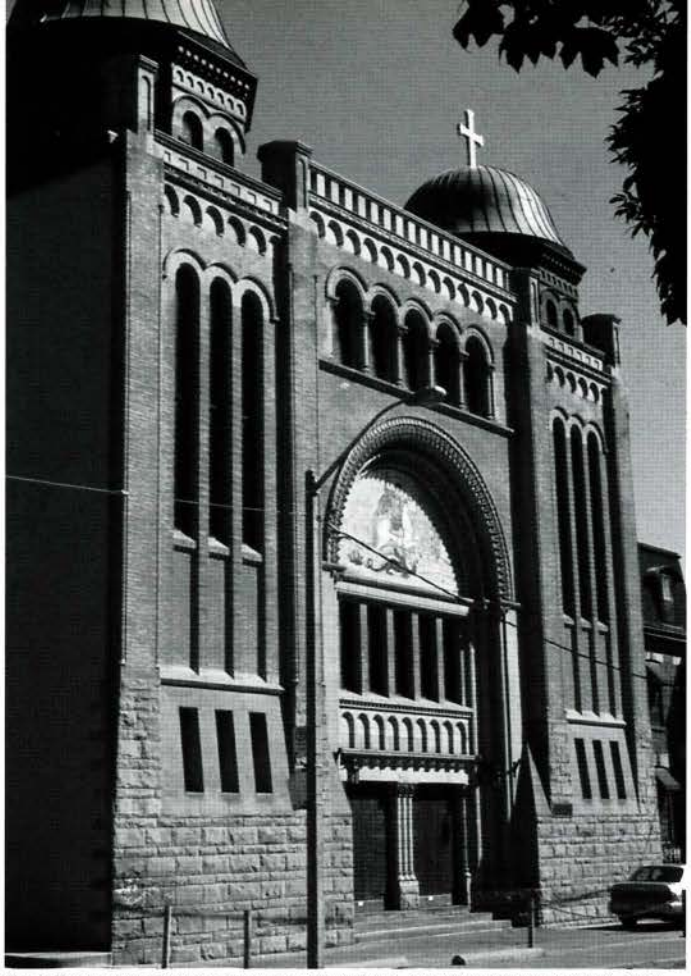

Fig. 1. Exterior, Holy Blossom Synagogue, Bond Street. John Wilson Siddall, architect, 1897. (photo Sharon Graham, 2000)

Sharon Graham

An Examination of Toronto Synagogue Architecture, 1897-1937

Synagogue architecture often acts as a unique element within a city's architectural landscape. Toronto's pre-1937 synagogues appear to have copied each other stylistically, creating a unique symbol of Judaism in the city (1937 marks the opening of the third Holy Blossom Temple and the beginning of the Jewish community's move away from the downtown core). On the whole, synagogue architecture in Toronto was very conservative, echoing trends that had lost their favour in other North American cities. Toronto congregations appeared to have found one style of building and they never strayed from it.

Three stylistic groups of Toronto's pre-1937 synagogues can be identified. The first group features small, hall-like buildings with plain exteriors and, due to their unremarkable architecture, they will not be discussed in this paper. Other major synagogues, originally built as churches and later bought by the Jewish community, are the second kind of buildings in Toronto, and they will not be discussed in this paper either.[1] Holy Blossom on Bond Street (1897), Goel Tzedec (1907) and Beth Jacob (1922), Anshe Kiev (1927) and Anshei Minsk (1930) were substantial congregations whose buildings were constructed originally as synagogues, and comprise the collection of buildings that I will be examining.

The best way to start a discussion of Toronto's synagogues is with the history of the city's oldest Jewish congregation, Holy Blossom. It was formed in 1856 by Lewis Samuel, who immigrated to Toronto on the condition that he could find a quorum for prayers;[2] its members were Jews of German and English descent.[3] In that year, the small congregation met over Coombe's drugstore at the corner of Yonge and Richmond.[4] According to Stephen Speisman, the architect of Toronto's first synagogue on Richmond Street (1876) was Walter Strickland of Stewart and Strickland, and the building cost $6,000.[5] John Ross Robertson's *Landmarks of Toronto* illustrates a hall-like structure with round-arched windows and a small rose window above the door. There are no towers, and, save for two large chimneys, its design is unimposing.[6]

In the 1880's, changes occurred at Holy Blossom that steadily moved the congregation away from its Orthodox beginnings and toward joining the Reform movement. Reform Judaism is a

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Fig. 2. Interior, Dresden Synagogue, Germany.
(Krinsky, Carol Herselle. *Synagogues of Europe: Architecture, History, Meaning*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1985, p. 279)

nineteenth-century German movement that places the emphasis not upon the exact performance of ritual within daily life (as in Orthodox Judaism), but upon the moral and ethical beliefs espoused by the Torah. Reform Judaism revamped the traditional chaotic Jewish prayer service to give it a more refined, church-like atmosphere. In the 1880's and 90's Holy Blossom followed suit by enforcing "decorum" in the service, resulting in a conflict over the denomination of the synagogue. While these and other changes made to the service were quite minor, Holy Blossom created a synagogue atmosphere that was not truly Reform, but was rejected by traditional Jews as being too "unorthodox."

Those traditional Jews were new immigrants to Toronto who came from Eastern Europe. Increasing state-sanctioned anti-Semitic violence in the Russian empire led many Jews to flee an already difficult economic situation for the New World. Often poor, they worked at unsavoury occupations such as rag picking, peddling, and in the garment industry.[7] These new arrivals moved into a slum area known as "the Ward," an area bounded on the north by College Street, on the south by Queen Street, on the west by University Avenue, and on the east by Yonge Street. Instead of moving east toward Holy Blossom, when they were able to afford a better neighbourhood, the Eastern European Jews moved west toward Bathurst Street. By the end of World War I, the area known as Kensington Market became the other major Jewish neighbourhood.[8]

In 1883 a new congregation of Lithuanian Jews, Goel Tzedec, broke away from Holy Blossom and was able to buy a church at University and Elm three years later. Further divisions away from religious hegemony occurred, producing, in 1887, a synagogue made up of Russians known as Chevra Tehilim, and, in 1888, a synagogue for Galicians, known as Shomrai Shabboth.

