association building at 92<sup>nd</sup> Street (1899–1900); and, most importantly, Mount Sinai Hospital (1898 and after). In these projects Brunner demonstrated an early talent for planning buildings with a variety of spaces and multiple uses. It was his ability to maximize the utility of institutional buildings, as much as his competency in the language of architectural decoration, that recommended Brunner to his clients.

Throughout the first decades of the twentieth century, even when he found fame and work throughout the country, Brunner continued to serve New York Jewish interests. In addition to his synagogues, which will be discussed below, he designed the first building for the Jewish Theological Seminary (1903) and the campus of Montefiore Hospital in the Bronx (1912–1913). After the mid 1890s, all Brunner's projects exhibited variations on classicism.<sup>17</sup>

Brunner's greatest achievement in regard to architecture for Jewish purposes was his successful development of a classical synagogue style appropriate for early twentieth century America. In a two-part article about synagogue architecture in the *Brickbuilder* in 1907, Brunner explained his preference for classicism:

“In selecting a style today, I believe firmly that we should either go back to the early Judean architecture or follow the general custom that prevailed in building synagogues since the dispersion of the Jews, and conform to the style that is in vogue in the land in which the synagogue is erected. . . . As far as one may see, the style of the early Judean buildings, if it had been allowed to progress and develop, might not unreasonably have become to-day what we may call *modern classic architecture* [emphasis added].”<sup>18</sup>

Brunner wrote with some authority. Probably more than any other American, he had studied ancient and contemporary Jewish architecture. His familiarity with German would have made the most recent archaeological literature and the literature of Jewish studies available to him.<sup>19</sup> In the *Brickbuilder* article Brunner continued:

. . . the choice for ecclesiastical buildings now. . . lies between the two great styles—Gothic and classic. I am unhesitatingly of the opinion that the latter is the one that is fit and proper for

the synagogue in America. With the sanction of antiquity it perpetuates the best traditions of Jewish art and takes up the thread, which was broken by circumstances, of a vigorous and once healthy style. By classic it is not intended to mean only the pure Greek and Roman architecture, as used in Greece and Rome and their colonies, but to include the Renaissance in its various forms of development...”

For Brunner and his sponsors, the tie of classicism to the ancient synagogue helped give American Judaism a pedigree that would resonate in Western European and American culture, and it allowed Jews to skip over the centuries of Diaspora history—of ghettos and the Pale of Settlement—that both fascinated and repelled much of mainstream America, as evident in the accounts of the contemporary life of East European Jewish immigrants in urban ghettos.

Hutchins Hapgood published *The Spirit of the Ghetto: Studies of the Jewish Quarter of New York*, the result of several years of newspaper reporting, in 1902. Jacob Riis also published his exposé of the horrific housing problems in the Lower East Side in 1902. In 1907, Henry James published a scathing anti-Semitic description of Jews in New York in his *The American Scene*.<sup>20</sup> Brunner was very familiar with the conditions for immigrants on the Lower East Side, as many of his projects, including the Hebrew Technical Institute, the Educational Alliance and the public baths were designed to provide assistance to the disadvantaged.

Israel Zangwill’s popular novel *Children of the Ghetto: A Study of a Peculiar People* had been published in London in 1892. The book was adapted into a play, *The Melting Pot*, which was a popular success in 1908–1909. The philosophy of the *The Melting Pot* echoed aspects of Reform universalism. The hero of the play declares, “America is God’s Crucible, the great Melting- Pot where all the races of Europe are melting and reforming. . . Germans and Frenchmen, Irishmen and Englishmen, Jews and Russians - into the Crucible with you all! God is making the American.”<sup>21</sup> In the world of architecture, classicism, including its Georgian and Colonial variants, was also seen as a crucible, its stately forms seen as a unifying force to create national civic identity in an increasingly varied America. The classical style temple allowed Reform Jews to differentiate themselves—at least for a while—from poorer Orthodox Jewish immigrants.

It had taken Brunner just a few years to make the transition from the picturesque styles he had admired as a student and had found in the work of H.H. Richardson, to classicism. Richardson had developed a robust architectural style with heavy rusticated masonry, round arched windows and short, thick columns and colonnettes. He had designed some



Figure 3. (Color online) Former Congregation Tifereth Israel, Cleveland, Ohio. Israel/Isidore J. Lehman and Theodore Schmitt, architects (1894). Photo: author

churches in this style, the most famous being Trinity Church in Boston, but he was also able to apply it to a wide range of other, secular building types. “Richardsonian Romanesque” was widely imitated, including in synagogues. Temple Beth Zion in Buffalo, New York (Edward Kent, architect, 1890), and Congregation Tifereth Israel in Cleveland, Ohio (Israel/Isidore J. Lehman and Theodore Schmitt, architects, 1894), closely followed the Trinity Church model (Fig. 3).

Brunner and Tryon were overtly Richardsonian in their early projects and in their successful 1891 synagogue design for Manhattan’s Temple Beth El at Fifth Avenue and 76<sup>th</sup> Street (Fig. 4).<sup>22</sup> While it was derivative in many details, the overall handling of the project brought attention to Brunner. The synagogue combined elements of several historical styles, most notably Romanesque and Moorish. The now-demolished synagogue is mostly known from black and white exterior photos, but upon its dedication it was described in detail in the *The New York Times*:

Its most commanding feature is a great central structure, half dome and half tower, 51 feet in diameter at the base and rising, to a height of 140 feet. On each side of this is a smaller tower. They are built of iron and covered with burnished copper, upon which is a tracery of gilded copper. Entrance is gained from the Fifth Avenue side by an unbroken flight of steps leading to three arched entrances, elaborately carved and guarded by

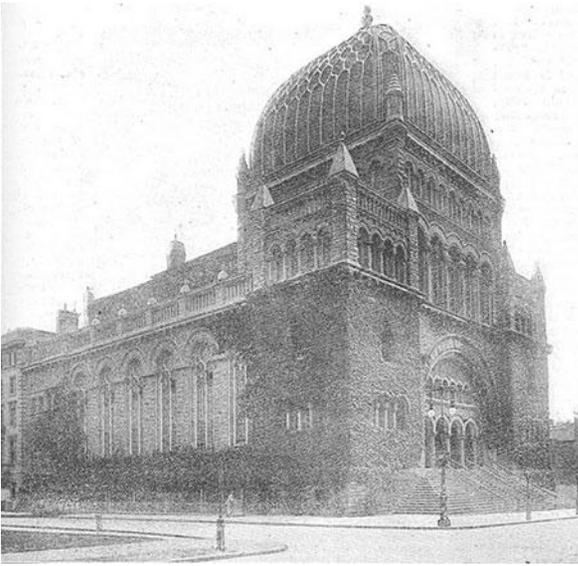


Figure 4. Temple Beth El, Fifth Avenue and 76<sup>th</sup> Street, New York (demolished). Brunner and Tryon, architects (1891). Photo: *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 9, 263

massive bronze gates. The side towers contain the staircases. The deep vestibule is of stone, and is paved entirely with marble mosaic. The auditorium is amphitheatrical in form and has four galleries, one on each side and two over the main entrance. It will seat 2,190 people. The ceiling is arched and is supported at a height of seventy feet by a marble colonnade. It is decorated with intricate gold tracery. The shrine at the eastern end is composed of columns of Mexican onyx, with gold capitals and bases supporting an onyx arch on which are the tables of the law framed in gold. On each side are columns of Numidian marble, and the entire shrine rests on St. Beaufort marble. The background is a semicircular wall of marble and gold mosaic, surmounted by a marble cornice.<sup>23</sup>

It wasn't only the architecture and the opulent material that brought attention. The combination of natural and artificial illumination must have been breathtaking: "The source of light by day and night is a field of stained glass 1,200 feet in extent in the ceiling. Above this is a skylight of clear glass, and between the two will be placed powerful electric lamps. One thousand incandescent lamps are placed with decorative effect throughout the temple."<sup>24</sup> A popular guidebook of the 1890s described the building in detail as "one of the costliest and most imposing religious buildings in the city."<sup>25</sup>

The large dome of Beth El combined the height of a French Empire

mansard, probably inspired by Dankmar Adler's Temple Sinai in Chicago of 1876, with patterned ribbing that recalled Henry Fernbach's Shaaray Tefila of 1868–1869, all of this recalling the Oranienburgerstrasse Synagogue of Berlin, dedicated in 1866.<sup>26</sup> Like the Berlin synagogue, because of its height and setting, the building immediately became a local landmark.

