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Diversity, Inclusion, Underrepresented Communities, and Historic Preservation:
A Study of Preserving Jewish Heritage in the Seattle Central Area
Engaging an Intersectional Framework

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Abstract

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The historic preservation field is grappling with a “diversity deficit:” resources that are officially recognized as significant do not fully represent America’s diverse population, and historically marginalized communities are underrepresented in National Register of Historic Places listings and local landmark designations. Historic preservation has focused on diversity and inclusion by developing context statements and conducting surveys and inventories of resources associated with underrepresented communities. These efforts have increased diversity; however they often take a “single lens” approach and don’t fully recognize the experiences of multiple underrepresented groups who have coexisted, intersected, and occupied the same spaces, or include the intersectional qualities of identity. Intersectionality is entering the

preservation field as a paradigm for creating a truly diverse, democratic, and socially just practice by attending to the complexities of identity, contested spaces, and difficult histories, and building coalitions amongst diverse stakeholders with mutual interests in heritage preservation.

The Jewish experience in the Seattle Central Area offers an important case study for how an intersectional framework can be engaged to elevate and preserve the heritage of multiple underrepresented communities. Using historic preservation tools such as developing a historic context statement and conducting a survey and inventory of sites associated with Jewish history, along with two case studies of current preservation projects that engage intersectionality, this thesis explores and offers recommendations for how Jewish history can be preserved through formal preservation practices and informal placemaking initiatives in an urban environment that has been the historic home of significant concentrations of Jewish, Black, and Asian populations.

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Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 *Background*

The historic preservation field is grappling with a legacy of privileging architecture over social significance, and disproportionately recognizing resources that are associated with the histories of elite white men. Resources associated with non-dominant racial, ethnic, and minority communities are underrepresented in the official record of places that are deemed to be significant to the histories of cities, states, and the nation. Kaufman (2009) coined the term “diversity deficit” to describe “the gap between the nation’s racial and ethnic diversity and the preservation profession’s lack of diversity” (p. 22). A recent *Diversity, Inclusion, and Racial Justice Issue Brief* reports:

The places afforded protection under current preservation policies still fall short of representing the full, multilayered, and intersectional history of the nation’s diverse population. Less than 10 percent of National Register listings explicitly acknowledge the history or contributions of women, people of color, and the LGBTQ community. Preservation practices developed by white people have systematically excluded the histories of communities of color, whose stories have taken place in buildings, spaces, and landscapes that are not always recognized as eligible for historic designation and protection (Preservation Priorities Task Force, 2021, p. 4).

The historic preservation field has not developed an official definition of which groups belong in the category of “underrepresented communities.” The National Park Service suggests that underrepresented communities are those that are underrepresented on the National Register of Historic Places.¹ On a local level, King County 4Culture’s Beyond Integrity initiative defines underrepresented communities as:

¹ See National Park Service Underrepresented Community Grants. Retrieved November 12, 2021, from <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/historicpreservationfund/underrepresented-community-grants.htm>.

People of color, women, the LGBTQ community, and the working class. These groups are considered underrepresented since many of these communities have been historically marginalized due to systematic oppression. This marginalization has led to lack of representation and participation in many political processes, including modern landmark designation practices. (Aguila, 2018, p. 3)

For the purposes of this thesis, I include Seattle's Jewish community in historic preservation's evolving and expanding definition of underrepresented communities. In keeping with the National Park Service's definition that diverse histories are those that are underrepresented in the National Register of Historic Places, Washington State has 3,000 listings on the National and State Register, of which only one resource - Temple De Hirsch Old Sanctuary (demolished in 1993) - is significant for its association with Jewish history.² In Seattle, only three out of the city's 474 designated landmarks have strong association with the Jewish community: Temple De Hirsch Old Sanctuary, Chevra Bikur Cholim/Langston Hughes, and Seattle Hebrew Academy.³ Similar to the underrepresented communities in 4Culture's analysis, American Jews were subject to systemic oppression from the late 19th century through World War II as they were deemed to be part of a non-white "Jewish race," possessing "Hebrew blood" (Goldstein, 2006, p. 1). As such, they were subject to race-based discrimination and systemic oppression.⁴

The historic preservation field has sought to address the diversity deficit, and some progress has occurred. For example, theme studies, context statements, and surveys and

² Data provided by Washington State Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation (DAHP) through personal communication on September 1, 2021.

³ See Seattle Department of Neighborhoods Landmarks List: Temple De Hirsch Old Sanctuary (Ord. 109731); Langston Hughes Cultural Arts Center (Ord. 110354); Hebrew Academy / Old Forest Ridge Convent and Site (Ord. 108519). Retrieved November 15, 2021, from <https://www.seattle.gov/neighborhoods/programs-and-services/historic-preservation/landmarks/landmark-list>.

⁴ For analysis of the complex nature of Jews and racial / ethnic identity in America, see *Whiteness of a Different Color* (Jacobson, 1998); *The Price of Whiteness: Jews, Race, and American Identity* (Goldstein, 2006); and *Sephardic Jews and Race in the United States: Exploring Systemic Racism and Sephardic Jewry, parts 1, 2, and 3*, retrieved November 15, 2021, from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-8Yo-EyHb8k&list=PLG7gXVhDoTAJo1V_zCga7aR5u8MQe61W2&index=3

inventories of historic resources that are associated with minority populations have increased local and national recognition of the histories and resources of underrepresented communities. However, few of these initiatives include Jewish history. These efforts towards greater inclusion often take a “single lens” approach and present the experiences of a single underrepresented group as homogeneous and monolithic. These approaches to increasing diversity and inclusion do not always fully recognize the complex experiences of multiple underrepresented groups who have coexisted, intersected, and occupied the same spaces, or represent the intersectional qualities of identity. The historic preservation field is interrogating the theoretical concept of intersectionality as an intellectual framework to address the limitations of diversity and inclusion.

1.2 *Research Questions*

This thesis offers a study of Jewish history in the Seattle Central Area and considers how to preserve the resources associated with this underrepresented community. This study illuminates the opportunities and challenges of preserving ethnic, cultural, and minority histories in a culturally layered urban environment with intersecting experiences of space, place, and identity. This thesis asks the primary question:

How can historic preservation’s efforts towards diversity, inclusion, underrepresented histories, and intersectionality be applied to preserving the Jewish history in the Seattle Central Area?

To answer this question, the thesis asks the following sub-questions:

- a. What is the Jewish history in the Central Area?*
- b. Where are some of the significant places associated with Jewish history in the Central Area?*

- c. *How have formal and informal historic preservation efforts engaged Jewish history?*
- d. *How could the practice of historic preservation meaningfully engage Jewish and other underrepresented histories using an intersectional framework?*

1.3 Terminology

'Ashkenazic Jews' refers to communities of Jews who inhabited Germany, Central Europe, and Eastern Europe. Yiddish, a Germanic language with elements of Hebrew, was their common spoken and written language.

'Black' and *'African American'* are used interchangeably throughout the thesis.

'Conservative Judaism' began as an effort to “conserve” traditional Judaism from the liberal Reform movement in the late 19th century, and to adapt Eastern European Orthodox practices to suit an American lifestyle. The Conservative movement allows for interpretations to Jewish law that reflect modern realities.

'Formal preservation' is used in this thesis to describe the preservation of districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that occurs through the regulatory authority of government agencies, such as listing resources on the National Register of Historic Places and on state registers of historic places, and designating resources as local landmarks. The term *'informal preservation'* is used in this thesis to denote efforts to preserve, interpret, and share community heritage outside of preserving resources through regulatory mechanisms. Examples include heritage tours, placemaking initiatives, interpretive signage, and events.

'Orthodox Judaism' follows strict observance of Jewish law and traditional religious practices include observing *Shabbat* (Sabbath), eating *Kosher* food, and *Torah* study.

'Reform Judaism' emerged in Germany in the mid-19th century out of an attempt to reconcile Judaism with modernity. Reform Jews adopted church-like customs, used vernacular language rather than Hebrew in prayer services, and disassociated Jewish practices from strict observance of the Torah's precepts. Reform is now the largest American Jewish denomination.

'Sephardic Jews' refers to the descendants of Jews who lived in Spain and Portugal from the later centuries of the Roman Empire until their persecution and mass expulsion in the late 15th century. Spain and Portugal were home to the world's largest Jewish diasporic population until the Spanish Inquisition Edict of Expulsion in 1492. After 1492, Sephardic Jews dispersed across Europe, North Africa, and the Ottoman Empire. Many communities preserved their Sephardic customs, Judeo-Spanish "Ladino" language, and Jewish religious and liturgical practices. By 1900, the Sephardic Jewish population had declined to ten percent of world Jewry (Adatto, 1930).

'Underrepresented communities' (UC) is used to describe racial, ethnic, gender, and sexual minority groups whose histories are significantly underrepresented in the National Register of Historic Places, state, and local historic landmarks, and who lack equitable participation in the historic preservation field. The focus of this thesis is on the underrepresented history of Seattle's Jewish community, with additional consideration of African American, Asian American, and Women's histories.

1.4 Study Area

The Seattle Central Area offers a rich context for the study of diversity, underrepresented histories, cultural layers, and intersectionality. The Central Area, also known as the Central District or "CD," has a storied history as one of Seattle's notably diverse urban ethnic enclaves.

In the early twentieth century, racially restrictive covenants and discriminatory real estate practices excluded non-white - including Jewish - populations from renting and buying property in many of Seattle's residential neighborhoods. As a result, "a potpourri of colors and cultures flowed in and out of this four-square-mile area during its 140 years-old history. There were the European Americans, the Japanese, the Jews, and the African Americans. All left a distinct imprint" (Henry, 2001).

The Jewish community settled in the Central Area in the early 1890s, and built a vibrant cultural landscape of synagogues, schools, businesses, and social organizations. The Central Area was home to 85 percent of Seattle's Jewish population for several decades (Cohn, 1982). Yesler Way was a hub for Jewish synagogues, shops, and residences and was nicknamed "the Kosher Canyon,"⁵ reflecting its strong Jewish identity. By the early 1970s, the Jewish population had migrated out of the Central Area due to the legal end of racially restrictive covenants, the opening of the suburbs, and the neighborhood's changing demographics (Cohn, 1982).

Seattle's Asian community, particularly those of Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino descent, settled in the Central Area in the 1890s. Businesses, residences, and religious institutions extended from the International District and *Nihonmachi* (Japantown) eastward along Yesler Way (Veith, 2009). In 1942, after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, Japanese residents were forcibly removed and incarcerated in internment camps. The Japanese community never regained its former presence in the Central Area after World War II (Veith, 2009).

Black settlement in the Central Area began in 1882 when entrepreneur William Grose purchased twelve acres of land along Madison Street. Grose sold lots to other African

⁵ See Washington Jewish Museum, *Kosher Canyon*. Retrieved November 15, 2021, from <https://www.wsjhs.org/museum/categories/businesses/intro-kosher-canyon.html>

Americans, and a district with businesses, residences, churches, cultural and social organizations formed along Madison Street. A second hub of Black settlement was established around Jackson Street. Seattle's African American population grew exponentially during World War II, and the East Madison and Jackson districts filled in and merged (Taylor, 1994). The growing Black community moved into buildings that had been occupied by the Japanese population before the internment (Takami, 1998). In the 1960s, as the Jewish community left the Central Area, synagogues, stores, and social halls were repurposed for the spiritual, social, cultural, and educational needs of the remaining populations including African Americans as well as immigrants from Africa. As a result, places that were meaningful to the Jewish community gained new layers of significance and history as Black spaces. At its peak in 1970, the African American population comprised seventy-three percent of the Central Area's total residential population (Balk, 2015). In 1980, only thirty-eight percent of Seattle's Black population lived in the Central District, marking the first time that the historical Black enclave held less than half of Seattle's Black community (Taylor, 1994). During the first two decades of the 21st century, the number of Black residents in the Central Area has continued to decrease to less than fourteen percent of the total population (Balk, 2015).

1.5 Problem

The research of this thesis is motivated by several problems. Firstly, Jewish history is underrepresented in formal historic preservation efforts, such as the National Register of Historic Places and Seattle Landmarks. Secondly, the Seattle Jewish community's deep history in the Central Area is not well-known by the general public, and is not easily visible and understandable without interpretation. Thirdly, the Central Area is experiencing intense

development pressure, which threatens the continued existence of buildings that are associated with Jewish history. Fourthly, in response to the alarming displacement of the Black community from the Central Area, many initiatives are seeking to center and celebrate the area's Black historic character. The Central Area's multicultural history, and particularly its Jewish history, is at risk of disappearing from the narrative as a result of this "single-lens" approach.

1.6 *Purpose and Outcome*

The purpose of this thesis is to research and contextualize the Jewish history in Seattle's culturally layered Central Area, to identify buildings with Jewish association, and to increase awareness of the extent and significance of Jewish history and its intersections with other underrepresented communities in the area. The outcomes of this thesis are a context study of the Jewish history in the Central Area, a survey and inventory of sites with Jewish association that includes the histories of Jewish and other underrepresented communities, and recommendations for how Jewish history can be preserved through formal and informal preservation initiatives that acknowledge the co-existing and intersecting histories of multiple minority communities.

1.7 *Significance*

The Jewish community relocated out of the Central Area over fifty years ago, and the historic memory and built environment of the vibrant Jewish communal life in the area is at risk of disappearing. Places and spaces that were significant to the Jewish community no longer exist, are threatened by development, or the Jewish association is now unrecognizable. Likewise, Black communities are fighting to remain physically present and visible in the Central Area. This carries a risk of erasure of Jewish history if an intersectional framework, whereby multiple histories and identities are recognized, is not engaged to guide the work of cultural preservation.

The intersectional approach suggests that Jewish history can be preserved without threat to other coexisting histories. The methods and results of this thesis are generalizable to preserving the histories of other underrepresented groups in culturally layered urban environments.

This thesis provides the first survey and inventory of sites associated with Jewish history in Seattle. The research offers a record for local and state preservation organizations to build upon. The Jewish context statement, survey and inventory information can be expanded and used for formally recognizing some as City Landmarks and listing others on the National Register. Informal preservation efforts can build on the context, survey and inventory, and recommendations of this thesis through public history and placemaking initiatives.

This work is timely and relevant as American Jews are engaging in the post-George Floyd era racial reckoning, and there is heightened interest in understanding systemic racism and working to improve Jewish-Black relations. An intersectional approach to preserving Jewish history offers the potential for Seattle area Jews to learn about both the Black and Jewish experience in the Central Area, and to work together on projects to preserve spaces that are significant to both communities. My hope is that the work of this thesis can lead to greater understanding and connection between the underrepresented communities with historic roots and shared experiences in the Central Area.

1.8 *Limitations*

Covid-19 reduced access to libraries, special collections, archives, and cultural heritage museums. As a result, most of the primary sources were limited to collections that are available online. The Washington State Jewish Archives has a robust collection of digital resources, including photographs and oral histories that are available on the University of Washington

Libraries website. Access to archival photographs and oral histories of the Black and Asian communities in the Central Area was more limited, which impacted the research findings on how these communities intersected with the Jewish community.

Searches for literature about preserving Jewish historic resources mostly produces studies of Jewish preservation efforts in Europe, not in America. The literature review and framing of this thesis were limited by the lack of literature and studies about preserving Jewish urban history in the United States.

The historic context statements [Thesis Chapter 4] are organized into two separate sections: 1) Central Area; and 2) Jewish Settlement in Seattle and the Central Area. Given the intersectional framework of this thesis, the context statements should be integrated into one statement that reflects the historic experience of multiple underrepresented communities in a shared urban environment. I wasn't able to produce one cohesive context statement due to time constraints that limited my ability to work through the complex structure and organization that this effort would require.

The study area boundaries did not include all of the possible sites associated with Jewish history in the Central Area. Residential properties were excluded from the scope. Surprisingly, context research revealed few sites along Jackson Street, a major artery in the Central Area. More sites may have been discovered with more time available to conduct context research.

1.9 Roadmap

Chapter 1 provides an overview of the thesis.

Chapter 2 reviews relevant literature that provided an intellectual framework for this thesis. The literature review explores four themes: 1) the evolution of historic preservation

through the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966; 2) historic preservation's "diversity deficit" and the shift towards diversity and inclusion of underrepresented histories; 3) discusses the complexities of preserving sites with cultural layers and multiple histories in an urban environment; and 4) considers the theoretical framework of intersectionality and its application to the historic preservation field.

Chapter 3 describes the methods of this research, which include: 1) historic context research; 2) analyzing formal historic preservation efforts in the study area; 3) conducting a survey and inventory of sites with Jewish association; 4) exploring intersectionality through two case studies; and 5) informal discussions, interviews, and correspondence.

Chapter 4 provides context studies of Central Area history and Jewish history in the Central Area to situate the sites with Jewish association within broader patterns of settlement and development.

Chapter 5 analyzes designated Seattle landmarks and National Register of Historic Places listings in the study area for inclusion of underrepresented communities and for the criteria for which the resources are recognized as significant.

Chapter 6 provides a snapshot of the Survey and Inventory of Sites Associated with Jewish History. Sixteen sites are presented as case study vignettes. Each site has a detailed Survey and Inventory record in the Appendix.

Chapter 7 features two case studies with histories of multiple communities that contribute to the resources' significance. Both sites – The Talmud Torah / Islamic School / Cherry Street Village, and the Sephardic Bikur Holim / Tolliver Temple Church Of God In Christ

– are potentially eligible for formal historic preservation recognition and currently involved in informal preservation initiatives that engage both the Jewish and Black communities.

Chapter 8 offers recommendations for preserving Jewish history through formal and informal preservation mechanisms, while also engaging the layered and intersecting histories of multiple underrepresented communities.

Chapter 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Four themes emerged as most relevant to this thesis. The first theme describes the evolution of historic preservation in America from its early beginnings through the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. The second theme explores the “diversity deficit” in historic preservation, and the field’s pivot towards diversity and inclusion of underrepresented communities. The third theme discusses the challenges and opportunities of preserving sites with cultural layers and multiple histories in an urban environment. And, the fourth theme considers the theoretical framework of intersectionality, its academic trajectory, and its possibilities for the historic preservation field.

2.1 *The Evolution of Historic Preservation Through the NHPA of 1966*

The American Historic Preservation field⁶ emerged in the early 19th century as the country sought to define, celebrate, and venerate its blossoming national identity. Preservation was viewed as a tool to “shape national memory, history, and politics” (Bluestone, 2011, p. 18). Early efforts focused on patriotism and heroism, and enshrining sites associated with white male political figures (Murtagh, 2006). Historic preservation initiatives were led by elite individuals, social organizations, and architectural professionals. By the late 1800s, the preservation movement pivoted towards a focus on architecture and aesthetics. As preservation became more

⁶ Renowned preservationist and first “Keeper of the National Register of Historic Places” William Murtagh posits that “historic preservation is not merely a field, but a distinct set of theories and a way of looking at the world that acknowledges agency and power. This has, at different times, made the field appear passive, conservative, and elitist or...cutting edge, pluralistic, and forward thinking” (Roberts, 2017).

popular at the turn of the 20th century, professionalization of the field, reliance on experts, and a shift to a national, governmental organizational structure developed.

In the decades following World War II, federal interstate highway construction and urban renewal projects caused social displacement, neighborhood and community disruption, and destruction of the historic character and fabric of the built environment in cities across the country. In response, the preservation movement called for the federal government to take a leadership role in establishing a comprehensive national historic preservation program.

Publication of *With Heritage So Rich* created a new sense of urgency and support for historic preservation (United States Conference of Mayors Special Committee on Historic Preservation, 1966). As a result, Congress passed the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966, which dramatically expanded the scope and reach of historic preservation. The governing principles and systems established by the NHPA continue to shape historic preservation practices over fifty years later.

The NHPA created an overarching national framework for historic preservation. The Secretary of the Interior was directed to create a list of sites and properties worth preserving for their historic value, which became the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP).⁷ Sites, buildings, objects, districts, and structures significant to American history, architecture, archaeology, and culture on a national, state, or local level were eligible for NRHP listing (Murtagh, 2006). National guidelines were established for standards of preservation and rehabilitation. State Historic Preservation Offices were created to conduct historic resources

⁷ The National Register of Historic Places is administered by the National Park Service. In 1966 the National Register began with 868 listed properties. By its fiftieth anniversary in 2016, the register had grown to 89,000 listings, representing over 1.7 million resources. (Murtagh, 2006, p. 57; Preservation50, *The NHPA*, para. 3, n.d.).

surveys, develop historic preservation plans, and support preservation efforts at the local level. The shift to local level preservation revealed new information about the histories of diverse communities and signaled a turn in “orientation to the American people” (Lee, 2012; Lea, 2003, p. 11). The historic preservation field aspires to be about “nurturing the grass roots and assisting communities with the preservation of physical structures, objects, and settings that tell the story of our collective experience” (Lea, 2003, p. 1). However, as the literature reveals, the full American story has yet to be told.

2.2 *Diversity, Inclusion, and Underrepresented Histories*

With Heritage So Rich includes “cultural values” and “the total heritage of the nation” in its preservation ethos, yet it is noticeably silent on ethnic, minority, and social histories. Published in 1966, the report was situated in a context of history instruction that centered military and political events, and the achievements of national figures, particularly white men. The work was authored primarily by white male architects who focused on preserving high-style architecture rather than the vernacular architecture found in urban neighborhoods that were threatened by highway construction and urban renewal during that time (Lee, 2003).

Following the passage of the NHPA, Mount Auburn, Cincinnati, a predominantly African American enclave, was designated as a historic district in 1973 (Lee, 2003). This effort demonstrated that the regulatory tools of the NHPA could be used to revitalize diverse urban neighborhoods through preservation instead of urban renewal programs. In Seattle, the International Special Review District⁸ was established in 1973 to preserve the area’s unique

⁸ See Seattle DON International Special Review District. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.seattle.gov/neighborhoods/programs-and-services/historic-preservation/historic-districts/international-special-review-district>.

Asian American character. The Seattle Chinatown Historic District is listed on the National Register, recognizing the local and national significance of Seattle's Asian community to the broad patterns of American history.⁹

Interest in historic preservation swelled around the celebration of America's bicentennial in 1976, as communities across America participated in formal and informal efforts to collect and share their place-based histories. This broadened the reach of historic preservation and expanded the field's thinking around what histories and resources were worth preserving. The National Park Service funded a survey of Black historic sites as a bicentennial project, with the intention of increasing the number of National Historic Landmarks associated with Black history (Lee, 2003). Ethnic cultural studies, surveys, and inventories were conducted across the United States, which resulted in additional National Register listings and local landmark designations of resources associated with minority communities. State and local historic preservation offices organized cultural heritage committees to increase the involvement of underrepresented communities in historic preservation (Lee, 2003 & 2012). Through these efforts, National Register listings and local landmarks began to better reflect the history of America's diverse population, however resources associated with racial, ethnic, gender, and sexual minorities continue to be significantly underrepresented in the public record (Preservation Priorities Task Force, 2021).

The twenty-fifth anniversary of the National Historic Preservation Act in 1991 brought about a period of reflection on the successes and shortcomings of the preservation movement since the passage of the NHPA, and consideration of new directions for the field. Cultural

⁹ See National Park Service Seattle Chinatown Historic District. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.nps.gov/places/seattle-chinatown-historic-district.htm>.

diversity¹⁰ was highlighted as a key issue that must be addressed (Lee, 2003, 2012). The “diversity deficit,” described by Kaufman (2009) as “the gap between the nation’s racial and ethnic diversity and the preservation profession’s lack of diversity. Just as diversity characterizes both the nation’s past and its present, so the absence of diversity affects both how preservation portrays the past and how it organizes itself professionally in the present” (p. 22) persisted, despite several decades of initiatives to better include racial and ethnic histories in landmarks and listings, and cultivate diversity in the professional ranks.

The preservation establishment had failed to recognize the cultural and historic significance of resources that were valued by minority communities and did not consider community-led efforts to document, conserve, and interpret their own place-based histories to be legitimate preservation activities (Lee, 2003; Kaufman, 2009). The National Trust for Historic Preservation¹¹ responded by committing to “change the face of preservation” by engaging more people of color and people with diverse backgrounds in preserving cultural heritage and adding more sites that are meaningful and significant to diverse populations to national and local registers (Bowers & Wood, 2014, p. 41).

¹⁰ When Lee’s essay *Cultural Diversity in Historic Preservation: Where We Have Been, Where We Are Going* was first published in 1992, an agreed upon definition and scope of the term “cultural diversity” was not yet established. Lee suggested that “cultural diversity” is generally used to describe the changing ethnic composition of the United States through immigration and encompasses the “history of ‘minority’ and ethnic groups in the nation from the American Indians who inhabited the Western Hemisphere to the Spanish, English, and French explorers and settlers in the Age of Discovery; the experience of the African-Americans throughout American history; the arrival of the Germans and other European groups during the 19th century; the influx of Eastern and Southern Europeans and Asians at the turn of the century; and the recent arrival of Southeast Asians, Hispanics, Africans, and those from the Caribbean region” (Lee, 2012, pg. 22)

¹¹ The National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP) was chartered by Congress in 1947 as a non-governmental agency liaison between public and private agencies engaged in preservation. Congress empowered the National Trust to own historic properties, and to provide leadership and support for preservation initiatives on a national scale. The Trust continues to operate as a private nonprofit organization and is highly influential in administering programs, disbursing grants, and setting the national agenda for preservation (Murtagh, 2006).

The National Preservation Conference in 1991 launched the field's "new emphasis on diversity" (Lee, 2003); three decades later, "diversity is no longer an edgy topic" (Lee, 2012). Diversity and inclusion are now integral to historic preservation goals, projects, and programs (Lee, 2012). What is understood to be significant about the past and worthy of preservation now better includes and represents the histories of ethnic communities, women, LGBTQ, and other underrepresented groups (Dubrow, 2016). Since the twenty-fifth anniversary of the National Historic Preservation Act in 1991, the preservation toolkit has expanded to include surveying previously overlooked resources; developing context statements that reflect ethnic, cultural, and social movement histories; adding culturally significant properties to landmark registers; and revising the interpretation of existing landmarks (Lee, 2003, 2012; Dubrow, 2016).

On the national level, the National Park Service is striving to "tell the stories of all Americans" in an effort to "provide an inclusive and honest look at American history" in its preservation programs.¹² National Register listings, heritage areas, historic sites, theme studies and guides to identifying and interpreting ethnic histories have been added to better include the experiences of communities who have been underrepresented in traditional histories.¹³ In its turn towards diversity in the 1990s, the National Park Service overhauled their theme studies to better include and represent cultural and social processes and historic events, such as Civil Rights in America, that speak to the experiences of multiple underrepresented communities. NPS studies now use thematic rather than chronological organizational frameworks and structures. Unlike the

¹² See NPS *Telling All Americans' Stories: Publications on Diverse and Inclusive History*. Retrieved November 18, 2021, from <https://www.nps.gov/articles/publications-diverse.htm>

¹³ See NPS publications on underrepresented histories, including AAPI, Latino, African American, and LGBTQ theme studies and guides for how to identify and interpret heritage resources. Retrieved November 18, 2021, from <https://www.nps.gov/articles/publications-diverse.htm>

traditional method of organizing historic narratives with chronological and linear structures,¹⁴ thematic frameworks help to evaluate and contextualize “the larger implications and research possibilities of a site and better answer such key questions as ‘Why does this place really matter?’” (Page & Miller, 2016, p. 19).

At the local level, several municipalities are taking innovative approaches to diversity and inclusion in their preservation efforts. SurveyLA¹⁵ is one example of a groundbreaking initiative to survey the historic resources of an entire city and to evaluate significance through an ethnic-cultural lens. SurveyLA has developed an overarching context statement for the history of Los Angeles, and unique context statements for the city’s African American, Asian American, Latino, LGBT, and Jewish communities. The Jewish History Context¹⁶ was developed to help guide field surveyors to identify and evaluate historic resources associated with the Jewish experience in Los Angeles. The study provides an overview of Jewish settlement and development patterns and uses a thematic framework to describe the Jewish communities’ religious practices, cultural traditions, ethnic identities, social clubs, health and medicine, commerce, and participation in the entertainment industry.

Despite the preservation field’s progress on diversity and inclusion, the diversity deficit persists. A study of the National Park Service’s relevancy, diversity, and inclusion (RDI)

¹⁴ For example, the draft structure of the LGBTQ Heritage Theme Study was organized chronologically which the review panel rejected for centering white, male, middle class, urban histories. The structure was revised into six thematic sections: Introduction, Preserving LGBTQ History, Inclusive Stories, Themes, Places, and Legacy, which allows for an intersectional approach. See Springate (2016), p. 02-18. Retrieved November 18, 2021, from <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/lgbtqheritage/upload/lgbtqtheme-voll.pdf>

¹⁵ See SurveyLA Los Angeles Historic Resources Survey Field Survey Resources Master Report (2016) for tools, methods, and results. Retrieved November 18, 2021, from https://planning.lacity.org/odocument/c118f301-cc39-4ede-af5a-3e5ec901e7be/SurveyLA_Master_Report.pdf

¹⁶ See SurveyLA Jewish History Context Statement. Retrieved November 18, 2021, from <https://planning.lacity.org/odocument/cb3a43ec-8138-4517-95e1-3a1cf0947309/LosAngelesJewishHistoryContext.pdf>

programs geared towards inclusive histories and interpretation reveals that “there is a clear disparity across the agency in equitably representing certain aspects of diversity” (Schultz et al., 2019, p. 15). Diverse groups still lack representation at National Park Service sites, and narratives and interpretations often present a Eurocentric perspective. This leaves “the history of people of color and other marginalized groups ignored, or worse, distorted” (Schultz et al., 2019, p. 15). The National Register of Historic Places, deemed to be “the official list of the Nation’s historic places worthy of preservation” lacks equitable representation of resources that are significant to underrepresented communities. The National Register of Historic Places and National Historic Landmarks “don’t represent the richness and complexity of U.S. history; the roster of designated sites still overwhelmingly reflects the experiences of white male Americans who possessed economic and political resources” (Graves, 2016, p. 93). Representation of American history in landmarks and listings “continues to undervalue the experiences and contributions of immigrants, working people, and communities of color” (Kaufman, 2009, p. 11).

Structural inequities perpetuate the lack of diversity in historic preservation. Preservation practices are bureaucratic, incremental, expensive, and expert-driven (Kaufman, 2009; Page, 2016; Page & Miller, 2016; Wells & Stiefel, 2019). Organizations that advocate for cultural heritage conservation operate independently from historic preservation. Historic preservation professionals are primarily white, and do not resemble the diversity of the country. Decisions on resource allocation are made to:

protect a historic site admired by architectural historians rather than another one that is important to the local Chinese, Filipino, Mexican, African American, or Puerto Rican community – and yet that organization lacks a single board or staff member from the affected community, or even a contact within it who might be able to explain the importance of the overlooked site...Decisions are made in this way every day, in cities

and towns across the country, not because of overt racism but because the system is structured to produce this result. (Kaufman, 2009, p. 9)

Preservation professionals, scholars, and activists offer an array of recommendations to create more diverse, inclusive, relevant, and democratic historic preservation practices. Kaufman (2009) suggests that in order to address inequities in the practice, historic preservation must address issues of content, process, and constituency. *Content* refers to the narratives that historic preservation offers to the public. *Process* describes who is hired, how information is gathered, and how decisions are made. *Constituency* examines who benefits from the work and who will support it. In order to remain relevant, receive support, and include more diverse communities, preservation must address all aspects of its content, process, and constituency.

The concept of identity is entering the preservation discourse and is receiving attention as a potential next frontier for the movement. Reflection on identity both builds on and critiques the field's focus on diversity and inclusion. Early thinking around diversity, inclusion, and identity appears in Hayden's *The Power of Place* (1995) which cites Benmayor and Tchen's argument that "public culture needs to acknowledge and respect diversity, while reaching beyond multiple and sometimes conflicting national, ethnic, gender, race, and class *identities* [emphasis added] to encompass larger common themes, such as the migration experience...or the search for a new sense of identity in an urban setting" (p. 9). This approach honors diversity while seeking out commonality in the American urban experience.

With the milestone of the fiftieth anniversary of the National Historic Preservation Act in 2016, the field is being urged to consider new paradigms and an updated agenda for historic preservation that considers diversity, inclusion, multiple histories, and identity. The next section

of the literature review considers questions that arise from preserving sites with multiple histories, followed by an examination of intersectionality as a theoretical framework to guide historic preservation practices into the future.

2.3 *Culturally Layered Histories*

“Cultural layering” is a concept used to describe what happens when a succession of culturally diverse groups alters the built environment as diversity and demographic mobility are combined (Lee, 2012). Polanco (2016) uses an archaeological framework to describe the layers of history that are present in place, termed the “stratigraphy of communities” (p. 201). These layers reveal rich and deep stories, which we are compelled to tell “in a way that honors each layer of a place and includes its current inhabitants” (Polanco, 2016, p. 201).

A variety of challenges arise from preserving spaces and places that have multiple histories. Contextualizing a historic resource can be problematic in terms of evaluating its significance, interpreting its history, confronting difficult aspects of the past, and addressing multiple claims to ownership of the historic resource and its narrative. Many cultural resources are “multiply esteemed” by various groups, which can lead to contestation if the resources are understood and valued in different ways and to varying degrees (Lee, 2012; Graves, 2016). Marking spaces with the histories of previous inhabitants can be experienced as a challenge to the legitimacy of a neighborhoods’ current inhabitants (Kaufman, 2009, p. 242). Historic preservation policies and processes have further compounded the complications inherent in cultural layering. For example, in some jurisdictions and for the National Register, landmark nominations require that a period of significance is identified, and that the narrative addresses the resource’s meaning during that time period only. This requirement diminishes the opportunity to

contextualize and understand how the resource and its historic associations change over time. The scope of a resource's significance and relevance is narrowed, which may privilege one community's history over another. Non-dominant groups are deprived of having the opportunity to "see their own past reflected at historic places" (Graves and Dubrow, 2019, p. 293).

Physical integrity is another requirement that creates obstacles for landmarking sites associated with multiple histories, successive layers of occupation, and alteration (Cresswell & Hoskins, 2008; Dubrow, 2016; Graves and Dubrow, 2019; Page, 2016; Yellin, 2018). To be designated as a landmark or listed on the National Register, a structure must possess enough integrity to "convey its significance without distraction from the ravages of time where deterioration, modified use, removal, or unsympathetic restoration have not overly inhibited the messages now deemed important" (Cresswell & Hoskins, 2008, p. 396).

Chicago's Maxwell Street Market serves as a helpful precedent for studying the challenges of preserving sites with layered cultural histories through formal preservation channels (Cresswell & Hoskins, 2008; Page, 2016). Maxwell Street Market was the Ellis Island of the Midwest, and was a site characterized by constant change. Beginning in the 1880s, the area had a large Jewish population who established a market of carts and stalls, which over time grew to become the largest outdoor market in the United States. By the 1920s, the population had immigrants from over a dozen countries. Maxwell Street became an important center of Black culture as the Great Migration brought waves of African Americans to Chicago from the southern states (Cresswell & Hoskins, 2008). The Maxwell Street Market was "one of the most vibrant places of cultural creativity in America" (Page, 2016, p. 48). By the 1990s, Mexican immigrants became the dominant population. Stakeholders came together to nominate the

Maxwell Street Historic District for listing on the National Register. Despite its significant cultural heritage and historic association with underrepresented communities, the Chicago Landmarks Commission, the State Historic Preservation Officer, and the National Park Service determined that the Maxwell Street Market lacked sufficient integrity of setting, design, materials, and workmanship to merit a National Register listing (Cresswell & Hoskins, 2008).

Graves and Dubrow (2019) suggest a need to “recognize multiple layers of use and meaning that adhere to places over time” (p. 292). Multilayered interpretation is a means to accomplish this task. Telling nuanced, more complete stories can honor the multiple histories of a place’s past and current inhabitants, and can address the contested interests of multiple stakeholders. A polyvocal strategy for preservation more accurately accounts for the full history and significance of the resource. Stories can articulate multiple claims to place, illuminate difficult aspects of the past, and make connections with injustices that continue to impact the landscape. Using multilayered interpretation and polyvocal stories, “historic sites become sources of information, platforms for education, and vehicles for crossing barriers of time and personal experience” (Graves, 2016, p. 94-95).

A democratic preservation practice would facilitate collaboration with all of the communities who are part of a resource’s layered history. Preservationists must do the necessary work of engaging with all of the diverse populations who are associated with historic resources, and their views must be elicited and respected (Lee, 2012; Brown, 2016; Graves, 2016). This work “require(s) diplomacy and efforts at mutual understanding” (Kaufman, 2009, p.242). Done well, this work has the power to transform the preservation movement “into a generous table where others will feel welcome and invited to join the feast” (Graves, 2016, p. 94).

Around the turn of the 21st century, preservation scholars began to discuss the need for a new approach to diversity and inclusion that would go beyond a single lens approach to documenting the histories of underrepresented communities. Storytelling in a single chronological fashion is problematic in that it “erases the complex overlapping and interdependent histories of America’s ... communities” (Springate, 2017, p. 398). Multiple layers of history are a defining element of urban neighborhoods; these layers reveal larger patterns of immigration, settlement, social and geographic mobility, ethnic succession, and discrimination experienced by their diverse inhabitants (Hayden, 1995; Kaufman, 2009).

Calls for a new preservation paradigm begin to connect the ideas of diversity, cultural layering, and intersectionality. In *Place, Race, and Story* (2009), Kaufman brings these concepts together around the interpretation of ethnic sites. He suggests that:

Groups – even very different groups – and events do not exist in isolation. [Themes] give us insights into the relationships between very different groups of people occupying the same spaces. Interpreting relationships between disparate groups opens a window onto a larger and more meaningful narrative about American history...[and]...offers preservationists an opportunity to transcend simplistic views of cultural diversity or “multiculturalism”...[and]...close in on the shared history that binds us together. While it is important to recognize and cherish the diversity of historical experience, preservationists should also seek opportunities to tell history in ways that reach across cultural lines. (p. 245, 247)

In the following section of the literature review intersectionality is considered as a theoretical framework that offers the potential to address the limitations of diversity and inclusion, to attend to the complexity of multiple histories and cultural layering, to incorporate identity, and to establish a new agenda for historic preservation.

2.4 *Intersectionality in Historic Preservation*

Intersectionality as a theoretical concept was introduced into the scholarly discourse in 1989 by legal scholar and pioneering critical race theorist Kimberle Crenshaw.¹⁷ The theory considers the failure of antidiscrimination laws to include and protect Black women, and the marginalization and omission of Black women from feminist and antiracist theory and practices. Building on Black Feminist theory, Crenshaw uses intersectionality to describe interlocking structures of oppression, such as race, class, and gender, that compound discrimination (Carbado et al., 2013; Graves and Dubrow, 2019; Costanza-Chock, 2020).

Crenshaw critiques “single-axis analysis” in which race, class, or gender are considered as independent constructs. By employing single-axis analysis as a framework, attention ultimately focuses on the experiences of race and class privileged members of the group, such as white women and Black men in the case of discrimination laws. As a result, the experiences of multiply-burdened members of an underrepresented group, Black women for example, are omitted, marginalized, or erased. The single-axis approach to studying discrimination “narrowed the scope of institutional transformation, truncated both the understanding of and advocacy around racism and patriarchy, and undermined possibilities for sustaining meaningful solidarity by placing resistance movements at odds with each other” (Carbado et al., 2013, p. 2). Crenshaw suggests we must recognize how resistance movements, such as feminism and antiracism, function in ways that produce and legitimize marginalization and then the structures of power and oppression must be dismantled.