According to Speisman, synagogues until World War I were formed according to the concept of *landsmanschaften*, or social organization for those who came from the same region. As the city's Jewish population grew, so did the number of synagogues, most of which were formed by immigrants from one particular area. Thus, many of the synagogues built before 1937 bear the names of towns or regions, such as Anshei (men of) Ostrovtze, Anshe Minsk, Anshei Kiev, and the Hebrew Men of England.

The most prosperous synagogue remained Holy Blossom, built on Bond Street in 1897. The history of Holy Blossom's second building is perhaps the best documented of all of Toronto's pre-1937 synagogues. In 1894, Holy Blossom decided to replace its Richmond Street building. The building committee chose the architect John Wilson Siddall, who was employed with Knox & Elliot, a prominent firm that later moved to Chicago.[9] Although Siddall's plans won the Commission, they originally were not quite what the Committee required, and the architect was paid to travel to New York and observe some of the large synagogues.[10]

The exterior (fig. 1) of Holy Blossom retains many of the traditional aspects of mid-nineteenth-century synagogues, with German stylistic roots. European governments had placed restrictions on the building of synagogues until Napoleon brought civil rights to the Jews of Western and Central Europe.[11] New freedoms for Jews and a new relationship with governments created a problem of identity for many members of Europe's Jewish communities; that was expressed in the creation of Reform Ju-

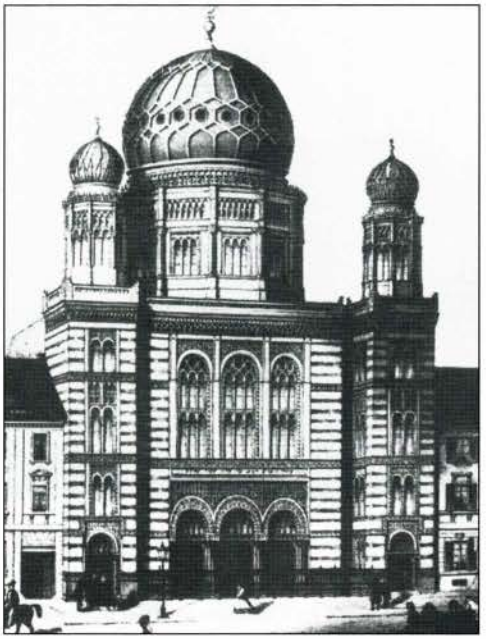

Fig. 3. OranienburgerStrasse Synagogue, Berlin, Germany. Eduard Knoblach, architect, 1857.
(Domke, Petra. *Synagogues in Berlin*. Berlin: Kai Homilius Verlag, 1996, p. 9)

Fig. 4. Touro Synagogue, New Orleans, Louisiana. Emil Weil, architect, 1908.
(Chiat, Marilyn Joyce Segal. *America's Religious Architecture: Sacred Places for Every Community*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1997, p. 310)

daism that adopted many Protestant practices.

Synagogue architecture was complicated not only by the search for a new Jewish identity but also by a current trend of mystical nationalism in architecture, which led to the rise of neo-Classicism, neo-Gothic (said to be "Christian"), and other historical styles. In Germany, where the largest population of Emancipated Jews lived, neo-Classicism and the round-arched *mélange* known as *Rundbogundstil* were popular.[12] The *Rundbogundstil* was considered to be a distinctly German style and its use of Byzantine and Romanesque motifs made it a version of historical styles.[13]

One of the best-known German architects of the nineteenth century was Gottfried Semper who, from 1838 to 1840, created one of the first answers, in Dresden, to the question of how should modern synagogues look. His synagogue at Dresden was designed in the popular *Rundbogundstil* for the exterior with a simple, twin-towered facade and an octagonal lantern over the long nave.[14] The interior (fig. 2) revealed the first synagogue allied with what was known in the nineteenth century as the "Moorish" style, a romantic revival that evoked (but did not recreate) Islamic architecture.[15] The adoption of the Moorish style for synagogues was encouraged by a surge of interest into the history of the Jews in Muslim Spain, which was considered to have been a golden age of Jewish culture.[16] Thus, Dresden was "German" on the outside and "Jewish" on the inside. Soon afterwards, many synagogues were built incorporating Moorish details both inside and out.[17] The most complete and impressive of those was Berlin's Reform OrianenburgerStrasse Synagogue of 1866 (fig. 3). That building was the largest synagogue in the world, and its impressive twin-towered, domed facade announced its community's high status to the world.