The influence of Europe on American synagogue design was constant and great, but the process could work the other way. Temple Beth El was widely illustrated and its New York location made it accessible to international visitors, Jewish and Christian. Its form was taken up by European architects and can be seen, for example, in the Great Synagogue of Samara, Russia.

In retrospect, what makes the success of Beth El especially interesting is that just five years after its construction, in 1897, Brunner and Tryon completed the totally different design for Congregation Shearith Israel at Central Park West and West 70<sup>th</sup> Street, across Central Park from Beth El. Shearith Israel resembled a Roman temple, with a massive Roman style façade that creatively integrated a three-arched porch into the columnar portico.<sup>27</sup> This combination of a Roman temple with a triumphal arch resulted in an entirely new monumental and classical urban religious (and Jewish) architecture.

### **Classicism and Eclecticism in American Synagogues Before 1893**

Classical style synagogues had been popular throughout America much earlier than the late nineteenth century. The earliest American synagogues included classical forms and elements as part of the general building vocabulary of eighteenth century Dutch and Georgian architecture. Thus, a contemporary classicism was the norm for the Jeshuat Israel Synagogue (popularly known as the Touro Synagogue) in Newport, Rhode Island, designed by Peter Harrison in 1759–1763, as it was for most official and institutional buildings.<sup>28</sup> In the early Republic, a more archaeologically correct Greek classicism was used for public buildings, including churches and synagogues. This form is known in synagogue design from New York's now-demolished Shearith Israel synagogue on Crosby Street (1834), from Charleston's extant Beth Elohim (1841), and from the former Baltimore Hebrew Congregation (1845) (Fig. 5).<sup>29</sup>

In Europe, too, classical style synagogues had been popular from the late seventeenth century, when the Ashkenazic and Sephardic great synagogues of Amsterdam were erected. But these and subsequent synagogues with classical elements inside, such as London's Great Synagogue at Duke's Place (1790–1791) and Vienna's Stadttempel (1824–1826), had subdued or nondescript exteriors.<sup>30</sup> A few nineteenth-century



Figure 5. (Color online) Former Baltimore Hebrew Congregation (Lloyd Street Synagogue), Baltimore, Maryland (1845). Photo: author

synagogues, such as the so-called White Stork Synagogue (1820–1829) in Wrocław, Poland (formerly Breslau, Germany), the synagogues of Obuda (1820–1821) and Baja (1846) in Hungary; and of Huncove (1821) and Liptovsky Mikulas (exterior, 1846) in Slovakia, do have classical exteriors (Fig. 6). However, it is not yet clear what influence, if any, these buildings had on American synagogue design. Neither Leopold Eidlitz (1823–1908) nor Henry Fernbach (1829–1883), Jewish architects who emigrated from Central Europe to America as adults in the mid-nineteenth century, used the classical style for their synagogue designs.<sup>31</sup> Because of his family connections and travels, Brunner may have known synagogues in England and Germany. One of the latest examples of a classical style synagogue in Europe was Warsaw's Great Synagogue at Tłomacka Street (1874–1877) by Leandro Marconi (1834–1919), which Brunner mentioned in his *Jewish Encyclopedia* article and which almost certainly influenced his work.<sup>32</sup> In general, images of new synagogues in the popular and architectural press were uncommon before the second half of the nineteenth century, by which time classicism had fallen from favor, though some Italianate forms derived from classical architecture continued for civic and religious buildings, including the works of Brunner's mentor George Post. Not until Brunner himself provided pictures for the *Jewish Encyclopedia* between 1901 and 1905 was a large collection of synagogue images available for easy consultation.



*Figure 6.* (Color online) White Stork Synagogue, Wrocław, Poland (formerly Breslau, Germany). Carl Ferdinand Laghens, architect (1820–1829). Photo: Ruth Ellen Gruber

Following the Civil War, new eclectic stylistic *mélanges* and decorative devices, and new materials and technologies, radically changed the appearance of American buildings, and this was apparent in the design of synagogues. Following mid-century trends in Europe, American Jews—especially those of Central European origin—created new and, for America, unprecedented buildings in what was once called an “Oriental” style, but which is now commonly referred to as “Moorish.” Synagogues in Vienna and Budapest and the Oranienburgerstrasse Synagogue in Berlin first popularized the Moorish style.

Two great structures, the Isaac M. Wise Temple in Cincinnati (1866) and Temple Emanu-El in New York (1868), exemplified and stimulated the Moorish trend. Emanu-El was the work of Eidlitz and Fernbach, who began a tradition that developed over the next two generations in which influential American synagogues were designed by Jews. After Emanu-El, Eidlitz did not take on noteworthy Jewish projects, but Fernbach did, including New York’s Congregation Shaaray Tefila (1868–1869), mentioned earlier, and the city’s Central Synagogue (1872). Fernbach’s sudden death in his early 50s in 1883 left a vacuum in New York-Jewish architectural circles, one which Brunner was quickly able to fill. By 1884, Brunner embarked upon a near-continuous 40-year output of work for Jewish charitable institutions and congregations.<sup>33</sup>

### **A Jewish Classical Revival**

The work of Brunner and, to a lesser extent, that of his Jewish contemporaries Dankmar Adler (1844–1900) and Albert Kahn (1869–1942) led to the acceptance and eventual dominance of classicism in American synagogue design at the turn of the twentieth century, a time when Jewish architects were beginning to make their mark professionally—moving their activity from a level of craft to a level of art—and asserting themselves individually and as arbiters of public taste and, to some extent, of public behavior.<sup>34</sup>

Unlike Brunner, both Adler and Kahn were born in Europe, were sons of rabbis, and entered the American architectural profession as outsiders, developing expertise in project management and engineering as the foundations of their success. In the years between 1897 and 1903, all three architects designed “modern classical” synagogues which provided a new Jewish American building vocabulary. It was Brunner, however, who provided numerous examples and who, in his writings and professional activism, articulated an important theoretical and historical framework for their acceptance.

In the years between the creation of Brunner’s designs for Beth El and Shearith Israel occurred the most momentous event in American architectural history up to that time: the Columbian Exposition of 1893, also known as the Chicago World’s Fair, with its overwhelming classical “White City.” In a short time, a vast array of buildings was erected for the fair, with the main ones arrayed around a central Court of Honor. The style chosen by lead architect and planner Daniel Burnham was a grand Roman classicism, full of columns, arches and cupolas. The effect of the stylistically-related white stucco buildings around a unified public space upon public and architects was tremendous.<sup>35</sup>

The architecture and plan of the Columbian Exposition provided a new vocabulary for American urban design, out of which came the City Beautiful Movement, a social reform movement intended to beautify American cities and to improve their moral character by providing more organized streets, parks and other public areas. Following the lead of the Chicago Exposition architects, the Roman classical style became the accepted language of the City Beautiful Movement, especially for civic architecture.

Almost immediately, even in the face of an economic crisis in the mid-1890s, this new classicism was adopted across America, especially for civic structures and universities. Soon, bankers and other commercial builders who wanted their structures to be part of the improved urban environment also adopted the style. With the exception of the new Christian Science movement, Church design changed more slowly and never fully warmed to the trend, preferring modifications more in keeping with historical Christian styles. Brunner’s prominently-located Shearith Israel was the first fully classical synagogue of the era, and also one of the first and most noticeable religious buildings in the style.

Throughout the 1890s, there were also some impressive attempts to build synagogues in an Italian Renaissance style. These include Philadelphia's Keneseth Israel on North Broad Street, built in 1892 after designs by Louis C. Hickman and Oscar Frotcher.<sup>36</sup> That ornate building, with a campanile-like tower and a large octagonal dome, drew freely from Renaissance and later Roman Catholic church design. Unlike later Roman style classical buildings and the Alumni Hall built next to the sanctuary in 1913, Keneseth Israel's uneven towers and asymmetrical front still linked the building more to the picturesque tradition of the post-Civil War era than to the classicism of the White City.

In the 1890s, Brunner and Tryon designed two other synagogues—Shaaray Tefila in New York and Mishkan Israel in New Haven. Shaaray Tefila, the congregation to which Brunner's family had close ties, was still nominally Orthodox, but during the 1880s the congregation modified its service and identified more with the nascent Reform Movement. Brunner's design still incorporates many Moorish decorative features, especially in the window treatments and exterior decoration.