¹⁷ See Crenshaw, K. (1991). Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics [1989]. In *Feminist Legal Theory* (1st ed., pp. 57-80). Routledge.

Since Crenshaw's publications, the impact of intersectionality has led to a paradigm shift within and across academic disciplines.¹⁸ Scholars and activists have broadened the reach of intersectionality to engage an ever-increasing range of issues, identities, power structures, and political systems around the world. Scholars and activists argue that intersectionality can still be applied to many more social contexts, group formations, and systems of power (Carbado et. al., 2013; Springate, 2016a; Costanza-Chock, 2020).

The term *intersectionality* entered the literature on historic preservation around the fiftieth anniversary of the National Historic Preservation Act, in 2016. The preservation field took stock of the efficacy of its work on diversity and inclusion following the twenty-fifth anniversary of the NHPA in 1991. The election of Donald Trump in 2016 also called into question the federal-level commitment to diversity, inclusion, and the rights of underrepresented Americans, which created a sense of upheaval in the historic preservation field. The convergence of these two events challenged previously held assumptions, methods, and practices, and demanded that historic preservation practitioners employ more sophisticated paradigms. Preservation thought leaders argue that intersectionality is one such framework (Springate, 2016a; Roberts, 2017; Graves and Dubrow, 2019).

As intersectionality has travelled beyond its origin in legal scholarship, its definition has expanded and changed according to the context in which it is being applied. In the landmark National Park Service LGBTQ America Theme Study, editor Megan Springate (2016b) builds on the concept of intersectionality as a:

¹⁸ Intersectionality has become an important concept across many disciplines, including sociology, geography anthropology, history, art and architectural history, political science, legal studies, education, and psychology, and its intellectual trajectory is now beginning to transform design and historic preservation (Carbado et al., 2013; Costanza-Chock, 2020; Springate, 2016a).

Recognition that categories of difference (sometimes also referred to as axes of identity) including-but not limited to-race, ethnicity, gender, religion/creed, generation, geographic location, sexuality, age, ability/disability, and class intersect to shape the experiences of individuals; that identity is multidimensional. These identities are not mutually exclusive but interdependent (p. 07-01).

Roberts (2017) suggests that applying an intersectional framework can transform historic preservation into a true social justice practice by addressing the systems and institutions that perpetuate identity-based inequities. Intersectionality moves historic preservation beyond diversity and inclusion and acknowledges and makes visible the ways that discrimination “erases the experience, heritage, and contributions of those living at the intersections of, for example, race, gender, class, and/or abilities” (n.p.)

Building on Crenshaw’s critique of single-axis analysis, prominent historic preservation and public history activists and scholars Donna Graves and Gail Dubrow (2019) question the effectiveness of single-lens studies to examine and elevate history that exists at the intersections of race, class, gender, and sexuality. By examining history through a single-lens, there is a risk of overlooking the complexity of histories and identities that have co-existed or are layered in the places that are being studied. Single-lens theme studies, surveys, and historic register nominations have advanced diversity and inclusion, addressed previously neglected aspects of American heritage, and recovered the histories of groups who have been marginalized within historical scholarship and historic preservation. However, they have not successfully recognized or attended to the complexity of experiences when underrepresented communities are treated as if they are homogeneous and monolithic. Even if the attempts to foster diversity and inclusion are well-intended, preservation projects that approach a community’s experience through a single-lens can produce misleading or partial accounts of history that silence or erase important

aspects of experience. Graves and Dubrow (2019) encourage preservation practitioners to “take seriously the concept of intersectionality, which acknowledges the multivalent quality of lived experience, addresses the complexity of identity, and recognizes the multiplicity of communities with a stake in the preservation and interpretation of any given historic property” (p. 290).

The literature articulates many benefits of adopting an intersectional approach (Springate, 2016a; Springate, 2016b; Roberts, 2017; Graves & Dubrow, 2019; Costanza-Chock, 2020). Intersectionality creates opportunities to recognize a wider range of identities, brings attention to the relationship between structural forces of oppression and the human capacity for resistance, and highlights the vibrant cultural expressions that come from claiming and celebrating identity. Operating from an assumption that identity is multifold and varies according to context, an intersectional framework evaluates historic properties in context, provides more nuanced and complete documentation of sites, and connects underrepresented histories to broader patterns¹⁹ in American history (Springate, 2017; Graves & Dubrow, 2019). Springate (2016b) argues for the importance of incorporating intersectionality into place-based research and historic preservation:

Because these axes of difference can affect the physical places associated with communities; they also affect the relationships that various individuals and communities have with places...An intersectional approach to history provides a much more complete and nuanced understanding of our past; one that includes the experiences and voices of those who are often silenced in dominant narratives that focus primarily on the actions of those with privilege, including white, middle-and upper-class, heterosexual, men. (p. 07-3 & 07-5)

Thus far, intersectionality has been introduced to historic preservation through the field’s work to better include and represent Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer history.

¹⁹ Civil Rights, women’s history, labor history, migration and immigration, engaging with the environment, and shaping the political landscape are a few examples of thematic studies of broad patterns of American history. See NPS *Telling All Americans’ Stories*. Retrieved November 18, 2021, from <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/strugglestriumphs.htm>

The National Park Service's LGBTQ Heritage Initiative, launched in 2014, was chartered by scholars with a bold agenda: the initiative "needed to be inclusive and intersectional" (Springate, 2017, p. 397). This initiative demonstrates the possibilities of using intersectionality as an analytical and organizational tool for place-based studies. This expansive effort engaged scholars, identity-based advocacy groups, activists, and community members to document, interpret, and advocate for LGBTQ associated sites and history. A 1200 page theme study was developed with a thematic rather than a chronological organization. Several National Register and National Historic Landmarks nominations, a crowd-sourced online map of LGBTQ places across the country,²⁰ and community-led tours and events resulted from the initiative (Graves & Dubrow, 2019; Springate, 2017).

The literature offers possibilities for how intersectional preservation practices would differ from the current, conventional approach. An intersectional practice would:

- Listen to people who are living at the "intersections" and experience multiple intersecting oppressions to understand the ways that they experience discrimination differently than the more privileged members of their underrepresented groups (Roberts, 2017).
- Fully represent the intersectionality of identity, experience, and place and would seek out cross-group connections and acknowledge and negotiate the contested interests of multiple-stakeholders. Sites should be selected and interpreted in ways that "respect the shared yet divergent experiences of people who may have inhabited and used the same spaces, but who have experienced them very differently" (Kaufman, 2009, p. 247). These

²⁰ See [historypin.org LGBTQ America Collection](https://www.historypin.org/en/lgbtq-america/geo/37.438179,-96.631589,3/bounds/-28.692571,-146.943479,73.552662,-46.319699/paging/1). Retrieved November 18, 2021, from <https://www.historypin.org/en/lgbtq-america/geo/37.438179,-96.631589,3/bounds/-28.692571,-146.943479,73.552662,-46.319699/paging/1>

efforts should promote understanding of issues that affect multiple groups and telling history in ways that reach across cultural lines, rather than trying to convince disparate groups to embrace a single viewpoint. For example, after New York's Crown Heights riots in 1991 a coalition of Brooklyn institutions developed exhibits and programs that focused on interactions between the Hasidic Jews and African American residents of Crown Heights, with the goal of crossing cultural lines and healing fractures between the communities (Kaufman, 2009).

- Build coalitions and alliances around common interests that would benefit multiple underrepresented communities. In taking a single-lens approach to diversity and inclusion, identity-based activists have been successful at advocating for the inclusion of their histories but have failed to leverage these gains to consider, include, and lift other marginalized groups. As a result, “large gaps remain in our knowledge of historic resources, and few places consciously reflect the intersections of identities” (Dubrow, 2016, p. 73).
- Recognize the relationships between “the unique, multidimensional, and constantly mutating nature of injustice and supremacy” and would understand how “struggles for power, sovereignty, and self-determination can be expressed through struggles to preserve spaces” (Roberts, 2017, n.p.). Raising consciousness around “multiply-esteemed” cultural resources provide an opportunity to form new alliances around shared concerns and that bridge the divides of race, class, gender, and sexuality (Lee, 2012; Dubrow, 2016; Roberts, 2017).
- Embrace, preserve, and interpret places with difficult heritage (Roberts, 2017)

- Look beyond the preservation of structures and understand that some communities are preserving place and affirming identity through intangible heritage rather than buildings. Cultural placemaking, such as art, music, storytelling, and ritual performance, are legitimate forms of historic preservation that honors the past and engages communities around celebrating and perpetuating their place-based identity (Roberts, 2017).
- Unite various independent, identity-based preservation interests into a new majority coalition that would formulate a shared agenda for preserving America's heritage.

Dubrow (2016) acknowledges the successes of identity-based politics in creating a more inclusive agenda for what gets preserved and suggests that a progressive and democratic historic preservation would leverage their experiences and insights to redefine “the scope, policies, practices, and priorities of the preservation movement as a whole” (p. 75).

Intersectionality is a new paradigm in historic preservation that is only recently entering into the discourse. Scholars are interrogating the possibilities, but have yet to address its limitations. Similar to the challenges presented by preserving heritage resources in culturally layered environments, the application of intersectionality will have to contend with issues around integrity, National Register requirements to establish a period of significance, ownership of the resource and its narrative, interpretation, implicit bias, and dynamics of power and privilege. Adopting an intersectional approach may demand significant resources to conduct extensive research, engage multiple communities and stakeholders, and facilitate public participation - particularly if it involves contestations or difficult histories. Unlike single-lens approaches, however, intersectional practices are willing to acknowledge and confront the complexities of identity, experience and place.

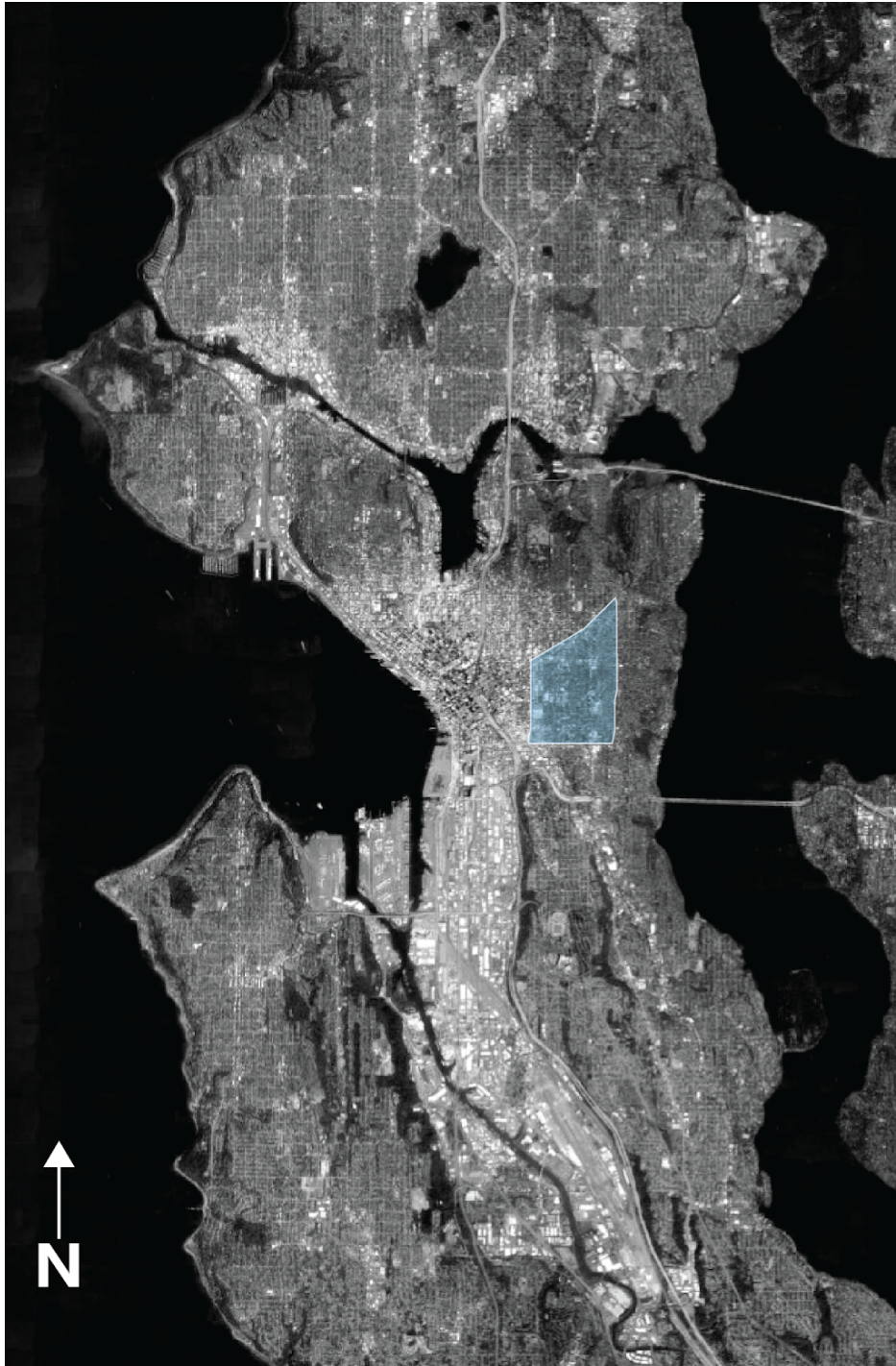
Chapter 3. METHODS

This thesis engages a case study method to explore how to preserve Jewish history in the Central Area of Seattle. The case study method is appropriate for this research as it “is a single, bounded entity, studied in detail, with a variety of methods, over an extended period” (Cresswell, 1994, as cited in Blaikie, 2000, p. 215). The Jewish population is the social unit of study. A portion of the Central Area, referred to as the study area, is the spatial unit of study. The time period of study extends from the mid-1800s when Jews first arrived in the Pacific Northwest, through present day. The late 1890s through the late 1960s are the temporal focus of the study as this was the most active period of Jewish settlement and community building in the study area. I used a variety of methods, including context research, analysis of existing landmarks, site surveys, case study vignettes, in-depth case studies, and communication with preservation professionals and activists. Research findings were used to develop a context statement of Jewish history in the Central Area, and recommendations for how to preserve this history through an intersectional framework.

3.1 *Study Area*

Figure 3.1

Seattle and Study Area Location Map



Note: Study area is identified in blue

Figure 3.2*Study Area Boundaries Map*

The study area for this thesis is a portion of the Central Area, lying midway between Seattle's Central Business District and Lake Washington, bounded by East Madison to the north, Martin Luther King, Jr. Way to the east, Jackson Street to the south, and 12th Avenue to the west. The Central Area has never been officially recognized by the City of Seattle as a distinct neighborhood, and instead it consists of a large spatial extent made up of five neighborhoods: Minor, Mann, Madrona, Leschi, and Atlantic. Historian Mary T. Henry describes the heart of the cultural activity of the Central Area as lying within the study area boundaries (Henry, 2001). Context research reveals that the study area includes much of the Central Area's Jewish history, and also has historic association with the area's Black and Asian communities.

3.2 *Literature Review Sources*

The theoretical literature for this study came from searches of University of Washington Libraries and Google Scholar, citations in key texts, reading lists from historic preservation classes, recommendations from preservation practitioners, and suggestions from my thesis committee. Keyword searches included combinations of the following terms: historic preservation; preservation; underrepresented histories; Jewish history; Black / African American history; Asian history; public history; erased histories, contested histories; ethnic histories; difficult histories; urban cultural landscapes; cultural layering; preserving ethnic urban histories; diversity, equity, and inclusion; and intersectionality.

3.3 *Context Research Sources*

I conducted extensive context research of primary and secondary sources in order to develop the historic context for the Central Area and its diverse populations, Jewish settlement and development patterns, and the unique histories of buildings that were included in the survey and inventory. I searched University of Washington Libraries, Google Scholar, and Google for books, articles, theses, primary, and secondary sources using the following keywords: Seattle Central Area history; Central District history; Jewish history; Black history; African American history; and Japanese history. Primary sources such as archival photographs, oral histories, maps, reverse directories, and property record cards, and secondary sources such as newspaper articles, surveys, and biographies were found in the University of Washington Special Collections Washington State Jewish Archives and Many Paths, Many Voices Oral History Collection, Museum of History and Industry Digital Collections, Washington State Jewish Historical

Society, Black Heritage Society of Washington State, Wing Luke Museum Digital Collections, Denso Digital Archives, Washington State Historical Society Collections, Seattle Municipal Archives, Puget Sound Regional Archives, Seattle Public Libraries, the Library of Congress, and the Seattle Civil Rights and Labor History Project, the Jewish Transcript Archives, Washington State Jewish Historical Society publications, Seattle Department of Neighborhoods Historic Preservation website, Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation and WISAARD, Historylink.org, and BlackPast.org.

3.4 *Historic Context Research*

Methods, tools, and best practices of the historic preservation field, such as historic context statements, survey, and inventory, were engaged to explore the research questions posed on page 4. Historic context statements are written documents that provide frameworks for preservation practitioners to situate resources within their broader historic context and evaluate their significance. Context statements describe trends, patterns, and aspects of the geography, history, and culture that shaped an area's built environment.²¹ Using historic context research, I developed a context statement for the Central Area and its Jewish history (Thesis Chapter 4). I used the information gleaned from context research to compile a list of survey sites (Thesis Chapter 6), to develop a survey and inventory of sites associated with Jewish history / case study vignettes (Thesis Chapter 6 and Appendix), and two case studies (Chapter 7).

²¹ See California Preservation Association Historic Context Statements for context statement components. Retrieved November 19, 2021, from https://californiapreservation.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/4PaulTravis-Contexts_2016-HRG.pdf

3.5 *Formal Preservation Analysis*

I reviewed: 1) City of Seattle Historic Resource Surveys; 2) City of Seattle Designated Landmarks; and 3) National Register of Historic Places in the study area to develop a list of addresses for a site survey, and to analyze how formal historic preservation efforts have included sites associated with Jewish and other underrepresented communities.

a. City of Seattle Historic Resources Survey (2000)

The most recent Seattle historic resources survey and inventory of neighborhood residential properties and commercial districts throughout the city began in 2000. Survey records are available to the public electronically on the Seattle Department of Neighborhoods Historic Preservation website, Historic Resources Survey Database.²² The database is searchable by *Year Built*, *Style*, *Neighborhood*, and *Architect*. Every surveyed resource has an associated property record that documents the architectural style, building type, year built, appearance, materials, integrity, significance, and unit theme (category of historic importance), if available. Some records have complete Statements of Significance and archival photographs, while others display little more than an address and a unit theme.

I sorted the list according to *Neighborhood / Central Area* and exported the results to an excel spreadsheet. I used Google Maps to eliminate addresses outside of the study area. Residential uses, such as single-family homes, were eliminated from the dataset as determining direct associations with Jewish history would exceed the scope and time available for this thesis. I reviewed the Statements of Significance for the remaining records for any indications of

²² See *Seattle Historic Sites*. Retrieved on November 19, 2021, from <https://web6.seattle.gov/DPD/HistoricalSite/default.aspx>

associations with Jewish history. The database is not sortable by *Unit Theme*, so searching for Ethnic Heritage, Religion, Social Movements & Organizations that might reveal Jewish history is a manual process. Resources with Jewish association were added to a list for survey and inventory. If a record stated an *Opinion of the Survey* describing the surveyor's assessment of the resource's eligibility for Seattle landmark status, National Register listing, or inclusion in a Historic District, these opinions were added to the Survey and Inventory of Sites Associated with Jewish History (Appendix) and considered in Chapter 8: Recommendations.

b. City of Seattle Designated Landmarks

The Seattle Department of Neighborhoods Historic Preservation website houses a database of Seattle's designated landmarks. I searched the database for landmarks located in the study area, using Google Maps for confirmation. For each resource, I reviewed the Landmark Designation Reports to determine if Jewish history was included in the Statement of Significance. Mentions of Black, Asian, and women's histories were also noted. I reviewed the landmark designation criteria and noted the criteria that contributed to the resources' determination of significance.

c. National Register of Historic Places

The National Register Database²³ is available to the public electronically on the National Park Service website. I downloaded the list, exported it into an excel spreadsheet, sorted the results by city, then identified listings in the study area, using Google Maps for confirmation.

²³ See National Register Database. Retrieved on November 19, 2021, from <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalregister/database-research.htm>

3.6 *Survey and Inventory of Sites Associated with Jewish History / Vignettes*

The historic preservation field uses surveys to identify and evaluate resources that may have historic significance within a particular category, such as a defined geographic area, a specific architectural style, or an association with a cultural group or social history. Survey data is used to identify resources that may warrant landmark designation or national register listing, and contributes to preservation and community planning.

For this survey, I compiled a list of potential sites through historic context research, and reviews of city surveys, landmarks, and national register listings for mentions of association with Jewish history. I eliminated buildings that no longer exist from the list, using Google Maps, Google searches, reverse directories, context research, and preliminary site visits for verification. Public facilities, such as schools and libraries, were also eliminated as they weren't built by or for exclusive use by the Jewish community.

On July 11, 2021, I conducted a *Survey and Inventory of Sites Associated with Jewish History* in the study area. I used Google maps to determine a route, began in the northwest corner of the study area, and progressed clockwise to the southwest corner. I walked around the sites, walked to nearby sites, and drove to sites that were greater than a ten-minute walk apart. I took field notes to document the condition of the resource, its current use, how its Jewish association is visually communicated, and how histories of other communities appear. Observations about the aspects of integrity, architectural characteristics and style, and physical appearance were documented in the field notes. I took photographs of the front, side, and rear (if possible) facades of the buildings, and any decorative elements that conveyed cultural associations.

I used the *National Register Bulletin 24: Guidelines for Local Surveys, A Basis for Preservation Planning*,²⁴ and the Washington State Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation (DAHP) standards to design the survey. Typically, historic resource surveys are either “reconnaissance” or “intensive” level,²⁵ characterized by progressive requirements for research and documentation. This survey incorporates elements of both levels of survey.

I designed a survey and inventory template to document field observations and historic context research based on DAHP guidelines. I used the template to capture the resource name; address or location; current and historic use; historic context; a discussion of the seven aspects of integrity required for National Register listing (if applicable); architectural information; a physical appearance; changes to the structure (if observable or known); a thorough Statement of Significance based on the history of the resource and its context; a Determination of Eligibility (for local landmarking or National Register listing) stating my personal opinion; the approximate date of construction; the architect/engineer/builder (if known); historic images; and photographic documentation of the building. The survey and inventory documentation meets DAHP’s standards for entering a Historic Property Inventory or Survey Report into DAHP’s WISAARD²⁶ system: Washington State’s database of historic resources.

Survey and Inventory Vignettes (Thesis Chapter 6) offer a concise snapshot of the survey and inventory findings. A full record of the survey and inventory for each of the surveyed buildings appears in the Appendix.

²⁴ See National Register Bulletin 24. Retrieved on November 20, 2021, from https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalregister/upload/NRB24-Complete_Part1t.pdf

²⁵ See description of survey levels on DAHP website. Retrieved on November 20, 2021, from <https://dahp.wa.gov/historic-preservation/historic-buildings/historic-building-survey-and-inventory/survey-levels>

²⁶ See DAHP WISAARD: Washington Information System for Architectural & Archaeological Records Data. <https://dahp.wa.gov/historic-preservation/find-a-historic-place>

3.7 *Case Studies*

I selected two sites for in-depth case studies due to their abilities to contribute to the research on preserving Jewish history through an intersectional framework. Both the Talmud Torah / Islamic School / Cherry Street Village, and the Sephardic Bikur Holim / Tolliver Temple possess the significance and integrity necessary to pursue Seattle landmark designation and National Register of Historic Places listing. Additionally, both sites are engaged in formal and informal preservation efforts that involve collaborations between diverse stakeholders with mutual interests. The case studies explore the significance of the resources to multiple underrepresented communities, and describe current preservation initiatives.

3.8 *Informal Discussions, Interviews, and Correspondence*

I had several informal discussions, interviews, and correspondence with formal and informal preservation practitioners and Jewish community members. Discussions occurred with staff members from the Washington State Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, King County Landmarks program, City of Seattle Landmarks program, Washington State Jewish Historical Society, Black Heritage Society of Washington, and community placemakers.

Conversations focused on preservation methods and tools, the value of historic preservation, shortcomings of historic preservation with respect to engaging underrepresented communities, opportunities for future practice, and sharing information about active preservation projects. Discussions with Jewish community members focused on the Jewish experience in the Central Area, place meaning and place attachment, the history and significance of the survey

sites, and preservation projects related to the case study sites. Themes emerged from these conversations that informed the direction and recommendations of this thesis.

Most of the discussions occurred with my existing network of professional colleagues and personal contacts. These were held on a one-on-one basis, either in-person, via email, telephone, or zoom. The discussions were not transcribed. I took notes, which I reviewed and used to develop themes. Discussions contributed to context research, case studies, and recommendations. One informal interview was held with a representative from the Cherry Street Village project in order to learn about the current preservation efforts for the Talmud Torah / Islamic School / Cherry Street Village Case Study. I found the representative's contact name and information on an online video for the project, and conducted a zoom meeting on September 9, 2021. The interview was recorded with the verbal permission of the interviewee. After the meeting, I watched and listened to the recording and extracted salient quotes that were incorporated into the case study. The interview was not transcribed.

University of Washington policy allows individuals to determine if their activity qualifies as human subjects research using the Human Subjects Research Determination Worksheet. I completed the worksheet and determined that these interviews do not qualify as human subjects research, therefore IRB review and approval was not required.

Chapter 4. CONTEXT STATEMENTS

4.1 *Central Area History*

The Coast Salish are the first known inhabitants of what is now known as the Central Area. The Lake People (Xatchua'bsh), a band of the Duwamish, lived in settlements along the shores of Lake Washington. A trail connected Puget Sound and Little Crossing-Over Place (now Pioneer Square) to camps along the shores of Lake Washington, traversing over the land that is now the Central Area (Thrush, 2017). With the signing of the Treaty of Point Elliott of 1855, the Duwamish exchanged 54,000 acres of their ancestral lands for guaranteed hunting and fishing rights and reservation land; promises that were violated by the U.S. Government and the region's Euro-American settlers.²⁷ Ratification of the Treaty in 1859 made the Duwamish land available to white settlers.

Carson Boren and Henry Yesler were the first white settlers to claim land in the Central Area. A portion of Boren's Donation Land Claim²⁸ extended from the Central Business District east to what is now 20th Avenue, north to Cherry Street, and south to Fir Street. Henry Yesler assumed Boren's tract and extended the land claim east to 30th Avenue, north to Marion Street, and south of Yesler Way (Veith, 2009). The Central Area was logged off in the mid-1800s; logs were skidded down "skid road" - now Yesler Way - to Henry Yesler's sawmill in Pioneer Square (Henry, 2001).

²⁷ See Duwamish Tribe *Treaty of Point Elliott*. Retrieved November 20, 2021, from <https://www.duwamishtribe.org/treaty-of-point-elliott>.

²⁸ See King County *Series 490: Donation land claim maps, 1861-1882*. Retrieved November 20, 2021, from https://www.kingcounty.gov/depts/records-licensing/archives/research-guides/environmental-history/maps/land_use/donation_land_claim.aspx.

In 1869, the newly incorporated City of Seattle²⁹ extended from Elliott Bay to the shores of Lake Washington. Land platting in the Central Area began in 1875 and continued until 1912, and the area's development patterns were mostly fixed by the second decade of the 20th century (Veith, 2009).

Construction in the Central Area was rare until the Lake Washington Cable Railway began trolley service from Pioneer Square to Leschi Park along Yesler Way and Jackson Street in 1887 (Crowley, 2000). Several electric streetcar lines began service in the Central Area in the following five years, and the neighborhoods surrounding Jackson Street, Yesler Way, Cherry Street, and Madison Street experienced substantial development. The Central Area attracted the city's rapidly growing population, and residential and institution building followed.

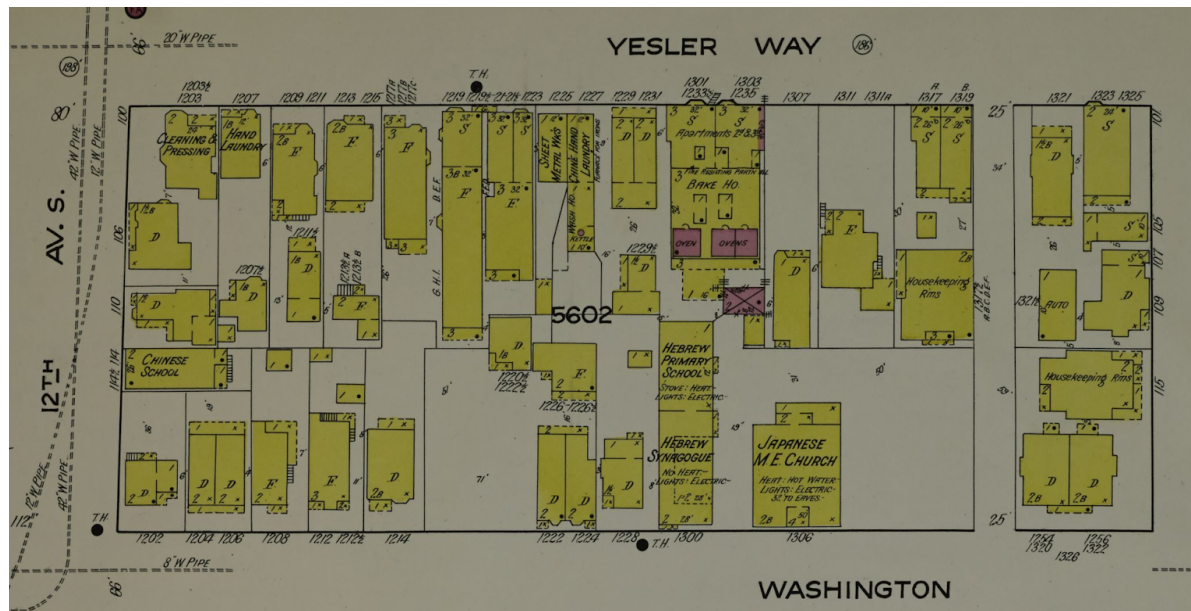
Before the streetcar system, Seattle was a relatively compact walking city, with a high degree of racial, ethnic, and socio-economic integration. With the advent of public transportation, economically and ethnically segregated neighborhoods emerged (Taylor, 1994). Two distinct Black enclaves formed in the 1880s, centered around the Yesler-Jackson corridor and East Madison Street. Yesler-Jackson was a more transient area, populated by single men who worked on the railroad, ships, and in downtown hotels. The Madison area developed when African American pioneer and entrepreneur William Grose, Seattle's second Black resident, purchased a twelve-acre farm near East Madison Street from Henry Yesler in 1882 (Veith, 2009). The Madison Street Cable Car line was extended from downtown east to Lake Washington in 1890. Access to public transportation attracted Black professionals, business owners, and artisans. Grose sold parcels of his land to African American families, and eventually his farm

²⁹ See Seattle Municipal Archives *Brief History of Seattle*. Retrieved November 20, 2021, from <https://www.seattle.gov/cityarchives/seattle-facts/brief-history-of-seattle>

transformed from one of Seattle's single largest landholdings into the city's first Black residential district. By 1900, East Madison had the largest concentration of Black homeowners in Seattle, which seeded the historic African American identity of the Central Area (Taylor, 1994).

Figure 4.1

Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, 12th Ave S and Yesler Way, c. 1916



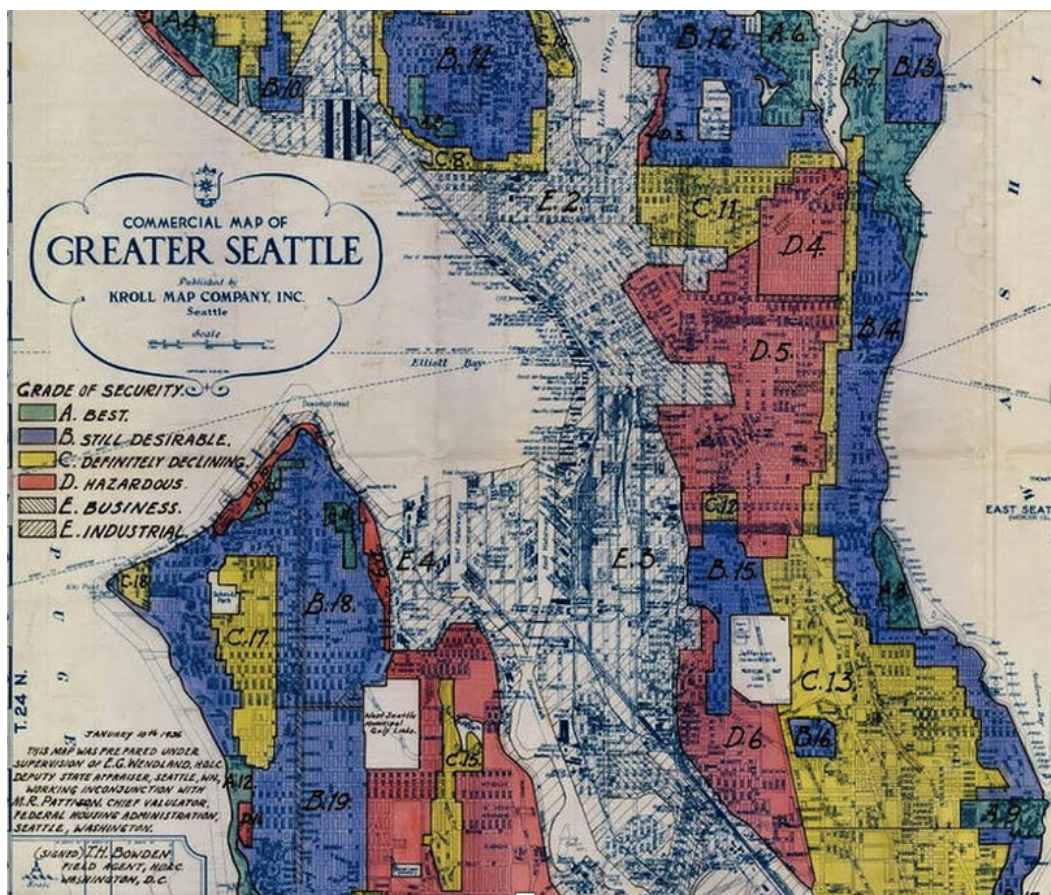
Note: A Chinese School, Chinese laundry, Japanese M E Church, Hebrew Synagogue, Hebrew Primary School, The Mosler Apartments (building housing new Jewish immigrants), and the Brooklyn Bakery (operated by the Mosler family) inhabit the same block, showing the diversity of the Central Area in the early decades of the 20th century. Source: (1916) Sanborn Fire Insurance Map.

Seattle's population exploded from 80,671 in 1900, to 237,194 in 1910 (Taylor, 1994, p. 52). The Central Area grew, and was characterized by its ethnic, racial, and religious diversity. Italian and German communities populated the Judkins neighborhood in the southern portion of the Central Area. Scandinavian immigrants inhabited the Squire Park area around 14th Avenue. Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe, Turkey, and Rhodes settled around East Yesler Way, and later East Cherry Street. The Japanese population expanded eastward from *Nihonmachi*

(Japantown) along Yesler Way to 23rd Avenue.³⁰ Chinese immigrants clustered around 12th Avenue, south of Yesler Way.³¹ African American hubs continued to develop around Madison Street and Jackson Street. Businesses were owned and operated by the Central Area's diverse residents, and religious institutions, fraternal clubs, and benevolent societies served the spiritual, social, and material needs of each of its ethnic populations.

Figure 4.2

Federal Homeowners' Loan Corp "Redlining" Map of Seattle, 1936



Note: The Central Area was assigned a “Hazardous” security rating, which led to decades of mortgage discrimination and disinvestment. Source: Lloyd, 2019

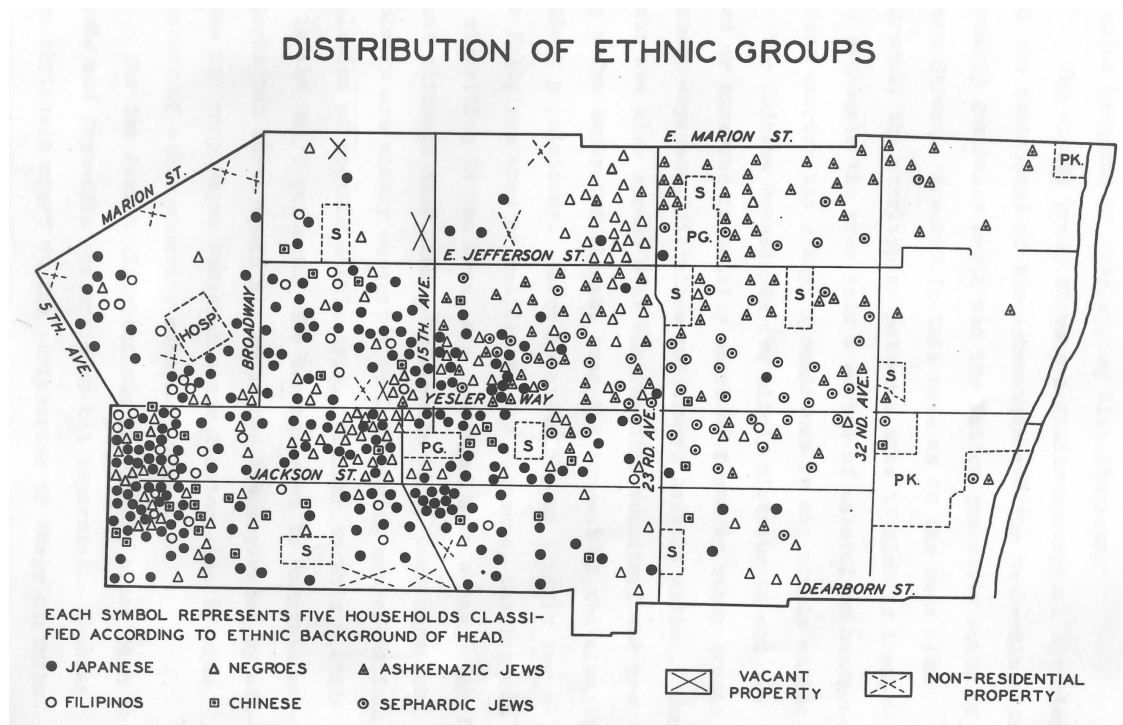
³⁰ See map of *Japanese Population Seattle: 1920*. Retrieved on November 21, 2021, from <http://depts.washington.edu/labhist/tracts/450/schmidt%20japanese%201920.jpg>

³¹ See map of *Chinese Population Seattle: 1920*. Retrieved on November 21, 2021, from <https://depts.washington.edu/civilr/images/segregated/schmidt%20chinese%201920%201.jpg>

Racially restrictive covenants³² and redlining [Figure 4.2]³³ further concentrated Seattle's minority populations into the Central Area. Racial deed restrictions, legally permitted from 1926 until 1948, allowed developers and landowners to prohibit the sale or rental of property to Blacks, Asians, and Jews. The already platted Central Area was subject to less racial restrictions than newer neighborhoods where covenants could be easily attached to property deeds. Thus, the Central Area became one of the few places that “non-whites” were able to live in Seattle, which contributed to its culturally diverse, layered, and intersecting environment.