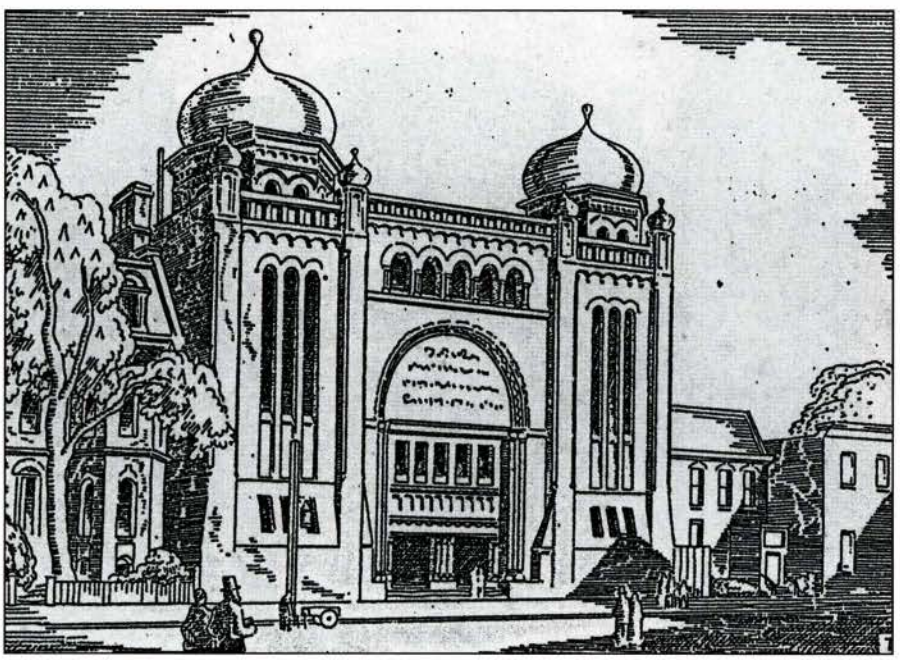

Fig. 5. Exterior, Holy Blossom Synagogue.
(Temple Holy Blossom Archives)

The Moorish style was quickly adopted by the growing and wealthy Reform population of the United States, the first Moorish synagogues being Temple Emanu-el in San Francisco and

Fig. 6. Interior, Holy Blossom Synagogue.
(Levitt, Sheldon, et. al. *Treasures of a People: The Synagogues of Canada*. Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1985, p. 33)

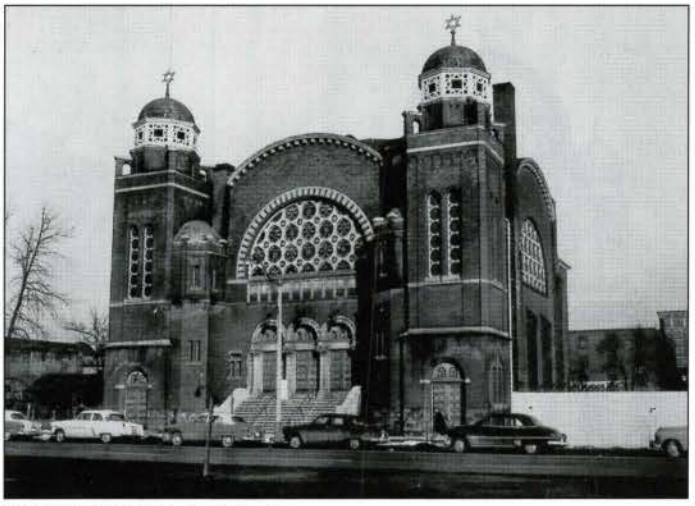

Fig. 8. Exterior, Goel Tzedec Synagogue.
(Archives of Ontario. C 224-0-0-4-199)

Fig. 7. Exterior, Goel Tzedec Synagogue, University Avenue. Symons and Rae, architects, 1907.
(Archives of Ontario. F 1405-23-39 MSR 4304-4)

B'nai Jeshurun (Plum Street Temple) in Cincinnati, both completed in 1866. Each was a combination of Gothic and Moorish elements, although the Plum Street Temple was more exotically Oriental than Temple Emanu-el.[18] The Moorish style was popular in the United States until 1890, when the Byzantine centralized dome plan was first introduced in Temple Beth Zion, Buffalo.[19] A good example of that style is the 1908 Touro Synagogue of New Orleans (fig. 4).

As in Dresden and so many synagogues after, Holy Blossom's facade consists of a central section flanked by towers on each side. It is executed, for the most part, in a *Rundbogundstil* manner, with round-arched windows and a central triumphal arch. The lower level of the towers is faced in rough masonry, while the rest of the building is constructed in buff-coloured brick. Details, especially the heads of the arched elements, are picked out in white stone. Most of the ornamentation is vaguely classical in style and proportion. Wooden octagonal lanterns support the domes of the two towers. Originally there were mini domes above the turrets that stand at either side of the towers. These mini-domes, along with the original domes of the towers, were onion-shaped (fig. 5). (Other changes that have been made to the building since its sale in 1936 to the Greek Orthodox community include the removal of the Hebrew inscription in the tympanum, which now holds a mosaic of St. George, and the addition of two wooden doors into the double entrance, that originally was only gated.)

The two onion domes are what gives Holy Blossom's exterior its Moorish feel, but the Moorish theme is more prevalent inside (fig. 6). A central plan was employed for the octagonal-shaped sanctuary. The gallery, supported by four cast iron columns whose capitals resemble those of the Alhambra, was the women's section. Intricately carved wooden panels that featured

Fig. 9. Interior, Goel Tzedec Synagogue. (Archives of Ontario, F 1405-23-39 MSR 4304-3)

Islamic style scalloped horseshoe arches flanked the ark. The bimah (or reading desk)–which, in an Orthodox synagogue is normally placed in the centre–, was built right in front of the congregation, according to the Reform custom. Above the sanctuary, supported by four pendentives, is the dome, originally painted a blue that gradated from dark to light, divided by twelve white stripes.

Holy Blossom, dedicated in 1897, was a cautious building in many ways. Unlike current American trends, it was not a heavy, centrally-planned, Byzantine style synagogue. Holy Blossom was a facade-heavy design like 1866's OrianenburgerStrasse Synagogue (fig. 3), featuring twin towers and a dome (although excluding the earlier building's dome prominence).