At New Haven, Brunner shifted fully away from the Romanesque and Moorish style of Beth El, using a cooler, more restrained architectural language with Georgian (Colonial) classical elements which were increasingly popular in contemporary New England architecture of the time.<sup>37</sup> Though Mishkan Israel and Shearith Israel were dedicated in the same year, Mishkan Israel seems the earlier design. At Shearith Israel, Brunner seems to have immersed himself in the big scale and bold forms of Roman classicism as presented at the Chicago Exposition to create his most confident and expressive work.

Beyond the influence of the White City, historical context had much to do with Shearith Israel's classicism. The congregation had favored classical designs in its two previous buildings. Its second synagogue, at Crosby Street, combined elements found in the Temple of Athena Nike in Athens and the so-called Temple of Fortuna Virilis in the Forum Boarium in Rome. Both buildings were well known since the mid-eighteenth century from measured drawings and more popular *vedute*. The third building, erected at Nineteenth Street, by architect Richard Mook, was based on the Roman Baroque design typical of Carlo Maderno, such as that of the church of S. Susanna in Rome.

Brunner's design for the Central Park West synagogue was a compromise between these earlier styles. He created a monumental façade in the manner of the Nineteenth Street building, but preferred a more restrained classicism such as that of the Crosby Street building. Brunner was familiar with these structures because of his own interest in synagogues and because of the congregation's passion for preserving its own history. He knew their sources, as he had spent time traveling in Italy and the Mediterranean, where he had seen Greek and Roman buildings. As a sign of the congregation's devotion to its history, there is attached to Brunner's main building the "Little Synagogue" where a daily *minyan* still meets. This space recreates, in

part, earlier Shearith Israel synagogues, using earlier dimensions and installing furnishings rescued by the congregation from its earliest homes.

Brunner's resulting façade is, as mentioned earlier, a Roman temple front that also suggests a triumphal arch. Three lower openings for doorways co-ordinate with three large arched windows above them. Even higher, a heavy cornice surmounted by a very high attic level is topped by a pediment. The arched bays are framed by tall Corinthian columns, the first use of this motif in American synagogue exteriors. Brunner was probably aware of Corinthian columns inside pre-Civil War American synagogues. Only the ark at Beth Elohim in Charleston survives, but the device was used at Shearith Israel's previously mentioned Crosby Street synagogue, to which Brunner referred in his design, and also in Cincinnati and in Baltimore synagogues.<sup>38</sup> For the ark of the new Shearith Israel, Brunner used four Corinthian columns.

The interior of Brunner's Shearith Israel follows the traditional Sephardic arrangement and, because the Orthodox congregation required the ark to be placed on the east wall, which is also the façade wall, Brunner rotated the interior design. One can enter the sanctuary off-axis from the façade, but most congregants enter from a side entrance on West 70<sup>th</sup> Street, allowing the "show" façade to embellish Central Park West. The common and expected relationship of façade to ark, where the worshipper passes through the façade towards the ark, and the ark often echoes the design of the façade (as at New York's Moorish style Eldridge Street Synagogue) is denied. Still, façade and ark do correspond. Both have columns and pediments which are decorated with wreath and vine motifs.<sup>39</sup>

The second source for Brunner's classicism is the ancient "Judean architecture" he would later mention in his 1907 article, and to which he also referred in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* in 1905. Of the ancient synagogue of Kefar Baram (Kafr Bir'im in Arabic) Brunner wrote:

"On the main façade . . . there were evidently three doorways with ornamented architraves, the central one being surmounted by an enriched semi-circular arch. Of the plan there is practically no indication, except that the building was rectangular, with a portico in front supported by columns."

At the rectangular Shearith Israel, Brunner combined the columnar portico with the three-doorway façade.

Brunner designed a second classically inspired synagogue that was more specifically dependent on ancient synagogue sources. This was the Frank Memorial Synagogue for the Jewish Hospital of Philadelphia, completed in 1901, one of many hospital synagogues Brunner designed during his career, but the only one conceived as a free standing structure. Historian Steven Fine has already demonstrated that for the Frank Synagogue Brunner drew explicitly on the same ancient Jewish model: the fourth century large synagogue of Kefar Baram in what is now northern Israel.<sup>40</sup> For example, the Hebrew inscription above the door, "Peace be upon this place and all places," derives from the lintel at Kefar Baram.

Brunner also was inspired by a smaller synagogue in the same location and one in nearby Nabratein. Some features were taken from other ancient synagogues. The absence of the Star of David on the exterior of the Frank Synagogue was deliberate, as this was not a Jewish symbol used in the first centuries of the Common Era. A Star of David (Magen David) above the ark inside the sanctuary may have been added at a later date. Menorahs, on the other hand, were included both as interior and exterior features. In all his synagogues, Brunner was partial to the use of wreaths, vine scrolls and menorahs as decoration, thus for the most part eschewing the more popular Magen David and Decalogue symbols.

With Shearith Israel and the Frank Memorial Synagogue completed, Brunner could demonstrate American Jewish and ancient Jewish sources for the newly revived use of classicism for synagogue architecture. For Brunner, this was mostly a case of creating a new Jewish architectural identity not specific to any particular group of Jews. In the decade to come, however, it would become clear that classicism was favored by most American Reform congregations, and it provided a style that perfectly met their social, civic, and political needs, as well as their religious, cultural, and communal requirements.

In the same years that Brunner was developing his new Jewish style, established architect and engineer Dankmar Adler also changed the outward appearance of his buildings in Chicago. Adler's Temple Isaiah of 1897–1898 was designed in a Palladian style much more in keeping with the new American Renaissance taste than anything he had previously designed (Fig. 7).<sup>41</sup> Although the building has an Ionic portico surmounted by a large arch on one side, and one window wall articulated with a large triple arch, the overall effect is still subdued and almost utilitarian—much like a music hall or train station. It does not stand out as a civic monument. The overall effect is similar to that of some contemporary churches, which in the 1890s began increasingly to transform their Romanesque detailing to Renaissance forms. Temple Isaiah, however, has no bell tower.

Adler died in 1900, soon after the completion of this building, but its influence lingered. In the next five years, several examples of Renaissance



*Figure 7.* (Color online) Temple Isaiah (now Ebenezer Missionary Baptist Church), Chicago, Illinois. Dankmar Adler, architect (1897–1898). Photo: author

style synagogues recalled Temple Isaiah in form and some details, but these buildings are all surmounted by central domes. Classicism in different forms continued in Chicago Reform synagogues for more than a decade and then was picked up again by Orthodox and Conservative congregations in the 1920s.<sup>42</sup> One of the finest contributions was by the young Jewish architect Alfred Alschuler (1876–1940) who, after graduating from the Armour Institute of Technology (now the Illinois Institute of Technology), went to work for Adler, probably just after Temple Isaiah was completed. Alschuler later designed many important Chicago buildings, including synagogues, but his classical style Sinai Temple of 1909 (now Mount Pisgah Missionary Baptist Church) remains one of his best (Fig. 8).