Figure 4.3

Residential Distribution of Ethnic Groups in the Central Area, 1939



Note: A residential survey map shows the racial and ethnic diversity of the Central Area in the pre-war years.
Source: Hatt, 1945, p. 104

³² See *Segregated Seattle: Racial Restrictive Covenants*. Retrieved November 21, 2021, from <http://depts.washington.edu/civilr/covenants.htm>

³³ See *The History of Redlining in Seattle*. Retrieved November 21, 2021, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mBQE5rrWDfA>

Figure 4.4

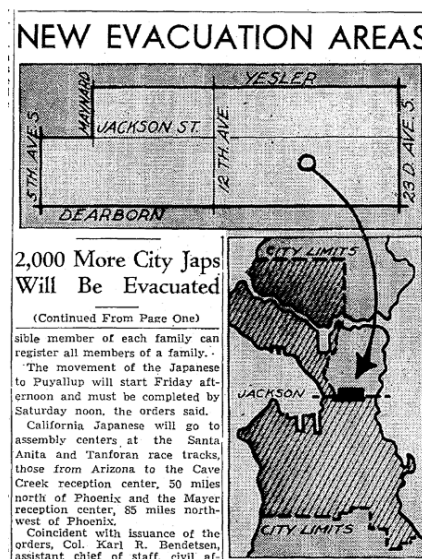
Japanese Curfew, 1942



Note: George Tokuda locks his pharmacy at 18th Ave and East Yesler Way, complying with the curfew on Japanese Americans, 1942. Source: Densho Digital Repository, "Clipping of George Tokuda."

Figure 4.5

Japanese Evacuation, 1942



Note: "2,000 More Seattle Japanese Ordered Removed This Week. Groups in Yesler District Scheduled for Evacuation" Seattle Daily Times. (May 3, 1942). Source: Densho Digital Repository

World War II had a profound effect on the Central Area's ethnic and racial composition. In 1942, Executive Order 9066 called for the deportation and incarceration of the West Coast's Japanese citizens. In the Central Area, Japanese residents were required to report to Collins Playfield, where they were sent by army buses to detention centers and internment camps.³⁴ Homes and businesses were sold quickly for a fraction of their value, and Japanese community members lost their economic livelihood and social standing.³⁵ Japanese families returned from

³⁴ See *Thomas T. Kobayashi Interview* (2009). Retrieved November 21, 2021, from <https://ddr.densho.org/media/ddr-densho-1000/ddr-densho-1000-238-transcript-2fb0518a07.htm>

³⁵ See *Letter to Clara from George Tokuda* (March 24, 1943), Densho Digital Archive. "You will know by now that both stores [Tokuda Drug Store] that I worked so hard to attain are just memories. I have lost everything totally...to me at one time worth at least ten thousand dollars...the fruit of my seven years of hard work and sacrifice." Retrieved November 21, 2021, from <https://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-383-480/>. See Seattle Historic Sephardic Jewish Tour for memories of Tokuda Drugstore. Retrieved November 21, 2021, from <https://www.wsjhs.org/museum/categories/jewish-life/sephardic-jewish-seattle-stories-tour.html#10>

internment camps after World War II, and Japanese institutions in the Central Area, such as the Seattle Buddhist Church,³⁶ reopened. However, the Central Area never regained the vibrance of its pre-war Japanese community.

Employment opportunities in the World War II defense industry began a period of significant growth of Seattle's African American population. From 1940 to 1945, the Black population increased 164 percent to 10,000 people, or 2.7 percent of the city's population (Taylor, 1994, p. 160). Racial tensions increased, and wartime overcrowding contributed to physical deterioration of the Central Area's older housing stock (Taylor, 1994).

Figure 4.6

Royal Esquires Club International Festival Queen Parades on Jackson Street, c. 1950



Note: In the early 1950s, Seattle's Black and Asian communities selected a royal court to represent them at the African American community festival. Source: MOHAI, Al Smith Collection, [2014.49.010-054-0111]

³⁶ See Seattle Buddhist Church Landmarks Nomination Form LPB-1946. Retrieved November 21, 2021, from <https://www.seattle.gov/documents/Departments/Neighborhoods/HistoricPreservation/Landmarks/RelatedDocument/s/seattle-first-buddhist-church-nomination-data-sheet.pdf>

From 1950 to 1960, the Black population in Seattle increased to 26,901 people, most of whom resided in the Central Area (Taylor, 1994, p. 160). Public school enrollment reflected this change: in 1960, for example, over 90 percent of the student body of the Central Area's public elementary and junior high schools were Black (Sale, 1976, p. 218).

Years of redlining and disinvestment drained the Central Area of capital and left its housing and infrastructure in decline. In the early 1960s, 340 acres of the Central Area were designated as "blighted" and identified for "conservation and rehabilitation" under the Federal Housing Act of 1959's Urban Renewal program. The Yesler/Atlantic "T" was selected for redevelopment (Seattle Municipal Archives, n.d.). Homes and businesses were demolished, and neighborhood residents and business owners, primarily African American, were displaced.³⁷ The built environment of the Yesler/Atlantic area changed from small lots with streetcar oriented residential and commercial development to super blocks with subsidized housing units, open space, and tracts that remained undeveloped for decades.

The federal antipoverty Model Cities program, active between 1969 and 1974, provided funding for neighborhood revitalization, job training, health services, and adaptive reuse projects using a citizen participation organizational structure (Hruza, 1972). By the late 1960s, the Jewish community was transitioning out of the Central Area, and Model Cities funding was used to purchase and repurpose two synagogue buildings to better serve the area's Black community: Chevra Bikur Cholim became the Langston Hughes Performing Arts Center (Mumford, 2014) and Herzl Congregation became the Odessa Brown Health Clinic (Lopez, 2009).

³⁷ See Seattle Municipal Archives *Seattle Segments: Urban Renewal Yesler-Atlantic "T"* for public testimony by Mrs. Collins on the proposed demolition of her apartment house and beauty shop at 1719-21 East Yesler Way [located in the Thesis study area], min. 1:55. Retrieved on November 22, 2021, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-j2qlcGotao>

Figure 4.7

Yesler-Atlantic Urban Renewal Fact Sheet, 1967

YESLER-ATLANTIC

Urban Renewal

Neighborhood Improvement Project

Possibly Seattle's most complex urban renewal activity is under way in the Yesler-Atlantic Project area.

For urban renewal, it has been a long and complex drive to reach this point in study activity. The project, originally proposed in 1960, lay dormant until citizen interest was revived in 1966.

A project staff is on duty in the area, serving as liaison between the residents and the City. The staff, working hand-in-hand with all interested persons and organizations, provides the opportunity for participation in area redevelopment by all residents and property owners in the Yesler-Atlantic Project.

Today, a detailed analysis of conditions and rehabilitation potential of all structures in the 137-acre project has been made, and an in-depth study of the economic conditions and trends within the area is complete.

Sociological needs of the people living and working in Yesler-Atlantic have been analyzed. Satisfying these needs is a prime consideration in developing the final design for the area.

Final plans for renewal of the area will be reviewed by the City Council soon. Following their approval, it is expected that actual project activities can begin early in 1968.

EXHIBITION
CITY DOC

SEATTLE PUBLIC LIBRARY
JUL 18 1967

Estimated Project Cost

Gross cost of project	\$10,200,000
Proceeds from sale of land	3,800,000
Net cost of Project	\$ 6,400,000
City of Seattle 1/3 share, paid from Northlake Project credits . . .	\$2,133,333
Federal 2/3 share	\$4,266,667
Federal Relocation grant	\$ 360,000
Federal Rehabilitation grants	\$ 50,000
Total Federal grant	\$ 4,676,667

Note: Yesler-Atlantic "T" urban renewal boundary is shown in the upper right corner.
Source: Seattle Municipal Archives, via Flickr. CC BY 2.0

In 1970, Seattle's 37,868 African Americans made up 73.4 percent of the Central Area population (Taylor, 1994, p. 192; Balk, 2016). Within two decades, "the Central District [was] no longer the center of black Seattle" (Taylor, 1994, p. 236). Taylor presciently identified the risk of displacement of the Black community as "upper income whites seeking inexpensive housing opportunities and convenient access to the downtown area" would drive housing prices and rents beyond the affordability of the Central Area's African American residents (Taylor, 1994, p. 236).

Within the first two decades of the 21st century, data estimates show that the Black population decreased from 36 percent in 2000 to 15 percent in 2020 (Balk, 2020). The rate of Black homeownership in the Central Area fell from 50 percent in 1960 to 13 percent in 2000 (Morrill, 2013, p. 319). A loss of Black cultural and commercial institutions has occurred as a result of the population change. Scholars have predicted "the probable disintegration of the historic CD as a coherent black community" (Morrill, 2013, p. 320).

Displacement of the Black community has been attributed to city planning policies, predatory mortgage lending, development, and gentrification. The Growth Management Act and Seattle's Urban Village strategy enacted in the 1990s failed to account for and mitigate risks of gentrification and displacement. Upzones and multifamily and neighborhood commercial development have dramatically altered the character of the Central Area. The Central Area is no longer recognizable as the "Black Seattle [that] through much of the twentieth century was synonymous with the Central District" (Taylor, 1994, p. 5).

4.2 *Jewish Immigration, Settlement, and Community Development in the Central Area*

a. Jewish Immigration to the United States and the Pacific Northwest

Jews first arrived in North America in 1654, when 23 families fled the Portuguese Inquisition in Dutch Brazil and took refuge in New Amsterdam. The first period of Jewish immigration lasted until 1830 and was made up of Sephardic Jews who were fleeing religious persecution and seeking economic opportunities (Adatto, 1939; Cohn, 1982). When the Declaration of Independence was signed in 1776, there were 2,000 Jews spread throughout the Thirteen Colonies (Cone et al., 2003). A second period of Jewish immigration lasted from 1830 to 1880, composed of Ashkenazic Jews from Germany and Central Europe (Cohn, 1982). By 1880, there were 250,000 Jews in the United States. The third and most significant period of Jewish immigration lasted from 1880 to 1925, as Jews left antisemitic violence, forced conscription, rising nationalism, and poverty in Eastern Europe and the Southern European and Mediterranean region. 3.5 million Eastern European Ashkenazic Jews immigrated to America over a fifty year span (Cone et al., 2003, p. 34). Sephardic Jewish immigrants from Constantinople, Salonica, Marmara, and Rhodes entered America at the turn of the 20th century.

The California Gold Rush of 1849 drew Jews to the west, and then to the northwest when gold was discovered in British Columbia, Idaho, and Montana. In the Territory of Washington, small Jewish communities formed in Olympia, Steilacoom, Tacoma, Port Townsend, Walla Walla, Ellensburg, and Spokane (Cone et al., 2003, p. 3).

Initially, the Pacific Northwest was a relatively open and tolerant environment for Jews, and they were able to assume prominent positions of civic and economic leadership. The

appointment of Edward S. Salomon as the first and only Jewish Governor of Washington in 1870 exemplified the zeitgeist of the times (Micklin, 2003). The period of tolerance ended by the turn of the century, following a larger trend in America. The rise of racial sciences, the social upheaval of industrialization and urbanization, and the tremendous influx of Jewish immigrants - particularly from Eastern Europe, were forces that challenged the status of Jews in America's rapidly transforming society. Jews had always held a tenuous place in the American racial order, and their classification as non-white racial others, subject to discrimination and exclusion, was solidified by the early 20th century (Jacobson, 1998; Goldstein, 2006).

b. Early Jewish Settlement in Seattle

Three distinct waves of Jewish immigration shaped the Jewish community. German-speaking Ashkenazic Jews immigrated from Central Europe in the 1860s. From 1880 to 1924, Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazic Jews arrived from Eastern Europe. Beginning in 1902, Judeo-Spanish "Ladino" speaking Sephardic Jews immigrated from the Mediterranean region and the Ottoman Empire (Cone et al., 2003).

The first Jews arrived in Seattle in 1869, when the Bavarian-Jewish Schwabacher family moved from Walla Walla to open a branch of their wholesale grocery and hardware business. In 1870, Seattle had 1,107 total residents and three Jewish families (Cone et al., 2003, p. 15). The Schwabacher company, led by Bailey Gatzert, became the leading wholesaler in Territorial Washington and was instrumental in Seattle's early commercial development. Bailey Gatzert's business ventures and political leadership helped transform Seattle from a small town into the leading city in the Puget Sound region. Gatzert served as the city's first and only Jewish mayor,

elected in 1875. Bailey Gatzert Elementary School in Seattle's Central Area is named in his honor (Avner & Buttnick, 1995, p. 6).

By 1880, there were 100 Jewish residents in Seattle, out of a population of 8,000 (Cone et al., 2003, p. 19). Jewish immigrants contributed to building the city's commerce and infrastructure. Bailey Gatzert and German-Jewish immigrant Jacob Furth founded banks and helped finance and develop Seattle's urban railway system, regional rail lines, and municipal water system (Cone et al., 2003, p. 28).

When the second wave of Jewish immigration began in 1880, Seattle did not have any synagogues, ritual bathing facilities, or kosher food. The religiously observant Eastern European immigrants had minimal secular education and English language skills, which limited their economic opportunities and ability to integrate into Seattle's broader society. Shop-keeping, peddling, tailoring, baking, and jewelry making were trades and skills they learned in Europe and continued in Seattle (Cone et al., 2003).

On June 6, 1889, the Great Seattle Fire destroyed the entire central business district. Meyer Gottstein, a Jewish immigrant from Poland, optimistically hung a sign over his smoldering liquor store that read "Will rebuild at once. Seattle will rise from the ashes" (Cone et al., 2003, p. 20). The Schwabacher Wharf was the only pier in Seattle to survive the fire; however the Schwabacher Brothers store and warehouse were destroyed. A new four-story Schwabacher Hardware Building was constructed at 1st and Yesler, which still stands today.

Figure 4.8

Schwabacher Bros. & Co. Invoice, 1891



Source: Museum of History and Industry, Seattle; All Rights Reserved. 2016.3.2.6

On July 17, 1897, the *Portland* steamer landed at Schwabacher Wharf loaded with a ton of gold from Alaska and the Yukon, launching the Klondike Gold Rush. An estimated 40,000 prospectors moved through Seattle, and purchases of the required year's worth of provisions led to an economic boom.³⁸ Jewish-owned businesses thrived: the Buttnick family manufactured work clothes in Pioneer Square's Buttnick Building (extant); Cooper and Levy, located at 1st Avenue and Yesler Way, operated 24 hours a day to meet the bustling demand at "the gateway to the Klondike" (Cone et al., 2003, p. 31).

Seattle became the center of Jewish settlement in the new State of Washington. Jews moved from smaller towns and cities to participate in Seattle's growing Jewish community. Synagogues and supplemental Hebrew schools were established to provide religious services, burial rights, and education. Mutual aid societies³⁹ and fraternal organizations were organized to help the needy, integrate immigrants, and offer "benevolence, brotherhood, and harmony."⁴⁰

³⁸ See National Park Service *Klondike Gold Rush - Seattle Unit*. Retrieved November 23, 2021, from <https://www.nps.gov/klse/learn/historyculture/index.htm>

³⁹ Today's Jewish Family Service began as the Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Society in 1893 (Cohn, 1982, p. 11).

⁴⁰ Motto of the International Order of B'nai B'rith Lodge #342, founded in Seattle in 1883. In 1884 B'nai B'rith held Seattle's first High Holy Day services at the Masonic Hall (WSJHS, 2016, p. 8, 10).

Figure 4.9*Ohaveth Sholum, c. 1892*

Source: University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, UW 1105/JEW0206

Figure 4.10*Seattle vista with Ohaveth Sholum in the center, c. 1892*

Note: Looking northwest towards Queen Anne hill, Ohaveth Sholum is in the center. *Source:* University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Warner 176

The early wave of German and Central European Jewish immigrants were able to integrate into Seattle's elite society. They built residences in the Capitol Hill area north of Madison Street and were members of Seattle's exclusive social clubs (Avner & Buttnick, 1995). Seattle's first synagogue, Ohaveth Sholum, was founded in 1889 by the German and Central European Ashkenazic Reform community. A synagogue (demolished, date unknown) was built at 8th Avenue and Seneca Street. The congregation disbanded in 1896 (Cohn, 1982, p. 11).

The second wave of Eastern European immigrants were traditional and needed Orthodox prayer services and kosher food to fulfill their religious requirements. Chevra Bikur Cholim ("Society for Visiting the Sick") was founded in 1889 as an aid society to care for the sick and provide proper religious burials. Ashkenazic Orthodox religious services were added in 1892, with forty founding members (Cohn, 1982, p. 11).

In the 1890s, the city's first rabbi⁴¹ arrived, and a kosher meat market, grocery store, and bakery opened in downtown Seattle (Cone et al., 2003, p. 48). The Hebrew Free School, Seattle's first after-school Jewish learning program, was established in 1893 as a joint effort between Ohaveth Sholum and Chevra Bikur Cholim (WSJHS, 2016, p. 20).

The first Ladino-speaking Sephardic Jews arrived in 1902. Solomon Calvo and Jacob Policar immigrated from the Turkish island of Marmara, after learning about the bountiful fishing industry in Seattle. Upon landing in Seattle, Calvo and Policar stood at the waterfront calling out "Yahudi, Yahudi" ("Jew, Jew") until a young Jewish boy emerged from his family's second-hand store and introduced the new immigrants to the Ashkenazic Orthodox community (Cone et al., 2003, p. 60). In 1904, Nessim Alhadeff immigrated from Rhodes, an island off the coast of Greece. The first *minyan*⁴² of Sephardic Jews met for prayer services in 1906 (WSJHS, 2016, p. 39). By 1910, there were approximately 600 Sephardic Jews in Seattle, primarily from Marmara, Tekirdag, and Rhodes. The Sephardic population grew to 3,000, which was 20 percent of Seattle's Jewish population. Seattle had the third largest Sephardic community in the United States, following New York and Los Angeles, which contributed to the diversity and unique cultural identities of Seattle's Jewish community (Adatto, 1939, p. 34).

Sephardic immigrants worked as shop-keepers, shoe shiners, and fruit and fish vendors in the public market. The Sephardic presence at the Pike Place Market grew so strong that the market served as a "de facto community center." Economic and social opportunities at the Pike

⁴¹ Rabbi Hirsch Gens served as Chevra Bikur Cholim's first rabbi, but not in an official position. He gave the congregation a Torah in 1893 and performed the duties for Orthodox religious observance, such as ritual slaughter, circumcision, and rabbinic authority (Micklin, 1998d)

⁴² In Orthodox Judaism, Jewish law requires that a quorum of ten men over the age of 13, called a *minyan*, must be present to read the Torah and recite certain prayers.

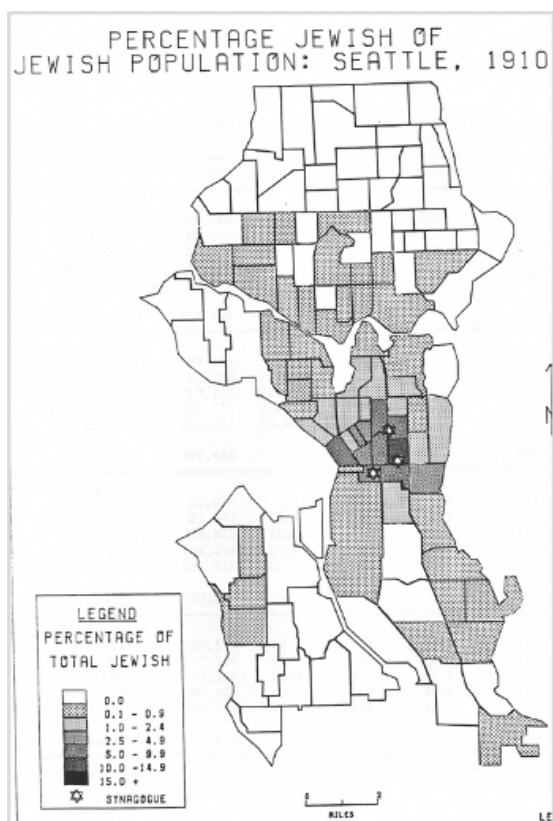
Place Market were instrumental in the Sephardic community's future integration and participation in the civic life of Seattle (Tomky, 2015).

c. Jewish Settlement Patterns in the Central Area

By 1910, the population of Seattle had grown to 237,194, of which 4,500 people (2%) were Jews. 85 percent of Seattle's Jewish population, or 3,825 people, lived in central Seattle. Almost half of the population was concentrated in six census tracts (Cone et al., 2003, p. 134).

Figure 4.11

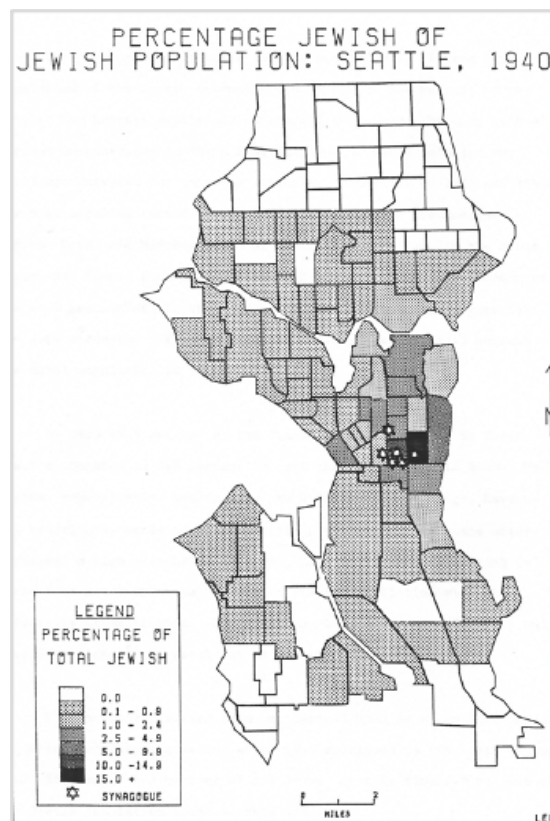
Jewish Population Distribution, 1910



Note: By 1910, the Central Area had 3 synagogues and was developing as a hub of Seattle's Jewish life.
Source: Cohn, 1982, p. 33

Figure 4.12

Jewish Population Distribution, 1940



Note: By 1940, the Jewish population in the Central Area had increased and the area had 6 synagogues.
Source: Cohn, 1982, p. 36

At the turn of the century, Eastern European Ashkenazic and Southern European / Mediterranean Sephardic Jews moved from downtown into the Central Area. Settlement initially clustered around 12th Avenue and Yesler Way, an area with low rents and poor housing quality. The first Sephardic District formed around 12th And Main Street (Adatto, 1939).

Differences between the Ashkenazic and Sephardic languages, religious practices, and customs created a “cultural chasm... [and a] mutual aloofness” between the groups (Adatto, 1939, p. 63). They lived in close proximity but established separate synagogues, social organizations, and cemeteries. Intermixing increased over time, and the “Americanized” children “went to school, played together, and grew up together” (Cohn, 1982, p. 15; Adatto, 1939).

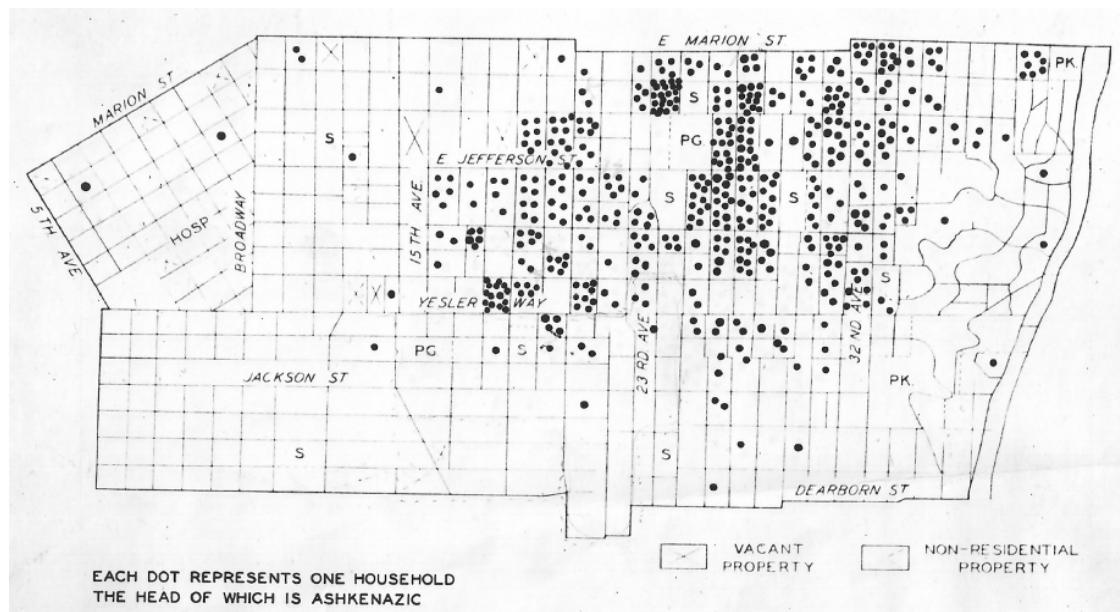
The Yesler Way area took on visible signs of a Jewish enclave, with synagogues, religious schools, kosher butchers, bakeries, restaurants, coffee houses, and a movie theater that served the religious, social, and commercial needs of the Jewish neighborhood. “Good old Yesler Way” was the heart and hub of Jewish life; the “artery and life blood of the neighborhood ... where everything of importance seemed to take place” (Berch, 1992, p. 25).

After World War I, the Jewish community moved northwards to what was then known as the Walla Walla district, an area north of Yesler Way anchored by East Cherry Street that had higher condition single family residences (Hatt, 1945).⁴³ A new Jewish district formed along East Cherry Street, extending from 23rd Avenue eastward to 34th Avenue in the Madrona neighborhood. In the 1930s, Jewish-owned businesses, social organizations, and the Hebrew school moved. Synagogues remained in the Yesler Way area. (Cone et al., 1930; Cohn, 1982).

⁴³ See Hatt’s 1945 thesis for maps and analysis of the residential distribution of the Central Area’s ethnic population and correlations with housing conditions, socio-economic status, and mobility. Summaries are provided for Ashkenazic Jews (p. 117) and Sephardic Jews (p. 118).

Figure 4.13

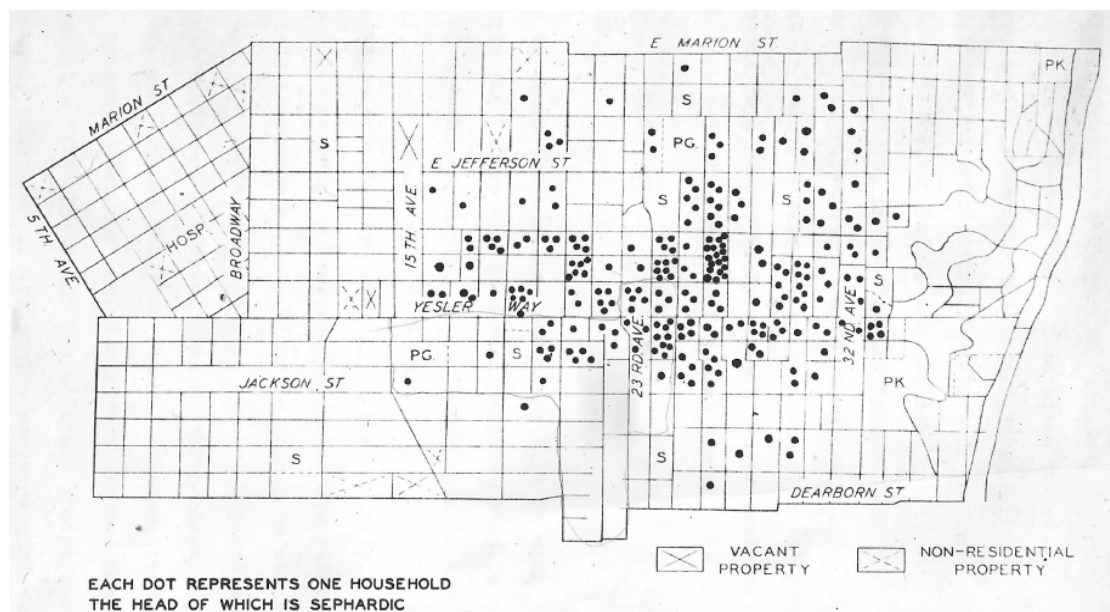
Distribution of Ashkenazic Jews, 1939



Note: Survey data collected by the WPA in 1939. Source: Hatt, 1945, p. 75

Figure 4.14

Distribution of Sephardic Jews, 1939

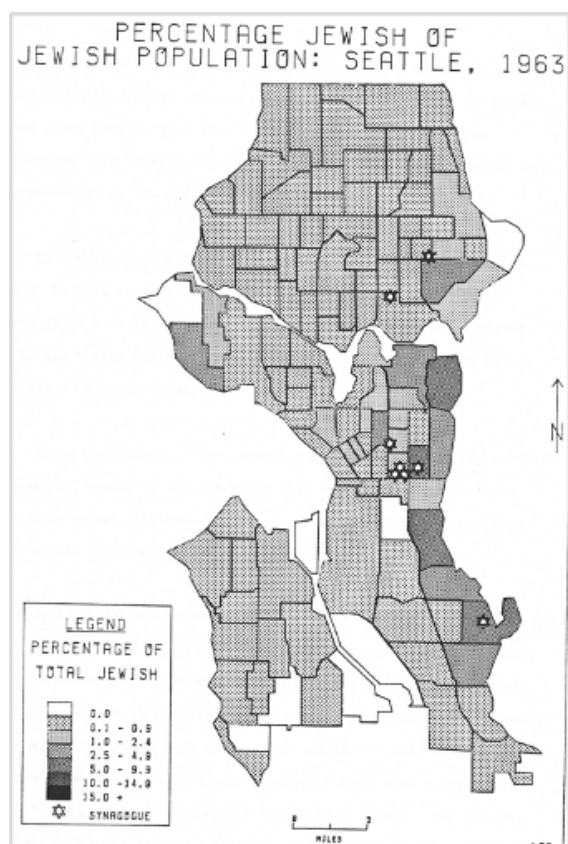


Note: Survey data collected by the WPA in 1939. Source: Hatt, 1945, p. 76

In 1940, Seattle's Jewish population reached 10,300; 85 percent of which continued to live in the Central Area (Cohn, 1982, p. 35). In 1948, the U. S. Supreme Court struck down racially restrictive housing covenants.⁴⁴ As the Jewish community gained economic mobility and social standing⁴⁵ after World War II, the Jewish population started to disperse out of the Central Area to north and south Seattle, and to eastside suburbs. By 1963, nearly 20 percent of the Jewish population lived in North Seattle, and 25 percent in South Seattle (Cohn, 1982, p. 37).

Figure 4.15

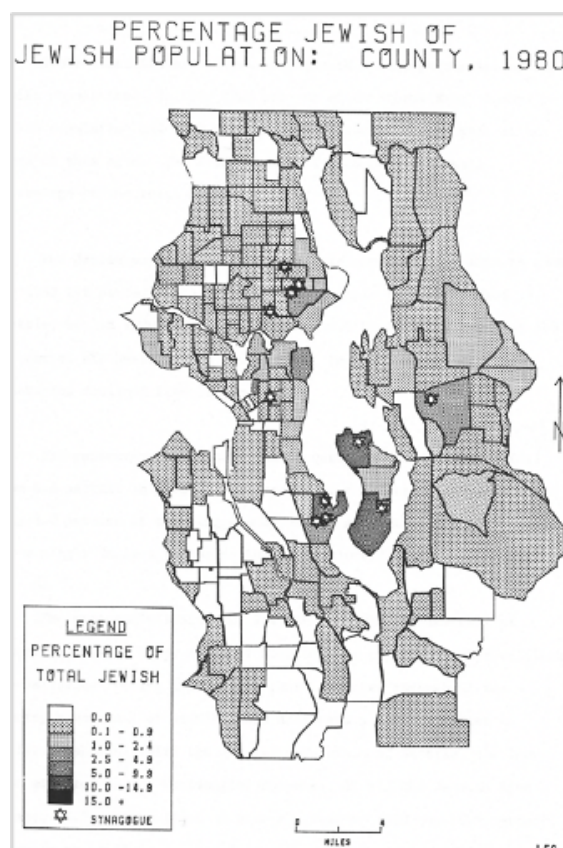
Jewish Population Distribution, 1963



Note: By 1963, Jews were dispersing out of the Central Area. New synagogues were built in north & south Seattle. *Source:* Cohn, 1982, p. 33

Figure 4.16

Jewish Population Distribution, 1980



Note: By 1980, the Jewish population had distributed throughout King County. Only 1 Central Area synagogue remained. *Source:* Cohn, 1982, p. 36

⁴⁴ See *Shelley v. Kraemer*. Retrieved November 21, 2021, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shelley_v._Kraemer

⁴⁵ See Goldstein (2006), Ch. 8 for discussion of how Jews entered the white mainstream in the 1930s & 1940s

In the 1960s, long established synagogues and social and cultural organizations had to make difficult and divisive decisions to stay or to leave the Central Area, and “bitter conflicts among various members of the community” ensued (Cohn, 1982, p. 48). New synagogues were built in North Seattle, Seward Park, Bellevue, and Mercer Island for the growing Jewish populations in those areas (Cone et al., 2003).

By the early 1970s, the Jewish population in the Central Area had significantly contracted and most of the Jewish cultural institutions, social organizations, commercial enterprises, the Talmud Torah school, and all but one of the synagogues had relocated to other neighborhoods in Seattle and suburban King County. In 1980, Seattle’s Jewish population numbered 11,386, while the total Jewish population of King County had expanded to 19,300 (Cohn, 1982, p. 39). It is estimated that the Jewish population in the Greater Seattle region⁴⁶ grew to 63,400 people in 2014, with 8 percent residing in downtown/central Seattle neighborhoods (Jewish Federation of Greater Seattle, 2014, pp. 14 & 29).

d. Jewish Religious Institutions in the Central Area

Between 1898 and 1933, eight synagogues, two *mikvahs* (ritual baths), and a funeral chapel were constructed in the Central Area. Synagogues were the center of Jewish communal life, and functioned as places for worship, lifecycle events, social activities, and education. The locations of the religious institutions reflect the settlement patterns of the Jewish population. The German / Central European Reform Temple De Hirsh was built at the northern edge of the Central Area, near their Capitol Hill residences. Community members did not observe the laws

⁴⁶ The 63,400 Jews of Greater Seattle are distributed as follows: 85% in King County, and 15% in Snohomish, Pierce, Kitsap, and Island Counties combined. Source: Seattle Jewish Community Study 2014, p. 14.

of Shabbat and could drive or ride the streetcar to Temple for services. Orthodox Ashkenazic and Sephardic Jews kept Shabbat. Thus, their synagogues were located within walking distance of their residences in the Yesler Way area.

Temple De Hirsch⁴⁷ was founded in 1899 on the principles of Reform Judaism, by the established and elite German and Central European community. Membership grew, and in 1907 they built a new temple at 15th Avenue and East Union Street (demolished, 1992). Temple De Hirsch “became the prestigious congregation where East European Jews [and Sephardic] went when they ‘made it’ or sent their children to rub shoulders with the elite” (Cohn, 1982, p. 12). In 1960, Temple De Hirsch built a new sanctuary⁴⁸ at 15th Avenue and East Pike Street (extant). Temple De Hirsch Sinai is now the oldest and largest Reform congregation in Seattle and in the Pacific Northwest, and the last active synagogue that still remains in the Central Area.

Figure 4.17

Chevre Bikur Cholim, c. 1900



Note: 1st building at 14th Ave S & S Washington St
Source: MOHAI, Seattle Historical Society Collection, SHS 10991

Figure 4.18

Chevre Bikur Cholim, c. 1915



Note: 2nd building at 17th Ave S & East Yesler Way
Source: University of Washington Libraries Special Collections, PH Coll 883.7/JEW1559

⁴⁷ See Thesis Survey and Inventory Site 1: Temple De Hirsch (Old Sanctuary)

⁴⁸ See Thesis Survey and Inventory Site 4: Temple De Hirsch (Alhadeff Sanctuary)

Chevra Bikur Cholim,⁴⁹ Seattle's first Orthodox Ashkenazic congregation, purchased and renovated a house at 13th Avenue S and S Washington Street in 1898 (demolished, year unknown). The house was already too small by the first *Rosh Hashana* (Jewish New Year) services due to the population boom from the Gold Rush and immigration (Micklin, 1998d). In 1915, Chevra Bikur Cholim dedicated a new, larger synagogue at 17th Avenue S and E Yesler Way (extant; now Langston Hughes). Bikur Cholim sold the synagogue to the City of Seattle in 1969, and moved to a new synagogue in Seward Park in 1971 (Micklin, 1998d).

Herzl Congregation,⁵⁰ founded on Orthodox Zionist Ashkenazic principles, built their first synagogue at 16th Avenue and East Fir Street (extant; now God's Pentecostal) in 1909. A new, larger synagogue⁵¹ was constructed in 1925, at 20th Avenue and East Spruce Street (extant; converted to Odessa Brown Clinic). Herzl relocated to Mercer Island in 1970 to better serve the growing eastside Jewish population (Herzl Ner-Tamid, n.d).

Seattle's Sephardic Jews initially worshipped at Chevra Bikur Cholim. However, their unique Sephardic religious practices, customs, and Ladino (Judeo-Spanish) language made it difficult to integrate into the Eastern European Ashkenazic community. The Sephardic population grew large enough to hold their own High Holiday services in 1908 (Adatto, 1939, p. 66). The Sephardic immigrants sorted according to the distinct religious liturgy and customs from their places of origin, and eventually three congregations – Ezra Bessaroth (Rhodes), Sephardic Bikur Holim (Tekirdag), and Ahavath Ahim (Marmara) – emerged (Adatto, 1939).

⁴⁹ See Thesis Survey and Inventory Site 14: Chevra Bikur Cholim

⁵⁰ See Thesis Survey and Inventory Site 16: Herzl Congregation (1st location)

⁵¹ See Thesis Survey and Inventory Site 13: Herzl Congregation (2nd location)

Figure 4.19*Ezra Bessaroth, Seattle, 1924*

Note: Newly married Gentil and Morris Israel on the steps of Ezra Bessaroth
Source: University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, UW1186/JEW0430

Koupa Ozer Dalim Anshe Rhodes, meaning “Fund for the Aid of Poor People in Rhodes,” formed in 1909 as a charitable organization to assist Sephardic immigrants from Rhodes. In 1918, Ezra Bessaroth of Rhodes built the first Sephardic synagogue in Seattle at 15th Avenue and East Fir Street (demolished c. 1963; now the site of Goodwill Missionary Baptist Church) (WSJHS, 2016, p. 44). Ezra Bessaroth dedicated a new synagogue building in Seward Park in 1957, and was the first congregation to leave the Central Area (Congregation Ezra Bessaroth, n.d.).

Sephardic Bikur Holim⁵² was founded as a mutual aid society by immigrants from Marmara and Tekirdag, Turkey, in 1910. In 1916, they moved into Chevra Bikur Cholim’s first building at 13th Avenue S and S Washington Street (demolished, year unknown). Sephardic

⁵² See Thesis Survey and Inventory Site 12 and Case Study 2: Sephardic Bikur Holim

Bikur Holim built their second synagogue at 20th Avenue and East Fir Street (extant; now the Tolliver Temple Church of God in Christ), in 1929. The synagogue was purchased by Tolliver Temple in 1963, and a new Sephardic Bikur Holim synagogue was built in Seward Park in 1965 (Sephardic Bikur Holim Congregation, n.d.).