The next large Toronto synagogue built as a synagogue was Goel Tzedec; it provided an interesting counterpoint to Holy Blossom. As the second largest congregation in Toronto, Goel Tzedec first had a small building on University Avenue, which they had purchased from a Methodist congregation in 1886.[20] Goel Tzedec dedicated its new building in 1907 (fig. 7).[21] The architects, Symons and Rae, appear to have been a firm founded by William Symons, an architect who designed hospitals during the First World War.[22] William Symons had trained under Walter Strickland, who had been the architect of the Richmond Street Holy Blossom. Speisman asserts that Symons was given three years to study Jewish ritual for the design.[23] An undated photograph of the building (fig. 8) shows a centrally-planned, square building in the early twentieth-century American style; however, it was built flush with the sidewalk, and thus the front facade had prominence. A Byzantine feel was attained by the use of semi-domes in the half turrets attached to the returning walls of the twin facade towers and in the round lanterns that capped those side towers. The unusual flying buttresses that supported the octagonal lanterns were reminiscent of Early Christian dwarf passages. The huge stained glass window above the triple en-

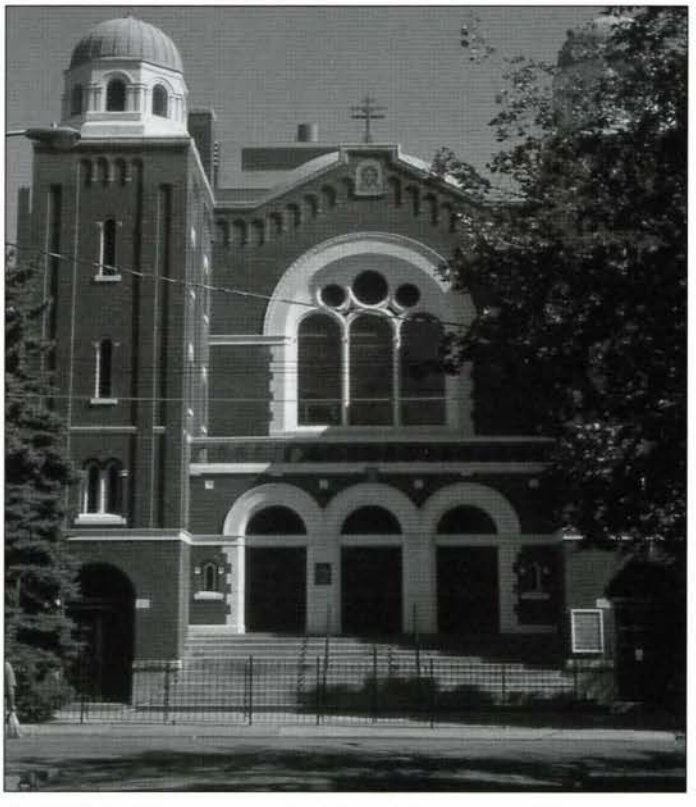

Fig. 10. Beth Jacob Synagogue, Henry Street. Benjamin Brow, architect, 1922. (photo Sharon Graham, 2000)