Among the finest classical style synagogues are two buildings erected by Detroit's Beth El Congregation, both of which were designed by Albert Kahn, a member of the congregation.<sup>43</sup> Kahn's first design for Beth El, built in 1903 at Woodward Avenue between Erskine and Eliot Streets, now used as a theater, comprised a Roman style columnar portico with pediment



Figure 8. (Color online) Sinai Temple (now Mount Pisgah Missionary Baptist Church), Chicago, Illinois. Alfred Altschuler, architect (1909). Photo: author

leading to an octagonal interior surmounted by a saucer dome. The exterior massing and façade are clearly influenced by the Pantheon (Kahn hung a large photograph of it over his office desk)<sup>44</sup> and most likely by recent university library buildings by the firm of McKim, Mead and White, which had helped pioneer the new monumental classicism at the 1893 Chicago Exposition. In turn, Kahn's central plan synagogue was likely the precedent for classical domed synagogues elsewhere, including perhaps Beth Ahabah in Richmond, Virginia, another Reform temple, built in the following year.<sup>45</sup>

Inside, the 1903 Beth El more closely resembled the popular Louis XVI style, with the plentiful application of plaster cartouches and other embellishments. The ark, set into the center of a huge wooden wall, was built in two levels; the upper one contained the pipes of a mighty organ. This ark wall was classically articulated with columns and architraves. Seating ranged outward from the raised *bimah* in semi-circular rows of pews. Thus, sightlines to the ark and *bimah* were adequate from every seat.<sup>46</sup> Balconies were on two sides of the Beth El sanctuary, but women sat with men in the main hall. As a sign of modernity, in 1904 Temple Beth El abandoned its long-held practice of selling and assigning seats and adopted the more egalitarian practice of unassigned seating. The rabbi declared, "In God's house all must be equal."<sup>47</sup>

But by the time of Brunner's *Brickbuilder* article in 1907, "modern classic architecture" was widespread in America, especially throughout the

strongholds of the Reform movement in the South and Midwest.<sup>48</sup> There was already a precedent for this “Classical Reform” architecture in the structure of Congregation Beth Elohim in Charleston, erected in 1841 in the form of a Greek Temple and today the oldest standing purpose-built Reform synagogue in America and also the first synagogue built with an organ. Just as the venerable Spanish and Portuguese Shearith Israel congregation in New York had employed classicism to connect to its past, so the Reform congregations used the style to connect to America’s past, and also to tap into the new century’s spirit of civic-mindedness. The influence of Beth Elohim was especially strong throughout the South, but for their new houses of worship, builders at the turn of the twentieth century chose a Roman style, which was more in tune with the tastes of the time, over the Greek.

### **Popularity of Classicism in the American South**

Already in 1902, two Roman temple style synagogues were erected in Georgia. In Atlanta, on September 12, 1902, the Hebrew Benevolent Congregation dedicated a large new Roman temple style home, designed by Louisville- born W.F. Denny (1875–1905),<sup>49</sup> at the corner of South Pryor and Richard- son Streets. *The Atlanta Constitution* called this structure “one of the handsomest church buildings in the city.” Actually, in old photographs the building appears to have been mostly Renaissance in style, but it had a projecting porch facing the street consisting of six large Ionic columns supporting a robust entablature and pediment. Denny also was the architect of the Jefferson County Courthouse in Louisville in 1904, so perhaps it is no surprise that the synagogue looks something like a courthouse. Rabbis from several states attended the dedication. Rabbis were there from Chattanooga, Tennessee, and Richmond, Virginia, both cities where classical style synagogues were subsequently dedicated, in 1904.

Congregation Beth Israel in Macon, Georgia, also built an imposing Roman temple type building in 1902, designed by local architect Peter E. Dennis.<sup>50</sup> In 1905, two years before Brunner’s *Brickbuilder* article, three “modern classic” temples had been dedicated in Mississippi alone; in Meridian (demolished 1964),<sup>51</sup> Natchez,<sup>52</sup> and Greenville (Fig. 9).<sup>53</sup>

In Mississippi especially, the motive for the classical designs might have been patriotic. While the forms of the new synagogues recall those of Kahn’s Beth El in Detroit, they closely resemble those of the Pantheon-like Illinois State Monument dedicated at the Vicksburg Battlefield, also in 1906.<sup>54</sup> Elsewhere, throughout the country, classicism could be equally tied to civic life and could be seen in the architecture of libraries, courthouses and universities, many of which were quickly adopting the new “White City” classicism.<sup>55</sup>



*Figure 9.* (Color online) Temple B'nai Israel, Natchez, Mississippi (1905). Photo: author

Significant classical style synagogues were erected in Chattanooga (1904),<sup>56</sup> Richmond (1904), Louisville (1906), Kansas City (1907), St. Louis (1908) and New Bern, North Carolina (1908),<sup>57</sup> among many other places. The normality of these buildings and their religiously neutral or ecumenical appearance is seen in a postcard from Louisville that pairs the new Temple Adath Israel with the First Christian Church. The two buildings are virtually indistinguishable, except that the synagogue displays a Decalogue (Ten Commandments) set within its pediment, though historian Lee Shai Weissbach has pointed out that this Decalogue was never installed.<sup>58</sup> Many of the other classical synagogues of the period did include Jewish symbols as pediment decorations, particularly the Star of David, though on most of these buildings symbols were unobtrusive and façade inscriptions were usually in English, not Hebrew. A favorite line used on the façades of Reform Temples is “My house shall be a house of prayer for all peoples” (Isaiah 56:7). The quotation, always presented in English, was a proclamation intended as much for the general community as it was for the Jewish congregants. It signified—as did the classical architecture—the attempt at near-ecumenicalism of the Reform Movement. In the 1920s, when the classical style became widespread among Conservative and Orthodox congregations, their buildings always had inscriptions in Hebrew, though sometimes English was also included.

Louisville’s Temple Adath Israel had staged a competition for the design (one of the first competitions for synagogues in America), to which Louisville architect William G. Tachau had submitted an entry.<sup>59</sup> Despite his local Jewish roots, Tachau did not receive the commission,

which went to Kenneth McDonald and John Francis Sheblessy, prominent local architects and both Christians. We do not know what specifically the architect and congregation were thinking when they chose the Roman temple style design. According to Weissbach, “There is no way of determining whether they were aware of recent Greco-Roman synagogue discoveries in Palestine, for example, or how important it was that a member of the congregation, Alfred Joseph, served as senior draftsman on the project.”<sup>60</sup> Still, it is easy to agree with Weissbach that, “A dath Israel was attempting to associate itself with the most sophisticated artistic sentiment of the time and the latest developments in American culture. In doing so, the commonwealth’s oldest congregation was declaring its strong sense of self-confidence and its feeling of security as a part of Kentucky society.”<sup>61</sup>

For many American Jews at the turn the twentieth century, self-confidence and a feeling of security were being sorely tested. Anti-Semitism was on the rise, and part of this was caused—or so many Reform Jews thought—by the strange language, behavior, and religious practice of recently-arrived Orthodox immigrants. Anti-Jewish sentiment was high during the 1890s and Jews were convenient scapegoats during the financial collapse of that period. Nor was America immune to international anti-Semitism. As the Dreyfus case raged on in France, the American media covered the events, not always with sympathy for Dreyfus and Jews. During the 1896 presidential campaign, anti-Semitism was a staple for both candidates’ campaigns, but anti-Semitism stereotypes were particularly evident among William Jennings Bryan’s Populists.<sup>62</sup>

The turn-of-the-century synagogue building boom was the result of demographic and economic developments as much as religious ones. In the post-Civil War period, before the immigration wave of Eastern European Jews began in the 1880s, the majority of American Jewish congregations were already adjusting their liturgy to accept some change, and many were clearly identifying themselves as Reform congregations, eventually affiliating with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Recovering from the Depression of the 1890s, many of these congregations found their members still very affluent.

When it was founded in 1873, 38 congregations had joined the UAHC. By 1905, there were 128 congregations, almost all of which identified as Reform; these congregations were those most receptive to the classical style. Interest in the City Beautiful Movement trickled down to the wealthier, more civic-minded urban Jews, but changing residential patterns were even more immediate reasons for building new synagogues. Second and third generation Jews, including many involved in commerce and the professions, were moving from downtown neighborhoods, often settling in bedroom neighborhoods on the periphery of cities or in recently annexed areas made accessible by new streetcar lines and often adjacent to or near new municipal parks. In these settings, new synagogues that also resembled civic architecture were appealing.

Most Orthodox congregations, including both those that had broken

off from long-established synagogues that had embraced Reform and newly founded immigrant congregations, were not yet ready to build impressive new structures. Older Orthodox congregations were still using buildings they had erected in the 1870s and 1880s; only a small number of Ashkenazic Orthodox congregations were building anew at the end of the nineteenth century. In Baltimore, Congregation Chizuk Amuno built its second home at McCulloh and Mosher Streets in 1895. In New York, the Eldridge Street Synagogue (1887) and Zichron Ephraim/Park East Synagogue (1889–1890) were among the first Orthodox congregations in that city to erect massive new buildings.<sup>63</sup> In Atlanta, the Orthodox Congregation Ahavath Achim built an exotic, if not quite Moorish, synagogue in 1901, with dramatic west towers and domes; while in Louisville, the Orthodox congregation B'nai Jacob erected its own new synagogue in 1901.<sup>64</sup> While hardly exotic compared to some nineteenth-century synagogues, the building was decidedly neither classical nor church-like. It continued the nineteenth-century synagogue tradition of corner towers and included striped masonry.