Congregation Ahavath Ahim⁵³ was founded in 1909 by Sephardic Jews from Marmara. In 1922 they built a synagogue at 17th Avenue and East Fir Street (extant; now the Church of Jesus Christ). The building was used until 1931, when Ahavat Ahim merged with Sephardic Bikur Holim (WSJHS, 2016, p. 42).

Machzikay Hadath,⁵⁴ meaning “strengtheners, supporters, and promoters of the religion,” was founded in 1930 as a breakaway congregation when Herzl left the Orthodox movement and became Seattle’s first Conservative synagogue. Congregation Machzikay Hadath built a new Orthodox Ashkenazic synagogue at 26th Avenue and East Fir Street (extant; now the Upper Room Church of God in Christ), in 1933. In the late 1960s, Machzikay Hadath merged with Chevra Bikur Cholim, moved to Seward Park, and sold the synagogue building (Micklin, 1999).

Seattle’s first mikvah (ritual bath) was built in 1897, in a private residence on the site that is now the Bailey Gatzert Elementary School (WSJHS, 2016, p. 24). A new mikvah was built in 1921 in a home at 18th Avenue and East Fir Street. Herzl Congregation built two mikvahs in its second synagogue at 20th Avenue and East Spruce Street. Machzikay Hadath built a mikvah in its synagogue at 26th Avenue and East Fir Street. The last mikvah built in the Central Area was dedicated in 1963, at 17th Avenue South and East Yesler Way (WSJHS, 2016, p. 24).

⁵³ See Thesis Survey and Inventory Site 15: Ahavath Ahim

⁵⁴ See Thesis Survey and Inventory Site 9: Machzikay Hadath

Figure 4.20

Seattle Jewish Chapel, c. 1924



Source: University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, PH Coll 905.13/JEW2209

The first community funeral home, the Seattle Jewish Chapel (demolished 2001), was built at 12th Avenue and East Spruce Street in 1924. Burial rites and funerals were conducted in synagogues, funeral parlors, and homes before the chapel was built. The building was sold in 1999, and the chapel functions were relocated to Seward Park in 2001 (WSJHS, 2016, p. 16).

e. Jewish Religious Schools in the Central Area

Around the turn of the century, Jewish communities started to grapple with Jewish continuity and assimilation in America. Influential leaders promoted the idea that “the future of American Judaism depended on a sound program of Jewish education rooted in Jewish values and sensitive to the needs of young people living in America” (Cone et al., 2003, p. 176). Reform congregations embraced a Sunday School model, with curriculum focused on Jewish history, holidays, and Hebrew. Orthodox congregations took a traditional approach to education and provided religious study in immersive daily after-school programs.

The Talmud Torah, a supplementary religious after-school program open to the entire Jewish community, incorporated in 1899 as an offshoot of Chevra Bikur Cholim’s Hebrew Free

School. Talmud Torah classes were held at the Chevra Bikur Cholim synagogue at 13th Avenue and South Washington Street. A new school was built next to the synagogue in 1900. Families who did not want an Orthodox religious education attended Temple De Hirsch's Hebrew school, which opened in 1899. Temple De Hirsch attracted Ashkenazic and Sephardic Jews to its congregation-affiliated program (Cone et al., 2003, pp. 177-179).

Figure 4.21

Teachers at the Talmud Torah, 1927



Source: University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, PH Coll 718.4/JEW0233

Figure 4.22

Students and Faculty of the Seattle Talmud Torah, 1929



Note: Seattle Talmud Torah at 17th Ave & E Alder St
Source: University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, PH Coll 1132.2/JEW3304

The Talmud Torah grew, moved, and changed name and organizational structure several times during the early 20th century. In 1915 the school had 125 students, moved to portable buildings at 18th Avenue and East Fir Street, and was renamed The Modern Hebrew School (Cone et al., 2003, p. 180). The Modern Hebrew School dissolved, and the Seattle Talmud Torah opened as a school for all of Seattle's Jews, irrespective of Ashkenazic or Sephardic heritage,

country of origin, or religious affiliation. Instruction was rigorous: after school classes were held for five hours a day, and for three hours on Sundays. In 1919 the school purchased four lots at 17th Avenue and East Alder Street [Figures 4.21 and 4.22]. The site was filled with portables, followed by wooden buildings with classrooms and an assembly hall. The Seattle Talmud Torah had over 250 pupils by the end of the 1920s (Cone et al., 2003, pp. 180-185).

In 1928, the Seattle Talmud Torah⁵⁵ purchased land for a new school at 25th Avenue and East Columbia Street, and the building was dedicated in 1930. The location, one block north of Cherry Street, reflected the Jewish population shift from Yesler Way to the emerging Jewish district along Cherry Street (Cone, 1982, p. 52).

Despite the purpose of the Talmud Torah to serve the entire community, the Ashkenazic leadership and teachers held an Ashkenazi-bias in their approach to Jewish education. Thus, Sephardic synagogues maintained their own religious schools, consolidated into the Sephardic Talmud Torah in 1931, in order to teach Sephardic history, liturgy, and philosophy, and “perpetuate our Sephardic race and our Jewish traditions. As the Ashkenazic [*sic*] Jews are independently doing so, perhaps with more efficiency and success, due to the financial and social standing in this country” (Levy, quoted in Adatto, 1939, p. 96).⁵⁶ The Sephardic Talmud Torah had 120 students by 1933 but dissolved in the mid-1930s Depression era (Cone et al, 2003, p. 190; Adatto, 1939). In 1945, Sephardic and Ashkenazic rabbinic leaders came together and reached an agreement for the Seattle Talmud Torah to enroll and educate Sephardic students and create a school where all Jewish youth could study together (Cone et al., 2006, p. 186).

⁵⁵ See Thesis Survey and Inventory Site 7 and Case Study 1: Talmud Torah

⁵⁶ *Note:* This quote from Sephardic Talmud Torah teacher Albert Levy demonstrates the intersectional experience of Sephardic Jews in America: considered racial minorities and subject to discrimination by the American white majority, and by the Ashkenazic Jewish majority population.

The Seattle Hebrew Day School was founded in 1947 as an independent institution that offered full day secular and Jewish education. The day school was located in the Seattle Talmud Torah building on 25th Avenue and East Columbia Street. The Seattle Hebrew Day School and the Seattle Talmud Torah, which had remained an after-school program, consolidated in 1948 and became a single full day school (WSJHS, 2016, pgs. 20-21). By the late 1960s, most of the students' families had left the Central Area. Racial tensions were increasing in the Central Area and a decision was made to relocate the Talmud Torah to Rainier Valley (Cohn, 1982, p. 52). The Seattle Hebrew Day School's Central Area building was rented to the Seattle School District and the building was purchased by the Islamic School of Seattle in 1980.

f. Jewish Social Organizations in the Central Area

In response to being excluded from mainstream society's social organizations and to the immigration boom, Jewish community members formed their own organizations to provide social, political, cultural, and recreational activities, and to support new immigrants. Women were instrumental in organizing aid societies and resettling immigrants. A local chapter of the National Council of Jewish Women - the "Seattle Section" - was founded in 1900. During the first gathering, "plans were perfected for the calling together of all the Jewish women in the city of Seattle" (Micklin, 1998b) "to further the best, highest interests of humanity in fields religious, philanthropic and educational" (WSJHS, 2016, p. 28). In 1906, NCJW established a settlement house at 12th Avenue and S Washington Street (demolished, year unknown). In 1916, the Settlement House,⁵⁷ renamed the Educational Center, built a new facility at 18th Ave S and S

⁵⁷ See *Seattle's Settlement House* for history and analysis of NCJW's Settlement House Education Center reform efforts: <http://jewishstudies.washington.edu/digitalhistory/counciljewishwomen/background/>.

Main Street (demolished, year unknown). The substantial three-story brick building was designed by B. Marcus Priteca, and had classrooms for language and citizenship, a social hall, library, baths, medical clinic, and rooms for immigrant girls. The Jewish Voice newspaper called it, “a monument to women’s energy” (Cone et al., 2003, pp. 92-95; Micklin, 1998b). During the Depression, 1,400 people a week utilized the Educational Center. As the Jewish population in the Central Area decreased, the leadership expanded to include non-Jews. In 1956, the building was sold to Neighborhood House (Neighborhood House History, n.d.). In the early 1970s, the NCJW Seattle Section built the Council House⁵⁸ for low-income elderly community members, at 1501 – 17th Avenue East, dedicated in 1972, (extant).

Figure 4.23

Educational Center Sewing Class, c. 1913



Source: University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, UW1127/JEW0381

Figure 4.24

Settlement House Educational Center, 1917



Source: WSJHS, 2006, p. 32

⁵⁸ See Thesis Survey and Inventory Site 6: Council House

The national Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS) opened a Seattle branch in 1915. Its mission to help sponsor and settle Jewish immigrants attracted the support of all of Seattle's Jewish congregations and benevolent societies. With few resources, Jewish immigrants arrived from Europe by way of Vladivostok, Russia; Harbin, China; and Yokohama, Japan. HIAS opened a home with beds, baths, and dining facilities at 512 – 18th Avenue (demolished, year unknown), where refugees sheltered until they found jobs and housing (Cone et al, 2003, p. 96).

Figure 4.25

Workmen's Circle 25th Anniversary Banquet, 1934



Source: University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, UW9048/JEW0877

Figure 4.26

Workmen's Circle Hall, 1937



Source: University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, PH Coll 1090.5/JEW2481

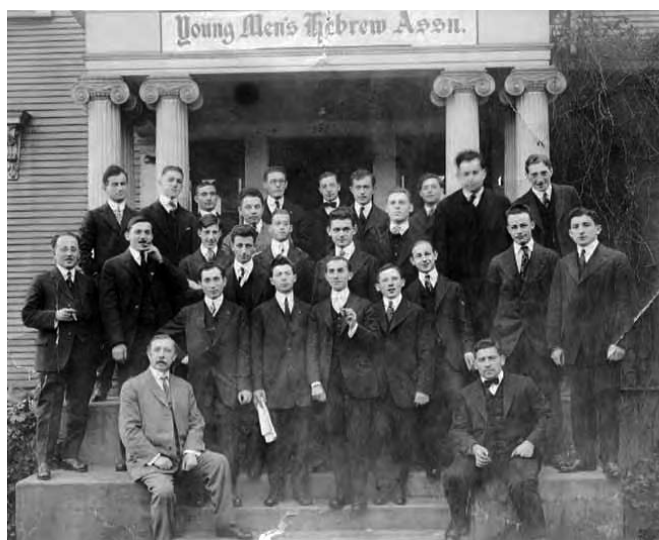
In 1909, Russian and Eastern European immigrants organized the Seattle Branch 304 of the national Workmen's Circle, a socialist worker's association. Formed as a mutual aid society known as the *Arbeiter Ring* in Yiddish, it was once the largest Jewish fraternal organization in the world. The Workmen's Circle functioned as a cultural center for Yiddish-speaking Jews, and hosted lectures, plays, picnics, and Jewish holiday celebrations (Micklin, 1998c). Members organized socialist-oriented political activities such as rent strikes, cooperative grocery stores, and a meat market. The Workmen's Circle founded one of Seattle's first credit unions in 1926,

which helped the Jewish community survive the Great Depression (WSJHS, 2016, p. 45). Seattle Branch 304 bought a building at 120 – 21st Avenue, in 1920 (demolished, year unknown; now the site of the New Hope Missionary Baptist Church). In 1941, Workmen’s Circle relocated to the former home of the Young Men’s Hebrew Association at 17th Avenue and East Union Street (Micklin, 1998c). The Workmen’s Circle disbanded in 1973.

The Young Men’s Hebrew Association (YMHA) was founded in 1910 as an educational, social, and athletic club. In 1921 the YMHA built a hall at 1403 – 17th Avenue (demolished, year unknown), where services expanded to include employment and housing support (WSJHS, 2016, p. 46). The YMHA sponsored an all-Jewish Boy Scout Troop which brought together Ashkenazic and Sephardic youth in scouting activities. When mainstream social and athletic clubs and organizations allowed Jews to participate, the need for separate clubs for Jews diminished. The YMHA closed, and the building was bought by the Workmen’s Circle.

Figure 4.27

YMHA Membership Group, c. 1920



Source: University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, PH Coll 1476.4/JEW3228

Figure 4.28

YMHA All-Jewish Boy Scout Troop 45, c. 1926



Source: University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, UW1251/JEW0551

The Young Men’s Sephardic Hebrew Association (YMSA) was founded in 1914, and became the leading men’s club of the Sephardic community. The YMSA served as a uniting force among the Sephardim, who remained divided according to their countries of origin. A home was purchased at 14th Avenue South between South Washington Street and East Yesler Way to serve as a clubhouse, with pool tables, a card room, library, and coffee shop (Adatto, 1939, p. 72). The hall moved to 109 – 12th Avenue, before disbanding in 1921 (demolished, year unknown) (WSJHS, 2016, p. 55).

g. Jewish Participation in Public Spaces and Public Schools

Historic evidence suggests that the characteristics of a Jewish enclave existed in the Central Area (Hatt, 1945). However, public spaces and public schools functioned as places where Jewish residents of the Central Area encountered their multiculturally diverse neighbors and where “Seattle’s Jewish children were Americanized” (Cone et al., 2003, p. 146).

Figure 4.29

Yesler Branch Library, c. 1916



Source: MOHAI, PEMCO Webster & Stevens Collection, 1983.10.10164.1

The Henry L. Yesler Memorial Library (renamed the Douglass-Truth Library), dedicated in 1914, was a beloved place for education and entertainment. The library offered “Americanization” classes, assistance with citizenship paperwork, and provided an extensive collection of Hebrew and Yiddish books for the Jewish neighborhood (Douglass-Truth Library Report on Designation, LPB 421/01).⁵⁹

Collins Playfield and Fieldhouse, located at 14th Avenue South and Main Street, was the first supervised playground, wading pool, and library station in Seattle, “frequented by Jewish and Japanese children” (Cone, et al., 2003, p. 146).⁶⁰ Jewish youth played on sports teams, and Jewish social organizations used the field house for meetings, theatrical performances, and dances. Collins Field was demolished in the 1970s through Urban Renewal (Sherwood, n.d.).

Figure 4.30

Story Hour at Collins Playground, c. 1912



Source: MOHAI, PEMCO Webster & Stevens Collection, 1983, 10.8410

Figure 4.31

Collins Fieldhouse Basketball Team, c. 1915



Source: University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, UW1305/JEW0695

⁵⁹ Yesler Library (Seattle Landmark LPB 421/01) dedicated a week to African American history and literature, starting in 1926. In 1975 the library was renamed to honor Frederick Douglass and Sojourner Truth. The library houses a special collection of African American literature that is now one of the largest on the West Coast.

⁶⁰ Collins Playfield is discussed in oral histories of Jewish (see *Washington State Jewish Archives*) and Japanese Central Area residents. “There were Japanese, Chinese, Jewish, the Jewish community was just up the street, black (people), lots of blacks. You name it, everybody was there. We got along real good. That’s why we never knew discrimination. We didn’t know. ‘Cause they were all one, we were all one bunch. We were all friends...Because we met there at Collins Playfield.” Thomas Kobayashi (2009) [Oral History]. Retrieved November 27, 2021, from <https://ddr.densho.org/media/ddr-densho-1000/ddr-densho-1000-238-transcript-2fb0518a07.htm>.

School attendance records show a high concentration of Jewish students in public schools, and demonstrate the community's evolving settlement patterns. The first generation of immigrant students attended South School⁶¹ at 12th Avenue South and South Weller Street, and the Pacific Elementary School at 12th Avenue and Jefferson Street. In 1915, 85 percent of Pacific School's student body was Jewish (Cone, et al., 2003, p. 147). At Washington School, located at 19th Avenue South and South Washington Street, 65 percent of the students were Jewish prior to World War I. In the late 1920s, the Jewish students at Washington decreased to 40 percent as the community moved northward towards Cherry Street (Cone, et al., 2003, pp. 147-148).⁶²

Figure 4.32

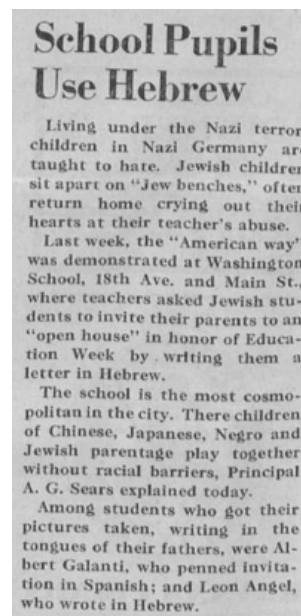
Second Grade Class at Washington School, 1927



Note: Rabbi Solomon Maimon's multicultural class at Washington School.
Source: University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, JEW0562

Figure 4.33

"The American Way," 1937



Source: The Jewish Transcript (1937, November 19)

⁶¹ South School opened in 1889 as a primary school for students who lived south of Cherry Street. The building closed in 1909 (demolished, year unknown). Bailey Gatzert School (named after Seattle's first and only Jewish Mayor) was built in the same location, and operated from 1921 to 1984 (demolished, 1987). Retrieved November 27, 2021, from <https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/jhp/id/809/rec/1>

⁶² In the 1920s, Japanese students represented Washington School's largest population, followed by Jewish, Black, and Filipino students (Cone, et al., 2003, p. 148).

The Walla Walla district's two elementary schools, T.T. Minor,⁶³ and Horace Mann,⁶⁴ and its high school, James A. Garfield,⁶⁵ all had significant populations of Jewish students. By the early 1930s, over 51 percent of the students at Horace Mann were Jewish, representing the largest concentration at any elementary school in Seattle (Cone, et al., 2003, p. 148-9).

Figure 4.34

Walla Walla / Horace Mann School, 1904



Source: Curtis, Courtesy of MOHAI, CUR314

Figure 4.35

Garfield High School, 1934



Source: MOHAI, PEMCO Webster & Stevens Collection, 1983.10.4496

h. Jewish Commercial Districts in the Central Area

Stores, restaurants, and services that served the unique needs of the Jewish community gave East Yesler Way and East Cherry Street “a distinctively Jewish flavor” (Cone, et al., 2003, p. 139). Kosher butcher shops, grocery stores, and bakeries catered to the dietary restrictions and

⁶³ Seattle Public Schools, 1862-2000: T. T. Minor Elementary School. Built 1890, demolished 1940. Retrieved November 27, 2021, from <https://www.historylink.org/File/10562>

⁶⁴ Horace Mann School (built 1902, extant) is a designated City of Seattle Landmark (LPB 425/12). Retrieved November 27, 2021, from <https://www.seattle.gov/Documents/Departments/Neighborhoods/HistoricPreservation/Landmarks/RelatedDocuments/horace-mann-designation.pdf>

⁶⁵ Garfield High School (built 1923, extant) is a designated City of Seattle Landmark (LPB 242/03). Retrieved November 27, 2021, from <https://www.seattle.gov/Documents/Departments/Neighborhoods/HistoricPreservation/Landmarks/RelatedDocuments/garfield-gh-designation.pdf>

preferences of their Ashkenazic and Sephardic customers. Signs displayed words in Hebrew and Yiddish. Many stores closed early on Friday afternoons and Saturdays in observance of the Sabbath, and were closed on Jewish holidays. Commercial spaces served as gathering places for the community, and Yiddish and Ladino were spoken in conversation and transaction (Adatto, 1939; Cone, et al., 2003).

At the turn of the century, Jewish-owned shops and services opened in the emerging 12th Avenue and East Yesler Way district. The Mosler family opened the Brooklyn Bakery at 1233 East Yesler Way (demolished, year unknown) and operated a rooming house for Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe (Washington State Jewish Museum, n.d.). Families often lived in the same building as their store.

Figure 4.36

Grodstein Plumbing, 14th and Yesler, 1912



Source: University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, PH Coll 650.Wise2/JEW3279

Figure 4.37

Brooklyn Bakery, c. 1913



Source: University of Washington Libraries Special Collections, UW1334/JEW0729

The area between 12th and 14th Avenues and Jackson and Spruce Streets was the early hub of the Sephardic community. Grocery stores, restaurants, coffee houses, backgammon parlors, and steam baths catered to the foodways and social customs of Jewish immigrants from Turkey and Rhodes. Shops like the Palace Grocery⁶⁶ [Figure 4.38], served as informal meeting places, provided groceries to needy community members, and imported specialty items from the Mediterranean to serve the Sephardic clientele (Washington State Jewish Museum, n.d.). The Seattle Curtain Factory, located at 12th Avenue and East Yesler Way (demolished, 2020), was a “uniquely Sephardic and American space” that embodied the Sephardic ethos of “work hard, treat employees like family, honor your religion, and give back” (Pressman, 2021).

Figure 4.38

Palace Grocery, 1925



Note: 14th Ave and East Spruce Street

Source: Washington State Jewish Museum, Seattle Historic Sephardic Jewish Tour Map, Stop 4: Palace Grocery

⁶⁶ Israel Fis, immigrant from Rhodes, was the first to carry “Sephardic foods” in Seattle. Retrieved November 27, 2021, from <https://www.wsjhs.org/museum/categories/jewish-life/sephardic-jewish-seattle-stories-tour.html#4>

Until the 1920s, 17th and 18th Avenues and East Yesler Way formed the heart of the business district. Eventually the “Kosher Canyon” stretched eastward along East Yesler Way to present day Martin Luther King, Jr. Way. Businesses such as the New York Restaurant and Confectionery, Harris Kosher Butcher, Hoffman’s Kosher Grocery, Feinberg Furniture, Ziegman’s Butcher Shop, Borish Dry Goods, Brenner Brothers Bakery, Kutoff Butcher Shop, Condiotty’s Confectionery, Kavanah Coffee House, Economy Grocery Store, American Kosher Meat Market, Sam’s Bakery, the 24th Avenue Market, and Kaminoff’s Grocery spanned both sides of East Yesler Way between 17th and 26th Avenues.

Figure 4.39

Borish Dry Goods Store, 1916



Note: 1702 E Yesler Way. Anna Borish Lustig, with Chevra Bikur Cholim reflected in the glass
Source: University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, UW9388/JEW1043

The Jewish business district started to shift north from East Yesler Way to East Cherry Street in the 1930s. Brenner Brothers Bakery opened a new location on East Cherry Street, east of present-day Martin Luther King, Jr. Way. White Kosher Grocery, Ziegman's Butcher Shop, Varon's Meats, Nelson's Grocery Store, and Glazer's formed a hub for Jewish retail and services in the Cherry Street district, extending from 23rd Avenue eastward into the Madrona neighborhood.

Decentralization of the Jewish community intensified after World War II. As the Jewish population left the Central Area, businesses followed suit. By the early 1970s, many Central Area Jewish-owned businesses had closed or moved to new Jewish hubs in Seward Park, North Seattle, Mercer Island, and Bellevue. The vibrant commercial, social, and religious activity in the Central Area has never been replicated outside of this Jewish enclave.

Figure 4.40

Jewish Context Locations Map

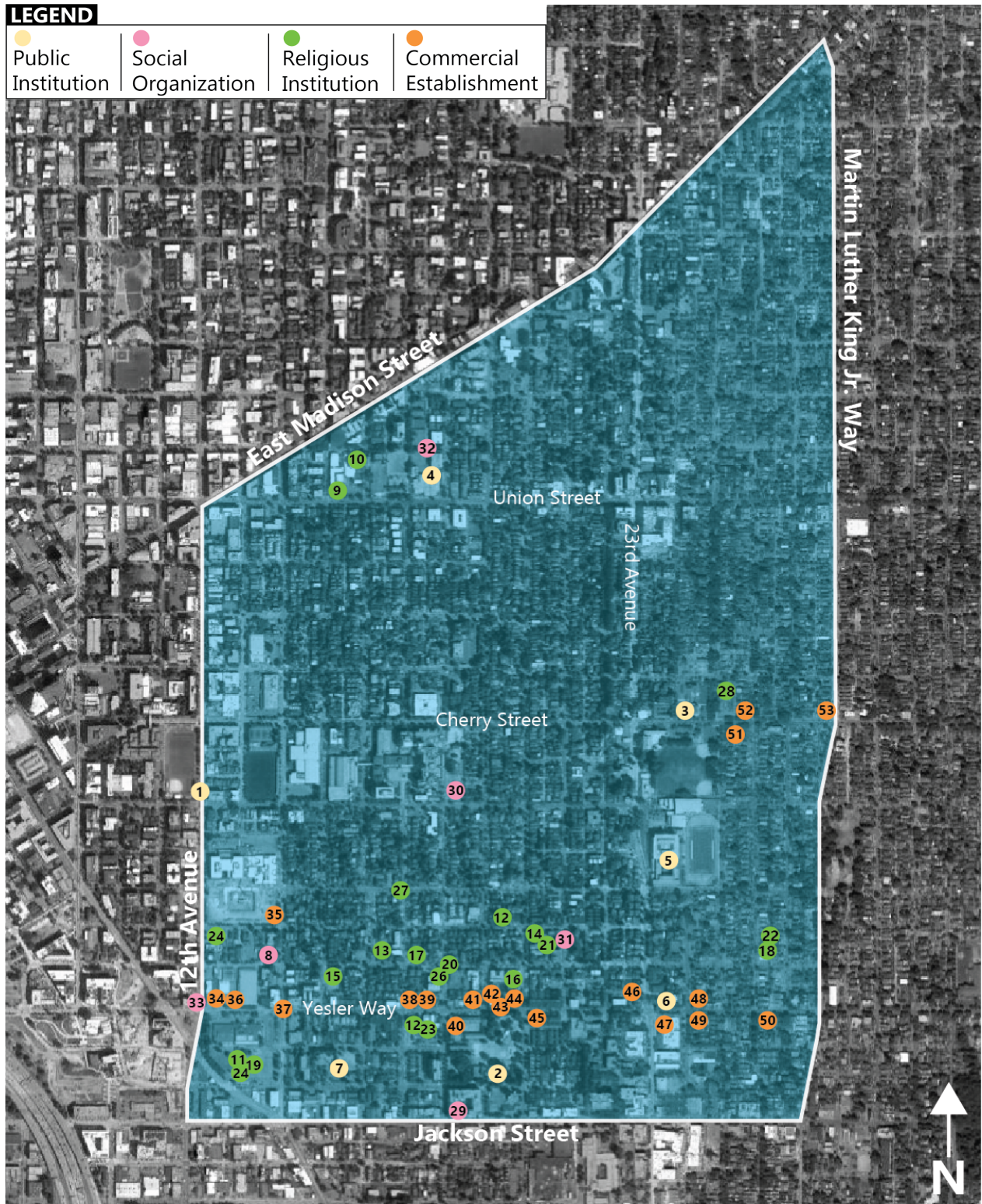


Table 4.1*Jewish Context Locations*

#	Use	Name	Location
1	Public School	Pacific Elementary School	1114 E Jefferson Street
2	Public School	Washington School	1902 S Main St
3	Public School	Walla Walla / Horace Mann School	2410 E Cherry St
4	Public School	T T Minor School	1700 E Union St
5	Public School	Garfield High School	400 23rd Ave
6	Public Library	Yesler Library	2300 E Yesler Way
7	Public Park	Collins Playfield	1430 S Main St
8	Fraternal Hall	Washington Hall	153 - 14th Ave
9	Synagogue	Temple De Hirsch (Old Sanctuary)	NE Corner of 15th Ave & E Union St
10	Synagogue	Temple De Hirsch (New Sanctuary)	1511 E Pike St
11	Synagogue	Chevra Bikur Cholim (First Location)	13th Ave S and S Washington St
12	Synagogue	Chevra Bikur Cholim (Second Location)	104 - 17th Ave S
13	Synagogue	Herzl Congregation (First Location)	150 - 16th Ave
14	Synagogue	Herzl Congregation (Second Location)	172 - 20th Ave
15	Synagogue	Ezra Bessaroth of Rhodes	126 - 15th Ave
16	Synagogue	Sephardic Bikur Holim	1915 E Fir St
17	Synagogue	Ahavat Ahim	1708 E Fir St
18	Synagogue	Machzikay Hadath	152 - 26th Ave
19	Ritual Bath	Mikvah (First location)	13th Ave S and S Washington St
20	Ritual Bath	Mikvah (Second location)	18th Ave and E Fir St
21	Ritual Bath	Mikvah at Herzl	172 - 20th Ave
22	Ritual Bath	Mikvah at Machzikay Hadath	152 - 26th Ave
23	Ritual Bath	Mikvah at Chevra Bikur Cholim	104 - 17th Ave S
24	Chapel	Seattle Jewish Chapel	170 - 12th Ave
25	Hebrew School	Hebrew Free School	13th Ave S and S Washington St
26	Hebrew School	The Modern Hebrew School	18th Ave and E Fir St
27	Hebrew School	Seattle Talmud Torah	17th Ave and E Alder St
28	Hebrew School	Talmud Torah / Seattle Hebrew Day School	720 - 25th Ave
29	Social Org	Settlement House Educational Center	1800 S Jackson St
30	Social Org	Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society	512 - 18th Ave
31	Social Org	Workmen's Circle	120 - 21st Ave
32	Social Org	Young Men's Hebrew Association	1403 - 17th Ave
33	Social Org	Young Men's Sephardic Hebrew Association	109 - 12th Ave

#	Use	Name	Location
34	Commercial	Seattle Curtain Manufacturing Company	104 - 12th Ave
35	Commercial	Palace Grocery	207 - 14th Ave
36	Commercial	Brooklyn Bakery	1233 E Yesler Way
37	Commercial	Grodstein Plumbing	14th Ave and E Yesler Way
38	Commercial	Borish Dry Goods	1702 E Yesler Way
39	Commercial	Ziegman's Market	1718 E Yesler Way
40	Commercial	Brenner Brothers Bakery	1803 E Yesler Way
41	Commercial	Harris Kosher Butcher	1820 E Yesler Way
42	Commercial	Condiotty's Confectionary	1902 E Yesler Way
43	Commercial	Kavanah Coffee House	1912 E Yesler Way
44	Commercial	Jack's Grocery	1918 E Yesler Way
45	Commercial	Economy Grocery Store	2001 E Yesler Way
46	Commercial	Lippman's Bakery	119 - 23rd Ave
47	Commercial	Sam's Bakery	100 - 23rd Ave
48	Commercial	24th Avenue Market	2401 E Yesler Way
49	Commercial	American Kosher Meat Market	2405 E Yesler Way
50	Commercial	Kaminoff's Grocery	2601 E Yesler Way
51	Commercial	Nelson's Grocery	2509 E Cherry St
52	Commercial	Weinrobe's	2518 E Cherry St
53	Commercial	White Kosher Meat Market	2724 E Cherry St

Chapter 5. FORMAL HISTORIC PRESERVATION ANALYSIS

The Seattle Landmarks Preservation Ordinance (SMC 25.12.350), administered by the City of Seattle Historic Preservation Program, establishes six criteria for designating properties that are significant to the history of the community, city, state, or nation as landmarks. The Seattle Landmarks Preservation Board determines if a nominated resource meets one or more of the six landmark criteria, and possesses “integrity” - the ability to convey its own significance. The Board may approve a part or all of the nomination. Once approved, incentives and controls are negotiated, and the resource becomes a designated Landmark (Seattle Department of Neighborhoods Landmarks, n.d.).

The National Register of Historic Places is the official list of the Nation’s historic places that are deemed to be worthy of preserving. The list is authorized by the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, and maintained by the National Park Service. To be eligible for listing, the resource must meet established criteria for age, significance, and integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association (National Park Service, n.d.).

5.1 *Seattle Designated Landmarks and National Register of Historic Places Listings*

The study area contains nineteen Seattle landmarks. Four of the Seattle landmarks are also listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Two of the nineteen Seattle landmarks were built for Jewish religious purposes: Chevra Bikur Cholim [Figure 5.1: I], and Temple De Hirsch (Old Sanctuary) [Figure 5.1: N]. Temple De Hirsch (Old Sanctuary) is also listed on the National Register of Historic places.

Figure 5.1

City of Seattle Designated Landmarks and National Register Listings in the Study Area

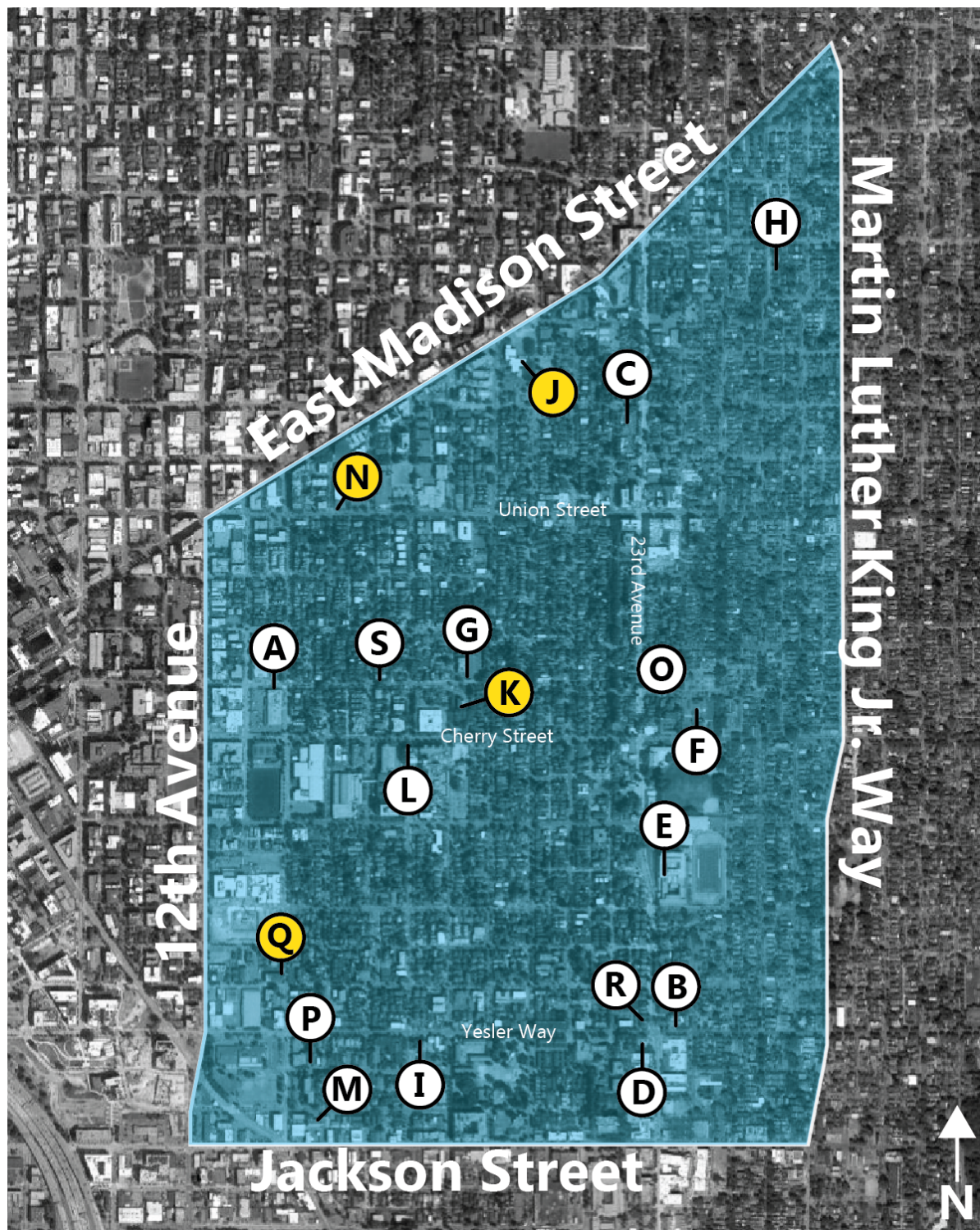


Table 5.1

Seattle Designated Landmarks and National Register Listings in the Study Area

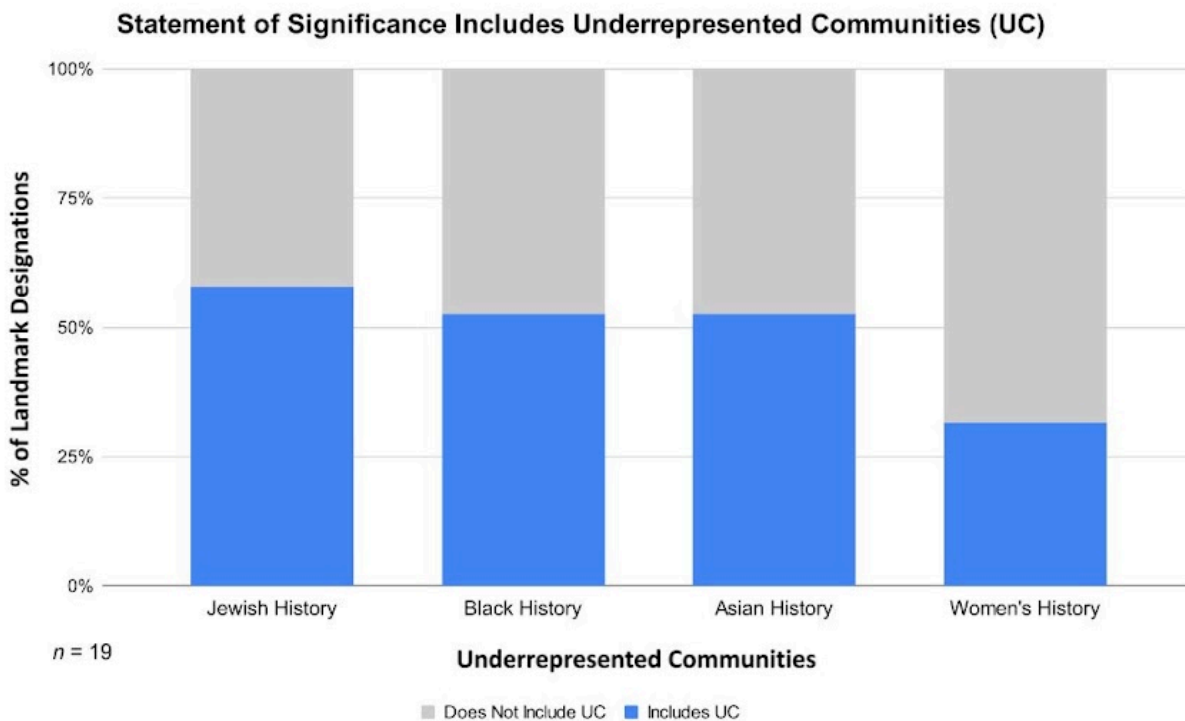
#	Seattle Landmark	National Register Listed	Name	Location
A	Y		Coca Cola Bottling Plant	1313 East Columbia Street
B	Y		Yesler / Douglass-Truth Library	2300 East Yesler Way
C	Y		East Pine Street Substation	1501 - 23rd Avenue
D	Y		Fire Station #6	101 - 23rd Avenue
E	Y		Garfield High School	400 - 23rd Ave
F	Y		Horace Mann School	2300 E Yesler Way
G	Y		Immaculate Conception Church	820 – 18th Avenue
H	Y		James W. Washington, Jr. Home and Studio	1816 – 26th Avenue
I	Y		Chebra Bikur Cholim / Langston Hughes	104 – 17th Avenue
J	Y	Y	Mount Zion Baptist Church	1634 – 19th Avenue
K	Y	Y	Old Fire Station #23	722 – 18th Avenue
L	Y		Providence Hospital 1910 Building	528 – 17th Avenue
M	Y		Seattle Buddhist Church	1427 South Main Street
N	Y	Y	Temple De Hirsch (Old Sanctuary)	1500 East Union Street
O	Y		Twenty-Third Avenue Row House Group	812 - 828 – 23rd Avenue
P	Y		Victorian House	1414 South Washington Street
Q	Y	Y	Washington Hall	153 – 14th Avenue
R	Y		Yesler Houses	103, 107, 109 – 23rd Avenue
S	Y		Immaculate Conception Convent / Considine House / Cohen House	802 – 16th Avenue

5.2 Inclusion of Underrepresented Communities (UC)

Of the nineteen Seattle landmarks, Jewish history is included in eleven (58%) of the Landmark Designation Report Statements of Significance; Black history in ten (53%); Asian history in ten (53%); and Women’s history in six (32%). See Table 5.2.