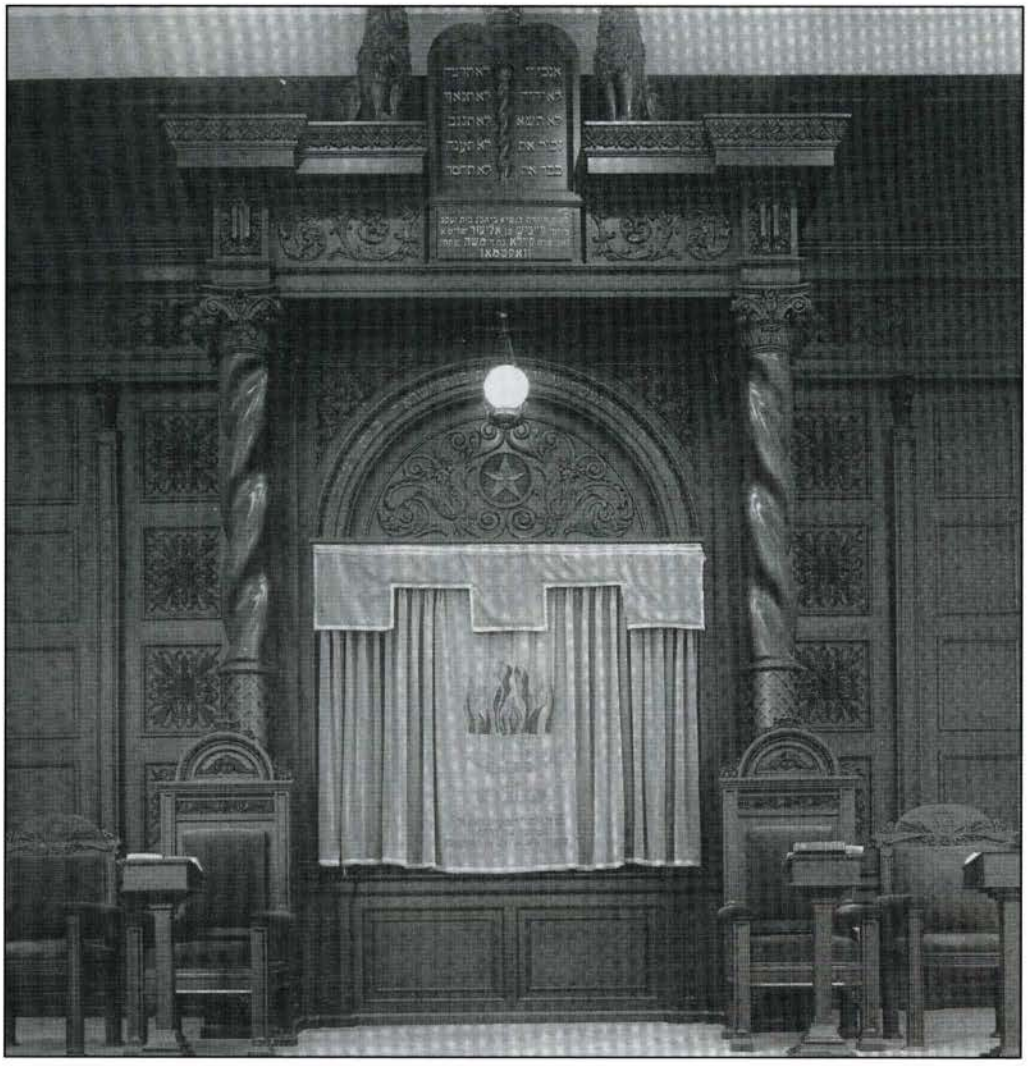

Fig. 11. Detail of Ark, Beth Jacob Synagogue. (Levitt, Sheldon, et. al. *Treasures of a People: The Synagogues of Canada*. Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1985, p. 129)

trance was composed of teardrop-shaped forms, and the lanterns had vaguely Islamic lattice work underneath the domes, thus very subtly recalling an Eastern heritage. All other detailing was Romanesque: the arches were round-headed and ornamentation in the red brick was created with arched corbel tables and pilasters. The twin towers, absent on such Byzantine style synagogues as the 1908 New Orlean's Touro Synagogue (fig. 4), are a remnant of the older Dresden synagogue.

The interior of Goel Tzedec (fig. 9) had absolutely no hints of an Eastern or Oriental heritage; all of the details were classical. The ark and the eastern wall incorporated wooden panels, carved with decorations that vaguely suggested Augustus' *Ara Pacis*. As in most traditional synagogues, there were a women's gallery and a central bimah. An old photograph indicates that the easternmost bay was barrel-vaulted while the rest of the ceiling was domed.

Goel Tzedec displayed less Orientalist overtones than Holy Blossom, but both were conservative approaches to contemporary synagogue trends. The builders of Goel Tzedec did not stray far from the standard *Rundbogundstil*, and the twin towers, which signified (if not actually contained) stairways to a women's gallery, marked it as a traditional synagogue. Goel Tzedec offered the city another version of what a synagogue should look like: unlike Holy Blossom, it was substantial, heavy, and only vaguely non-Western; like Holy Blossom, it used round arches and eschewed a basilican plan.

No other new large synagogue buildings were erected in Toronto until 1922.[24] In the decade 1911-1920, the Jewish community increased by 90 percent, and Polish Jews soon became a large part of the community.[25] Beth Jacob, the main Polish congregation, built an enormous synagogue in 1922 on Henry Street (now the Holy Trinity Russian Orthodox Church) (fig. 10).[26] By that time, there was one Jewish trained architect practising in the city, Benjamin Brown, who worked from 1913 until 1955.[27] For the exterior of Beth Jacob, Brown built a Romanesque building, with the traditional twin-towered facade, round-headed windows, arched corbel tables, and a huge Western window above the entrance. As for Goel Tzedec and Holy Blossom, the towers are domed, although in Beth Jacob they are in a Renaissance revival style. Unlike Goel Tzedec and most of the synagogues built in the 1920's in the United States, Beth Jacob is not meant to be viewed from all sides. The side stair towers (a then obsolete feature in American synagogues) project two bays out from the central block of the building, while the low vestibule projects by one bay, thus creating a stepping back effect that emphasizes the building's frontal nature.

Inside, the building featured a central dome over the sanctuary, as at Holy Blossom and Goel Tzedec; the dome was supported by classical pillars, again as at Goel Tzedec. There was a gallery along three sides, used for the women's section, and, with traces of a Byzantine style, there were four small domes in the corners. The ark, which is now in the new Beth Jacob synagogue (fig. 11), is wood; it once fitted into a wall covered with wooden panels, as at Goel Tzedec and McCaul Street.[28] Sketches for the interior and its furnishings, in the Benjamin Brown