Throughout the country, Orthodox congregations continued to use mid- to-late nineteenth-century forms well into the twentieth. In Savannah, Georgia, the B'nai Brith Jacob Synagogue was built in 1909 with two towering domes on the west façade corners, each adorned with the Star of David, and Moorish style patterned decoration. The congregation certainly could have built a classical style building. Hyman Witkover (1871–1936), the congregation's architect, was a Jew and the most celebrated architect in the city; he had just designed the newly-built classical style Savannah City Hall. For the Orthodox congregation, Classicism in 1909 may have carried uncomfortable Reform associations. It preferred the older Moorish style as its version of Jewish architecture.

### **Brunner's later synagogues: Temple Israel of Harlem and Temple Society of Concord**

As we have seen, the opening of the twentieth century saw dozens of classical synagogues, mostly Reform temples, built across the country. Arnold W. Brunner's last known congregational synagogues were part of this trend. Both Brunner's design for Temple Israel of Harlem (Fig. 10) and, even more, his 1910 design as consulting architect with local architect Alfred Taylor for Temple Society of Concord in Syracuse, New York (Fig. 11), fulfill many of



*Figure 10.* (Color online) Former Temple Israel of Harlem (now Mount Olivet Baptist Church). Arnold W. Brunner, architect (1907). Photo: author



*Figure 11.* (Color online) Temple Society of Concord, Syracuse, New York. Alfred Taylor, architect, and Arnold W. Brunner, consulting architect (1910–1911). Photo: author

the requirements for a modern synagogue that Brunner laid out in the *Brick-builder* article. Temple Israel of Harlem, at 120th Street and Lenox Avenue in New York City, dedicated on May 17, 1907, and then Temple Society of Concord in Syracuse, dedicated on September 23, 1911, are full-scale illustrations of the article.<sup>65</sup>

Both temples were understood by their Reform congregations as examples of progressive up-to-date synagogue architecture that exemplified American ideals as much as Jewish ones. Both buildings were erected on prominent sites, as civic temples and Jewish contributions to the “City Beautiful.” This was the message imparted to and received by the entire public. In their details and their liturgical arrangements, Temple Israel and Temple Society of Concord followed the general pattern set at Shearith Israel, but Brunner adopted the auditorium style floor plan to accommodate these Reform congregations. Unlike at Shearith Israel, which was decorated with designs by Tiffany, Brunner seems to have eschewed bright decoration in the later synagogues, preferring to leave the interiors mostly white or off-white. Temple Israel, however, did have stained glass windows.

When the *New York Times* covered the dedication of Temple Israel, the building was described, but the writer omitted the architect’s name:

The new edifice is of the Grecian type of architecture, and is built of light gray brick and granite. Within the temple is severely simple, being entirely in white. The only bit of gorgeous color is made by the doors of the ark. This, like the pipes of the great organ, is of gold, and the arch over it is supported with columns of marble. The choir loft is sustained by six monoliths of marble.<sup>66</sup>

(The sanctuary, now home to Mount Olivet Baptist Church, is today brightly painted.)

Temple Israel is a large, almost cubic building on a prominent corner site. Horizontal elements dominate the design despite the four enormous fluted Ionic columns which frame three entrance doors on the Lenox Avenue façade and extend nearly the full height of the building, and despite the four full height arched windows on the 120th Street façade. The building is clad in gray blocks laid in horizontal courses. The thick and recessed joints create a pattern of horizontal lines across the façade. More strong horizontal elements—frieze, cornice and attic—cap the building. This more stolid and static design is in keeping with the solemnity of the Frank Memorial Synagogue, which also avoided the dynamic and celebratory effect of Shearith Israel. For the interior of Temple Israel, Brunner designed a spacious well-lit sanctuary with an auditorium seating arrangement on the ground level, and with the ark set at the west end, rather than in its traditional eastern location. Balconies are for overflow, not for women’s seating.

Other congregations in Harlem quickly followed Brunner’s lead at Temple Israel. In 1908, Edward Shire designed Temple Anshe Chesed at 114th Street & 7th Avenue,<sup>67</sup> combining the two-towered façade tradition of the nineteenth century with the newly popular Roman classical style. Below

the towers, the design more closely resembles Brunner's classical synagogues, though the use of brick with round arched windows for the body of the building is more Colonial, visually linking the building to early American church buildings, as Brunner had done a decade earlier at Mishkan Israel in New Haven.

By 1910, when Brunner was engaged as consulting architect for Temple Society of Concord, he had attained the status of a nationally renowned architect and planner. He was president of the American Institute of Architects' New York Chapter, the most prestigious and public position for an American professional architect, and he was busy with planning efforts in Cleveland, Rochester, Baltimore and other cities. In April of 1910, he was elected Associate of the National Academy of Design and in that same month published an influential essay in the *New York Times* titled "City Practical." Brunner's massive Federal Building in Cleveland, upon which he had been at work since his prize-winning competition entry brought him to the national stage, was completed; it was dedicated in March, 1911. Three months later, he successfully competed for the coveted commission to design the new State Department Building in Washington, D.C. (not built), after which he immediately headed to Europe on a fact-finding tour. Brunner's fame and the civic nature of his most recent work were not lost on the patrons and congregants of Temple Society of Concord. Indeed, the dedication ceremonies emphasized the civic value of the building.

Temple Society of Concord contains most of the characteristic elements of Brunner's classical style as it was developed for synagogues and then for public commissions. The building is overtly Classical, from its hilltop setting to its solemn Doric columns, which convey a massive majesty. Both exterior and interior are austere so that important details, such as the Greek key design in the triumphal arch above the ark and *bimah*, stand out. The proportions and acoustics of the sanctuary are good, and the full windows on either side flood the space with daylight, suiting both group prayer and quiet contemplation.

The Syracuse Reform congregation is one of the oldest in the United States, and its history is fairly typical of the history of many American congregations. Founded in 1839 by a few German-speaking immigrants drawn to upstate New York by the new Erie Canal, the congregation first met in a back room of a local store. In 1851 the members built a synagogue at Harrison and Mulberry Streets for the substantial sum of \$10,000. The new building exacerbated conflict over identity and religious practice within the congregation and led members in 1861 to adopt Reform Judaism.

By 1911 the congregation was ready to move into its new classical building, located just below Syracuse University and within sight of the city center. It was completed for \$100,000, literally as a temple on a hill. The facade, reached by a long flight of steps, has a portico of four columns screening three sets of double doors. Above the central entryway is the English inscription, "Mine house shall be called an house of prayer for all peoples."

Set above each of the other doors is the Star of David, and a Decalogue surmounts the gable of the porch.

Rabbi Adolph Guttman, who led the congregation for thirty-six years, once said, "In our religion we are Jews, but in every other respect we are part and parcel of this great country, which we love with heart and mind. Its flag is our flag, its victories our victories, its defeats our defeats."<sup>68</sup> Upon its completion, images of Temple Society of Concord were published in the journal *Architecture*, where the anonymous reviewer—probably working from photos and plans alone—commented on its classical design, and in architectural terms, seemed to echo Rabbi Guttman's sentiment:

The designers of this particular building seem to feel that the Hebrews would feel equally as well at home in a simple Classic type of building as in one of Oriental origin with art Nouveau proclivities. . . While there is no feature of the building (if we except the seven-branch candlesticks and the tables of the law in the interior), that differs materially from well known Classic motives. . . it is safe to say that the variation in sentiment in this building is the direct result of study of the architects to evolve a simple and dignified structure which should be quite in harmony with its neighbors and which should be differentiated to its particular purpose. . .<sup>69</sup>

Of the dedication of Temple Society of Concord, a Syracuse newspaper wrote:

Simplicity and dignity, two marked characteristics of the new house of worship, were emphasized at the dedication of the massive synagogue of the Temple Society of Concord . . . The new temple is one of the most impressive buildings in Syracuse. Having followed out the Doric Renaissance style of architecture, with four immense columns, the general effect is not unlike that of the ancient temples, and the interior . . . is equal in beauty to any recent work of art along architectural lines in this city.<sup>70</sup>