Figure 5.2

Landmark Designation Report Includes Underrepresented Communities



5.3 *Seattle Landmark Designation Criteria*

Of the nineteen designated Seattle landmarks, two (10%) are deemed to be significant for Criteria 1(A): It is the location of or is associated in a significant way with an historic event with a significant effect upon the community, city, state, or nation; two (10%) for Criteria 2(B): It is associated in a significant way with the life of a person important in the history of the city, state, or nation; ten (53%) for Criteria 3(C): It is associated in a significant way with a significant aspect of the cultural, political, or economic heritage of the community, city, state, or nation; seventeen (89%) for Criteria 4(D): It embodies the distinctive visible characteristics of an

architectural style, period, or a method of construction; ten (53%) for Criteria 5(E): It is an outstanding work of a designer or builder; and twelve (63%) for 6(F): Because of its prominence of spatial location, contrasts of siting, age, or scale, it is an easily identifiable visual feature of its neighborhood or the city and contributes to the distinctive quality or identity of such neighborhood or city. Designation criteria skews to architectural over cultural significance, as represented by the disproportionate percentage of resources that are deemed to be significant for Criteria 4(D), 5(E), and 6(F) - all of which are architectural in nature. See Table 5.2.

Figure 5.3

Seattle Landmark Designation Criteria

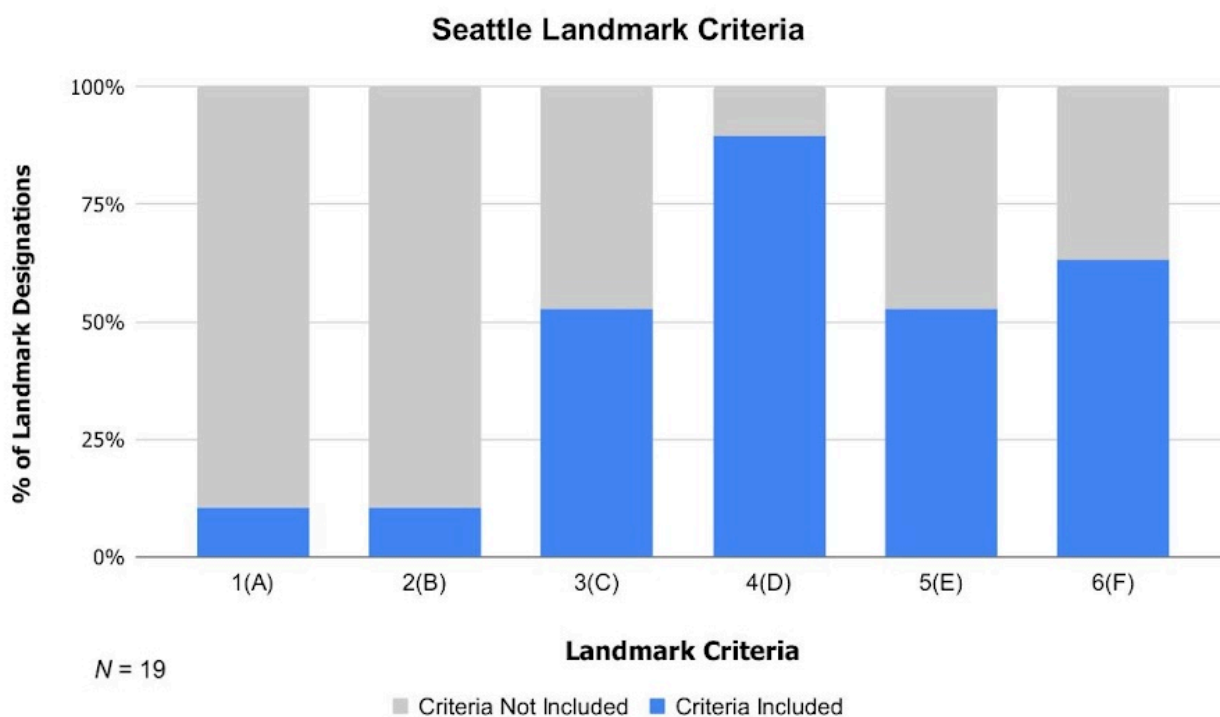


Table 5.2*Seattle Landmarks: Inclusion of Underrepresented Communities and Designation Criteria*

#	Name	Landmark Statement of Significance Includes Underrepresented Communities (UC)				Seattle Landmark Designation Criteria					
		Jewish	Black	Asian	Women	1A	2B	3C	4D	5E	6F
A	Coca Cola Bottling Plant	Y	N	N	N				X		X
B	Yesler / Douglass-Truth Library	Y	Y	Y	N			X	X	X	X
C	East Pine Street Substation	Y	Y	Y	N				X	X	X
D	Fire Station #6	Y	Y	Y	N				X	X	X
E	Garfield High School	Y	Y	Y	Y			X	X	X	X
F	Horace Mann School	Y	Y	Y	Y			X	X	X	X
G	Immaculate Conception Church	N	N	N	N			X	X		
H	James W. Washington, Jr. Home and Studio	N	Y	N	N		X	X			
I	Chevra Bikur Cholim / Langston Hughes	Y	N	N	N				X	X	X
J	Mount Zion Baptist Church	Y	Y	Y	Y	X	X	X	X	X	X
K	Old Fire Station #23	N	N	N	N				X	X	X
L	Providence Hospital 1910 Building	Y	Y	Y	Y				X	X	X
M	Seattle Buddhist Church	N	N	Y	N	X		X	X		
N	Temple De Hirsch (Old Sanctuary)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a						
O	Twenty-Third Avenue Row House Group	N	N	N	N			X	X		X
P	Victorian House	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a				X		
Q	Washington Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y			X	X		
R	Yesler Houses	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a				X		X
S	Immaculate Conception Convent / Considine House / Cohen House	Y	Y	Y	Y			X	X	X	
	TOTAL	11	10	10	6	2	2	10	17	10	12

Chapter 6. SURVEY AND INVENTORY OF SITES ASSOCIATED WITH JEWISH HISTORY / VIGNETTES

On July 11, 2021, I conducted a survey of sites associated with Jewish history. I identified sixteen sites with Jewish historic association through context research and review of the Seattle Historic Resources Survey (2000), Seattle Landmarks, and National Register of Historic Places listings in the study area. Figure 6.1 lists the names and locations of the surveyed sites, and identifies how they have been included in formal preservation efforts. Of the sixteen sites, five were included in the Seattle Historic Resources Survey (2000), two are Seattle landmarks, and one is listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

Following the field survey, I conducted further research and developed a comprehensive *Survey and Inventory* record for each of the sixteen sites. The *Survey and Inventory* records are included in the Appendix of this thesis. A snapshot of each of the sixteen surveyed sites is provided in Section 6.2: Survey and Inventory Vignettes. The historic resource name, address, year built, architect, any known associations with underrepresented communities based on context research, and my assessment of the significance of the resource in terms of potential City of Seattle landmark criteria is included.

Section 6.3 of this chapter offers an analysis of the surveyed sites' known associations with underrepresented communities based on historic context research.

6.1 *Survey and Inventory of Sites Associated with Jewish History in the Study Area*

Figure 6.1

Survey and Inventory of Sites Associated with Jewish History Map

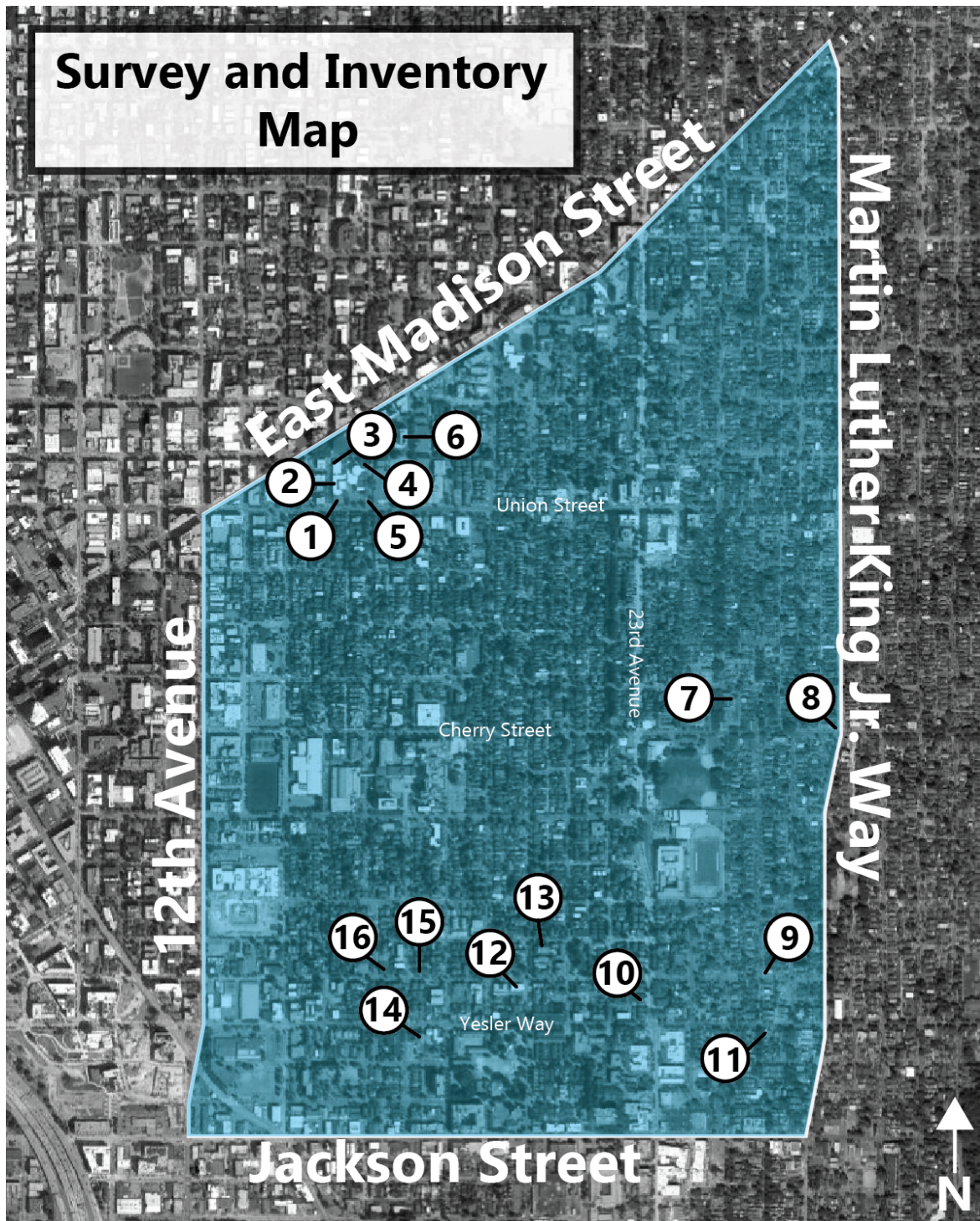


Table 6.1*Survey and Inventory of Sites Associated with Jewish History*

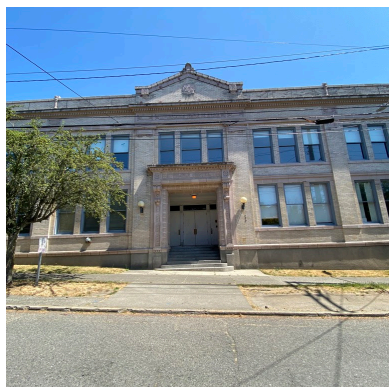
#	Seattle Historic Resources Survey (2000)	Seattle Landmark	National Register Listed	Name	Location
1	Y	Y	Y	Temple De Hirsch (Old Sanctuary)	15th Ave & East Union St (NE corner)
2				Temple De Hirsch Temple Center	15th Ave b/w East Union & East Pike
3				Temple De Hirsch Religion School Annex	SE corner of 15th Ave and E Pike St
4				Temple De Hirsch Sinai "Alhadeff Sanctuary"	1441 – 16th Ave
5				Temple De Hirsch Sinai Schoenfeld-Gardner Chapel	SE corner of 15th Ave & E Pike St
6				Council House	1501 – 17th Ave
7	Y			Talmud Torah	720 – 25th Ave
8				White Kosher Meat Market / Cederstrand Bldg	2716 - 2726 East Cherry St
9				Congregation Machzikay Hadath	2600 East Fir St
10				Lippman's Bakery	119 – 23rd Ave
11	Y			Kaminoff's Grocery	2601 East Yesler Way
12				Sephardic Bikur Holim	1915 East Fir St
13	Y			Herzl Synagogue (2nd location)	172 – 20th Ave
14	Y	Y		Chevra Bikur Cholim	104 – 17th Ave South
15				Ahavath Ahim	1708 East Fir St
16				Herzl (1st Location)	150 – 16th Ave

6.2 *Survey and Inventory Vignettes*



1. Temple De Hirsch (Old Sanctuary)

Location:	15th Avenue and East Union Street (NE corner)
Year Built:	1908
Architect:	Julian F. Everett
UC:	Jewish
Significance:	Cultural heritage



2. Temple De Hirsch Temple Center

Location:	15th Ave between East Union and East Pike St
Year Built:	1924
Architect:	Unknown
UC:	Jewish
Significance:	Cultural heritage; Historic event; Important person; Architecture



3. Temple De Hirsch Religion School Annex

Location:	SE corner of 15th Avenue and E Pike St
Year Built:	1951
Architect:	Unknown
UC:	Jewish
Significance:	Cultural heritage



4. Temple De Hirsch Sinai “Alhadeff Sanctuary”

Location:	1441 – 16th Avenue
Year Built:	1960
Architect:	Detlie & Peck; B. Marcus Priteca
UC:	Jewish
Significance:	Cultural heritage; Historic event; Important person; Architecture



5. Temple De Hirsch Sinai Schoenfeld-Gardner Chapter

Location:	SE corner of 15th Avenue and E Pike St
Year Built:	1974
Architect:	Unknown
UC:	Jewish
Significance:	Cultural heritage



6. Council House

Location:	1501 – 17th Avenue
Year Built:	1970-1972
Architect:	Manson Bennett
UC:	Jewish; Women
Significance:	Cultural heritage



7. Talmud Torah / Islamic School / Cherry Street Village

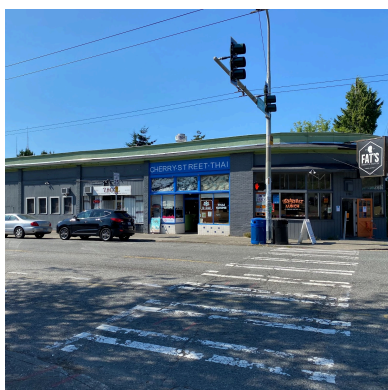
Location: 720 – 25th Avenue

Year Built: 1930

Architect: B. Marcus Priteca

UC: Jewish; Muslim; Women

Significance: Cultural heritage; Important person; Architecture



8. White Kosher Meat Market / Cedarstrand Building

Location: 2716-2726 East Cherry Street
(2724 = Tenant Space)

Year Built: 1924

Architect: Unknown

UC: Jewish; African American

Significance: Cultural heritage



9. Congregation Machzikay Hadath / Upper Room COGIC

Location: 2600 East Fir Street

Year Built: 1933

Architect: Unknown

UC: Jewish; African American

Significance: Cultural heritage



10. Lippman's Bakery / Central Area Youth Association

Location: 2601 East Yesler Way
Year Built: 1920
Architect: Unknown
UC: Jewish; African American
Significance: Cultural heritage; Important person; Architecture



11. Kaminoff's Grocery / Semira's Grocery

Location: 2601 East Yesler Way
Year Built: 1895
Architect: Unknown
UC: Jewish
Significance: Cultural heritage; Architecture



12. Sephardic Bikur Holim / Tolliver Temple COGIC

Location: 1915 East Fir Street
Year Built: 1929-1930
Architect: William George (W.G.) Brust, Jr.
UC: Jewish; African American; Women
Significance: Cultural heritage; Important person; Architecture



13. Herzl Synagogue (2nd location) / Odessa Brown Clinic

Location: 172 – 20th Avenue

Year Built: 1925

Architect: Beezer Brothers Architects (1925); Benjamin McAdoo (Remodel, 1972)

UC: Jewish; African American; Women

Significance: Cultural heritage; Political heritage; Important person; Architecture



14. Chevra Bikur Cholim / Langston Hughes

Location: 104 – 17th Avenue South

Year Built: 1909 - 1915

Architect: B. Marcus Priteca (Original Architect); Mel Streeter and I. M. Gorasht (Architects - 1971 Renovation)

UC: Jewish; African American

Significance: Cultural heritage; Political heritage; Architecture



15. Ahavath Ahim / Church of Jesus Christ

Location: 1708 East Fir Street

Year Built: 1922

Architect: Unknown

UC: Jewish; African American

Significance: Cultural heritage



16. Herzl (1st Location) / God's Pentecostal Temple

Location: 150 – 16th Avenue
Year Built: 1907
Architect: Unknown
UC: Jewish; African American
Significance: Cultural heritage

6.3 Association with Underrepresented Communities

Context research reveals that the surveyed sites have associations with multiple underrepresented communities. Of the sixteen sites, twelve (75%) are also known to have association with Black history; and eight (50%) have known association with women's history. Archival research did not uncover any obvious associations with Asian history, and the potential significance of the resources to the Asian community remains unknown. See Table 6.2.

Figure 6.2

Survey Sites Association with Underrepresented Communities

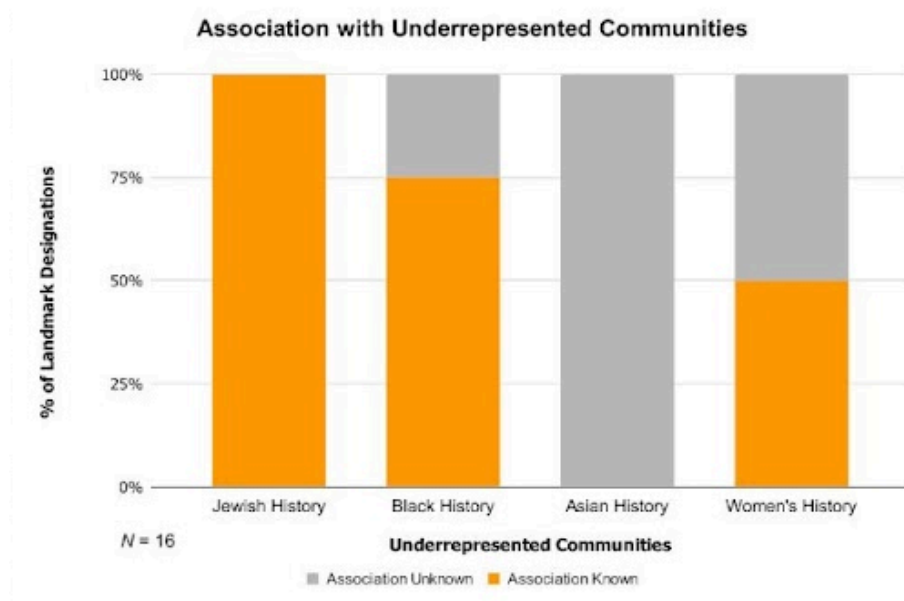


Table 6.2*Survey Sites Association with Underrepresented Communities*

#	Name	Association With Underrepresented Communities (UC)			
		Jewish	Black	Asian	Women
1	Temple De Hirsch (Old Sanctuary)	Y	U	U	Y
2	Temple De Hirsch Temple Center	Y	Y	U	Y
3	Temple De Hirsch Religion School Annex	Y	U	U	U
4	Temple De Hirsch Sinai "Alhadeff Sanctuary"	Y	Y	U	Y
5	Temple De Hirsch Schoenfeld-Gardner Chapel	Y	U	U	U
6	Council House	Y	U	U	Y
7	Talmud Torah	Y	Y	U	Y
8	White Kosher Meat Market / Cederstrand Bldg	Y	Y	U	Y
9	Congregation Machzikay Hadath	Y	Y	U	U
10	Lippman's Bakery	Y	Y	U	U
11	Kaminoff's Grocery	Y	Y	U	U
12	Sephardic Bikur Holim	Y	Y	U	Y
13	Herzl Synagogue (2nd location)	Y	Y	U	Y
14	Chevra Bikur Cholim	Y	Y	U	U
15	Ahavath Ahim	Y	Y	U	U
16	Herzl (1st Location)	Y	Y	U	U
	TOTAL	16	12	0	8
Y = Yes U = Unknown					

Chapter 7. CASE STUDIES

I selected two of the sixteen survey sites for deeper investigation due to their contribution to the research on preserving Jewish history through an intersectional framework. The Talmud Torah / Islamic School / Cherry Street Village, and the Sephardic Bikur Holim / Tolliver Temple are both engaged in formal and informal preservation efforts that involve collaborations between diverse stakeholders with mutual interests. The case studies explore the significance of the resources to multiple underrepresented communities, discuss current preservation initiatives, and engage intersectionality as a paradigm for informal and formal preservation efforts.

7.1 *Talmud Torah / Islamic School of Seattle / Cherry Street Village*

Address: 720 - 25th Avenue

Year Built: 1930

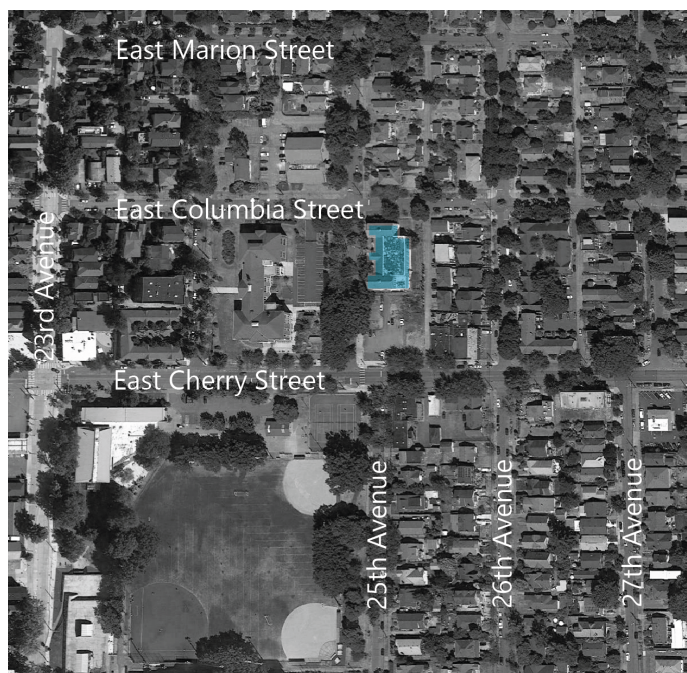
Architect: B. Marcus Priteca

History and Significance:

In 1928 the Seattle Talmud Torah purchased land for a new school at 25th Avenue and East Columbia Street. The location, one block north of East Cherry Way and across the street from Horace Mann Elementary School, reflects the shift of the Jewish community northeast

Figure 7.1

*Talmud Torah / Islamic School /
Cherry Street Village Location Map*



from its hub around East Yesler Way. Notable theater and synagogue architect, B. Marcus Priteca, was hired to design the Talmud Torah. Fundraising was a community-wide effort. The ground-breaking ceremony was held on February 23, 1930, and the cornerstone was laid on July 20, 1930. The building was dedicated on October 26, 1930 (Cone, et al., 2003, p. 185).

During the 1940s, enrollment decreased as families moved and synagogues established their own religious school programs according to their denominational philosophies. The traditional Orthodox religious practices of the Talmud Torah did not meet the diverse needs of the community, and the school could no longer operate as a single institution for the entire city. To address this problem, the rabbis of Ashkenazic Bikur Cholim and Sephardic Bikur Holim proposed an independent day school that would teach Hebrew and secular classes to all of Seattle's Jewish youth.

The Seattle Hebrew Day School was established in 1947 with a half day of secular studies and a half day of Judaic studies during regular school hours. In 1948, the Seattle Hebrew Day School and the Seattle Talmud Torah, which had remained an after-school program, consolidated and became a single full-day school (WSJHS, 2016, pgs. 20-21). By the late 1960s, most of the school's Jewish students had left the Central Area. Racial tensions were increasing, and the Talmud Torah relocated to Rainier Valley (Cohn, 1982, p. 52). The Seattle Hebrew Day School building was rented to the Seattle School District in 1967 (WSJHS, 2016, p. 22). The relocated school still operates as The Seattle Hebrew Academy, now on Capitol Hill (Cone, et al., 2003, p. 187).

The influx of Muslim immigrants to the United States in the 1960s created a need for Islamic education within an American context, which The Islamic School of Seattle, established

in 1980, sought to fulfill. The Islamic School purchased the Talmud Torah building in 1980, and was one of the first Islamic Schools in America. The school was founded by five Muslim American women who wanted to offer an educational approach based on the Qur'an and to provide quality education to children of all faiths, racial, ethnic, and economic backgrounds. Founder and Director Ann Paxton El-Moslimany, PhD, and her husband, Dr. Mohammad El-Moslimany, were pillars of the early Muslim community in Seattle, and were instrumental in establishing the school. The curricula addressed the intersections of Muslim and American identity, took a progressive approach with an anti-racist and social justice curriculum, and had many BIPOC teachers and students (Chaudhry, 2014).

The Islamic School had 120 students shortly after it opened. Initially the bulk of its students were immigrants from Saudi Arabia. Over time the student body included American Muslims and Muslim students from Afghanistan, Gambia, and Algeria. The school closed in 2012 following demographic changes in the Central Area, competition from other Islamic education programs in the Greater Seattle region, and financial challenges. Parents had competing visions for the direction of the school, the extent of religious instruction, and whether school enrollment should be limited to one national heritage (Chaudhry, 2014, p. 14). By 2012 enrollment had decreased to 20 students. El-Moslimany noted that when the school closed, Seattle lost a progressive Muslim space and that the city needed a dedicated Muslim space that would welcome all, including non-Muslims (Van Streefkerk, April 2, 2021).

After the Islamic School closed in 2012, the Cherry Street Mosque was founded in the former Islamic School building. The Mosque sought to create a welcoming and safe space for all, regardless of race, gender, sexual orientation, creed, color, ethnicity, national origin, or religion,

and was one of the first openly progressive Islamic organizations in Seattle. Subsequently, the Cherry Street Mosque evolved into the Cherry Street Village, which aspires to be a hub for faith-based groups and secular arts organizations. Cherry Street Village's founding groups include Cherry Street Mosque, Salaam Cultural Museum, Dunya Productions, Middle East Peace Camp, and Kadima Reconstructionist Community (Van Streefkerk, April 2, 2021). The Cherry Street Village is an interfaith resource-sharing collective community with a mission to offer arts friendly groups an event venue in a preserved historic building. Its goal is to unite partner communities who all serve historically underserved communities to build a shared cultural and interfaith space, and to offer the public a deeper appreciation of its community through events, holiday celebrations, and religious services of progressive congregations of all faiths.

Visible Symbols of Cultural Heritage:

The exterior of the Cherry Street Village building retains the original design and decorative details from its use as the Talmud Torah. A decorative symbol and a sign reading "ISLAMIC SCHOOL OF SEATTLE" in English and Arabic are engraved in stone and affixed above the front entrance door, which reflects its association with the ethnic and religious heritage of the Muslim community of Seattle. Archival photographs reveal that the symbol was originally a Jewish Star of David, with "SEATTLE TALMUD TORAH" underneath. Archival photographs of events at the Talmud Torah and current photographs of events at Cherry Street Village show that some elements of the original interior program remain intact, such as a multi-purpose center/gymnasium with a balcony and original windows.

Formal Preservation Efforts:

The Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation conducted a reconnaissance level Survey and Inventory of the Talmud Torah / Islamic School / Cherry Street Village building in 2011. A record of the survey is available in Washington State’s database of historic resources and surveys: WISAARD. The evaluation of the surveyor states that the property appears to meet criteria for the National Register of Historic Places, is located in a potential historic district, and potentially contributes to a historic district.⁶⁷ The Talmud Torah / Islamic School / Cherry Street Village building was included in the City of Seattle Historical Sites Survey (2000). In the Seattle Historical Sites database,⁶⁸ the survey notes that this is a “very important building.”

Despite being identified by both DAHP and the City of Seattle as a building that is significant and worthy of landmark recognition, the building is not listed on the National Register of Historic Places and is not a designated City of Seattle Landmark. Cherry Street Village has not pursued Seattle landmark designation or National Register listing. They describe their work as “preservation of a landmark building,” but are not seeking landmark status through formal preservation channels at this time (personal communication with Kadima member, September 9, 2021).

Informal Preservation Initiatives:

Cherry Street Village organizations are working together to restore and preserve the former Talmud Torah / Islamic School building with the intention of operating a multifaith center

⁶⁷ See DAHP WISAARD Property ID 342626. Retrieved November 29, 2021, from <https://wisaard.dahp.wa.gov/Resource/290395/PropertyInventory/1220632>

⁶⁸ See Seattle Department of Neighborhoods Seattle Historical Sites database. Retrieved November 29, 2021, from <https://web6.seattle.gov/DPD/HistoricalSite/QueryResult.aspx?ID=158553088>

that will serve many different communities and unite Muslims and Jews through shared history and a common future. The progressive Jewish Kadima Community views this initiative as building on “the work that our ancestors did [that] left a legacy for the district” (personal communication with Kadima member, September 9, 2021).

Kadima came to this initiative after many years of relationship building with associates of the Cherry Street Mosque. Twenty years ago, Kadima and Arab community members established the Middle East Peace Camp, which brought together children of Jewish and Palestinian descent for a week-long camp in Seattle. Kadima members are actively involved in Israel/Palestine, racial, and economic justice issues, and view the Cherry Street Village as a natural extension of this work. While “it’s wonderful to know that this was a Talmud Torah school, and that certainly gives us a connection, that’s a connection to the past. The connection to the present is the work that we do in the broader community” (personal communication with Kadima member, September 9, 2021). Kadima is a religious sponsor of the Central Area Nickelsville Tiny House Village and their spiritual leader, Rabbi David Basior, has relationships with African American Clergy in the Central Area. Kadima has worked with Dunya Productions, the Salaam Cultural Center, and the Cherry Street Mosque for several years.

The Cherry Street Village organizations’ diverse religious requirements creates an advantage: Muslim prayer services are held during the day on Friday, Jewish services are on Friday night and Saturday, and cultural performances can be held at other times. However, Kadima members are inspired by more than the fortuitous logistics, and see the project as

“Actually building a community that reflects the hopes and visions of our ancestors over the centuries of building peace amongst peoples. A new Jerusalem. The idea of us living in peace and actually modeling the kinds of relationships that we think that we ought to be fighting for in Israel/Palestine by demonstrating that in fact here, in Seattle, here’s a

great model of where Christians, Jews, Muslims, atheists, and others can come together and build a community that actually serves not just their own constituencies but the broader Central District community. That I think is really the motivating hope or vision that a lot of members of Kadima have” (personal communication with Kadima member, September 9, 2021).

Cherry Street Village participants and allies are passionate about building understanding between the collective’s faith communities, and using their project as a model and inspiration for successful collaboration. The member organizations came together to raise money for a roof restoration project,⁶⁹ completed in summer, 2021. The success of the roof restoration project is animating their future plans. Kadima was actively involved in fundraising for the roof repair and experienced it as a great relationship and community building opportunity. They hope to continue this momentum with building walk-throughs, sharing meals, inviting Cherry Street Mosque members to a Passover meal, taking part in Eid celebrations, and reciprocal teaching. Kadima is exploring the possibility of co-locating in the Cherry Street Village building, which is owned by the Cherry Street Mosque, when the building is restored.

The building is severely damaged and needs significant repairs. To raise funds, Cherry Street Mosque is considering developing affordable housing on the parking lot on the northeast corner of East Cherry Street and 25th Avenue. They may utilize the City of Seattle’s recent anti-displacement legislation that offers additional density for constructing affordable housing on properties that are owned or controlled by religious organizations (Council Bill 120081).⁷⁰

⁶⁹ See *Seattle group aims to transform historic building into interfaith, arts hub*. Retrieved November 28, 2021, from <https://www.king5.com/article/news/local/seattle/cherry-street-village-seattle-interfaith-community/281-81fbfdcf-efa6-49c5-a528-ffd6e8da48ad?fbclid=IwAR3DbtyZaM0-RaMaCpXA6rZRyz1xuO-9CFzXS9yLDsddrAaZBtB-ORp-pIo>

⁷⁰ See Council Bill 120081. Retrieved November 28, 2021, from https://docs.google.com/document/d/1va_4dmR2kUJEpOuldOJUGM0-CY9EMohtY8VbYeykp8Q/edit#

Recommendations:

The Talmud Torah / Islamic School / Cherry Street Village building has multiple layers of historic significance that contribute to the history of the city, state, and nation, and are worthy of recognition and preservation. The building has architectural significance; social significance for the Jewish and Islamic communities; and contributes to underrepresented narratives of Jewish, Muslim, POC, and women's histories.

The Talmud Torah building is a significant material artifact of the cultural and religious history of Seattle's Jewish community. The educational institution was built, strengthened, and sustained through the leadership of prominent Rabbis, community leaders, and the tremendous efforts of Jewish women. The Islamic School was founded and led by women who gained local and national attention for their achievements in creating a new paradigm for Islamic education.

To further their current restoration and preservation initiatives, the Cherry Street Village collaborative could build upon their success of organizing a coalition of diverse stakeholders and use this organizational capacity to engage formal preservation mechanisms, such as nominating the building for National Register of Historic Places listing and City of Seattle Landmark designation. Nominations should include the culturally layered and intersecting histories of the building. In my opinion the building could achieve landmark designation under multiple criteria: B) for its association with the lives of people who are important in the history of the city, state, or nation; C) for its association with a significant aspect of the cultural heritage of the community, city, state, or nation; D) for embodying the distinctive visible characteristics of an architectural style, period, or a method of construction; and E) It is an outstanding work of a designer or builder.

Figure 7.2

Talmud Torah, c. 1930



Source: University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, PH Coll 1132.12/JEW3316

Figure 7.3

Ladies Auxiliary of the Talmud Torah, 1945



Source: University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, PH Coll 718.10/JEW0237

Figure 7.4*Islamic School of Seattle, 1982*

Source: Library of Congress, American Folklife Center, AFC 1993/001: 198624-1

Figure 7.5*Talmud Torah / Islamic School / Cherry Street Village Building, 2021*

Note: Front facade, photo taken on 25th Avenue looking east. July 11, 2021. Source: Jamie Merriman-Cohen

7.2 *Sephardic Bikur Holim / Tolliver Temple Church of God in Christ*

Address: 1915 East Fir Street
(Wisaard: 2000 E Fir St)

Year Built: 1929-1930

Architect: William George (W.G.) Brust

History and Significance:

In 1910, Sephardic Jews from Tekirdag, Turkey incorporated Sephardic Bikur Holim as a mutual aid society. In 1915, Sephardic Bikur Holim (SBH) purchased Chevra Bikur Cholim's first synagogue at 13th Avenue South and South Washington Street when Chevra Bikur Cholim

built their second synagogue at 17th and East Yesler Way. The SBH community grew under the leadership of Rabbi Abraham Maimon; the Ladies Auxiliary started in 1924; and the Sephardic Talmud Torah was established in 1931.

In 1926, Sephardic Bikur Holim purchased land at 20th Avenue and East Fir Street for a new synagogue. Members embarked on an ambitious fundraising effort, with strong support from the SBH Ladies Auxiliary and the broader Jewish community. W. G. Brust was hired as the architect, and the synagogue was dedicated on September 30, 1929. The impressive dedication ceremony was featured in the national Sephardic newspaper, *LaVara*.

Figure 7.6

Sephardic Bikur Holim / Tolliver Temple COGIC Location Map



The Sephardic Bikur Holim community thrived in their new synagogue, under the leadership Rabbi Abraham Maimon's son, Rabbi Solomon Maimon, who was hired as the first full time spiritual leader in 1944. Congregants served in the World War II effort, were actively involved in the Settlement House Educational Center, and participated in social activities, work, and business ownership in the Central Area and greater Seattle. In the late 1950s the Jewish community began to migrate out from the Central Area. Sephardic Bikur Holim built a new synagogue in Seward Park, dedicated in 1965.

Trustees of the Tolliver Temple Church of God in Christ purchased Sephardic Bikur Holim's Central Area building in 1963. Tolliver Temple has occupied the building since 1963. The Tolliver Temple was founded by Bishop L. E. Tolliver as the first Church of God in Christ (COGIC) in Washington State and has been a center of spiritual life in the Central District for the Black community for nearly 60 years. Thirteen COGIC churches have spun out of Tolliver Temple, and most of the COGIC pastors in the region started their ministries at Tolliver Temple.

Tolliver Temple has centered women's participation and youth engagement in their religious services and programs. The annual COGIC regional Women's Convention was held at the Tolliver Temple every spring. Tolliver Temple has had a vibrant women's fellowship, choir, youth ministry, and social support initiatives. Community outreach and service are significant church functions; the Tolliver congregation has provided rent, food, and utility assistance to needy families, hosted an annual Thanksgiving dinner, distributed Christmas presents, sponsored bicycle giveaways, ministered to the incarcerated at McNeil Island, Monroe, and Purdy prisons, held barbecues and car washes, and offered four weeks of free vacation bible school and lunches during summer break.

The building is cherished by multiple communities and is a site of memory and place attachment for both the Jewish and Black communities. The building is one of the few existing resources associated with early Jewish settlement in the Central Area and is a key stop on Jewish history tours, and it is especially significant as the last intact resource that remains in the Central Area that was built by and for the Sephardic community. Numerous weddings, Bar Mitzvahs, events, and religious services were held at SBH, and older community members remember the building as a hub of the religious and social life of the community. As such, it is an incredibly meaningful space and place. In 2019, the building gained international recognition when Seattle hosted the first gathering outside of Europe of the *Eremsya* – a Spanish government sponsored biennial international conference of Sephardic Jews. A delegation from Spain, Argentina, Brazil, England, Turkey, Greece, Mexico, and several cities in the United States visited the former Bikur Holim to experience the significant material artifact of Sephardic settlement in America. For Seattle’s Black community, the Tolliver Temple represents a rich period of social and spiritual life when the African American presence defined the Central District.

Visible Symbols of Cultural Heritage:

The building's exterior is virtually unchanged from its original construction. Many character-defining features that convey its Jewish history remain, including distinctive window openings, the sanctuary and balcony layout and eastern orientation, a social hall on the second floor, and many original light fixtures. On the building exterior, there is a Ten Commandments tablet above the front entrance (the Hebrew letters have been removed), a six-pointed Star of David on the east façade, thirteen Stars of David inlaid in cast stone above the arched windows,

and Stars of David on the front entrance doors. A freestanding Tolliver Temple sign displays worship times on the northeast corner of the property.