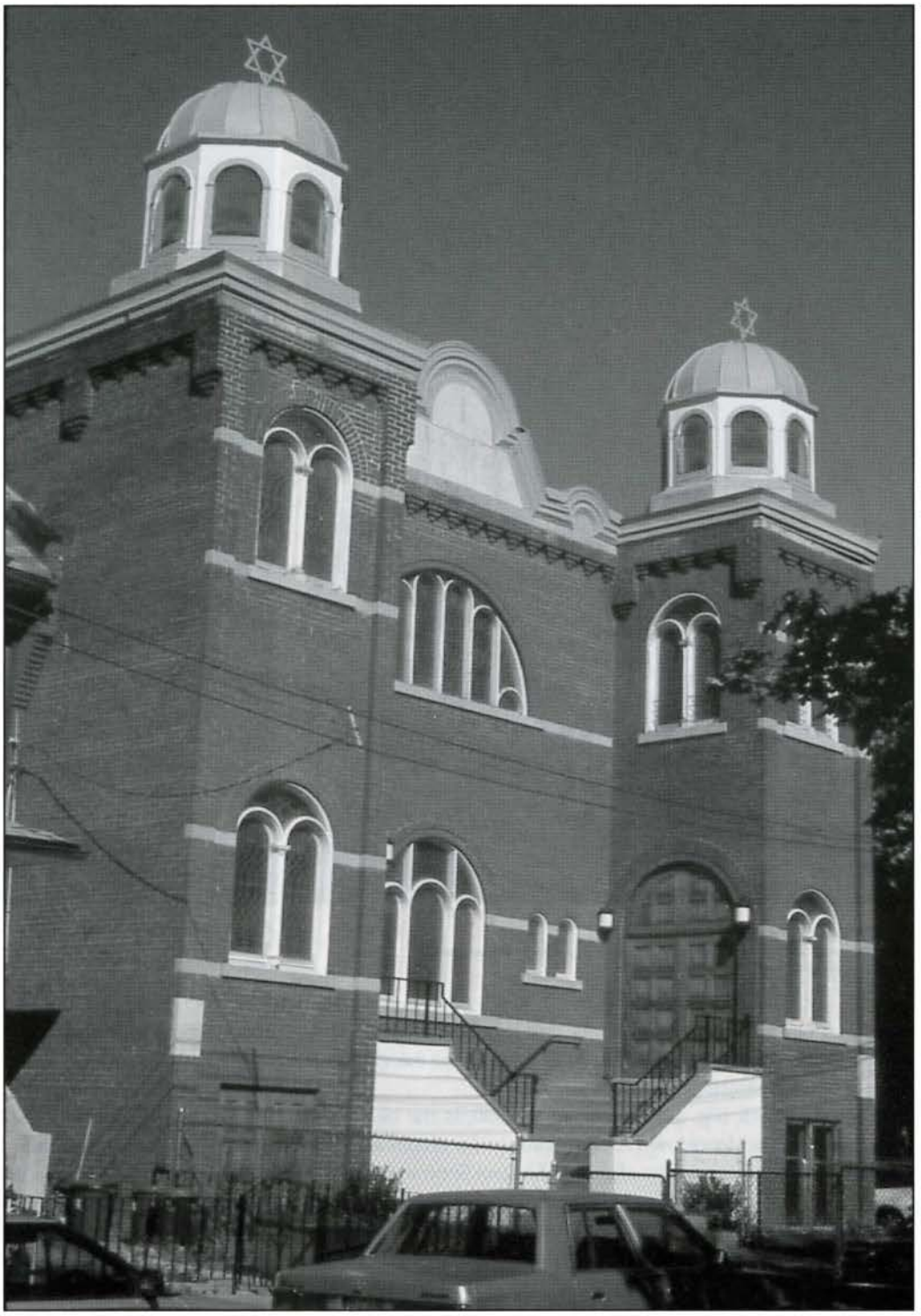

Fig. 12. Exterior, First Russian Congregation Rodfei Shalom Anshe Kiev, Benjamin Schwartz, architect, 1927.
(photo Sharon Graham, 2000)

Collection at the Ontario Jewish Archives, indicate that most of the ornamentation was Classical.

Beth Jacob thus eschewed any Moorish implications that Holy Blossom embraced and at which Goel Tzedec softly hinted. Rather than copying the latest style of Byzantine centrally-planned synagogues, Beth Jacob emphasized the facade, so much so that it was more old-fashioned than Goel Tzedec, fifteen years earlier.

The last two buildings of this study, Anshe Kiev and Anshei Minsk, although being slightly different in appearance, both use the template set by Goel Tzedec, Beth Jacob and, to some extent, Holy Blossom. Both synagogues were founded by different ethnic groups within the Jewish community, and both were poorer congregations. Unlike the other synagogues discussed, Anshe Kiev and Anshei Minsk were located within Kensington Market, a small, densely packed area that was the second-largest Jewish neighbourhood in Toronto. The First Russian Congregation of Rodfei Shalom Anshe Kiev (fig. 12) was built in 1927;[29] its architect was Benjamin Schwartz, the architect/builder who renovated Hebrew Men of England. He was apparently commissioned to combine elements of Holy Blossom, Goel Tzedec and Beth Jacob into a less costly structure.[30] Anshe Kiev does bear a striking resemblance to Beth Jacob: the facade is twin-towered, and the towers are capped with domes; the window arches are round-headed; as Beth Jacob (and, to some extent, Goel Tzedec, and Holy Blossom) there is a large window in the central section of the facade. Unlike those other buildings, however, the entrances to the synagogue are located in the stair towers, creating a less majestic or imposing entrance. Anshe Kiev also has an unusual gable in the central section of the facade, perhaps the result of its late-1920s construction.

The interior of the Anshe Kiev synagogue (fig. 13) has a central dome over the sanctuary, the ark at the eastern end and the bimah in the centre. Unlike the larger and more prestigious synagogues, however, the eastern wall is not wood-paneled–instead the ark stands alone. As with other smaller Toronto