In accepting the key to the building, the congregation president said: "Noble architecture, good taste, chaste and appropriate surroundings do have an important part in worship. The house in which we gather for worship should be fitting for such solemn experiences." Rabbi Guttman concluded his speech this way: "In this country no Jew needs to be ashamed of his religion. Under the protection of the Stars and the Stripes we are permitted to worship God according to the dictates of our heart. All that is required of us is to be upright and honest in our dealings with fellow men and be good American citizens. The better Jews we are the better Americans we will be."<sup>71</sup>

Joining Dr. Guttman was an ecumenical assembly of the city's religious leaders. According to another article in the newspaper:

Christian unity formed the basis of addresses by prominent Hebrew and Gentile clergymen at the Good Fellowship meeting. . . As Mr. Ferris came upon the platform he shook

hands with Dr. Guttman and said: “As I looked through the long list of speakers, it occurred to me that were I engaged in the newspaper business I should flash some headlines like this: “Persecution of the Jews by the Christians resumed.” This statement provoked both laughter and applause.<sup>72</sup>

At a time of tension within the Jewish community and increased antagonism toward Jews in America because of the large influx of Eastern European Jews into the country, the classical style synagogue was both a mediating device and a new emblem of religious and civic identity. As in Syracuse, these were “noble buildings” that helped make “better Jews and better Americans.” Mixing a variety of architectural and cultural traditions, Jewish architects and their patrons created a bridge between Judaism—or Jewishness—and Americanism.

### Notes

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- 1 Arnold W. Brunner, “Synagogue Architecture,” in *Jewish Encyclopedia* [hereafter *JE*] (New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1905), vol. 9, 631–640. Brunner had previously written a section on “Jewish Architecture” in the first volume of the *JE* in the section titled “America”; *JE* (1901), vol. 1, 506–511.
  - 2 Brunner, “Synagogue Architecture.”
  - 3 On the development of the so-called Moorish style in Europe, see Ivan Davidson Kalmar, “Moorish Style: Orientalism, the Jews, and Synagogue Architecture,” *Jewish Social Studies: History, Culture, and Society* 7: 3 (2001): 68–100; and Rudolf Klein, “Oriental-Style Synagogues in Austria-Hungary: Philosophy and Historical Significance,” *Ars Judaica* 2 (2006): 117–134, and *ibid*, *The Great Synagogue of Budapest* (Budapest: Terc, 2008).
  - 4 Shuly Rubin Schwartz, *The Emergence of Jewish Scholarship in America: the Publication of the Jewish Encyclopedia*, Monographs of the Hebrew Union College (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, 1991).
  - 5 Founded in 1879 by F. de Sola Mendes and Philip Cowan, the weekly *American Hebrew* purported to not be “controlled by one person, nor is it inspired by one. Its editorial staff comprises men of diverse shades of opinion on ritualistic matters in Judaism, but men who are determined to combine their energies for the common cause of Judaism.”
  - 6 L. Wise, “American Israelite,” in *JE* (1901), vol. 1, 518–519.
  - 7 “Nearly all American Reform Jews were of German Jewish origin and, in general, solidly middle class. Their faith was summed up in the Pittsburgh Platform of 1885: ‘We recognize in Judaism a progressive religion, ever striving to be in accord with the postulates of reason.’ It was precisely this faith in progress, based on the capacity of human reason that enabled [Rabbi Isaac Mayer] Wise to believe that the new century would be even better than the last.” Michael A. Meyer, “What a Difference a Century

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- Makes: A 100-year Retrospective on the Tragedies, Triumphs, and Challenges of the Jewish people,” *Reform Judaism* (Nov., 1999).
- 8 Elliot L. Stevens, “The Prayer Books, They Are A’Changin,” *Reform Judaism* (Summer, 2006).
- 9 Cincinnati’s Plum Street Temple was the first and one of the foremost American examples of the Moorish style. The architecture of this synagogue, where Rabbi Isaac Wise held the pulpit, influenced American Reform temple design for a generation. Membership in the UHAC and adherence to various Reform practices was voluntary, on a congregation by congregation basis. Decisions on many matters, including building design, could be influenced but not dictated by a central office. In this, Reform and all branches of American Judaism differ from Episcopal, Catholic, and other American Christian denominations which are arranged as diocese or are otherwise hierarchical in their organization.
- 10 See Paul Eli Ivey, *Prayers in Stone: Christian Science Architecture in the United States 1894–1930* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999). Beman had previously designed Chicago’s Temple Shalom on LaSalle Avenue in 1894–1895.
- 11 There were a few other Jewish architects in this period. The Jewish-American architect Adolph Fleischman was born in Albany on December 7, 1856, ten months before Brunner was born in New York. Fleischman developed a practice around Albany. He designed several synagogues, including Beth Emeth, and synagogues in Troy and Rondout. His career and life have not been studied. Another Jewish architect, Alfred Eichberg, was born in New York in 1858 and established a successful practice in Atlanta, where he was a leading architect from about 1880 to 1900. See Samuel D. Gruber, “USA: Georgia’s 19th century Jewish Architects, Alfred Eichberg and Hyman Witcover,” online at <http://samgrubersjewishartmonuments.blogspot.com/2008/11/usa-georgias-19th-centuryjewish.html> (accessed Oct. 14, 2009).
- 12 An important source for Brunner’s early life is the unpublished interview with Brunner by Dewitt McClellan Lockman in the manuscript collection of the New York Historical Society library. Lockman interviewed many New York artists and architects associated with the National Academy of Design in the years around 1925–1927. Most of the interviews were subsequently typed from his notes. For an unknown reason—perhaps Brunner’s untimely death—the interview with Brunner was not typed and can only be reconstructed from handwritten notes.
- 13 “Banking and Financial,” *New York Times* (May 22, 1867), 3.
- 14 Lockman, Brunner interview (see note 12). At the time there was no architecture school in New York and it was customary for aspired architects and builders to apprentice with those already in practice. Engineering could be studied at West Point and Rensselaer Institute. In 1857 Richard Morris Hunt established the first architectural atelier in America, following the French model. From this evolved the first

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- American architectural schools. On the nineteenth-century American architectural profession, see Paul R. Baker, *Richard Morris Hunt* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1980), 98 ff.
- 15 Lockman, Brunner interview, and J.A. Chewing, "William Robert Ware at MIT and Columbia," *Journal of Architectural Education* 33:2 (Nov., 1979): 25–29.
- 16 Throughout his career Brunner was popular among his (entirely non-Jewish) colleagues, and his religion seems not to have been an issue. His Judaism may, however, have affected his gaining private commissions. After leaving the office of George Post, most of his work was for Jewish clients, or for institutional and governmental projects. In the post-Civil War decades, anti-Semitism remained on a low simmer in many American circles. The most notorious incident occurred in 1877, the same year that Brunner entered MIT, when financier Jacob Seligman was denied admittance to the Grand Union Hotel in Saratoga Springs, New York. This was the very same year Seligman's plan to refinance the Civil War debt was accepted by the Secretary of the Treasury. This slight must have been felt by Brunner, too, as his family was socially connected with the Seligmans. Arnold would later design houses for Seligman's children in New York and in the Adirondacks.
- 17 Almost all of Brunner's Jewish projects in New York prior to 1905 are well illustrated in the article "New York," in *JE* (1905), vol. 9, 259–291.
- 18 Arnold W. Brunner, "Synagogue Architecture, I," *The Brickbuilder* 16:2 (Feb., 1907): 20–25; and "Synagogue Architecture (concluded)," *The Brickbuilder* 16: 3 (March, 1907): 37–43 and plates.
- 19 For example, the first major work on the ancient synagogues of Palestine is H. Kohl and C. Watzinger, *Antike Synagogen in Galilaea* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1916). Kohl and Watzinger began excavations in 1905.
- 20 Accounts of the New York ghetto by Henry James and many others are included in full in Milton Hindus, ed., *The Jewish East Side 1881–1924* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1996), 71–78.
- 21 Quoted in Gary Gerstle, *American Crucible: Race and Nation in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001), 51.
- 22 Congregation Beth El was founded in 1874 after the merger of congregations Anshe Chesed and Adas Jeshurun. Anshe Chesed was the oldest German Jewish congregation in the country, dating back to 1828. Adas Jeshurun, under the leadership of David Einhorn, had become the leading Reform congregation in New York. Both Einhorn and his successor, Kaufman Kohler, developed Beth El as a leader of liberal Judaism.
- 23 "Their Temple Dedicated: New House of Worship of the Congregation Beth-El," *The New York Times* (September 19, 1891), 8.
- 24 *Ibid.*
- 25 Moses King, *King's Handbook to New York*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Moses