The interior has minimal alterations. Symbols of Church use adorn the sanctuary: “TO GOD BE THE GLORY” appears over the proscenium arch; crosses are hung over the stage; Christian, Pan-African, United States, and Washington State flags frame the stage. Portraits of church leaders are displayed throughout the building.

Formal Preservation Efforts:

The Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation conducted a reconnaissance level Survey and Inventory of the Sephardic Bikur Holim / Tolliver Temple building in 2011, updated in 2021. A record of the survey is available in Washington State’s database of historic resources and surveys: WISAARD. The evaluation of the surveyor states that the property appears to meet criteria for the National Register of Historic Places, is located in a potential historic district, and potentially contributes to a historic district.⁷¹ The Sephardic Bikur Holim / Tolliver Temple building is not included in the City of Seattle Historical Sites Survey (2000).

Despite being identified by DAHP as a building that is significant and worthy of landmark recognition, the building is not listed on the National Register of Historic Places and is not a designated City of Seattle Landmark.

Informal Preservation Initiatives:

I drafted a National Register of Historic Places Nomination for the building for an Implementation in Historic Preservation class in March, 2020. Connections were made with

⁷¹ See DAHP WISAARD Property ID 338935. Retrieved November 29, 2021, from <https://wisaard.dahp.wa.gov/Resource/286716/PropertyInventory/1632072>

Tolliver Temple members while taking photographs of the church. A church member was interested in developing a City of Seattle Landmark Nomination for the building, and a team of “Community Advocates for Tolliver Temple” came together to work on this initiative. The team submitted a grant application to the Washington Trust for Historic Preservation and included letters of endorsement from the Washington State Jewish Historical Society (WSJHS), and the Black Heritage Society of Washington State (BHS), which introduced the organizations to this project and to each other. In 2021, the Community Advocates were awarded a Valerie Sivinski Grant to help develop the city landmark nomination.

The WSJHS launched its Seattle Historic Sephardic Jewish Tour in June, 2021. The interactive audiovisual tour begins at Sephardic Bikur Holim / Tolliver Temple, and is featured again as Stop 21, with four short interviews on the WSJHS website. The Sephardic Tour references the current use of the building as Tolliver Temple and links to the African American Heritage in King County Tour. A Sephardic Tour release event was held on July 25, 2021 at Tolliver Temple, with representatives from WSJHS and the Black Heritage Society. The celebration featured an open house and tours of Tolliver Temple and speeches from state and local historic preservation organizations, state representatives, and community members. Longtime Sephardic Bikur Holim and Tolliver Temple members brought photographs and reminisced about playing on the front steps, getting married in the building, and the experiences of the Jewish and Black communities in the Central Area. The tour launch event demonstrated how communities of different faiths and cultures can coalesce around common history, shared interests, and mutual regard.

Recommendations:

The Sephardic Bikur Holim / Tolliver Temple building has multiple layers of historic significance that contribute to the history of the city, state, and nation, and are worthy of recognition and preservation. The building has architectural significance; social significance for the Jewish and African American communities; and contributes to underrepresented narratives of Jewish, Black, and women's histories.

The Talmud Torah building is a significant material artifact of the cultural and religious history of Seattle's Jewish community, and particularly its Sephardic community. The synagogue was built, strengthened, and sustained through the leadership of prominent Rabbis, community leaders, and the tremendous efforts of Jewish women.

The Tolliver Temple has a deep history of women's leadership, and has been the spiritual home and training ground for regional leaders of the Church of God in Christ. The building is significant for its contribution to the settlement, social, cultural, and spiritual life of the African American community in the Seattle Central Area.

As one of the few remaining intact buildings that clearly conveys its Jewish heritage, the building should continue to be used as a platform for informal preservation activities such as the Sephardic Tour and community placemaking and interpretive events. The building warrants recognition through formal preservation mechanisms, such as listing on the National Register of Historic Places and City of Seattle Landmark designation. Nominations should include the culturally layered and intersecting histories of the building. In my opinion the building could achieve landmark designation under multiple criteria: B) for its association with the lives of people who are important in the history of the city, state, or nation; C) for its association with a

significant aspect of the cultural heritage of the community, city, state, or nation; D) for embodying the distinctive visible characteristics of an architectural style, period, or a method of construction; and E) It is an outstanding work of a designer or builder.

Figure 7.7

Sephardic Bikur Holim, 1938



Source: Puget Sound Regional Archives, King County Assessor Property Record Card, 1938

Figure 7.8

Tolliver Temple, 1979



Source: City of Seattle, Historic Preservation Inventory

Figure 7.9

Dedication Plaque



Source: Jamie Merriman-Cohen), 2021

Figure 7.10

Tolliver Temple, 2021



Note: Front facade, photo taken on E Fir St looking south. July 11, 2021. Source: Jamie Merriman-Cohen

Figure 7.11

SBH Rabbi Solomon Maimon and Tolliver Temple Pastor O. J. Jenkins, 1999



*Note: Maimon Family 75th Year Reunion, 1999.
Source: Normand, 1999*

Chapter 8. RECOMMENDATIONS

This study of preserving Jewish history in the Seattle Central Area reveals that formal and informal preservation efforts can better include and preserve Jewish history. In the following chapter I offer several recommendations for preserving Jewish and other underrepresented and intersectional histories in the Seattle Central Area. These recommendations are derived from context research; an analysis of surveys, designated Seattle landmarks, and National Register of Historic Places listings in the Study Area; conducting a survey and inventory of existing sites with Jewish association; two case studies; and informal discussions with preservation practitioners.

8.1 *Formal Historic Preservation*

a. Include Jews in the category of “Underrepresented Communities”

Efforts to include marginalized communities whose histories are underrepresented in formal historic preservation have rarely included Jewish history. Expanding the category can reveal and include resources that are significant to the Jewish urban experience, and that also have intersections with other underrepresented communities.

b. Develop a context statement of the Jewish history in Seattle

Historic context statements are the foundation for identifying, evaluating, and making decisions about historic resources. The City of Seattle Historic Preservation program has published a series of twenty-one neighborhood specific Context Statements,⁷² along with

⁷² See Seattle Department of Neighborhoods Historic Resources Survey / Context Statements. Retrieved November 29, 2021, from

thematic studies of city-owned buildings, neighborhood commercial properties, and residential structures. These statements present a comprehensive history of the settlement and development patterns of a geographic area or building typology, which helps to contextualize potential historic resources. However, they do not provide an adequate level of ethnic or social history. For example, Veith's *History of the Central Area* dedicates only one and a half pages to the "Jewish Community" in its "Diversity in the Central Area" section (2009, p. 40-42). By comparison, SurveyLA's Historic Context Statements⁷³ are thematically organized and comprehensive. SurveyLA's Ethnic/Cultural Contexts: Jewish History Context; Public and Private Institutional Development: Subcontext - Religion and Spirituality, and Social Clubs and Organizations are relevant examples for this recommendation.

c. Add the Survey and Inventory of Sites Associated with Jewish History to DAHP

Build upon and add to Washington State Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation's official survey record in the WISAARD system. Creating a publicly accessible record will increase the knowledge and visibility of resources associated with Jewish history. This is a first step in mobilizing attention and advocacy for their protection through National Register, state, and local landmark nominations.

d. Conduct a comprehensive, intensive level survey of Jewish resources

Expand the geographic boundaries of the survey and inventory study area to include known areas of Jewish settlement. Expand the types of resources to be surveyed to include

<https://www.seattle.gov/neighborhoods/programs-and-services/historic-preservation/historic-resources-survey#contextstatements>

⁷³ See SurveyLA Historic Context Statement Outline. Retrieved November 29, 2021, from https://planning.lacity.org/odocument/fbb3582b-b6b0-4fb7-b27a-dbabacd760aa/SurveyLA_HistoricContextStatementOutline_July2018.pdf

residential properties. Use additional sources to develop a list of survey sites, including interviews, community outreach events, participatory mapping, and crowdsourcing. Integrate public participation into survey and inventory activities. Use digital tools to record survey data and ensure that the survey process and findings are user friendly and easily accessible to the public. Add the ability to add archival documents, interviews, and multi-media to the survey and inventory record.

e. Use Multiple Property Documentation (MPD) to submit National Register and City of Seattle Landmark nominations for Jewish resources

Once a Jewish context statement is developed, it could be used as the basis for filing a Multiple Property Documentation Form to establish the historical framework and context for resources associated with Jewish history. The MPD would simplify the process of nominating individual resources for National Register of Historic Places listings and local landmark designations. The MPD plus the individual registration forms comprise a multiple property submission.

The National Park Service and some state and local governments use Multiple Property Documentation⁷⁴ to nominate, evaluate, and register groups of properties that are related to a particular theme, place, and time. Historic contexts explore historic trends and are the basis of evaluating the significance and landmark eligibility of each related property. Multiple Property Documentation Forms are used by the National Park Service for National Register of Historic Places listings, by State Historic Preservation Offices, and by some local governments, such as

⁷⁴ See National Register Bulletin: How to Complete the National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form. Retrieved November 29, 2021, from <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalregister/upload/NRB16B-Complete.pdf>

King County, for landmark nominations. Once an MPD is submitted it simplifies the process of establishing the significance of individual resources that are associated with the MPD. At present, the City of Seattle Landmarks program does not have an option for multiple property submittals. Seattle uses a single nomination form for a historic district and for groups of buildings that are contiguous on a city block. The existing landmark nomination form could be used to activate a multiple property submittal with assistance from the Landmarks Coordinator (personal correspondence with Seattle Landmarks Coordinator, September 23, 2021).

f. Develop National Register of Historic Places nominations to better include Jewish resources in historic preservation and “tell the full American story”

According to DAHP, “We would love to see more Jewish sites documented and certainly more listed on the State and or National Register” (personal correspondence with DAHP personnel, September 1, 2021). This thesis research reveals that nine buildings associated with Jewish history may be eligible for National Register listing based on their significance to the cultural heritage of the Jewish community and to the diverse communities in the Seattle Central Area; their contribution to the broad patterns of American history; and their integrity. Further research should be conducted to develop National Register nominations for Temple De Hirsch Temple Center; Temple De Hirsch Sinai “Alhadeff Sanctuary;” Talmud Torah / Islamic School / Cherry Street Village; Congregation Machzikay Hadath / Upper Room COGIC; Lippman’s Bakery / CAYA; Kaminoff’s / Semira’s Grocery; Sephardic Bikur Holim / Tolliver Temple COGIC; Herzl Synagogue / Odessa Brown Clinic; and Chevra Bikur Cholim / Langston Hughes. Nominations should include the histories of multiple underrepresented communities that contribute to the significance of the resource.

g. Develop City of Seattle Landmark nominations to better include Jewish resources in historic preservation

This thesis research reveals that eight buildings associated with Jewish history may be eligible for City of Seattle Landmark designation based on their significance to the cultural heritage of community, city, state, or nation; association with people who are important to the history of the city, state, or nation; or their designer or architectural style. Further research should be conducted to develop City of Seattle Landmark nominations for Temple De Hirsch Temple Center; Temple De Hirsch Sinai Alhadeff Sanctuary; Talmud Torah / Islamic School / Cherry Street Village; Congregation Machzikay Hadath / Upper Room COGIC; Lippman's Bakery / CAYA; Kaminoff's / Semira's Grocery; Sephardic Bikur Holim / Tolliver Temple COGIC; and Herzl Synagogue / Odessa Brown Clinic. Nominations should include the histories of multiple underrepresented communities that contribute to the significance of the resource.

h. Amend the existing City of Seattle Landmark Nomination for Chevra Bikur Cholim/ Langston Hughes Performing Arts Center

Chevra Bikur Cholim / Langston Hughes Cultural Arts Center is a designated Seattle Landmark (LPB- 363/80). It is deemed to be significant for Criteria 4, 5, and 6: architectural style, outstanding work of architect B. Marcus Priteca, and prominence of spatial location. The existing landmark nomination could be revised to better represent the significant Jewish and African American cultural heritage associated with the building (Criteria 3C), and its association with the political heritage of urban renewal and the Model Cities Program (Criteria 3C). The architects of the 1971 adaptive reuse project could be included as a way to make the

collaborative work of Jewish architect, I. Mervin Gorasht, and Black architect, Mel Streeter, more visible in the formal historic preservation record (Criteria 5E).

8.2 *Informal Preservation / Placemaking*

Placemaking initiatives offer opportunities to recognize and make visible Jewish and other underrepresented and intersecting histories in the Central Area. These tools can include sites that qualify for formal preservation through landmark designation or National Register listing, and sites that do not meet the preservation criteria or that no longer exist. Informal preservation and placemaking initiatives could recognize and interpret the Jewish and intersectional histories associated with vanished sites such as The Workmen’s Circle, Settlement House / Educational Center, Ezra Bessaroth, Collins Playfield, and Tokuda Drugstore.⁷⁵

a. Add Jewish heritage to existing online tours

Use context research to add Jewish historic content to existing Historylink.tours of the Central Area. Add new Jewish history tours to Historylink and to Washington Trust Revisit Washington (Re-WA) Tours. Develop theme based tours that include Jewish and other underrepresented communities, organized around intersectional experiences, such as the immigrant experience, racially restrictive covenants and redlining, public space, arts and culture.

b. Visually identify and connect sites along a Jewish Heritage Trail

Use context research, community outreach, and public events to reveal sites that are associated with Jewish cultural heritage. Identify and connect the sites with markers and other interpretive displays. Develop a Jewish Heritage Trail to spatialize and visually represent the

⁷⁵ See Thesis Chapter 4 Context Statements for histories of these places.

sites. The trail can connect with other tours and trails that commemorate and celebrate the histories of the Jewish and other underrepresented communities, such as the Seattle Historic Sephardic Jewish Tour,⁷⁶ the Japanese American Remembrance Trail,⁷⁷ the RE-WA African American Heritage in King County Tour,⁷⁸ the Historylink Central District Tour,⁷⁹ and the Redlining Heritage Trail Tour.⁸⁰

c. Display and interpret Jewish history

Install signs with narratives, archival photographs, and links to online and multimedia sources. Displays may include interactive elements such as audio snippets of oral histories, or virtual reality capabilities. Narratives can contextualize Jewish and other underrepresented histories within the shared experiences of systemic racism, redlining, discrimination, diaspora, and expulsion; and the empowering forces of community, spirituality, arts and culture, social action, mutual aid, entrepreneurship, and education.

d. Include Jewish history in events that celebrate the Central Area

Events like “Hopscotch CD 2021” spotlight the Central Area’s diverse communities and cultural layers. Washington State Jewish Historical Society shared community history at Tolliver Temple and at the former Herzl Synagogue. Black Heritage Society of Washington hosted an information table at the Black Panther Headquarters People’s Wall, across the street from Herzl

⁷⁶ See Seattle Historic Sephardic Jewish Tour. Retrieved November 29, 2021, from <https://www.wsjhs.org/museum/categories/jewish-life/sephardic-history-in-seattle.html>

⁷⁷ See Japanese American Remembrance Trail. Retrieved November 29, 2021, from <https://www.jcccw.org/mapping-nikkei-history-along-the-japanese-american-remembrance-trail>

⁷⁸ See Re-WA African American Heritage in King County. Retrieved November 29, 2021, from https://revisitwa.org/local_theme/african-american-heritage-in-king-county/

⁷⁹ See HistoryLink Central District tour. Retrieved November 29, 2021, from <https://historylink.tours/tour/central-district/>

⁸⁰ See Redlining Heritage Trail Tour. Retrieved November 29, 2021, from <https://www.wingluke.org/events/redlining-heritage-trail-tour/>

Synagogue. The cultural layers and intersectional histories of the neighborhood were spotlighted through these placemaking initiatives.

e. Incorporate cultural histories in public art installations

The Central Area Neighborhood Design Guidelines, adopted in 2018, focus on the physical design features associated with development, and include guidelines for new construction projects that are subject to Design Review to “reflect the unique historical character of the Central Area.”⁸¹ Guidance is given to “contribute to architectural and placemaking character with local history and cultural references” in designated Character Areas. The Design Guidelines emphasize design features that express the African and Black American presence in the neighborhood while also representing other heritages that have had a large impact on the Central Area’s past.

Projects such as Tapestry, located at the former Seattle Curtain Manufacturing⁸² site at 12th Avenue and East Yesler Way, are celebrating the multicultural history and character of the area and the site’s past as a Jewish-owned business in its proposed art installations. The artwork is a collaborative effort of ten artists, each with historic connections to the Central Area, who identify as African, African American, Asian American, Native American, and Jewish. Paintings, plaques, panels, quilts, and sculptures will weave together and make visible the Jewish, Black, Asian, and Indigenous histories at the gateway to the Central Area (personal communication with Tapestry project team, September 23, 2021).

⁸¹ See Central Area Neighborhood Design Guidelines. Retrieved November 29, 2021, <https://www.seattle.gov/Documents/Departments/SDCI/About/CentralAreaDesignGuidelines.pdf>

⁸² See Thesis Chapter 4: Jewish History Context Statement

Table 8.1*Formal and Informal Preservation Recommendations*

#	Name	FORMAL PRESERVATION		INFORMAL PRESERVATION	Notes
		National Register	Seattle Landmark	Placemaking Initiatives	
EXISTING BUILDINGS					
1	Temple De Hirsch (Old Sanctuary)	Y	Y	I	
2	Temple De Hirsch Temple Center	PN	PN	I	Jimi Hendrix' 1st show
3	Temple De Hirsch Religion School Annex				
4	Temple De Hirsch Sinai "Alhadeff Sanctuary"	PN	PN	I	Site of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. lecture during Seattle visit; Freedom School location during school boycott
5	Temple De Hirsch Schoenfeld-Gardner Chapel				
6	Council House			I	Women & social action
7	Talmud Torah	PN	PN	I	Women & social action
8	White Kosher Meat Market / Cederstrand Bldg		PN	I	
9	Congregation Machzikay Hadath	PN	PN	I	
10	Lippman's Bakery	PN	PN	I	CAYA - Social action
11	Kaminoff's Grocery	PN	PN	I	
12	Sephardic Bikur Holim	PN	PN	I	
13	Herzl Synagogue (2nd location)	PN	PN	I	Model Cities; Women & Social Action; Black Architect- Benjamin McAdoo
14	Chevra Bikur Cholim	PN	Y; AN	I	Model Cities; Black Architect- Mel Streeter; Jewish Architect- I.M. Gorasht
15	Ahavath Ahim			I	
16	Herzl (1st Location)			I	
DEMOLISHED BUILDINGS / SITES					
1	Workmen's Circle (120 - 21st Ave)			I	Socia Action: credit union, co-ops, rent strikes
2	Settlement House Educational Center (18th Ave & S Main)			I	Women & social action
3	Ezra Bessaroth (now Goodwill Church; 126 - 15th Ave)			I	
4	Collins Playfield (14th Ave & S Main)			I	Site of Japanese deportation; Urban renewal
5	Tokuda Drugstore (18th Ave & E Yesler Way)			I	Japanese internment impacts
Y = Yes: Already Recognized PN = Pursue Nomination AN = Amend Existing Nomination I = Include					

Chapter 9.

CONCLUSION

The historic preservation field is critiqued for a “diversity deficit” in the number of resources that are recognized for their association with historically marginalized communities, for not acknowledging the profound contribution of minorities to preservation activities, and for a dearth of minorities in the historic preservation profession. While progress has been made towards including underrepresented histories, National Register of Historic Places listings and local landmark designations continue to not reflect the true diversity of America. Efforts towards increasing diversity and inclusion have elevated “single lens” narratives that do not address the complexity of identity or the experiences of multiple communities that have intersected and occupied a place over time. This approach has left “large gaps... in our knowledge of historic resources, and few places [that] consciously reflect the intersections of identities” (Dubrow, 2016, p. 73).

Preservation scholars and activists are calling for a new agenda for historic preservation that fully embraces diversity, attends to the complexities and difficult edges of history and identity, and unites disparate groups into coalitions that are organized around preserving resources that have multiple layers and intersections of cultural history. The paradigm of intersectionality offers possibilities of moving historic preservation towards this new agenda.

The literature suggests that an intersectional preservation practice would promote understanding of issues that affect multiple groups and tell history in ways that reach across cultural lines, rather than trying to convince disparate groups to embrace a single viewpoint (Kaufman, 2009). The practice would fully represent the intersectionality of identity, experience, and place, and would seek out cross-group connections and acknowledge and negotiate the

contested interests of multiple-stakeholders. As such, sites would be selected and interpreted in ways that “respect the shared yet divergent experiences of people who may have inhabited and used the same spaces, but who have experienced them very differently” (Kaufman, 2009, p. 247).

Preserving Jewish heritage in the Central Area offers insights into how the history of a particular underrepresented community can be better included, while also elevating the narratives of multiple communities who have intersected and occupied the same spaces in a culturally layered urban environment. The research of this thesis shows that Jewish history is underrepresented in formal preservation efforts, such as the Seattle Historic Resources Survey (2000), Seattle Landmark designations, and in National Register of Historic Places listings in the study area. Using the conventional tools and practices of historic preservation, such as the *Survey and Inventory of Sites Associated with Jewish History* conducted for this thesis [Chapter 6 and Appendix], shows that out of sixteen buildings that are known to have Jewish historic association, eight buildings are potentially eligible for recognition and protection as Seattle Landmarks, and nine buildings may meet the requirements for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. Context research reveals that twelve of these sixteen buildings also have known associations with Black history, and eight have known associations with women’s history. These findings suggest that preserving Jewish history in the Central Area also elevates the narratives of other underrepresented communities.

The case studies of the Talmud Torah / Islamic School / Cherry Street Village and Sephardic Bikur Holim / Tolliver Temple COGIC demonstrate that an intersectional approach to formal and informal preservation would build coalitions and alliances around common interests that would benefit multiple underrepresented communities and would tell polyvocal and

multivalent stories of their layered and intersecting histories. Raising awareness around “multiply-esteemed” cultural resources, such as the two case study sites, provides an opportunity to form new alliances around shared concerns that bridge the divides of race, class, gender, and sexuality (Lee, 2012; Dubrow, 2016; Roberts, 2017).

The Central Area offers an opportunity to apply the intersectional approach to embracing, preserving, and interpreting places with difficult history that affected multiple racial and ethnic minority communities. Redlining, racially restrictive covenants, housing discrimination, disinvestment, the Japanese expulsion, urban renewal, comprehensive planning, gentrification, and displacement have had profound consequences on the demographics, economy, and physical fabric of the Central Area. Intersectionality would address and confront these difficult aspects of history, and

“discuss the ways in which supremacy and privilege distort our views of ourselves and other communities, even in the context of supposedly pluralistic place-making. Preservationists must...contextualize structures and sites within larger and sometimes difficult concerns-those that are critical to systemically addressing inequalities in the local community” (Roberts, 2017, n.p.)

Intersectional preservation practices also understand that some communities are preserving place and affirming identity through intangible heritage rather than buildings. In this paradigm, cultural placemaking, such as art, music, storytelling, and ritual performance, are legitimate forms of historic preservation that honor the past and engage communities around celebrating and perpetuating their place-based identity (Roberts, 2017). Tours, trails, interpretive signage, art, and events are examples of informal preservation and placemaking that can complement formal preservation and increase the visibility of the history of the Jewish community in the Central Area *and* the histories of other underrepresented communities.

Initiatives such as the Washington State Jewish Historical Society's Sephardic Tour of the Central Area, the Black Heritage Society's African American Tour, and the collaboration between the two organizations to celebrate each other's histories are recent examples of the possibilities that emerge through an intersectional framework.

This study offers rich possibilities for making visible and protecting the Jewish history in the Central Area while recognizing and celebrating the co-existing and intersecting histories of multiple minority communities who have shared the ethnic and racial enclave. Engaging an intersectional framework for historic preservation affords the opportunity to collaborate around shared interests instead of competing around contested narratives. As historic preservation seeks to expand diversity and inclusion of underrepresented communities, and strives for ongoing relevance, this study demonstrates that adopting intersectionality may contribute to the future of the field.

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APPENDIX A

SURVEY AND INVENTORY OF SITES ASSOCIATED WITH JEWISH HISTORY

SURVEY AND INVENTORY

A1. Temple De Hirsch (Old Sanctuary)

Address / Location:

15th Avenue and East Union Street (NE Corner)

Approximate Date of Construction:

1908; demolished 1993

Architect / Engineer / Builder:

Architect: Julian F. Everett

Current Use of the Building:

Open space / memorial park

Historic Use of the Building:

Religious Facility: Synagogue

Historic Context: Ethnic Heritage: Jewish; Religion.

All Observable Architectural Information and Characteristics:

Few elements of the original neoclassical style buff colored brick building remain.

Architectural Style and Time Period: Neoclassical

Description of Physical Appearance:

The original building (Temple) was demolished in 1993. A few structural and decorative elements of the building remain on the west side of the property along 15th Avenue. These elements include four classical fluted columns that once supported a portico, a two-sided exterior staircase with two flights of concrete stairs that led to a platform at the former entrance to the Temple, and west façade of the primary entrance to the original building, constructed of white brick in a horizontal pattern. At the center of the cornice an intact decorative stone image of two tablets with Roman numerals depicts the Ten Commandments. A grassy area lies behind the façade, along East Union Street. A metal sculpture representing the outline of the original Temple is affixed to the south facade of the adjacent Temple Center.

Changes to Structure – Plan, Windows, Original Cladding, Interior:

Figure A1.1

Temple De Hirsch (Old Sanctuary), 2021



Most of the structure has been demolished. Few exterior elements of the west façade remain.

Statement of Significance:

Temple De Hirsch was founded on May 29, 1897 by seven of Seattle's early Jewish residents. They raised \$2,400 from seventy families to launch the congregation with High Holiday services that used the Reform American Service model of worship (Micklin, 1998a). Temple De Hirsch was incorporated in 1899 as a Jewish congregation that was "committed unqualifiedly" to the principles of liberal Judaism, "in keeping with the times and on thoroughly American lines" (Cone, et al., 2003, p. 106). The congregation was named in honor of prominent Jewish philanthropist Baron Maurice de Hirsch of England, who was known for his generosity and his efforts in assisting impoverished and persecuted Eastern European Jews to immigrate to America. Temple De Hirsch's founding members were Emanuel Rosenberg, Vice President; Sol Friedenthal, Secretary; Max Bornstein, Treasurer; Simon Degginger, Trustee; I. E. Moses, Trustee; and I. Korn, Trustee. The original members were of German and Central European descent who were part of the first wave of Jewish immigrants to Seattle. Many of the early members were well established civic, social, and business leaders in the growing city, and were active participants in the broader social and political life of Seattle. Notable early Seattle civic leaders and congregation members included Nathan Eckstein (second Temple President, two-time president of the Seattle school board, active member of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce, named "Seattle's Most Useful Citizen" in 1926), Morton Schwabacher, Louis Friedlander, John M. Friedlander, Alfred Shemanski, Mrs. J.R. Hiller, and Babette and Bailey Gatzert (Micklin, 1998a).

Rabbi Theodore Joseph of Lancaster, Pennsylvania became Temple De Hirsch's first spiritual leader. Congregants initially assembled at Morris Hall at 9th Avenue and Yesler Way. A site for a new temple was acquired at Boylston Avenue and Marion Street, and on June 9, 1901, the cornerstone was laid. A basement was built, and services were held in the vestry of the partially completed building. The future structure was too small for the growing congregation, and the rest of the building was never completed. A new site was acquired at 15th Avenue and East Union Street in 1906. The cornerstone for Temple De Hirsch's "Old Sanctuary" was laid in August 1906. The first religious services were held in the completed vestry room on Friday, November 22, 1907. On May 24, 1908, the building was dedicated, nine years after the Temple incorporated. Rabbi Jonah B. Wise of Temple Beth Israel, Portland, Oregon, gave the dedication sermon. Leo Koch, president, and Nathan Eckstein, chairman of the building committee, spoke on behalf of the congregation. The first gathering in the new sanctuary was a memorial service for Babette Schwabacher Gatzert, a member of the prominent Schwabacher family, wife of Seattle's first and

only Jewish mayor, Bailey Gatzert, and founding member of Seattle's first charity organization, the Ladies Relief Society (now Seattle Children's Home) (Micklin, 1998a; Cone et al., 2003, pp. 106-109).

The Old Sanctuary functioned continuously until 1960, when a new Temple was constructed on the southwest corner of 16th Avenue and East Pine Street. It was used intermittently and rented out for religious services and performances until the early 1990s.

Temple De Hirsch (Old Sanctuary) was designated as a City of Seattle Landmark for its architectural significance for what may have been Julian Everett's most important work in Seattle and for its association with the cultural life of the Jewish community. Temple De Hirsch (Old Sanctuary) was listed on the National Register of Historic Places for its regional significance in areas of architecture and religion (NRHP #84003506).

The Old Sanctuary was demolished in 1993 after unsuccessful attempts to convert the space into a performance hall. Distinguishing elements of the front façade were retained as a memorial to the early history of Temple De Hirsch (Gruber, 2017).

Figure A1.2

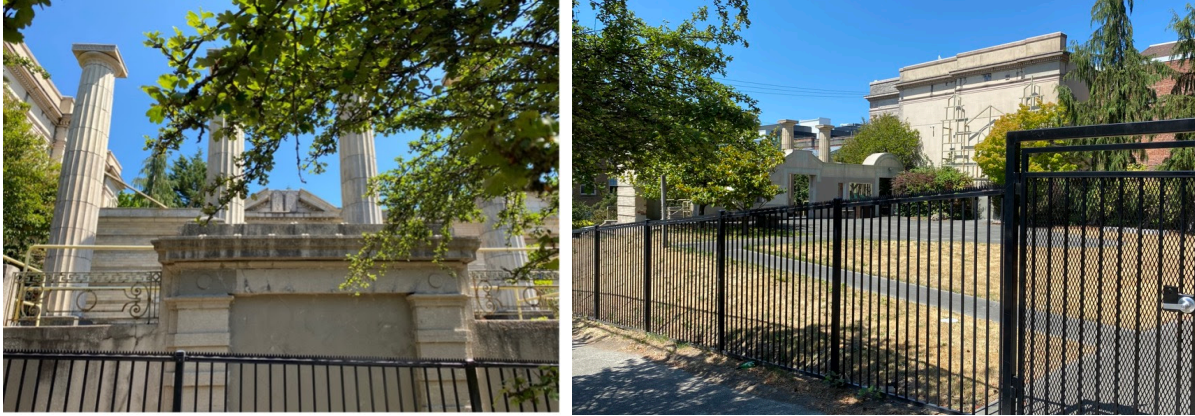
Jewish New Year Card Depicting Temple De Hirsch, c. 1908



Source: Wikimedia Commons [PD-US]

Figure A1.3

Remains of Temple De Hirsch (Old Sanctuary), 2021



Note: (left) Remains of front (west) façade of Temple De Hirsch (Old Sanctuary). 15th Ave looking east. July 11, 2021. (right) Remains of facade, on E Union St looking northwest. Metal sculpture depicts outline of the Old Sanctuary.

Figure A1.4

Stone Tablets on Temple De Hirsch (Old Sanctuary) Facade, 2021



Note: Stone tablets represent the Ten Commandments on the cornice of the front (west) façade. July 11, 2021.

SURVEY AND INVENTORY:**A2. Temple De Hirsch Temple Center**

Address / Location: East side of 15th Avenue,
between East Union Street and East Pike Street

Approximate Date of Construction: 1924

Architect / Engineer / Builder: Unknown

Current Use of the Building:

Reception Hall, Education, and Meeting Facilities

Historic Use of the Building:

Religion school, library, auditorium, gymnasium

Historic Context:

Ethnic Heritage: Jewish. Religion. Architecture.

Figure A2.1

Temple De Hirsch Temple Center, 2021

**A discussion of the seven aspects of integrity, if National Register eligible:**

The Temple Center possesses all seven aspects of integrity, including location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The exterior of the building is unchanged from its original construction in 1924. The building has visible symbols of its association with the cultural and religious heritage of Seattle's Jewish community.

All Observable Architectural Information and Characteristics:

The two-story brick Temple Center extends to the north of the demolished Temple De Hirsch (Old Sanctuary) along 15th Avenue. The center has a concrete base and a street facade of buff-colored brick trimmed with pinkish-tan terra cotta. Terra cotta ornamentation includes dentils, Greek key, and anthemion motifs which relate to the classical theme of the original Temple De Hirsch sanctuary, the façade of which remains south of the Temple Center.

Architectural Style and Time Period: Georgian Revival, 1915 – 1935 (DAHP Style Guide).

Description of Physical Appearance:

The Temple Center lies at the center of the east side of 15th Avenue and spans the majority of the block. The two-story Georgian Revival style building possesses a simple monumentality. The building maintains visible symbols of its connection to Seattle's Jewish ethnic and religious history. A six-pointed Star of David is affixed to the gable over the front entrance and the words "Congregation Temple De Hirsch" and "Temple Center" are engraved above the front entrance. The building is symmetrical, with three rectangular windows divided into eight groups by columns that appear at evenly spaced intervals. The front entrance lies in the middle of the façade and has classic revival details including a gable over the cornice, two decorative terra cotta scrolls, and a terra cotta relief with "Congregation Temple De Hirsch" and "Temple Center" engraved over the entrance.

Changes to Structure – Plan, Windows, Original Cladding, Interior:

The exterior remains intact, with its original cladding, window openings, and decorative details. Front entrance doors appear to be altered based on historic photographs. The interior of the Temple Center was renovated in 1970; the auditorium and gymnasium were converted into a reception hall.

Statement of Significance:

The Temple De Hirsch Temple Center was built in 1924 as an all-purpose facility with a large auditorium that adjoined the Temple Old Sanctuary building. The Temple Center was home to the religion school, library, and social functions of the growing Temple De Hirsch congregation, and was used as a social hall and performance space for the Jewish community. The Temple Center was built on 15th Avenue between East Union Street and East Pike Street, on a parcel immediately north of the Temple De Hirsch Old Sanctuary building (constructed in 1907, demolished in 1993). The Temple Center is part of a full city block complex that includes the remains of the now demolished "old" Temple De Hirsch Sanctuary, the Temple Center, and the Religion School Annex, all on 15th Avenue, and the "new" Temple De Hirsch "Alhadeff Sanctuary" and "Schoenfeld-Gardner Chapel" on 16th Avenue. The Temple Center is connected to all of the buildings in the complex through a series of passages and bridges.

Temple De Hirsch grew under the leadership of Rabbi Koch, which spanned from 1906 to 1942. A Ladies Auxiliary formed in 1906, and the Temple Men's Club launched in 1920. Temple De Hirsch offered a free religious education program with Sunday School and mid-week after school classes for students ranging from kindergarten through bar and bat mitzvah, confirmation, high school, and college. Member and non-member families were welcome to participate, and as a result Temple De Hirsch provided Jewish

education for generations of youth from the broader Jewish community. Rabbi Koch was an active participant in many social causes in Seattle: he helped create Children's Hospital, united Seattle's social agencies into the Seattle Community Chest (a predecessor of the United Way) and engaged in interfaith work that forged connections between Christians and Jews. On a national level, Rabbi Koch was one of the fifteen original members of the Executive Committee of the Central Conference of Reform American Rabbis' Commission on Social Justice. The Temple Center was constructed within this context of expanding membership, services, functions, and local and national visibility (Micklin, 1998a).

In 1930 Rabbi Koch brought renowned American synagogue music composer and choir conductor Samuel E. Goldfarb to direct the music program at Temple De Hirsch. Goldfarb served the congregation for nearly forty years, during which time he led what was known as the country's finest temple choir, formed a children's choir, composed the famous Hanukkah song, "I Have a Little Dreidel," produced numerous holiday shows, and taught Hebrew School classes and music lessons. According to *The Jewish Transcript*, "Almost at any time singing of Jewish songs in choruses can be heard at the Temple Center" (Cone, et al., 2003, p. 162).

Rabbi Raphael E. Levine succeeded Rabbi Koch in 1942. Rabbi Levine was born in Vilna, Lithuania, moved as a school-aged child to Duluth, Minnesota, gained rabbinic ordination at Hebrew Union College, fulfilled his first post in Liverpool, England, then relocated to Seattle to serve the Temple De Hirsch congregation. Deeply involved in interfaith work, Rabbi Levine hosted the award-winning local television show "Challenge" featuring Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish clergy discussing issues of the day from their respective faith traditions and perspectives. The show ran for fourteen years and sought to alleviate religious prejudices and tensions through education. Rabbi Levine founded the Pacific Association of Reform Rabbis, and Camp Brotherhood, a religious, educational, and cultural center for Christians and Jews located in Mount Vernon, Washington. He also played a significant role in expanding Children's Hospital (Micklin, 1998a).

The Temple Center auditorium was used for countless performances, dances, and community events. Before Seattle had professional actors and playhouses many Jews organized amateur dramatic societies. The Temple Players, directed by Frank Price Giles, performed on the stage of the Temple Center. In 1959 a teenage Jimi Hendrix played his first ever live performance at the Temple Center. Hendrix was invited to play at a dance at Temple De Hirsch. With a wild playing style that interfered with the crowd's dancing, Hendrix was fired after his first set, halfway through his first professional gig (Cross, 2016).

In 1951 a two-story religious school annex was built to the north of the Temple Center on the corner of 15th Avenue and East Pike Street. The annex building is connected to the Temple Center by a bridge on the second story.

In 1960 Temple De Hirsch built a “new” sanctuary to the northeast of the Temple Center on 16th Avenue and East Pike Street. The “new” sanctuary is connected to the Temple Center through an internal passageway. In 1970 the Temple Center auditorium and gymnasium were converted into a reception hall (NRHP #84003506).

The Temple Center is still in active use by Temple De Hirsch as a reception hall, event facility, library, and education center. The library collection contains over 10,000 resources, with a focus on Judaic topics and literature for children and young adults. The Youth Lounge is opened as an overnight homeless women’s shelter and has provided safe accommodations to 35,000 women since 1992, in an entirely volunteer-run operation (Temple De Hirsch Sinai, n.d.). The Temple Center reception hall, kitchen, and meeting spaces are available for public rental. During the week, classrooms are used by Seattle Academy of Arts and Sciences for its urban campus.

Determination of Eligibility Opinion:

Built in 1924, the Temple De Hirsch Temple Center is over 50 years old and retains the integrity of its original construction. With a six-pointed Star of David on the cornice and “Congregation Temple De Hirsch” and “Temple Center” inscribed over the entrance, the building continues to convey its significance as a social and educational facility for Seattle’s Jewish community. The Temple Center contributes to the cultural and religious heritage of Seattle and the Pacific Northwest’s small Jewish community, which is underrepresented in local historic landmark designations and National Register of Historic Places listings. The Temple Center is strongly associated with the lives of people who were important to the civic, cultural, economic, and political development of the City of Seattle and to the establishment of its Jewish community, and to the national development of the American Reform movement. It is the opinion of the surveyor that the Temple Center is eligible for an individual listing on the National Register of Historic Places and for local landmark designation. The Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation identifies the building with a status of “No Determination.”

Figure A2.2*Temple Center with Old Sanctuary, 1980*

Note: Temple De Hirsch Temple Center (left) with Old Sanctuary (right). 15th Avenue and East Union Street, looking northeast. Source: National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form. NRHP #84003506

Figure A2.3*Temple Center Facade, 2021*

Note: (left) Temple Center from 15th Avenue, looking east. (right) Entrance, looking east. A Star of David, "Congregation Temple De Hirsch," and "Temple Center" above the entrance. July 11, 2021.