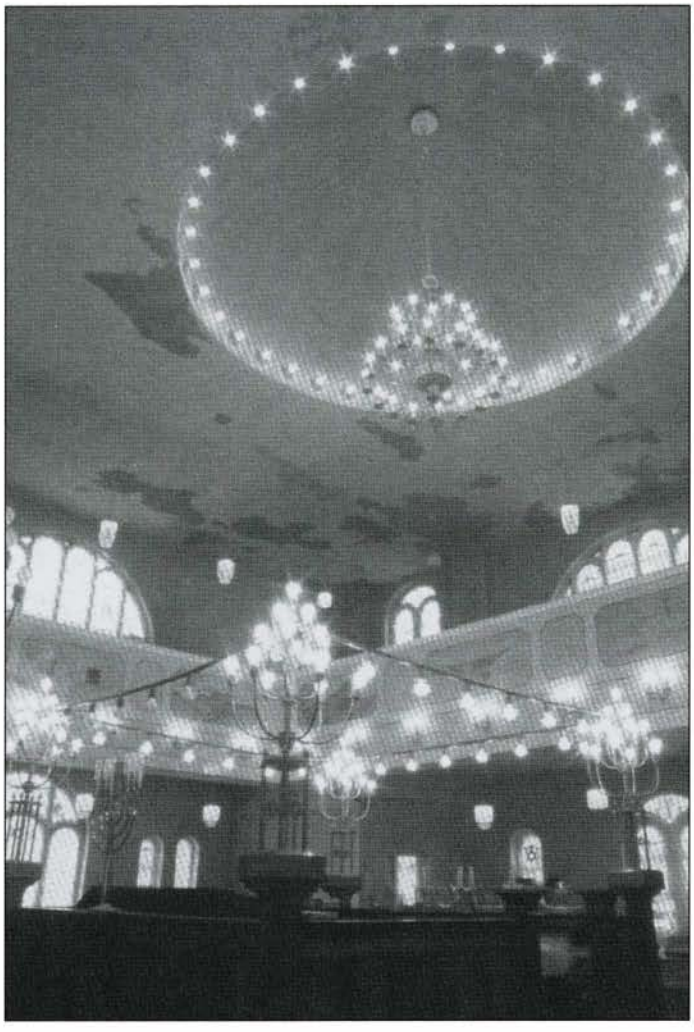

Fig. 13. Interior, Anshe Kiev.
(Levitt, Sheldon, et. al. *Treasures of a People: The Synagogues of Canada*. Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1985, p. 67)

Fig. 14. Exterior, Anshe Minsk Synagogue, St. Andrew Street. Kaplan & Sprachman, architects, 1930.
(photo Sharon Graham, 2000)

congregations, such as Anshei Minsk and Knesset Israel (not discussed in this paper), added glamour is given to the interior with the use of wall paintings.

Anshei Minsk (fig. 14), dedicated in 1930, is the last synagogue built in the downtown core of Toronto. Its architects were Kaplan and Sprachman, who also built Shaarei Shomayim (1941) on St. Clair,[31] and synagogues in Edmonton and Vancouver,[32] but were best known for their work on movie theatres. That perhaps explains Anshei Minsk's variation on the twin-towered facade, which has no domes atop the towers, but instead semi-pyramidal gables and a similar gable (not shown in the illustration due to renovation work) above the central section. In other respects, however, Anshei Minsk resembles Beth Jacob and Goel Tzedec, with a semi-circular window above the entrance. The architects gave extra height to the twin towers by using a large window to span the staircase. Romanesque could describe the style of the building, as the arches are again round-headed, although there are Classical overtones in some of the details. As with Anshe Kiev, the painted interior (fig. 15) has the same arrangement of central bimah, eastern ark, women's gallery, and dome.

Anshe Kiev and Anshei Minsk follow the established pattern of synagogue building in Toronto. It would seem that, by the 1930's, Toronto synagogues architecturally followed a formula: they were twin-towered, had round-headed openings, and contained an interior dome. Jews came to Toronto from diverse parts of Central and Eastern Europe, and what had been the normal appearance for a synagogue in one part of that area was different in another. Those who came from small towns in Poland may have associated a synagogue with a seventeenth-century wooden structure, while others who came from large cities such as St. Petersburg may have associated a synagogue with an elaborate Moorish building. But when those immigrants came to Toronto, they shed those styles and adopted the Toronto pattern.

Only Holy Blossom and Goel Tzedec appeared to have looked to contemporary trends in the United States and Europe. Holy Blossom was the only Toronto synagogue that fully embraced the Moorish style, yet it was universally *not* imitated by

Fig. 15. Interior, Anshe Minsk.
(photo Sharon Graham, 2000)

Toronto congregations that were formed after it. In fact, there is only one building in Canada that does copy Holy Blossom: the Ottawa congregation of Adath Jeshurun (fig. 16) built its synagogue in 1904 and based the design on Holy Blossom (the gable is a later addition).[33] But, in Toronto, it was Holy Blossom's twin-towered facade, use of round-arched elements, and an interior dome that were loosely adopted by later congregations–not the elegant Moorish details. That may have been due to Holy Blossom's new status as a Reform congregation, which occurred in 1920 after its new rabbi was hired from the Reform seminary, Hebrew Union College.[34] Moorish/Orientalizing design had, from the very beginning of the Moorish synagogue trend in Germany, been associated with reforming tendencies. Reform Jews tended to have more connections with contemporary secular thought than their Orthodox contemporaries. One of the main topics of discussion in nineteenth-century Europe was race; Reform Jews embraced the idea that the Jews were an Oriental people and built their synagogues accordingly.[35] But Orthodox communities objected to the very idea of participating in secular dialectic and rejected the entire style. To them, Moorish synagogues were too influenced by non-Jewish ideas.[36] Although discussion concerning Orientalist styles was basically a product of the mid-nineteenth century, the stigma against Eastern elements within traditional Jewish circles remained. The association of the Moorish style with entertainment buildings may also have been a significant factor in the Orthodox rejection of those synagogues. In Toronto, a prominent Moorish building was the interior of Massey Hall (1894). Traditional Jews may have seen Holy Blossom's interior not as being in the forefront of synagogue fashion, but rather as an imitation of a concert hall. Goel Tzedec, which sported some Oriental detailing, was still traditional in liturgy when it was built, and its slightly Eastern elements were probably reactions to contemporary trends. But later, Toronto synagogues built after 1913 chose to ignore these elements, perhaps because of Goel Tzedec's slow move toward a more untraditional ritual. (The congregation was Orthodox, but was also somewhat liberal, and in 1913 it adopted English sermons and enforced church-like decorum.[37])

Holy Blossom also saw itself as the leadership of the Jewish community, and, while this may have been true, its members' superior attitude was rejected by most Eastern European immigrants.[38] Although it could not be said that its membership excluded Eastern European Jews, who actually made up the majority of its members in the 1920's, those who joined did so to escape their immigrant background.[39] Jews who lived in the Ward and other poor neighbourhoods, therefore, may not have been anxious to copy their buildings after Holy Blossom.