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- King, 1893), 403.
- 26 The Oranienburgerstrasse Synagogue, designed by Eduard Knoblauch, was widely illustrated at the time of its dedication in 1866 and it remained among the best known synagogues—and modern buildings—throughout the nineteenth century. See Carol Herselle Krinsky, *Synagogues of Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.:MIT Press, 1985), 265–270.
- 27 David de Sola and Tamar Pool, *An Old Faith in the New World: Portrait of Shearith Israel, 1654–1954* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955). On the architecture, see Rachel Wischnitzer, *Synagogue Architecture in the United States* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1955), 96–98; Maurice Berger, “Arnold Brunner’s Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue: Issues of Reform and Reaffirmation in Late Nineteenth century America,” *Arts Magazine* 54 (Feb., 1980): 164–167; and Samuel D. Gruber, *American Synagogues: A Century of Architecture and Jewish Community* (New York: Rizzoli, 2003), 28–29.
- 28 Nancy Halversen Schless, “Peter Harrison, the Touro Synagogue, and the Wren City Church,” in *Winterthur Portfolio* 8 (1973): 187–200.
- 29 Wischnitzer, *Synagogue Architecture*, 33–40.
- 30 London’s Great Synagogue was illustrated in paintings and prints, the best known being an 1809 aquatint by Pugin and Rowlandson. See Cecil Roth, *The Great Synagogue, London, 1690–1940* (London: E. Goldston, 1950).
- 31 While Eidlitz was not a practicing Jew and he married a Christian woman, he appears to have maintained good professional relations with the German-Jewish community. Kathryn E. Holliday, *Leopold Eidlitz: Architecture and Idealism in the Gilded Age* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008).
- 32 Of the Tlomacka Street Synagogue’s classical elements, including its four column portico and Pantheon-like domed vestibule, Carol Krinsky writes: “Their very familiarity made them useful for Jews who wanted to assimilate culturally with the Christian population, especially as a classicizing style was associated with the imperial government in Moscow.” See Krinsky, *Synagogues of Europe*, 231. The synagogue was nominally Orthodox, but in some features of decorum, including the interior arrangement of the sanctuary, it moved close to Reform or Progressive tendencies.
- 33 According to Lockman’s interview notes (see note 12, above), Brunner worked briefly in Fernbach’s office as a draughtsman (probably around 1876) before he went to MIT. Brunner’s family knew Fernbach, certainly through Fernbach’s work on the Shaaray Tefila synagogue (1868–1889) when Brunner’s grandfather was congregation president. Some of Brunner’s first jobs in his own practice (with Thomas Tryon) were commissions from Jewish charitable institutions which might have otherwise gone to Fernbach.
- 34 Charles E. Gregerson, *Dankmar Adler: His Theatres and Auditoriums*

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- (Athens, Ohio: Swallow Press/Ohio University Press, 1990); Norma Goldman, "Albert Kahn: Architect, Artist, Humanist," *Michigan Jewish History* 34 (1993): 2–16; and Samuel D. Gruber "The Rabbi's Son Who Built Detroit, The Other Kahn: Architect," *The Forward* (January 23, 2009).
- 35 The Columbian Exposition was one of the most heavily documented public events of its day. For the politics and the design of the fair, and especially the role of classicism, see Thomas Hine, *Burnham of Chicago: Architect and Planner* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979). After 1901 Burnham became a friend and mentor to Brunner. The two worked together for a decade on the influential Cleveland Plan and had other interests in common. A minority of architects, most famously Louis Sullivan and Frank Lloyd Wright, thought the Exposition set back American architecture by 50 years. Certainly the Exposition represented a triumph of the East Coast academic architects, schooled in the traditions of Europe, over the more practical hands-on branch of the profession.
- 36 Congregation Keneseth Israel (KI) was founded in March, 1847, as the fourth congregation in Philadelphia. KI adopted Reform in 1855, the first Philadelphia congregation to do so. For photos of the first and second KI buildings, see <http://www.kenesethisrael.org/arch.htm> (accessed March 8, 2010). See also Wischnitzer, *Synagogue Architecture*, 95.
- 37 David F. Ransom, "One Hundred Years of Jewish Congregations in Connecticut: an Architectural Survey," *Connecticut Jewish History* 2: 1 (Fall, 1991): 111–114.
- 38 The Crosby Street Synagogue ark, known from a single drawing, had only two columns; from the drawing it seems these were Composite Capitals, combining elements of Ionic and Corinthian orders. Beth Elohim has four Corinthian columns. A description of an otherwise unknown ark from the earliest synagogue in Cincinnati (1834) published in "The Jews in Ohio," *The Occident*, 2: 3 (June, 1844), noted "the chaste and beautiful appearance of the ark situated at the east end; it is eighteen feet in front, surrounded by a neat low white balustrade, ornamented by four large brass candlesticks; it is ascended by a flight of steps handsomely carpeted; the entablature and frieze are composed of stucco work, supported by four large fluted pillars of the Corinthian order; the doors are in the flat, sliding into the sides; when opened, the interior appears richly decorated with crimson damask; the curtain is handsomely festooned in front of the doors; between the pillars on each side are two marble painted slabs containing the Decalogue in bold letters; the entablature and frieze contain suitable inscriptions; the whole is surmounted by a large vase in imitation of the pot of incense." The 1845 ark of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation (Lloyd Street Synagogue) was described in the *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser* (Sept. 25, 1845) as "a semi-circular temple with Corinthian pillars and ribs, and carved ornaments on the roof and the tables of the law in front. The doors are enriched with carvings and slide on rollers around

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- the curve of the sides.”
- 39 Brunner had no direct source for the Shearith Israel ark, the form of which is only slightly altered in his later synagogues. The design is more severe than at the Charleston Synagogue. Brunner’s design was vindicated when an ark of similar design was discovered at the ancient synagogue of Sardis, Turkey, in the 1970s.
- 40 See Steven Fine, “Arnold Brunner’s Henry S. Frank Memorial Synagogue and the Emergence of ‘Jewish Art,’ in Early Twentieth-century America,” *American Jewish Archives Journal* 54: 2 (2002): 47–70, revised in Steven Fine, *Art and Judaism in the Greco-Roman World: Toward a New Jewish Archaeology* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 12–21. The exterior of the Frank Synagogue was modeled on a photo made known by the Palestine Exploration Fund that is also found in the 1905 *Jewish Encyclopedia* under “Synagogues,” illustrating the article written by Brunner.
- 41 The building is well maintained as the Ebenezer Missionary Baptist Church. I thank the church deacons for facilitating my visit in May, 2008.
- 42 For photos and brief histories of various Chicago congregations, see Lauren Weingarden Rader, “Synagogue Architecture in Illinois,” *Faith & Form: Synagogue Architecture in Illinois—An Exhibition Organized by the Spertus Museum* (Chicago: Spertus College Press, 1976); and also George Lane, *Chicago Churches and Synagogues: An Architectural Pilgrimage* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1981).
- 43 For a history of the congregation, see Kerry M. Olitzky and Marc Lee Raphael, *The American Synagogue: A Historical Dictionary and Sourcebook* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1996), 175–177.
- 44 W. Hawkins Ferry, *The Legacy of Albert Kahn* (Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts, 1970), frontispiece. Kahn later eschewed the classical style for synagogues. His Shaaray Zedek Synagogue at 2900 West Chicago Blvd. in Detroit (1932) employed a simplified Romanesque style. Since 1962, the building has been home to the Clinton Street Greater Bethlehem Temple. Kathryn Bishop Eckert, *Buildings of Michigan* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 97.
- 45 The cornerstone of the building, designed by the local firm of Noland and Baskerville, was laid in March, 1904, and the building was complete in December of the same year. I believe the congregation was aware of Kahn’s work in Detroit, but Thomas Jefferson’s Monticello and the University of Virginia are also cited as models. The point is clear—these new classical synagogues were meant to be seen as Jewish, but also quintessentially American, patriotically recalling the period of the Founders.
- 46 The functional interior layout indicates that Kahn applied to the synagogue the same principles he used in his successful factory designs. Indeed, in the same year that Beth El was constructed, Kahn designed his Packard Motor Company factory which launched his career as the world’s