Figure A2.4*Temple De Hirsch Confirmation Class, 1925**Note: Temple De Hirsch confirmation class on steps of Temple Center, Seattle, 1925.**Source: University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, UW1145/JEW0346***Figure A2.5***Dance at Temple Center, c. 1944**Note: Military servicemen and hostesses dancing**Source: University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, PH Coll 750.12/JEW3560***Figure A2.6***Samuel Goldfarb with Sisterhood Chorale, 1965**Source: University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, PH Coll 742.30/JEW0569*

SURVEY AND INVENTORY:**A3. Temple De Hirsch Religion School Annex****Address / Location:**

Southeast corner of 15th Avenue & East Pike Street

Figure A3.1

Temple De Hirsch Religion School Annex, 2021

Approximate Date of Construction: 1951

Architect / Engineer / Builder: Unknown

Current Use of the Building: Classrooms

Historic Use of the Building: Classrooms

Historic Context:

Ethnic Heritage: Jewish. Religion.

**A discussion of the seven aspects of integrity,
if National Register eligible:**

The Temple De Hirsch Religious School Annex possesses five aspects of integrity, including location, design, setting, materials, and workmanship. The exterior of the building appears to be unchanged from its original construction.

**All Observable Architectural Information and Characteristics:**

The two-story concrete block Religious School Annex classroom building occupies the northeast corner of 15th Avenue and East Pike Street with a primary entrance on 15th Avenue. The functional, utilitarian building features two simple cubic shapes that are visible on the front (west) façade: the entrance lies in the northern cube and the classrooms are in the southern cube. The entrance cube is clad in concrete and has steel and glass doors on the main floor. A window on the second floor above the entrance has twelve steel cased panes, with concrete trim surrounding the opening. The cube that holds classrooms extends a few feet out from the entrance onto 15th Avenue on the front (west) façade and has a shorter height than the entrance cube. The classroom block is clad in permastone. Five rectilinear bands of windows have three groups of square glass blocks with 35 squares of glass in each group. The windows are encased in steel. The building's flat roof, rectilinear form, and taught plane surfaces that are devoid of ornamentation are typical of the International Style.

Architectural Style and Time Period: International Style, 1920-1970 (DAHP Style Guide).

Description of Physical Appearance:

The building is part of the Temple De Hirsch Sinai complex that spans an entire city block between 15th and 16th Avenues and East Union and East Pike Streets. The Annex building does not have any visible associations with the Jewish religion.

Changes to Structure – Plan, Windows, Original Cladding, Interior:

The exterior of the structure appears to be intact based on photos from 1980. Interior is unknown.

Statement of Significance:

The Temple De Hirsch Religious School Annex was built in 1951 for additional classrooms for the congregation's growing religious education program. The Religious School Annex is connected to the adjacent Temple Center by a bridge on the second story. In the 1980s the Religion School Annex was leased by the Seattle OIC for use as its Career Intern Program headquarters (NRHP #84003506). The Religion School Annex is used by Temple De Hirsch as a classroom facility. During the week, classrooms are used by Seattle Academy of Arts and Sciences for its urban campus.

Determination of Eligibility Opinion:

Built in 1951, the Temple De Hirsch Religion School Annex is over 50 years old and appears to retain the integrity of its original construction. The Religion School Annex contributes to the ethnic heritage, religious, and social history of Seattle and the Pacific Northwest's small Jewish community, which is underrepresented in local historic landmark designations and National Register of Historic Places listings. It is the opinion of the surveyor that the Religion School Annex is not eligible for an individual listing on the National Register of Historic Places or for local landmark designation as it does not visibly convey the significance of its association with Jewish cultural and religious heritage. The Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation indicates that the building is not eligible for National Register listing.

Figure A3.2*Religion School Annex, 1980*

Note: Religion School Annex (left),
Temple Center (right)
Source: NRHP #84003506

Figure A3.3*Religion School Annex and Alhadeff Sanctuary, 2021*

Note: Temple De Hirsch Sinai "Alhadeff Sanctuary" behind
Annex; looking southeast from 15th Avenue & East Pike St,
July 11, 2021

Figure A3.4*Religion School Annex Facade, 2021*

Note: View of Religion School Annex from 15th Avenue, looking east. July 11, 2021.

SURVEY AND INVENTORY:**A4. Temple De Hirsch Sinai “Alhadeff Sanctuary”****Common / Other Name:**

Temple De Hirsch Sinai New Sanctuary

Address / Location: 1441 – 16th Avenue

Approximate Date of Construction: 1960

Architect / Engineer / Builder:

John S. Detlie and Raymond Peck;

B. Marcus Priteca (Consulting Architect)

Current Use of the Building:

Religious Facility: Synagogue; Sanctuary and Offices

Historic Use of the Building:

Religious Facility: Synagogue; Sanctuary and Offices

Historic Context:

Ethnic Heritage: Jewish. Religion. Architecture.

A discussion of the seven aspects of integrity, if National Register eligible:

The Temple De Hirsch “New Sanctuary” possesses all seven aspects of integrity, including location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The exterior of the building is unchanged from its original construction in 1960. The building maintains visible symbols of its association with the ethnic and religious heritage of Seattle’s Jewish community.

All Observable Architectural Information and Characteristics:

The sanctuary’s circular shape is expressed on the exterior by an angular dome-shaped structure with concrete ribs that rise vertically at a convergent angle from a base of concrete grillwork and stained glass. A one-story band of stained-glass windows encased in a geometric pattern of concrete mullions extends around the base of the sanctuary’s concrete dome on the north and east facades of the sanctuary structure and continues in a unifying pattern along the east façade of the one-story entrance that lies south of the

Figure A4.1

Temple De Hirsch Sinai, 2021



sanctuary dome. The image of a monumental brass menorah (candelabra) is mounted on the east façade of the sanctuary abutting 16th Avenue. The menorah, also the logo of Temple De Hirsch, has an inscription of two words in Hebrew, the English translation of which, “Let There Be Light,” appears below the menorah. “The Alhadeff Sanctuary” is engraved in the concrete panels below the menorah.

The temple is connected on the south by the extension of a low entrance wing to the Schoenfeld-Gardner Chapel, completed in 1974. The primary entrance on the east façade has two sets of wood double-doors. The wood doors extend from the ground to a cantilevered overhang, giving visibility and scale to the entrance. An inscription in brass letters above the left set of doors reads, “THIS IS THE GATE OF THE LORD THE RIGHTEOUS SHALL ENTER INTO IT.” An inscription in brass letters above the right set of doors reads, “MY HOUSE SHALL BE A HOUSE OF PRAYER FOR ALL PEOPLE.” A secondary set of wood double doors lies to the south of the primary doors. In front of the entrance, between the Alhadeff Sanctuary and the Schoenfeld-Gardner Chapel, a paved landscaped courtyard unites the complex along its 16th Avenue frontage.

Architectural Style and Time Period: Modern Movement, 1930 - 1970 (DAHP Style Guide).

Description of Physical Appearance:

Temple De Hirsch Sinai’s “New” Sanctuary is “a bold work of modernism in Seattle” (Gruber, 2019). Its design is consistent with big mid-century Temples that were built in the American suburbs at the time, however Temple De Hirsch Sinai’s sanctuary is unique for its location in urban Seattle. The sanctuary resembles a mountain on the exterior and an insular cave, tent, or desert dwelling on the interior. The design is a nod to Mount Sinai, where the Israelites received the Ten Commandments and the Torah (Five Books of Moses), and to the local mountains, Rainier, and Baker. These mountains define the spiritual and physical landscape of Seattle’s Jewish community. The sanctuary has a monumental scale and volume, rising approximately 30 feet, with space to seat at least 1,000 people. The only natural light filters into the sanctuary from a run of thick stained-glass windows at the ground level of the building’s north and east facades. Architects Priteca and Detlie were both renowned theater designers, which is apparent in the dramatic design and experience of the Temple’s architecture.

The Temple design epitomizes the shift to modern architecture in the late 1950s and 1960s. This period represented a clear break from past synagogue designs that favored classical and revival styles that were inspired by the architecture of Europe, the Mediterranean Region, and the Middle East. During this time, “big ahistorical, abstract, and/or symbolic forms were deemed most appropriate for new synagogue

design. Large awesome spaces – often tent-like in form – took precedence [over] intimate and highly detailed spaces” (Gruber, 2019).

The sanctuary layout reflects the Reform Movement’s principles of mixed-gender seating and a marble bimah (pulpit) for reading the Torah that is oriented towards the audience rather than towards the Ark that holds the Torah scrolls, as is the custom in Orthodox synagogues.

The Alhadeff Sanctuary and Temple De Hirsch entrance are part of a complex of five buildings that occupy an entire city block, spanning between 15th and 16th Avenues and East Union and East Pike Streets. The Alhadeff Sanctuary, building entrance, and the Schoenfeld-Gardner Chapel are on 16th Avenue, and the remains of the “Old Sanctuary,” the Temple Center, and the Religion School Annex are on 15th Avenue.

Changes to Structure – Plan, Windows, Original Cladding, Interior:

The Temple De Hirsch Alhadeff Sanctuary exterior remains intact, with its original plan, windows, and cladding. Changes to the interior of the structure are unknown.

Statement of Significance:

The Temple De Hirsch Alhadeff Sanctuary was built in 1960 to accommodate the growing congregation’s need for more space for religious services, lifecycle events, and community gatherings for its 1300 members than the smaller “Old Sanctuary” on 15th Avenue and East Union Street could offer. Despite the out-migration of the Jewish community after World War II, Temple De Hirsch was the only Jewish religious institution that remained in the Central Area. Temple leaders and members made a conscious decision to expand its facilities in response to Seattle’s postwar growth. The decision to stay in the Central Area was influenced by the leadership of Rabbi L. Raphael Levine, who was at the forefront of the movement against racism and anti-Semitism in Seattle and was deeply engaged in interfaith ecumenical work throughout Washington State. Rabbi Levine was called “one of the greatest religious leaders the Northwest has ever known, particularly in the ecumenical field” by Father William Treacy, and “an ambassador of religious brotherhood” by Reverend Bill Cate (Cone et al., 2003, p. 281).

The building campaign for the new sanctuary began on November 22, 1955, chaired by Seattle community leader and philanthropist Alfred Shemanski. Notable architects John S. Detlie, Raymond H. Peck, and B. Marcus Priteca were hired. Detlie was known for his work with the Hollywood movie industry and for his role in managing the World War II era Boeing Camouflage project. Detlie used his

expertise in theater and set design in both capacities. AIA Honor Award winning Gaffney's Lake Wilderness Lodge (1952), University of Washington Terry-Lander Hall (1953, 1957), and the National Bank of Commerce building in Renton (1960-1961) are among his many Seattle area projects. Peck was known for the Polynesia Restaurant (1961) and the Cinerama Theater (1963). Priteca specialized in classical design and was the in-house architect for Pantages Theater, which established Priteca as America's foremost theater architect. Priteca designed several theaters in Seattle, including the Coliseum (1915), Orpheum (1926), Paramount (1927), and Admiral theaters. Jewish-born, Priteca became a favored architect for many of Seattle's religious institutions. He designed Congregation Bikur Cholim (1909-1915), the Settlement House Educational Center (1916), the Talmud Torah (1929), Temple De Hirsch Sinai (1960), and Sephardic Bikur Holim (Seward Park location) (1964). All three architects brought their understanding of grand spaces, drama, and entertainment to their design of Temple De Hirsch (Gruber, 2019; PCAD: Detlie; PCAD: Priteca).

The ground-breaking for the new sanctuary, northeast of the old sanctuary building, was held on May 24, 1959. The new sanctuary cost \$750,000 and was dedicated on November 27, 1960. A dinner dance was held at the Temple Center following the dedication ceremony (Seattle Daily Times, 1960).

Reflecting the congregation's interest in race relations and civil rights, Rabbi Levine offered to host Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. when his previously scheduled lecture at Seattle First Presbyterian Church was cancelled due to prejudice against the tour organizer, Mount Zion Baptist Church. On November 9, 1961 Dr. King spoke at the temple's annual Forum Series. This was one of just four lectures given by Dr. King during his only visit to Seattle (Seattle Daily Times, 1961). In 1966, a school boycott was organized by Black community leadership to protest the slow rate of school integration. 4,000 students attended "Freedom" schools in the Central District; Temple De Hirsch hosted the overflow from nearby Mount Zion Church (Taylor, 1994, p. 212). Temple De Hirsch Sinai continues this legacy with an annual Civil Rights Shabbat on Martin Luther King Day weekend in partnership with neighboring Central Area historically Black Church, First African Methodist Episcopal Church (Temple De Hirsch Sinai, n.d.).

Rabbi Earl Starr succeeded Rabbi Levine as Temple De Hirsch's Senior Rabbi in 1970. Rabbi Starr served the congregation for over thirty years and retired in 2001. Temple De Hirsch merged with the Bellevue-based Reform-practicing Temple Sinai in 1971. The congregation was renamed Temple De Hirsch-Sinai (Micklin, 1998a).

Rabbi Daniel A. Weiner became Temple De Hirsch-Sinai's Senior Rabbi in 2001. Rabbi Weiner has expanded on the congregation's progressive social action agenda as one of the founders of the Washington Alliance for Gun Responsibility. The congregation has continued to build on its legacy of interfaith engagement, and Rabbi Weiner has developed long-standing partnerships and programs with local African American churches and the Episcopal and Catholic Dioceses. The congregation is involved in racial justice learning and projects (Temple De Hirsch Sinai, n.d.).

Temple De Hirsch-Sinai is now the oldest and largest reform congregation in the Pacific Northwest with 5,000 members and 1,600 families and religious, social, and educational campuses in both Seattle and Bellevue (Temple De Hirsch Sinai, n.d.). The institution and its members have "contributed greatly to the growth of the community, to the metropolitan Seattle area and to the Northwest" (NRHP #84003506, p. 2). With the largest capacity of any of the Seattle area synagogues and temples, Temple De Hirsch Sinai's Alhadeff Sanctuary has served as a gathering space for events that are of interest to the entire Jewish community. For example, following the massacre of Jews at the Tree of Life Synagogue in Pittsburgh in October, 2018, thousands of Jews held a vigil in the courtyard outside the Temple and had a mourning service inside the sanctuary (Gruber, 2019).

Determination of Eligibility Opinion:

Built in 1960, the Temple De Hirsch "Alhadeff" Sanctuary and building entrance is over 50 years old and retains the integrity of its original construction. With a menorah, Hebrew words, and religious messages on the east facade, the building continues to convey its significance as a religious and social facility for Seattle's Jewish community. The building contributes to the cultural, religious, and social history of Seattle and the Pacific Northwest's small Jewish community, which is underrepresented in local historic landmark designations and National Register of Historic Places listings. Temple De Hirsch is strongly associated with the lives of people who were important to the civic, cultural, economic, and political development of the City of Seattle and to the establishment of its Jewish community, and to the national development of the American Reform movement. The building is a notable work of its three architects, John S. Detlie, Raymond H. Peck, and B. Marcus Priteca. It is the opinion of the surveyor that the Temple De Hirsch "New" Sanctuary building is eligible for an individual listing on the National Register of Historic Places and for local landmark designation.

Figure A4.2

Temple De Hirsch Sinai Facade, 2021



Note: Temple De Hirsch Sinai east facade entrance courtyard on 16th Avenue, looking northwest towards the Alhadeff Sanctuary. July 11, 2021.

SURVEY AND INVENTORY:**A5. Temple De Hirsch Sinai Schoenfeld-Gardner Chapel****Address / Location:** 1441 – 16th Avenue**Figure A5.1****Approximate Date of Construction:** 1974*Schoenfeld-Gardner Chapel, 2021***Architect / Engineer / Builder:** Unknown**Current Use of the Building:**

Religious Facility: Synagogue Chapel

Historic Use of the Building:

Religious Facility: Synagogue Chapel

Historic Context: Ethnic Heritage: Jewish. Religion.**A discussion of the seven aspects of integrity, if National Register eligible:** not applicable.**All Observable Architectural Information and Characteristics:**

The irregularly shaped, angular chapel is appended to the south end of the entrance to Temple De Hirsch Sinai on 16th Avenue. The chapel is constructed of concrete with a sheathing of aggregate panels. The east façade is clad in concrete tiles. The south façade has three elongated vertical windows and is clad in concrete tiles. A lower level on the ground floor beneath the chapel is visible on the south façade. The west façade is an irregularly shaped trapezoid with a vertically oriented stained-glass window at the center. The stained-glass window has a semi-circle top, with three rectangular panes below; it was relocated from the Temple De Hirsch Old Sanctuary and depicts Moses coming down from Mount Sinai. A plaque on the north façade reads “Schoenfeld Gardner Chapel 1974.”

Architectural Style and Time Period: Brutalist / Postmodern, 1970+ (DAHP Style Guide).**Description of Physical Appearance:**

The Schoenfeld-Gardner Chapel is part of a complex of five buildings that occupy an entire city block, spanning between 15th and 16th Avenues and East Union and East Pike Streets. The Alhadeff Sanctuary,

building entrance, and the Schoenfeld-Gardner Chapel are on 16th Avenue, and the remains of the “old” sanctuary, the Temple Center, and the Religion School Annex are on 15th Avenue.

The Chapel is connected to the primary entrance and to the Alhadeff Sanctuary by a paved landscaped courtyard on 16th Avenue. A parking lot lies to the south and west and the chapel at a lower grade along East Union Street, extending to the east boundary of the remains of the Old Sanctuary.

Changes to Structure – Plan, Windows, Original Cladding, Interior:

The Temple De Hirsch Schoenfeld-Gardner Chapel exterior remains intact, with its original plan, windows, and cladding. Changes to the interior of the structure are unknown.

Statement of Significance:

The Temple De Hirsch Schoenfeld-Gardner Chapel was built in 1974 to provide a more intimate religious setting than the grand and spacious Alhadeff Sanctuary. The Chapel is used for smaller gatherings, such as Friday night and Saturday Sabbath services when there is not a lifecycle event or a Bar or Bat Mitzvah. After the Chapel was built the Old Sanctuary on 15th Avenue and East Union Street went virtually unused. Several of the interior elements of the Old Sanctuary were moved to the Chapel. When the Old Sanctuary was demolished in 1993 the ark that held the Torah scrolls, the chandeliers, and a large stained-glass window with a depiction of Moses were moved from the Old Sanctuary to the Chapel (Gruber, 2017).

Determination of Eligibility Opinion:

Built in 1974, the Temple De Hirsch Schoenfeld-Gardner Chapel is less than 50 years old, therefore it is ineligible for consideration for National Register listing. The Chapel retains the integrity of its original construction and has a few visible symbols of its association with the history of Seattle’s Jewish community, including the original stained-glass window from the Temple De Hirsch Old Sanctuary. The building could be considered for local landmark designation as part of the Temple De Hirsch Alhadeff Sanctuary complex.

Figure A5.2

Chapel Facade, 2021



Note: Schoenfeld-Gardner Chapel east facade. On 16th Avenue looking west. July 11, 2021.

Figure A5.3

Temple De Hirsch Sinai Campus, 2021



Note: Schoenfeld-Gardner Chapel south façade (right) with Temple Center (left) and Alhadeff Sanctuary (behind) from East Union Street looking north. July 11, 2021.

SURVEY AND INVENTORY:**A6. Council House****Address / Location:** 1501 – 17th Avenue**Figure A6.1****Approximate Date of Construction:** 1970-1972*Council House, 2021***Architect / Engineer / Builder:**

Manson Bennett, Architect

(firm: Manson Otis Bennett);

Robert J. Gustav, Contractor.

Current Use of the Building: Senior Apartments**Historic Use of the Building:** Senior Apartments**Historic Context: Ethnic Heritage:**

Jewish. Religion. Social Action. Women's History.

**A discussion of the seven aspects of integrity, if National Register eligible:** n/a**All Observable Architectural Information and Characteristics:**

The twelve-story reinforced concrete apartment building has minimal ornamentation. The north, east, south, and west elevations have some modulation that provides visual relief to an otherwise flat plane.

Architectural Style and Time Period: Brutalist, 1970 (DAHP Style Guide).**Description of Physical Appearance:**

The twelve-story reinforced concrete apartment building occupies the northwest corner of 17th Avenue and East Pike Street, with a primary entrance on 17th Avenue. The utilitarian, rectangular building has twelve floors of apartments and a two-story extension with a roof deck / garden terrace above. Balconies are attached to the apartments on the south and west façades. A paved surface parking lot wraps around the north and west sides of the property.

Changes to Structure – Plan, Windows, Original Cladding, Interior:

“Major upgrades to the building” were completed in 2013 (WSJHS, 2016, p. 30). The exterior of the structure has been updated with new cladding and color. Interior changes are unknown.

Statement of Significance:

The National Council of Jewish Women (NCJW) is a volunteer-based organization that works to improve the lives of women, children, and families through community service, social justice organizing, and education programs. The Seattle Section of NCJW was organized in 1900 and founded the Settlement House Educational Center in 1906. After the Educational Center became the non-profit Neighborhood House in 1956, NCJW shifted to supporting the elderly, with funds raised from the Council Thrift Shop in the Pike Place Market (Micklin, 1998b).

In 1969 the NCJW Seattle Section identified a need for low-income housing for seniors and people with disabilities. The volunteer organization partnered with the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to raise \$2 million to build the Council House apartment building. Originally the Council’s Future Planning Committee had intended to serve only the Jewish elderly, however by accepting federal funds the facility needed to be non-sectarian. HUD provided money to build the structure, and the Seattle Section raised money to furnish the interior (ArchivesWest, n.d.). The building was dedicated on October 8, 1972.

The NCJW Seattle Section served daily coffee and monthly luncheons to Council House residents. Temple De Hirsch Sinai, located around the corner from the Council House, incorporated volunteering at the Council House in its religious school curriculum. By 2013 the percentage of Jewish residents of the Council House declined to less than 40%. NCJW continues to sponsor the Council House, and the members of the Council House’s governing board are predominantly Jewish (WSJHS, 2016).

NCJW’s initiatives are rooted in Jewish religious values, organized by Jewish women, for Jewish families. NCJW continues to operate and is the oldest Jewish women’s volunteer organization in the United States, with over 90,000 members who engage in community organizing, education, direct service, and advocacy, organized into sixty sections across the country. The local chapter of NCJW, the Seattle Section, has advocated for fair treatment of Japanese Americans and Soviet Jews, reproductive choice, and childcare (Micklin, 1998b).

Determination of Eligibility Opinion:

Built in 1970, the Council House is over 50 years old and appears to retain the integrity of its original construction. The structure itself does not have any visible markings of its associations with the ethnic heritage, religious, and social history of Seattle and the Pacific Northwest's small Jewish community, or the women's history which is integral to its significance. It is the opinion of the surveyor that the Council House is not eligible for an individual listing on the National Register of Historic Places or for local landmark designation.

Figure A6.2

Council House Facade, 2021



Note: Council House from 17th Avenue and East Pike Street, looking northwest at the east and south facades. July 11, 2021.

SURVEY AND INVENTORY:

A7. Talmud Torah

Common / Other Name:

Islamic School of Seattle; Cherry Street Mosque;
Cherry Street Village

Figure A7.1

*Talmud Torah / Islamic School / Cherry Street
Village, 2021*

Address / Location: 720 – 25th Avenue

Approximate Date of Construction: 1930

Architect / Engineer / Builder: B. Marcus Priteca

Current Use of the Building:

Arts and cultural center; Mosque

Historic Use of the Building: School

Historic Context:

Ethnic Heritage: Jewish, Muslim. Religion. Women's History.



A discussion of the seven aspects of integrity, if National Register eligible: The Talmud Torah / Islamic School appears to possess the seven aspects of integrity for National Register listing.

All Observable Architectural Information and Characteristics:

Shallow pitched roof with red clay tile. Multi-colored brick exterior cladding in a horizontal pattern with a parquet pattern between the rectangular windows on the north and south wings of the building. Stone compound arch over the front entrance supported by two columns with twisted and geometric patterns. In the entrance section of the building, arched windows are separated by colonettes. The front entrance has a gabled parapet and a pitched roof with a porch that extends from the front façade. Stone steps lead to the front entrance. A decorative arched pattern follows the gable.

Architectural Style and Time Period: Late Romanesque Revival, 1920-1940 (DAHP Style Guide).

Description of Physical Appearance:

The Late Romanesque Revival style, referred to as Lombardy Romanesque or Rundbogenstil, was used for a brief period for ecclesiastical buildings, civic, and educational structures. The symmetrical building is divided into three distinct segments with a one-story entrance in the center, and two-story wings on the north and south segments of the building. On the west façade the building has a repetitive row of semi-circular arched paned windows in the entrance section, and two rows of five rectangular paned windows with arches over the top in the north and south sections. Plaques appear under the windows that likely had the names of people who donated to the building construction; the words have been painted over and the plaques are now blank. The north and south sections each have a gabled parapet. A concrete foundation with windows indicates a basement level. The north façade has a vertical paned window in the center, a concrete foundation with windows, and a secondary entrance. The east façade is divided into three sections with the north and south wings repeating the pattern on the west façade of two-stories with rows of rectangular windows and a gabled roof. The east façade has no ornamentation, and the multi-colored bricks follow a simple horizontal pattern. Unlike the west façade, the center section of the east facade appears to have two stories, and five long and narrow paned windows.

Changes to Structure – Plan, Windows, Original Cladding, Interior:

The exterior appears to have an intact plan, with original brick cladding and window openings. Archival photos show that the front entrance doors (west façade) have been replaced. Front stairs have been altered with an ADA ramp. The original decorative stone Star of David and “Seattle Talmud Torah” signs over the front entrance have been changed to an Islamic decorative element and “Islamic School of Seattle” written in English and Arabic. Some of the windows may have been replaced. Interior alterations are unknown.

Statement of Significance:

See Case Study: Talmud Torah / Islamic School / Cherry Street Village [Thesis Chapter 7].

Determination of Eligibility Opinion:

See Case Study: Talmud Torah / Islamic School / Cherry Street Village [Thesis Chapter 7].

Image(s) of the resource:

See Case Study: Talmud Torah / Islamic School / Cherry Street Village [Thesis Chapter 7].

SURVEY AND INVENTORY:**A8. White Kosher Meat Market / Commercial Bldg**

Common / Other Name: Cederstrand Building
(Cherry Street Thai)

Address / Location:

2724 East Cherry Street (Tenant Space).
Building addresses = 2716-2726 E Cherry St.

Approximate Date of Construction: 1924

Architect / Engineer / Builder: Unknown

Current Use of the Building: Commercial

Historic Use of the Building: Commercial

Historic Context: Ethnic Heritage:
Jewish, African American; Commercial History.

A discussion of the seven aspects of integrity, if National Register eligible: n/a

All Observable Architectural Information and Characteristics:

Wood frame. Wood siding. Brick posts.

Architectural Style and Time Period: Streamline Moderne, 1920-1940

Description of Physical Appearance:

The one-story detached structure has an asymmetrical composition, flat roof, and no ornamentation. The building has three commercial spaces with three separate entrances. Two of the entrances are on East Cherry Street on the south façade, and one is on the northwest corner of East Cherry Street and Martin Luther King Jr. Way. The south façade of the building is divided into five sections by brick pillars. The westernmost commercial space, “Zagol” Ethiopian Restaurant (2722 East Cherry Street) occupies four of these sections. The middle space (2724 East Cherry Street) has “Cherry Street Thai” painted on the

Figure A8.1

*White Kosher Meat Market /
Cederstrand Building, 2021*



façade. The corner space (2726 East Cherry Street) has an entrance at the intersection of East Cherry Street and Martin Luther King, Jr. Way. The corner is rounded, with a door in the center. Windows surround the door, divided into panes.

Changes to Structure – Plan, Windows, Original Cladding, Interior:

The exterior appears to have moderate to extensive changes to the exterior of the structure, windows, and cladding. Various tenants have changed the building’s entrances and interior layouts over time.

Statement of Significance:

The Cederstrand building is representative of commercial structures that were built along streetcar lines in the first decades of the 20th century. Layers of cultural history are revealed by the changes in tenants over time, reflecting the changing demographics and commercial preferences of the neighborhood’s diverse communities. The space at 2722-2726 East Cherry Street (now Cherry Street Thai) was once the location of the Seattle Kosher Market (1928 Street Directory), Cherry Street Kosher Grocery and Market (1934 Street Directory), and White Kosher Market (1940 Street Directory).

White Kosher Meat Market was opened by Nessim (Sam) Azose, a Sephardic Jew from Turkey, in 1936. The store sold meat and chicken and was a primary source of kosher meat for the Sephardic Jewish community, who preferred to buy their meat from Sephardic merchants. The Central Area had several kosher meat markets at the time. A fish counter was run by Nessim Behor Chiprut, Sam Azose’s brother-in-law. White Kosher was the market to display all of the cuts of fresh meat and fish in counters for customers to select their own cuts. The store offered free deliveries, and many young Sephardic men made deliveries and worked in the store. Sam Azose closed the store in 1945 when he became ill. Jack Maimon sold his successful “Jack’s Grocery” store on 20th Avenue and East Yesler Way and re-opened White Kosher with partner Marco Calvo. Ladino (Judeo-Spanish) was spoken regularly in the store. Jack Maimon closed White Kosher in 1970 (Washington State Jewish Museum Seattle Historic Sephardic Jewish Tour, n.d.).

The Cederstrand Building has been an icon for the Black identity of the Central Area. In 1985, the Catfish Corner restaurant opened in the corner space at East Cherry Street and Martin Luther King Jr. Way. The Black-owned business was a community hub and an institution for the Black residents of the Central Area. Its closure in 2014 signified the displacement of the Black community and the loss of place in the rapidly changing neighborhood. Fat’s Chicken and Waffles opened in the former Catfish Corner space in 2015. Now owned by Erika White, the Black / woman-owned business honors the Black historic identity

of the Central Area.⁸³ An Ethiopian restaurant occupies the western tenant space, reflecting the influx of Horn of Africa immigrant population that currently resides in the Central Area.

The Cederstrand building is widely recognized for a mural of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. that is painted on the east façade along Martin Luther King, Jr. Way. The mural has a bold one-story tall portrait of Dr. King along with his famous quote, “Darkness cannot drive out darkness, only light can do that. Hate cannot drive out hate, only love can do that.” The mural was painted by artist James Crespinel in the mid-1990s and restored in 2015.

Determination of Eligibility Opinion:

Built in 1924, the Cederstrand Building is over 50 years old. There are no visible signs of Jewish association. The mural of Dr. King is significant to the Black history of the neighborhood. DAHP has determined that the resource is not eligible for listing. The building is not listed in the 2000 Seattle Historic Resources Survey. It is the opinion of the surveyor that the Cederstrand Building may be eligible for local landmark designation for its cultural significance to multiple underrepresented communities.

Figure A8.2

White Kosher Meat Market



Source: Washington State Jewish Museum
Seattle Historic Sephardic Jewish Tour, Stop 31

Figure A8.3

Cherry Street Thai, 2021



Note: On Cherry Street, looking north.
July 11, 2021

⁸³ See *Central District says goodbye to legendary Catfish Corner* (2014). Retrieved November 30, 2021, from <https://www.capitolhillseattle.com/2014/08/central-district-says-goodbye-to-legendary-catfish-corner/>

SURVEY AND INVENTORY:**A9. Congregation Machzikay Hadath****Common / Other Name:**

Upper Room Church of God in Christ

Address / Location: 2600 East Fir Street**Approximate Date of Construction:** 1933**Architect / Engineer / Builder:** Unknown**Current Use of the Building:** Church**Historic Use of the Building:** Synagogue**Historic Context:** Ethnic Heritage:
Jewish; African American. Religion.**Figure A9.1***Machzikay Hadath / Upper Room COGIC, 2021***A discussion of the seven aspects of integrity, if National Register eligible:** n/a**All Observable Architectural Information and Characteristics:** Brick cladding. Concrete foundation.**Architectural Style and Time Period:** Late Romanesque Revival, 1920-1940 (DAHP Style Guide).**Description of Physical Appearance:**

The two-story structure on the northeast corner of 26th Avenue and East Fir Street has a symmetrical composition, gabled roof, and minimal ornamentation. Red brick cladding runs in a horizontal pattern. The front (west façade) on 26th Avenue has a protruding covered brick entrance with an arch and a gabled parapet. Four tall narrow horizontally-oriented windows are topped with semi-circular arches. A brick circle lies below the parapet. The south façade on East Fir Street has eight tall narrow horizontally-oriented windows topped with semi-circular arches. The window openings are divided into rectangular double-hung wood-framed windows on the first floor and rectangular double-hung windows topped with semi-circular arches on the second floor. A gabled parapet has a circular brick design. The east façade has no windows or ornamentation. An ante-room protrudes from the structure, which reflects

the interior program of a Jewish synagogue, which is typically oriented to the east, and has a space on the eastern wall for an ark that holds the Torah scrolls.

The building reflects its Jewish association through a series of 27 plaques with names and inscriptions in Hebrew and English. The plaques are inset into the masonry and appear approximately four brick rows above the concrete foundation. There are ten plaques on the west (entrance) façade, nine plaques on the south façade, and eight plaques on the north façade.

A free-standing sign board at the front corner shows the name of the Church, a photo of the Pastor, the worship schedule, and space for announcements.

Changes to Structure – Plan, Windows, Original Cladding, Interior:

The exterior appears to be mostly intact, with original brick cladding and window openings. The windows appear to be a frosted glass which may not be original. An archival photo shows that the original wood front door has been replaced. Interior changes are unknown.

Statement of Significance:

Congregation Machzikay Hadath began as an Orthodox Ashkenazic synagogue with members who broke away from Herzl Congregation when Herzl leaders decided to “modernize” and joined the Conservative movement. The founders of Machzikay Hadath intended to be the most tradition-observant synagogue in Seattle. The congregation incorporated on March 11, 1930. Rabbi Baruch Shapiro left his position as spiritual leader of Herzl where he had been since 1923, to found Congregation Machzikay Hadath, where he stayed until his death in 1970. Rabbi Shapiro was a renowned scholar, having learned with great rabbinic minds of his native Lithuania (Micklin, 1999).

Machzikay Hadath first met in private homes before purchasing two lots at 26th Avenue and East Fir Street in 1932. The new synagogue was dedicated on September 17, 1933. As is the Jewish custom, the congregation’s Torahs were carried in a parade to the new synagogue on the day of the dedication. The parade included children from the Seattle Talmud Torah and the Sephardic Talmud Torah. The ceremony featured many Orthodox rabbis from the Pacific Northwest region (Micklin, 1999).

Synagogue attendance dwindled as Jews left the Central Area in the 1960s. Machzikay Hadath closed and moved to a rented facility in Seward Park in 1968 after Rabbi Shapiro was attacked on the street.

Machzikay Hadath merged with the Seward Park branch of Bikur Cholim in November 1971. The combined synagogue entity was renamed Bikur Cholim-Machzikay Hadath and is still active in Seward Park (Cone, et al., 2003, p. 286).

Determination of Eligibility Opinion:

Built in 1933, the building is over 50 years old. The building appears to possess integrity, and the plaques reflect the significance of its association with the Jewish community in the Central Area. It is the opinion of the surveyor that the Machzikay Hadath (now Upper Room Church of God in Christ) is potentially eligible for an individual listing on the National Register of Historic Places or for local landmark designation.

Figure A9.2

Congregation Machzikay Hadath Facade



Source: University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, PH Coll 1142.6/JEW2337

Figure A9.3

Upper Room COGIC Facade, 2021



Note: West facade, on 26th Avenue looking east. July 11, 2021

Figure A9.4

27 Original Plaques on Building Facade, 2021



Figure A9.5

Plaque Honoring Bessie Brenner



SURVEY AND INVENTORY:**A10. Lippman's Bakery / Commercial Building****Common / Other Name:**

Central Area Youth Association (CAYA)

Address / Location: 119 – 23rd Avenue

Approximate Date of Construction: 1920

Architect / Engineer / Builder: Unknown

Current Use of the Building: Commercial

Historic Use of the Building: Commercial

Historic Context:

Ethnic Heritage: Jewish, African American.

Commercial History. Civil Rights. Social Action.

Figure A10.1

Lippman's Bakery / CAYA, 2021

**A discussion of the seven aspects of integrity, if National Register eligible:**

This commercial building appears to possess the seven aspects of integrity for National Register listing.

All Observable Architectural Information and Characteristics: Masonry.

Architectural Style and Time Period: Early 20th Century American Movement, 1900-1940

Description of Physical Appearance:

The one-story detached commercial structure is clad with light colored brick in a horizontal pattern on the east façade and has a gabled parapet in the center of the building. The rest of the building appears to be made of large concrete blocks. The east facade has a primary entrance to the south and a secondary entrance to the north. The primary entrance is recessed from the front façade and has large plate glass windows on either side and a continuous row of five wood framed square windows above. The secondary entrance is recessed from the front façade and has one plate glass window to the north and a row of two wood framed square windows above. The plate glass windows are set above the sidewalk by wood wainscot paneling. Letters above the front doors spell "CAYA." A brass plate on the top of the primary

entrance door reads “CENTRAL AREA YOUTH ASSOCIATION.” On the north façade a mural⁸⁴ painted on panels is attached to the concrete block wall. The mural reads “THE CENTRAL DISTRICT BELOVED COMMUNITY CHAMPIONS FOR YOUTH.” Vibrant images show notable Black sports, business, arts, activist, and cultural leaders, Garfield High School, Ezells, Medgar Evers Pool, Langston Hughes / Bikur Cholim, and the Northwest African American Museum.

Changes to Structure – Plan, Windows, Original Cladding, Interior:

The exterior appears to have minimal changes to windows and cladding. The front doors have been replaced. Interior alterations are unknown.

Statement of Significance:

The CAYA building is representative of commercial structures that were built along and near streetcar lines in the first decades of the 20th century. The building has had many different tenants throughout its history, reflecting the changing demographics and commercial preferences of the neighborhood’s diverse communities. Layers of cultural history are revealed by the changes in tenants over time. The building was once the location of Lippman’s Bakery and the home of baker Harry Lippman (1928 and 1940 Street Directories). Located in the historic hub of the Central Area’s Jewish community, Lippman’s was an integral part of the neighborhood’s Jewish landscape. The bakery was known for its breads and bagels. *The Jewish Transcript* community newspaper shows advertisements for Lippman’s “Famous Rye” and an order by mail service for out-of-town bread deliveries (March 13, 1925).⁸⁵ The neighborhood had several Jewish bakeries at the time, including A. Brenner Bakery, Mosler Bakery, and Sam’s Bakery, but Lippman’s was “THE Jewish bakery in those days” (Stiefel, 2002).