The commonalties of design that Goel Tzedec shared with Holy Blossom are those elements which were universally adopted by the other synagogues, namely the round arches, the twin towers, and the dome. Other congregations did not adopt Goel Tzedec's centralized exterior, but that may have been due to small lot sizes in downtown Toronto. As with Holy Blossom, however, the Eastern elements such as the Islamic latticework on the lanterns and the teardrop-shaped stained glass windows of Goel Tzedec were rejected by all later synagogues.

Beth Jacob is the third large building constructed as a synagogue in Toronto. Although its architect was Jewish and perhaps more acquainted with current trends, the congregation chose a very old-fashioned design for its building. Orthodox American synagogues were constructing classical and Byzantine buildings in the 1920s, but Beth Jacob's members perhaps saw trendsetting designs as being the hallmark of the city's two more progressive congregations, Holy Blossom and Goel Tzedec. Beth Jacob was similar enough in overall design to the other two congregations to cement the Toronto synagogue pattern.

Perhaps the most noteworthy aspect of Toronto's synagogues before the building of the third Holy Blossom in 1937 and the move of the Jewish community to the suburbs was the repe-

Fig. 16. Adath Jeshurun, Ottawa, Ontario. John W.H. Watts, architect, 1904. (Levitt, Sheldon, et. al. *Treasures of a People: The Synagogues of Canada*. Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1985, p. 40)

titious nature of building design and its insular focus. After the completion of Holy Blossom and Goel Tzedec, it would appear that the builders of Toronto's synagogues did not consult outside building trends. It is noteworthy that after the construction of Holy Blossom and Goel Tzedec, the Jewish community exclusively chose Jewish architects/builders who were residents of the city. The very act of being able to choose a Jewish architect, surely a sign of the community's ascendancy within the city, also appears to have halted creative expression in Jewish architecture. As the community became more settled and more prosperous, it became ignorant of the stylistic trends of the Jewish world outside the city boundaries. Only after Holy Blossom's radical move to the northern edges of the city and its construction of the Bathurst Street temple, would Toronto's synagogue architecture again respond to the architectural trends of the greater North American Jewish community and the world as a whole.

Notes

I owe many thanks to Dr. Malcolm Thurlby of York University, for acting as my supervisor during my Masters degree. This paper is a distillation of the major research paper which I wrote for that degree.

1 Those synagogues include: Beth Midrash Hagadol Chevra Tehilim (now destroyed), on McCaul Street, originally the New Richmond Methodist Church (1888), architects Smith & Gemmel; the Anshei Ostrovtze Synagogue, on Cecil Street, originally the Church of Christ (1891), architects Knox & Elliot; and the Hebrew Men of England Congregation, on Spadina Avenue, originally the Western Congregationalist Church (1888).

2 Stephen Speisman, *The Jews of Toronto: a History to 1937* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979), 21.

3 Speisman, 16-17.

4 Speisman, 22.

5 Speisman, 30-35.

6 John Ross Robertson, *Landmarks of Toronto; a Collection of Historical Sketches of the Old Town of York from 1792 until 1837, and of Toronto from 1834 to 1914*, vol. 4. (Toronto: J.R. Robertson, 1914), 559.

7 Speisman, 69-72.

8 Speisman, 89-90.

9 Eric Arthur, *Toronto: No Mean City*, 3rd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), 258.

10 *Holy Blossom Building Committee Minutes*, 1894-1897 (Temple Holy Blossom Archives), 23 June 1895.

11 Rachel Wischnitzer, *The Architecture of the European Synagogue* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1964), 194.

12 Henry Russell Hitchcock, *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1963), 27.

13 H.A. Meek, *The Synagogue* (London: Phaidon Press, 1995), 174.

14 Carol Herselle Krinsky, *Synagogues of Europe: Architecture, History, Meaning* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1985), 277-278.

15 Ivan Kalmar, *The Moorish Style Synagogue: Power and Dialogue in Orientalist Architecture* (Toronto: Unpublished Paper, 2000), 2.

16 Brian De Breffny, *The Synagogue* (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1978), 164-165.

17 Wishnitzer, 201.

18 De Breffny, 167-168.

19 Bruno Funaro, "American Synagogue Design: 1729 to 1939," *Architectural Record* 86 (November 1939), 65.

20 Speisman, 97.

21 Speisman, 199.

22 Arthur, 260-261.

23 Speisman, 199.

24 In 1921, the Hebrew Men of England Congregation remodeled a Gothic single-towered church on Spadina Avenue; its new facade featured twin towers and Romanesque arches and details.

25 Speisman, 71.

26 Speisman, 304.

27 *Benjamin Brown Collection Catalogue* (Toronto: Ontario Jewish Archives), 1.

28 Arthur Daniel Hart, *The Jew in Canada: A Complete record of Canadian Jewry from the Days of the French Regime to the Present Time* (Toronto: Jewish Publications Ltd., 1926), 156.

29 David Pinkus, "How it All Began: The Kiever Synagogue," *Honour Roll: A Project of the Men's Service Group of Baycrest Centre for Geriatric Care* (Toronto: Baycrest Centre for Geriatric Care, 1997), 131-132.

30 Sheldon Levitt et al., *Shuls: A Study of Canadian Synagogue Architecture, Ontario 1979-80* (Toronto: Ontario Jewish Archives, 1979-80), 84.

31 Sheldon Levitt et al., *Shuls*, 90.

32 Sheldon Levitt et al., *Treasures of a People: The Synagogues of Canada* (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1985), 48.

33 Hagit Hadaya, "The First Synagogues in Ottawa," *Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada Bulletin* 19, no. 3 (1994), 379.

34 Speisman, 215.

35 Kalmar, 15.

36 Kalmar, 18.

37 Speisman, 222.

38 Speisman, 100.

39 Speisman, 212.