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- foremost designer of industrial spaces. At the synagogue, however, because of the nature of the commission, the vocabulary of the building is a dignified classicism.
- 47 Jonathan Sarna, *American Judaism* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2004), 195; and *ibid.*, “The Debate Over Mixed Seating in the American Synagogue,” in Jack Wertheimer, ed., *The American Synagogue: A Sanctuary Transformed* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 363–394.
- 48 On the Reform movement in the American South, see Gary Philip Zola, “The Ascendancy of Reform Judaism in the American South during the Nineteenth Century,” in Marcia Cohen Ferris and Mark I. Greenberg, eds., *Jewish Roots in Southern Soil: A New History* (Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis University Press), 156–191; and also Lee Shai Weissbach, *Jewish Life in Small-Town America: A History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), *passim*.
- 49 Richard D. Funderburke, “Willis F. Denny II, Architect: A Brief Career, a Lasting Influence,” *Preservation Bulletin* (January, 1995); and “W.F. Denny (1874–1905),” in *New Georgia Encyclopedia* at <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/nge/Article.jsp?id=h-715> (posted 2002, accessed Nov. 14, 2008). According to Funderburke, Denny’s work “reflects the major shifts in design that took place at that time when the picturesque, eclectic forms of the Victorian era gave way to neoclassicism and more historically accurate period revival styles.” For more on the synagogue, see Janice Rothschild Blumberg, *As But a Day to Hundred and Twenty, 1867–1987* (Atlanta: Hebrew Benevolent Congregation, 1987), 55 ff.
- 50 Steven H. Moffson, “Identity and Assimilation in Synagogue Architecture in Georgia, 1870–1920,” in Alison K. Hoagland and Kenneth A. Breisch, eds., *Constructing Image, Identity, and Place: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, vol. 9 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003), 151–165.
- 51 Congregation Beth Israel was founded in 1868. The classical building was erected at 11th Street and 24th Avenue. *Inventory of the Church and Synagogue Archives of Mississippi: Jewish Congregations and Organizations* (Jackson, Miss.: Mississippi State Conference of B’nai Brith, 1940), 18.
- 52 Congregation B’nai Israel in Natchez was founded in 1840. The first synagogue was erected in 1867–1872, but it burned in 1904. The cornerstone for the present building was laid in July, 1904, and the building was dedicated on March 25, 1905. *Inventory of the Church and Synagogue Archives of Mississippi: Jewish Congregations and Organizations* (Jackson, Miss.: Mississippi State Conference of B’nai Brith, 1940), 15.
- 53 The Hebrew Union Congregation of Greenville was formally organized in 1880. The present building was dedicated in 1906. Leo E. Turitz and Evelyn Turitz, *Jews in Early Mississippi* (Jackson, Miss.: University Press

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- of Mississippi, 1983), 66.
- 54 The Illinois State Memorial on Union Avenue at milepost 1.8 was dedicated on October 26, 1906. The design was by W.L.B. Jenney (1832–1907) and the sculptor was Charles J. Mulligan. See [http://www.nps.gov/archive/vick/il/il\\_stm.htm](http://www.nps.gov/archive/vick/il/il_stm.htm) (accessed Nov. 14, 2008). It should, of course, be noted that various forms of classicism—especially Palladianism—were common in the plantation architecture of Mississippi and other southern states.
- 55 At this same period, 1902 and later, the Carnegie-financed libraries were adopting classicism as their style. For universities, the adoption by Columbia University of a new master plan by McKim, Mead and White in 1898 and the construction of Low Memorial Library greatly influenced subsequent educational projects throughout the country. Brunner was tapped to build the School of Mines building (now Lewisohn Hall), one of the first structures at Columbia. On Carnegie libraries, see Abigail A. van Slyke, *Free to All: Carnegie Libraries & American Culture, 1890–1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); and on the Plan of Columbia, see Francesco Passanti, “The Design of Columbia in the 1890s: McKim and His Client,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 36: 2 (May, 1977).
- 56 For the synagogue’s history and connections to the Wise and Oches families see <http://www.mizpahcongregation.org/aboutus/history/> (accessed Nov. 14, 2008).
- 57 In 1908 the Jews of New Bern, North Carolina, erected an elegant new Temple which was more in the tradition of Colonial Revival architecture in its use of brick for the main body of the building and the use of round-headed windows instead of tall rectangular ones. It is uncertain when congregation Chester B’nai Sholom was organized, but it purchased the lot on Middle Street for its Temple in 1894. Herbert Woodley Simpson, a popular local architect, designed the building, which was erected in the short span of four months in 1908, at a cost of \$5,000. See *The New Bern Sun* (April 16, 1908). The synagogue was altered in 1954. The synagogue is in temple form, with a tetrastyle portico supported by Corinthian columns and applied pilasters. For a detailed description, see Peter B. Sandbeck, *The Historic Architecture of New Bern and Craven County, North Carolina* (New Bern, N.C.: The Tryon Palace Commission, 1988), 372–373. Overall, the building is very similar to the First Church of Christ Scientist designed by the same architect the previous year.
- 58 See Lee Shai Weissbach, *The Synagogues of Kentucky: Architecture and History* (Lexington, Ky.: The University Press of Kentucky, 1995), 74–75.
- 59 William G. Tachau was born in Louisville, Kentucky, on April 27, 1875 and later attended the Columbia School of Mines in New York, and the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris. He was a partner in the firms of Tachau and Pilcher and of Tachau and Vought. In 1909 the firm built Mikveh Israel at Broad and York Street in Philadelphia. Tachau and Vought designed

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- Temple Israel in New York City (1922); Sinai Temple in Mount Vernon, New York (1926); Beth Israel in Atlantic City, New Jersey; B'nai Israel Synagogue in Elizabeth, New Jersey; and Knesseth Israel Synagogue, in Philadelphia. Tachau published a long article "The Architecture of the Synagogue," in *The American Jewish Yearbook* 28 (1926), clearly establishing himself as America's foremost Jewish synagogue architect, presumably heir to (or replacement of) Brunner, who had died the previous year.
- 60 Weissbach, *Synagogues of Kentucky*, 74.
- 61 Weissbach, *Synagogues of Kentucky*, 74.
- 62 Leonard Dinnerstein, *Antisemitism in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Richard Hofstadter, "The Folklore of Populism" in Leonard Dinnerstein, ed., *Antisemitism in the United States* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1971); and Louise A. Mayo, *The Ambivalent Image: Nineteenth Century America's Perception of the Jew* (London: Associated University Press, 1988).
- 63 Annie Polland, *Landmark of the Spirit: The Eldridge Street Synagogue* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008).
- 64 Weissbach, *Synagogues of Kentucky*, 71–72.
- 65 Samuel D. Gruber, *American Synagogues*, 30–34. On the history of the congregation see Benjamin Friedman, "The Days of Our Years: A History of the Society of Concord," *Society of Concord: One Hundredth Anniversary 1839–1939* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Temple Society of Concord, 1939), 9–26.
- 66 "Jam at Dedication of Temple Israel," *New York Times* (May 18, 1907). The building has served as Mt. Olivet Baptist Church since 1920. The author thanks the church for facilitating his site visit in February, 2008.
- 67 "New \$200,000 Edifice planned for large Harlem Congregation; Temple Ansche Chesed Soon to Be Built at Seventh Avenue and 114th Street—A Place of Worship and a School—Details of the Proposed Structure," *New York Times* (March 8, 1908).
- 68 Guttman was quoted by his successor, Rabbi Benjamin Friedman, who gave no date for the statement. Friedman, "The Days of Our Years," 18.
- 69 "Temple for the Society of Concord, Syracuse, N.Y.," *Architecture* 25 (April 1912), 51, plates 49–50. Temple Society of Concord was placed on the National Register of Historic Places on April 27, 2009.
- 70 "New \$80,000 Synagogue Dedicated to Worship, Temple of Concord Formally Dedicated, Simple but Impressive Ceremonies Mark First Service in Splendid New House of Worship Costing \$80,000," *Syracuse Post Standard* (Sept. 23, 1911).
- 71 Quoted in *Syracuse Post Standard* (Sept. 23, 1911).
- 72 "Unity is Urged at New Temple," *Syracuse Post-Standard* (Sept. 25, 1911).