The building is currently occupied by the Central Area Youth Association (CAYA). In the late 1950s, future Washington State Governor Booth Gardner, Franklin High School football star and future community activist O. L. Mitchell, and human rights activist Charles Huey developed a plan for a football program for Central Area youth. CAYA was formally established in 1964, with O. L. Mitchell as the organization’s first director. Since 1964, CAYA has provided education, recreation, social development, leadership activities, and a positive place to gather for neighborhood youth aged 9 to 18. The CAYA

⁸⁴ See “Mural honors the rich legacy of those whose life’s work was about serving the children of the Seattle’s Central Area.” Retrieved November 30, 2021, from <https://seattlemedium.com/new-central-area-mural-immortalizes-those-who-created-a-pathway-for-kids/?fbclid=IwAR2B3SWlkTwvALpNKT25pfh6lTAe8Tm2Jlg5CAXyvASGPUAEFE4phbmjXIs>

⁸⁵ See *The Jewish Transcript*. Retrieved November 30, 2021, from <http://jtn.stparchive.com/Archive/JTN/JTN03131925P07.php>

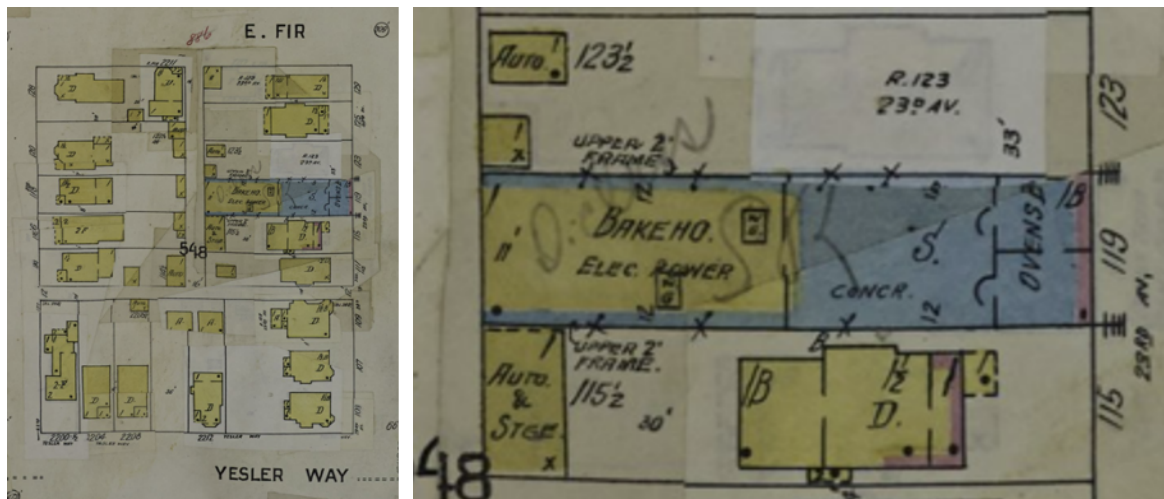
program has many notable graduates, including professional athletes Jason Terry (NBA), Brandon Roy (NBA), Corey Dillon (NFL), and Joe Staton (MLB). Seattle Civic Leader Bruce Harrell is a CAYA alumni. CAYA offers sports, tutoring, and mentorship for kids in the Central Area (CAYA, n.d.).

Determination of Eligibility Opinion:

Built in 1920, the CAYA building is over 50 years old. The commercial structure has no visible signs of its Jewish association. A painted mural attached to the side of the building, and two CAYA signs on the front façade are significantly associated with the Central Area's Black community. It is the opinion of the surveyor that the building may be eligible for an individual listing on the National Register of Historic Places or for local landmark designation.

Figure A10.2

Lippman's "Bakehouse," Sanborn Map



Source: Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, volume 2, 1905; rep.1950, pg. 113. Library of Congress.

Figure A10.3

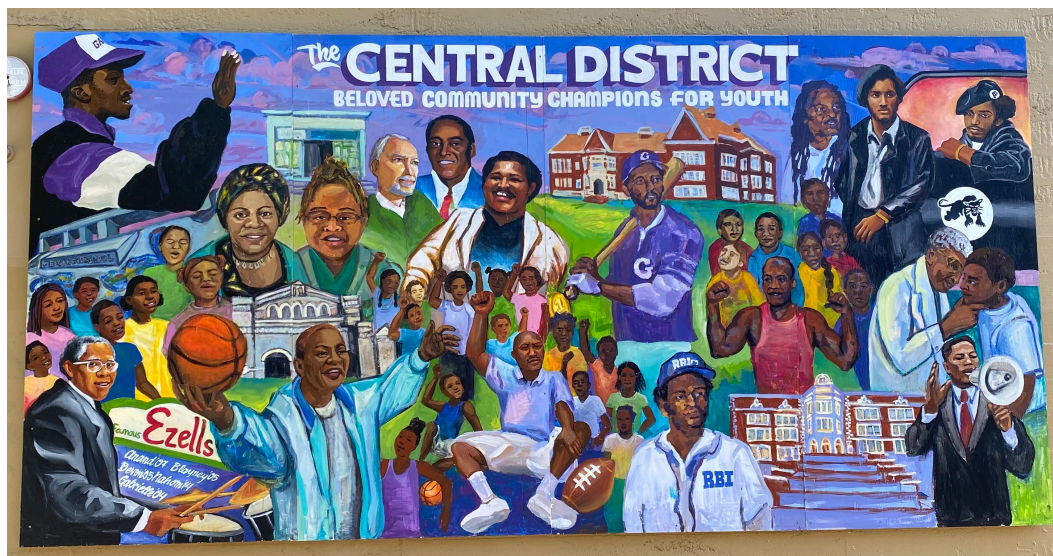
CAYA, 1982



Source: HistoryLink Tours, Central District, Central Area Youth Association (CAYA)

Figure A10.4

Central District Beloved Community Champions For Youth Mural, 2021



Note: Mural on north facade of CAYA building. Facing south. July 11, 2021

SURVEY AND INVENTORY:**A11. Kaminoff's Grocery / Commercial Building****Common / Other Name:** Semira's Grocery**Address / Location:** 2601 East Yesler Way**Approximate Date of Construction:** 1895**Architect / Engineer / Builder:** Unknown**Current Use of the Building:** Commercial**Historic Use of the Building:** Commercial**Historic Context:** Ethnic Heritage: Jewish.
Commercial History. Architecture.**A discussion of the seven aspects of integrity,
if National Register eligible:**

This commercial building appears to possess the seven aspects of integrity for National Register listing.

All Observable Architectural Information and Characteristics:

Wood Clapboard Cladding. Balloon Frame / Platform Frame.

Architectural Style and Time Period: Early 20th Century American Movement, 1900-1940.

Description of Physical Appearance:

The two-story detached commercial wood frame box has clapboard siding in a horizontal pattern on the north (front) façade with a bracketed cornice. The second floor has two double-hung windows that are different dimensions, both surrounded with wood trim. The first floor has fully intact multi paned storefront windows and a recessed entrance. There's a secondary door on the first floor, east of the primary entrance. A metal ribbon sign above the front door has two circles with Coca-Cola logos on the ends and a circle with an image of a Coca-Cola bottle in the center. The word "GROCERIES" is written on the east segment of the sign, and "VEGETABLES" appears on the west segment. The west façade has a similar round Coca-Cola sign with a ribbon that reads "ICE CREAM-BEVERAGES".

Changes to Structure – Plan, Windows, Original Cladding, Interior:**Figure A11.1***Kaminoff's Grocery / Semira's, 2021*

The exterior appears to have minimal changes to windows and cladding. The front doors have been replaced. Interior alterations are unknown.

Statement of Significance:

According to the City of Seattle Historic Resources Survey (2000), “this building is an outstanding, intact example of a late 19th century frame storefront. It reminds us of the neighborhood commercial development that sprang up along the early streetcar lines and enhances our knowledge of residential development.”

The Kaminoff family arrived in Seattle in 1917. Lazar Kaminoff had several small businesses and a stall at the Pike Place Market before opening Kaminoff’s Grocery at 26th Avenue and East Yesler Way. The family moved to a small cottage behind the grocery store, then to a house at 27th Avenue and East Yesler Way. Everyone in the family worked in the store. Grocery deliveries were made by horse and buggy, and later by truck. Kaminoff sold groceries, vegetables, fruit, and fish. During the Depression Lazar Kaminoff gave credit to his struggling customers as he would not refuse to give food to people who had children (Avner & Buttnick, 1995, p. 20). Lazar Kaminoff’s son, Max, describes his father’s business as “a typical, old-time grocery store, an old frame building at the corner of 26th and Yesler. In the days before self-service, the customers were still in the area. Very little traffic in those days. Very little business, but he stayed with that until he retired...sometime prior to 1956” (Stiefel, 2002).

The building continues to operate as a convenience store, now known as Semira’s Grocery.

Determination of Eligibility Opinion:

Built in 1895, the commercial building is over 50 years old. The structure has no visible signs of its Jewish association. The building is one of the few remaining neighborhood stores built in the 19th century and is significant for its association with the residential and commercial development of the Central Area and its diverse inhabitants. The City of Seattle Historic Resources Survey (2000) offers an opinion that the property is located in a potential historic district (national and/or local). It is the opinion of the surveyor that the building may be eligible for an individual listing on the National Register of Historic Places or for local landmark designation.

Figure A11.2

26th Avenue and Yesler Way, 1910



Note: Kaminoff's store is in the right foreground. Photographer: Asahel Curtis. 1943.42.18567
Source: Washington State Historical Society.

Figure A11.3

Louis (Lazar) Kaminoff, c. 1930



Note: Louis (Lazar) Kaminoff outside his grocery store, circa 1930
Source: University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, UW13377

SURVEY AND INVENTORY:

A12. Sephardic Bikur Holim

Common / Other Name:

Tolliver Temple Church of God in Christ

Address / Location: 1915 East Fir Street

(DAHP lists the address as 2000 East Fir Street)

Approximate Date of Construction: 1929-1930**Architect / Engineer / Builder:**

William George (W.G.) Brust, Jr. (Architect);

Ernest E. Reynolds (Builder)

Current Use of the Building: Church**Historic Use of the Building:** Synagogue**Historic Context:** Ethnic Heritage: Jewish (Sephardic), African American. Religion. Architecture. Women's History.**A discussion of the seven aspects of integrity, if National Register eligible:**

All seven aspects of integrity are visible.

All Observable Architectural Information and Characteristics: Flat roof. Brick siding.**Architectural Style and Time Period:** Lombard Romanesque, Rundbogenstil, and Art Deco; 20th Century Period Revivals: 1920-1960 (DAHP Style Guide).**Description of Physical Appearance:**

The property is located on the southwest corner of East Fir Street and 20th Avenue. The building has two stories and a basement, wood-frame construction, a concrete foundation, brown-beige brick veneer cladding, a rectangular plan, asymmetrical composition, and a flat roof with a character-defining parapet wall that features gables marking the front (north) and back (south) entrances and the east and west

Figure A12.1*Sephardic Bikur Holim / Tolliver Temple, 2021*

façades. Concrete stairs rise from a sidewalk on the south side of East Fir Street and lead to a two-story projection with a recessed front entry. A large cast stone decorative arch with a tripartite arch at the front entry, 12 tall semicircular arched windows, and Art Deco buttressing are significant features of the building. Many decorative elements that represent the Jewish history of the building remain intact including a Ten Commandments tablet above the front entrance, a six-pointed Star of David on the east facade, and thirteen six-pointed Stars of David inlaid in cast stone above the arched windows.

Changes to Structure – Plan, Windows, Original Cladding, Interior: Intact

Statement of Significance:

See Case Study: Sephardic Bikur Holim / Tolliver Temple [Thesis Chapter 7].

Determination of Eligibility Opinion:

See Case Study: Sephardic Bikur Holim / Tolliver Temple [Thesis Chapter 7].

Image(s) of the resource:

See Case Study: Sephardic Bikur Holim / Tolliver Temple [Thesis Chapter 7].

SURVEY AND INVENTORY:**A13. Herzl Congregational Synagogue****Common / Other Name:**

Odessa Brown Neighborhood Health Center;
First Place School / Seattle Classical Christian School

Address / Location: 172 – 20th Avenue

Approximate Date of Construction: 1925

Architect / Engineer / Builder:

Beezer Brothers Architects (1925);
Benjamin McAdoo (Remodel, 1972)

Current Use of the Building: School

Historic Use of the Building:

Synagogue; Health Center

Historic Context: Ethnic Heritage: Jewish, African American. Religion. Social Action.
Women's History. Architecture. Health / Medicine.

A discussion of the seven aspects of integrity, if National Register eligible: n/a

All Observable Architectural Information and Characteristics:

Two-stories plus a basement level that is a daylight level when accessed from East Spruce Street. Brick and cast-stone cladding. Poured concrete foundation. Asphalt/composition roof. Rectangular plan and composition.

Architectural Style and Time Period: Romanesque Revival (Historic Property Inventory Form, 07/91);
Beaux Arts/Neoclassical (Historic Property Inventory Form, 11/2000)

Figure A13.1

Herzl Synagogue / Odessa Brown, 2021



Description of Physical Appearance:

Completed in 1925, this large two-story brick synagogue building occupies a prominent corner lot on 20th Avenue at East Spruce Street. Set on a high foundation, the flat roof structure has a flat roof penthouse and a rectangular plan, which measures approximately 70 feet by 108 feet. A low brick parapet wall encircles the building above a heavy cast stone cornice. Parapet walls also cover the ends of the rooftop penthouse. On the west elevation, Jewish religious symbols were removed from the parapet walls. A cast stone intermediate cornice wraps the building above the windows on the second story. The building's original Beaux Arts/Neoclassical characteristics included a temple form with pavilion ends, a symmetrically composed facade with a triple horizontal division, three monumental Doric columns across a portico reached by a broad flight of steps, and round arched window openings. The columns were removed from the recessed portico on the principal west elevation in the 1970s conversion to a health center. The brick end walls of the two-story entry pavilion frame a recessed area at the center, which contains three canted bay windows at the second story level. Narrow brick piers separate these bays situated below a sign band, which reads "Odessa Brown Neighborhood Health Center" in lowercase letters. Originally, there were three windows along the upper floor of the recessed area, and the sign band featured a sign in Hebrew identifying the congregation and the building's date of construction. In the first story, three pairs of double entrance doors are set in the original elaborate surrounds. Patterned brickwork and cast stone tiles embellish the brick end walls as well as the small double hung 6/6 wood windows on the side elevations of the pavilion.

Five two-story arched openings with cast stone keystones line the identical north and south elevations. On the north elevation, the outer two openings on either end each have a Star of David in a medallion centered between them. The western ends of these elevations have a narrow-arched opening above a multi-paned double hung window, which lights an interior stairwell. On the south elevation, the lower window opening has been filled with brick. On both elevations, the basement level has an entrance door and windows. On the upper floor, the opening contains the three original multi-paned windows. However, the first story opening has been altered and infilled, as has the lower opening on the northern end. The side elevations of the rear pavilion have small double hung 6/6 wood windows. The basement level has windows along the east elevation and an entrance door on the north elevation. Despite the alterations to the principal west elevation, this architecturally significant building retains good physical integrity (Historic Property Inventory Form, 2000; Seattle Historic Resources Survey, 2000).⁸⁶

⁸⁶ See *Seattle Historical Sites* survey and inventory of Herzl. Retrieved November 30, 2021, from <https://web6.seattle.gov/DPD/HistoricalSite/QueryResult.aspx?ID=-956560809>.

Changes to Structure – Plan, Windows, Original Cladding, Interior: Plan is intact. Window changes are moderate. Original cladding is intact. Interior changes are unknown.

Statement of Significance:

The Herzl Congregation built this stately brick building in 1924-25 as their second permanent synagogue. Founded in 1906 as an Orthodox Zionist synagogue, Herzl moved to this...location [on 20th Avenue and East Spruce Street] in 1925. The previous year, the congregation had hired a prominent Seattle and San Francisco architecture firm, Beezer Brothers, to design their new \$100,000 synagogue. Born in Pennsylvania, Louis Beezer and Michael J. Beezer were twin brothers who practiced together in Seattle from 1907 until the mid-1920s when Louis moved to San Francisco to establish a branch office. During their years in Seattle, the brothers developed an extensive and varied regional practice, which was best known for its many banks and for various structures for the Roman Catholic Church. After Louis Beezer's departure, the Seattle office had fewer significant commissions and closed with Michael [sic] Beezer's retirement from active practice in 1932. In 1929, the Herzl Congregation voted to modernize and became Seattle's first Conservative congregation. The congregation remained in this location until 1971 when it moved to its present location on Mercer Island, where it is now called Herzl-Ner [Tamid] Conservative Congregation.

Seattle's first Jewish settlers were from Germany, and many had originally come west in the mid-1800s attracted by the California gold fields. Starting from humble beginnings, they often worked their way up to being shopkeepers specializing in dry goods. By the mid-1860s, there was a Jewish presence in Seattle, however the population grew slowly until the arrival of transcontinental railroad service in 1887. At that time, Jews numbered about one hundred out of a total Seattle population of 8000, however many of the early German Jewish settlers became successful businessmen and prominent political leaders. They also offered financial, educational, and social assistance to the next waves of immigration from Ashkenazic Eastern European and Sephardic Mediterranean countries.

Arriving after 1880, the second wave of immigrants, the Ashkenazic Jews of Eastern Europe, found somewhat reduced economic opportunities. They tended to be more religious and formed a more distinct community with their larger numbers. After 1903, the third group of settlers, the Sephardic Jews from

See DAHP Inv #FAC010. Retrieved November 30, 2021, from https://wisaard.dahp.wa.gov/api/api/resultgroup/216975/doc/216975?token=rGFQFh4rxO83vzeSiwf2IG8GObkDraGAqceGbxcsz6HB6fyGUfpX74k7r08wymWYAeCsf3OaeqXvA4nf0ALxihiezGkKFyHP3IKHi-7GbE9RhZFKae-D8HW48hdGWTRB0GaFvEFUgc630aM3606XVDY0miKEmz8rcX9fQ_LFun1UEg9ys-orqzATj3SYFK08Pu3gE-Ajx9PT82Xo5edgs3IeHadRVqWtdh6uwvkZHCarmS4nQ7HcPdVerfslP

Turkey, and the Isle of Rhodes, began arriving in Seattle with even fewer economic opportunities available for them. Though they spoke different languages - Yiddish and Ladino - the two groups both settled in the Yesler Way neighborhood where they established synagogues, schools, kosher butchers, bakeries, restaurants, and coffeehouses. From about 1900 to the 1930, the ethnically diverse community was predominantly Jewish. Eventually, their economic success enabled them to move out of this older residential neighborhood to more outlying areas, including Seward Park and Mercer Island. As the Jewish residents moved out, many African Americans moved into the neighborhood after coming to Seattle to work in the defense industries of the Second World War. Many of the former Jewish synagogues have since become homes for African American churches.

The City of Seattle acquired this building in 1970 for use as the Odessa Brown Neighborhood Health Center. The city acquired and converted the building for use as a model neighborhood health station with funding from the Seattle Model City program. Benjamin F. McAdoo, a prominent African American architect in Seattle, prepared the plans for the alterations. The Seattle Model City Program (SMCP) was funded primarily through the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development under authority of the federal Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966. The City's Executive Department administered the program, whose goals and objectives were to reduce social and economic disadvantages in designated neighborhoods, provide maximum training and employment opportunities, and establish health services for residents. The City's central area was identified in 1968 as the model neighborhood. In 1972, the Planned Variations Expansion allowed extension of the program to three other disadvantaged neighborhoods. Model City funding ended in 1974. The Odessa Brown Neighborhood Health Center was planned and developed in the late 1960s as a collaborative effort of Central Area residents, Children's Hospital and Regional Medical Center, and the City of Seattle through the federal Model Cities program. As social unrest swept the nation in the late 1960s, Odessa Brown, an ailing African American woman without insurance, drew public attention to the health care crisis in the Central Area, where many of her neighbors had never had a medical or dental exam. Children's Hospital responded by opening the clinic named for Odessa Brown, who died in 1969. Hospital representatives joined neighborhood residents on the clinic's board, which appointed Dr. Blanche Lavizzo, an African American, as founding medical director. She coined the clinic's motto, "Quality Care with Dignity." Since 1970, the Clinic has operated as a non-profit satellite of Children's Hospital, providing quality health care with dignity to residents of Central and Southeast Seattle. In 1994, the Odessa Brown Children's Clinic moved into a new facility located nearby [at 2101 East Yesler Way] which it shares with the Carolyn Downs Family Practice Clinic and offices of the Seattle-King County Health Department.

Despite the alterations of the early 1970s, this building is significant for its design as an example of the later work of a prominent Seattle firm and for its associations with Seattle's Jewish community, [African American history], [social activism], the development of the neighborhood, and the Seattle Model City Program (Historic Property Inventory Form, 2000; Seattle Historic Resources Survey, 2000; with edits made by Jamie Merriman-Cohen).

Determination of Eligibility Opinion:

The November, 2000 Survey and Historic Property Inventory Form shows the opinion of the surveyor as the property appears to meet the criteria of the National Register of Historic Places and the Seattle Landmarks Preservation Ordinance. It is the opinion of this surveyor that the Herzl Congregation (Second Location) / Odessa Brown Neighborhood Health Center / First Place School / Seattle Classical Christian School is eligible for an individual listing on the National Register of Historic Places or for local landmark designation as it retains visible signs of its Jewish association. The property is also significant for its association with African American history, association with people who are important to the city, including Odessa Brown, Dr. Blanche Lavizzo, and Architect Benjamin McAdoo, and it represents the Central Area's social and political history.

Figure A13.2

Herzl Synagogue, c. 1925



Source: University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, UW1271

Figure A13.3

Odessa Brown Clinic, 1972



Source: Seattle Municipal Archives Digital Collections 191738

Figure A13.4

North and West Facades, 2021



Note: On 20th Avenue looking southeast.

Figure A13.5

Jewish Star of David on Facade, 2021



SURVEY AND INVENTORY:

A14. Chevra Bikur Cholim

Common / Other Name:

Langston Hughes Performing Arts Center

Address / Location: 104 – 17th Avenue South**Approximate Date of Construction:** 1909 - 1915**Architect / Engineer / Builder:**

B. Marcus Priteca (Original Architect);
 Mel Streeter and I. M. Gorasht
 (Architects - 1971 Renovation)

Current Use of the Building:

Theater and Performance Space

Historic Use of the Building: Synagogue

Historic Context: Ethnic Heritage: Jewish, African American. Religion: Jewish. Social Action.
 Civil Rights. Architecture.

A discussion of the seven aspects of integrity, if National Register eligible:

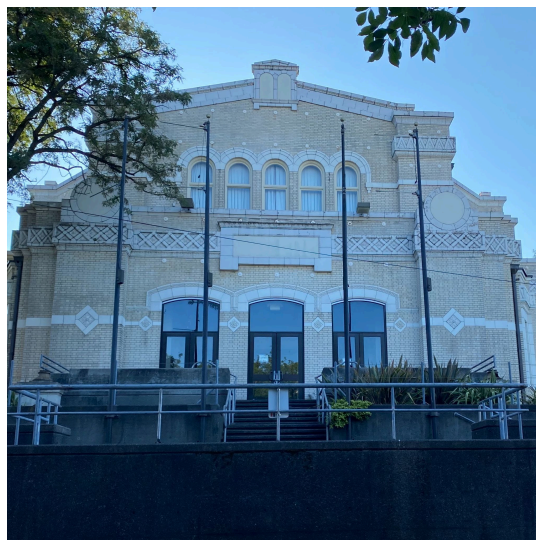
Several aspects of integrity are visible.

All Observable Architectural Information and Characteristics:

Irregular plan. Polygonal structure. Tan brick and terra cotta. Windows are segmented and have round arches.

Architectural Style and Time Period: Byzantine**Description of Physical Appearance:**

The structure is “one of only a few domed, centric-plan religious facilities built and remaining in Seattle. Its design represents an eclectic synthesis of neo-classical and Byzantine forms and massing resulting in an imposing external composition. Terra cotta detailing, common in buildings of this era, is particularly

Figure A14.1*Chevra Bikur Cholim / Langston Hughes, 2021*

handsome in this example... The external form of the centric plan structure consists of an expanded octagon covered by a shallow dome. Low profile cubic forms of a contemporary design occur at the south side of the original structure and date from 1961 and 1971, the latter date representing the structure's conversion into a community center. The exterior of the original portion of the synagogue is faced in smooth, tan colored bricks laid in Flemish bond and enriched by white, glazed terra cotta trim and detailing. The north and south elevations are each dominated by large Roman-arched openings divided by vertical mullions and formed above banks of rectangular windows. These openings are flanked on either side by wide pilaster forms and are surmounted at the roof line by stepped parapets. The west façade is composed differently and incorporates a series of five round arched windows at the upper level, capped by a low-pitched gabled parapet. At the main floor level, a narthex projects forward and is entered through three primary portals opening under segmental arches. Originally, monumental stairs descended from these portals to the street below, but in 1971 were altered to include terraced planters. Detailing, executed in terra cotta, includes a name tablet above the portals, tablets representing the ten commandments at the top of the west parapet, and belt courses detailed with triangular and diamond motifs. The circular elements found above the pilasters flanking the west portals originally bore Stars of David in relief but were filled in when the building was converted for non-religious public uses" (LPB-363/80).

An engraved cornerstone dated May 10, 1914, Herman Kessler, President remains on the west façade, to the right of the building entrance. A stone donated by Julius Shafer lies to the left of the entrance. A stone donated by Meyer Gottstein, also on May 10, 1914, remains on the north façade.

Changes to Structure – Plan, Windows, Original Cladding, Interior:

Plan, windows, original cladding, and interior all have moderate changes.

Statement of Significance:

"This building is important [sic] for its associations with Seattle's first Jewish Congregation, Bikur Cholem. It is also architecturally important as representative of the work of architect B. Marcus Priteca and as a commanding visual landmark" (Historic Property Inventory Form, 1991).⁸⁷

⁸⁷ See *Historic Property Inventory Form* in DAHP WISAARD. Retrieved November 30, 2021, from https://wisaard.dahp.wa.gov/api/api/resultgroup/216890/doc/216890?token=kJuXgXzu9LQLKqSY_UR7nILCwCXFjMDHLx4P2MfvTcI4kSUG7Orpxk0NEWMB6GMBueng_txttoCMyyyn4DLpKEljoPXwLGIMQvrOprH0NP1-bWUMivo1xPJTQBsE76gJPRJguBM9IOb0IF9hD2j4QvYIDw77MN81G-3ODj5h2eakwUhLSJXewW2Kob0Bz_HFQZQ0y6l9anC15nHCrWzjMiWQ_QVr6TVI0RozJqkRHswEksSWzdBvH2PA2pd-x6LpH

“Chevra Bikur Cholem was Seattle’s first Jewish congregation and was organized in 1889. Translated from Hebrew, the name means “Society for the Visitation of the Sick,” and relates to the small group’s initial *raison d’être*. Traditionally such societies were formed in “old world” communities to provide a wide range of services to the sick and disabled and their families, including burial. Bikur Cholem established the customary cemetery in what is now a small area of the Evergreen-Washelli grounds, circa 1890. The group was incorporated in 1891 and became a full congregation in the following year. Several frame structures preceded the Yesler Way temple in accommodating the congregation’s various functions. Construction of the masonry synagogue began in 1909 and by 1910 the lower floor had been completed. Priteca was commissioned late in 1912 and his plans were prepared early in 1913 at which time the construction activities were resumed. The cornerstone was laid in 1914 and the completed synagogue was dedicated in August of 1915. An addition was constructed by the congregation to the south of the synagogue in 1961 which was later remodeled and considerably expanded during the Model City conversion of the structure from religious to public use in 1971. The later alterations, designed by Streeter and Calvin [*sic* – Calvin/Gorasht], are relatively unobtrusive and clearly subordinate to the present structure. Congregation Bikur Cholem has relocated to a new site south of the present community center” (LPB 363/80).

Langston Hughes Performing Arts Institute is Seattle’s longest running venue for programming that is primarily about the African diasporic experience. Local civil rights leader Walter Hundley, Jr. was instrumental in purchasing the Chevra Bikur Cholim building and launching Langston Hughes with federal urban-renewal funds from the Model Cities Program. Walter Hundley became the first executive director of the Langston Hughes Cultural Arts Center. In the 1970s and 1980s the center nurtured local black performers and brought arts professionals to Seattle. An annual teen summer musical program was started in the 1990s and continues to be a cherished community event. The annual African American Film Festival was established in 2003. Now called “Langston”, the facility remains focused on its mission to “center Black artists, art, and audiences and honor the ongoing legacy of Seattle’s Black Central Area” (Langston, n.d.).

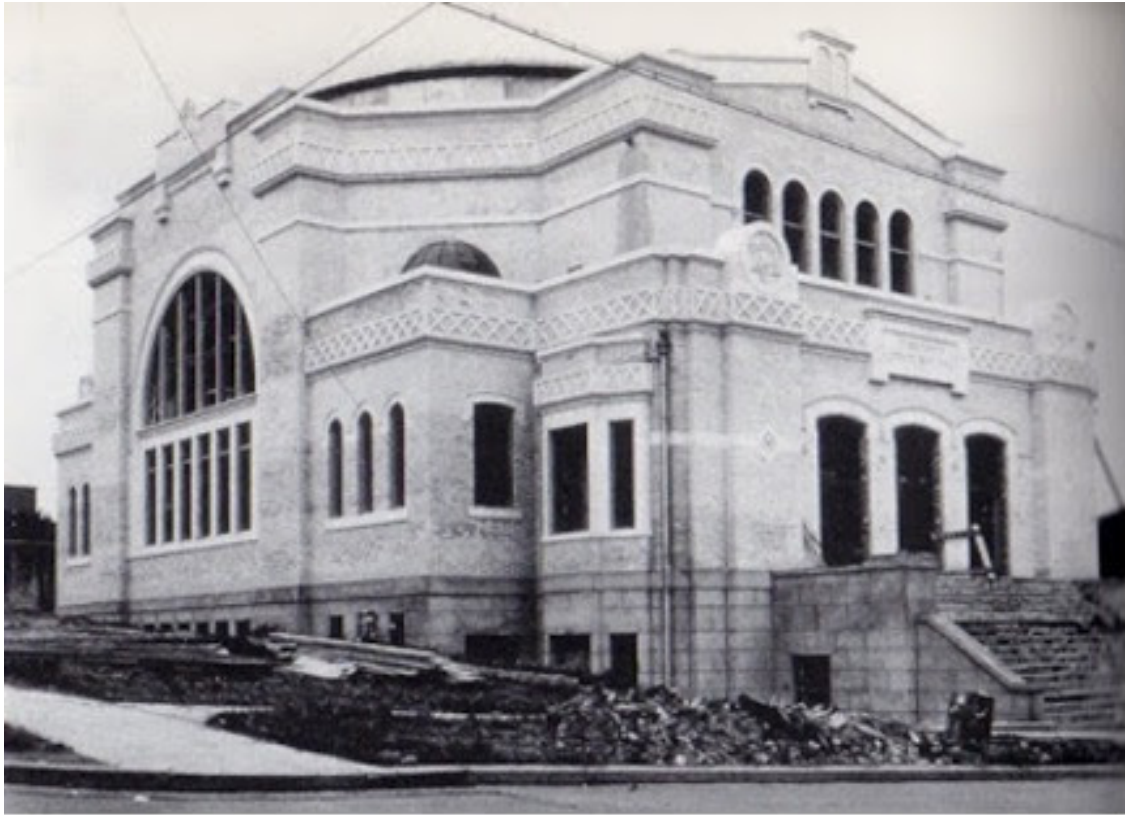
Determination of Eligibility Opinion:

Chevra Bikur Cholim / Langston Hughes was designated as a Seattle Landmark in 1980. A subsequent Historic Property Inventory Form (8/91) and the Seattle Historic Resources Survey (2000) both state the opinion that the property is located in a potential historic district. It is the opinion of this surveyor that the City of Seattle Landmark Nomination should be revised to reflect more accurate information and to better

include the structures significant associations with both the Jewish and the African American populations in the Central Area. The nomination should better include the social and political history of the Model Cities Program, and the significance of the Langston Hughes Performing Arts Center to the Black identity of the Central Area. Additionally, the revised Landmark Nomination should include the significance of the renovation and adaptive reuse in 1971 that was a collaboration between prominent Black architect Mel Streeter and Jewish architect I. Mervin Gorasht (Calvin/Gorasht Architects) in transforming the building from a synagogue to a community center.

Figure A14.2

Chevra Bikur Cholim



Source: Gruber, 2019.

Figure A14.3*Langston Hughes Performing Arts Center, 2021*

Note: North & west facades. On corner of 17th Ave & East Yesler Way, looking southeast. July 11, 2021.

Figure A14.4*Members of Bikur Cholim and Langston Teen Musical Gather Together, 2019*

Note: Longtime members of Bikur Cholim and cast members of the Langston Hughes Summer Teen Musical on the steps of Langston Hughes. *Source:* Eals, 2019

SURVEY AND INVENTORY:

A15. Ahavath Ahim

Common / Other Name: Church of Jesus Christ**Figure A15.1****Address / Location:** 1708 East Fir Street*Ahavath Ahim / Church of Jesus Christ, 2021***Approximate Date of Construction:** 1922**Architect / Engineer / Builder:** Unknown**Current Use of the Building:** Church**Historic Use of the Building:** Synagogue**Historic Context:** Ethnic Heritage: Jewish (Sephardic).
Religion: Jewish.**A discussion of the seven aspects of integrity,
if National Register:** n/a**All Observable Architectural Information and Characteristics:**

Two-stories. Gabled roof. Stucco siding. Concrete foundation.

Architectural Style and Time Period: 20th Century American Movement, unknown time period**Description of Physical Appearance:**

The structure is long and narrow and has an east-west orientation, with the highest elevation on the east portion of the structure. The primary entrance of this two-story mid-block structure is located on the east façade, accessed via a driveway that approaches the property from East Fir Street. Two bands of long narrow vertically oriented windows appear on the first and second levels of the south and east façades. A round window is located on the second level of the south façade. The orientation of the structure is unusual for a synagogue, as the entrance is on the east of the building, which is the direction of prayer.

Changes to Structure – Plan, Windows, Original Cladding, Interior: Extensive.

A photo of the Ahavath Ahim building, circa 1930, shows an entirely different building than what exists today (WSJHS, 2016, p. 42). King County Tax Assessor's records indicate the structure was built in 1917. Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps (vol. 2 1905, revised 1951) shows "Synagogue" at the current location. The building may have been extensively remodeled and refaced, or it may have been torn down and rebuilt. More research and review of permits and plans is needed to determine if this is an extensively remodeled or a new building.

Statement of Significance:

Ahavath Ahim Synagogue was built by Sephardic Jews who arrived in Seattle in 1902 from Marmara, Turkey. Ahavath Ahim ("Brotherly Love") was the first formal Sephardic congregation in Seattle, organized in 1909 as "Ohavat Ahim." Services were held at Washington Hall on 14th Avenue and East Fir Street. The congregation's founders were Jacob Policar, Solomon Calvo, David Levy, and a group that called themselves "Los Balkanes" (The Balkans). Services were conducted by congregants David Levy and Yacovachi Eskenazi. In 1922, Ahavath Ahim built its own synagogue at 17th Avenue and East Fir Street. The building had a traditional layout, with a balcony for women. A Jewish Star of David was visible on the front porch. Rabbi Sabetai Israel left Congregation Ezra Bessaroth to become the spiritual leader, *mohel* (performer of ritual circumcision) and *shohet* (kosher slaughter) for Ahavath Ahim from 1925 to 1931. The congregation purchased cemetery land from Chevra Bikur Cholim in North Seattle in 1929 (Cone, et al., 2003, p. 117).

The Sephardic community divided into three congregations according to the distinct religious liturgy and customs from their places of origin. Thus, and the Jews from Tekirdag, Turkey established Sephardic Bikur Holim in 1910, and the Jews from Rhodes built a synagogue for Congregation Ezra Bessaroth at 15th Avenue and East Fir Street in 1918. With three Sephardic congregations serving a small community, Ahavath Ahim struggled for members. Ahavath Ahim's building closed during World War II when several of their members were doing military service. Their spiritual leader at the time, Rabbi Morris Scharhon, was hired by Sephardic Bikur Holim. Ahavath Ahim merged with Sephardic Bikur Holim and for a time the combined synagogue was called Bikur Holim Ahavath Ahim Congregation.

The building reopened in 1945 as a meeting place for the Jordan Club. The Jordan Club was founded as a Jewish organization to "bring into closer harmony and association the Jewish youth...and to cooperate in communal endeavors with existing organizations" (WSJHS, 2016, p. 78). From 1955 to 1960, the building was used as the headquarters for a reincorporated Ahavath Ahim that served as a cemetery

association and a charitable organization. Ahavath Ahim continued as a social organization with a Men's Club and a Ladies Auxiliary. Incorporation lapsed in 2012.

Signs on the east and south facades of the building indicate that Church of Jesus Christ, The Apostolic Faith, was established in 1969 by Founders Elder & Mrs. Anderson Alston, Elder & Mrs. Wilbert K. Alston, and Members Elder & Mrs. James E. Jackson, Mother Josephine Logan, Mother Louise Tillery, and Elder & Mrs. Gilbert Services.

Determination of Eligibility Opinion:

It is the opinion of the surveyor that the Ahavath Ahim / Church of Jesus Christ building is not eligible for an individual listing on the National Register of Historic Places or for local landmark designation due to extensive alterations and lack of integrity.

Figure A15.2

Ahavath Ahim, c. 1930



Source: WSJHS, 2005, p. 42

Figure A15.3

Church of Jesus Christ, 2021



Note: South and west facades. On Fir Street looking northeast. July 11, 2021.

SURVEY AND INVENTORY:

A16. Herzl Congregation (First Location)

Common / Other Name: God's Pentecostal Temple

Figure A16.1

Address / Location: 150 – 16th Avenue

Herzl (1st Location) / God's Pentecostal, 2021

Approximate Date of Construction: 1907

Architect / Engineer / Builder: Unknown

Current Use of the Building: Church

Historic Use of the Building: Synagogue

Historic Context: Ethnic Heritage: Jewish. Religion.

**A discussion of the seven aspects of integrity,
if National Register eligible:** n/a

**All Observable Architectural Information and Characteristics:**

One-story. Flat roof. Stucco siding. Slab-on-grade. Wood framed paned windows.

Architectural Style and Time Period: Early 20th Century American Movement, 1900-1940.

Description of Physical Appearance:

The building is on a sloping corner lot with the lowest elevation at the corner of 16th Avenue and East Fir Street. The primary entrance is located on the west façade on 16th Avenue. The front entrance is accessed by concrete stairs that lead up to the building directly from the sidewalk. The west façade has six sets of double doors. Windows are long and vertically oriented.

Changes to Structure – Plan, Windows, Original Cladding, Interior:

The structure appears to have extensive alterations to plan, windows, and original cladding.

Statement of Significance:

Herzl began in 1906 as a breakaway from Chevra Bikur Cholim by Eastern European founders who wanted to establish an Orthodox synagogue that would embrace both Jewish religious tradition and the principles of Zionism. Initially it met in a home at 1028 Main Street and was commonly called the *Tzionistische Shul* (Yiddish for “Zionist Synagogue”) (WSJHS, 2016). Herzl members laid the cornerstone of a new synagogue at 16th Avenue and East Fir Street on August 22, 1909. Congregants fundraised for two years, and High Holiday services were held in 1911.

The congregation purchased land for a cemetery north of Seattle in 1909. A burial society was established in 1917. The Herzl Ladies Auxiliary was established in 1915. In 1923, Rabbi Baruch Shapiro became the spiritual leader of Herzl. With Rabbi Shapiro’s persuasive leadership, Herzl built a new synagogue at 20th Avenue and East Spruce Street. The congregation relocated in 1925.

A sign on the building façade indicates that God’s Pentecostal Temple was founded by Bishop E. F. Morris. The Temple is affiliated with the Full Gospel Pentecostal Missionary Association.

Determination of Eligibility Opinion:

It is the opinion of the surveyor that the Herzl Congregation (First Location) / God's Pentecostal Temple building is not eligible for an individual listing on the National Register of Historic Places or for local landmark designation due to its extensive alterations and lack of integrity.

Figure A16.2

Herzl, 1907



Source: WSJHS, 2005, p. 29