

Census of U.S. Synagogues, 2001

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THE SYNAGOGUE IS THE most prevalent and arguably the most important institution in American Jewish life. One measure of its significance is that more Jews belong to a synagogue than to any other Jewish organization. The synagogue is classically depicted as the site for prayer, study, and communal gathering. Less frequently mentioned are other reasons for affiliation with a synagogue, such as companionship, communal identification, children's education, transacting business, gathering news, and exchanging gossip. The significance of the synagogue for Jews who belong may vary from essential to minimal. It also may be important for many Jews who do not attend as a reference point for positive or negative Jewish memories, a focus for accepting or rejecting Jewish identity, or other reasons.

Historically, the primary source of information regarding the number of U.S. synagogues was the decennial Census of Religious Bodies conducted between 1850 and 1936.¹ According to the data collected, there were 37 "congregations" in 1850, increasing to 3,728 by 1936. But the number of "edifices"—a category that may better approximate the definition of a modern synagogue—was lower. For example, in 1916 there were 1,901 congregations but only 866 edifices (see table 1).

However, the Jewish data from these censuses, as one scholar noted, "are very defective from the point of view of comprehen-

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¹Uriah Zvi Engelman, "Jewish Statistics in the U.S. Census of Religious Bodies (1850–1936)," *Jewish Social Studies* 9, Apr. 1947, pp. 127–174. See also H. S. Linfield, "The Communal Organization of the Jews in the United States, 1927," *AJYB* 1929–30, Vol. 31, pp. 107–18.

siveness, completeness, and accuracy,”² and therefore should be used with caution. To the best of our knowledge there has been no attempt to enumerate the number of synagogues since the 1936 Census of Religious Bodies.³

This article reports on a 2001 census of U.S. synagogues, providing the number of synagogues at the national, regional, state, county, and metropolitan levels, as well as categorizing them by denomination within geographic divisions. Our data are about synagogues, not individual Jews; the denomination with which a Jew identifies is not necessarily the denomination of the synagogue(s) s/he attends, belongs to, or financially supports.

Definition of a Synagogue

A typical dictionary definition of a synagogue is “a Jewish community meeting for religious observances or instruction; the building or assembly place used by Jewish communities for this purpose” (Webster). This definition, however, is not specific enough to distinguish a synagogue from other forms of Jewish assembly, such as a minyan (a quorum of ten Jews for praying) or a *havurah* (often a gathering for prayer that is less formal than a synagogue). We consider five factors to be essential to the definition of a “synagogue”:

1. Religious: Primary purpose is Jewish prayer.
2. Physical: A permanent location for such prayer.
3. Time: Regularly scheduled Jewish religious services, even if infrequent.
4. Leadership: Ordained (rabbi and/or cantor) and/or lay.
5. Psychological: Members’⁴ perception of the entity as a synagogue.

²Engelman, “Jewish Statistics,” p. 127.

³There was one additional U.S.-government-sponsored study of religion, in 1957, but it explored religion at the individual level and did not deal with the church/synagogue dimension. See Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Population Characteristics, *Religion Reported by the Civilian Population of the United States: March 1957*, Series P-20, No. 79, Feb. 2, 1958; and Samuel A. Mueller and Angela V. Lane, “Tabulations from the 1957 Current Population Survey of Religion: A Contribution to the Demography of American Religion,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 11, Mar. 1972, pp. 76–98.

⁴The term “member” is used in a generic sense and may have different meanings in different synagogues. The overwhelming majority of synagogues have a membership fee, but not all.

When a group of Jews first begins holding religious services infrequently, or in an informal setting such as a living room, meeting room or other facility that is not perceived as a permanent location, their entity has not reached the point of qualifying as a synagogue. This is the case with many minyanim and *havurot*, some of which function independently and others that are within the structure of a synagogue.

Factors that are not essential to the definition of a synagogue but are often associated with it are:

1. Ownership of a building. The vast majority of synagogue buildings are owned by their congregations. However, some synagogues are located in rented or donated facilities.⁵
2. Legal status, such as incorporation or development of by-laws identifying the entity as a synagogue.
3. Membership in a denominational association and adherence to the rules and standards of that group.

We exclude Christian (e.g. Jews for Jesus, Hebrew Christians) and other groups that may use the word “synagogue” in describing their houses of worship, for their primary purpose is not Jewish prayer as defined by the mainstream Jewish community.

Methodology

The enumeration and identification of synagogues required the acquisition of lists from all Jewish denominations and organizations known to represent or to be associated with synagogues. Most encompassing were the lists prepared by the four major Jewish denominations:

1. Conservative—United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism (USCJ)
2. Orthodox—Agudath Israel; Chabad/Lubavitch⁶; Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America (OU); Young Israel

⁵There are some Orthodox rabbis who own their synagogue buildings.

⁶Chabad is the Hebrew acronym referring to Lubavitch Hassidim. We use the terms interchangeably in this article.

3. Reconstructionist—Jewish Reconstructionist Federation (JRF)
4. Reform—Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC)

Lists were also acquired from other organizations representing or associated with synagogues:

5. Gay/Lesbian—World Congress of Gay and Lesbian Jewish Organizations (WCGLJO)
6. Humanistic—Society for Humanistic Judaism
7. Sephardi—American Sephardi Federation
8. Traditional—Union for Traditional Judaism (UTJ)

Most of the denominations and organizations noted above suggested utilizing their Web sites for their most complete and accurate synagogue lists. Each list was scrutinized for specific synagogue indicators. These included the use of the words “synagogue” or “temple” in the name, noting the name of an officiating rabbi and/or cantor, and publishing the times at which services were conducted.

However, two of the lists, WCGLJO and Chabad, contained so many entries indicating the presence of non-synagogues that they required particularly careful review. The WCGLJO had more than 50 U.S. members, but upon review, only 19 qualified as synagogues.

A rabbi actively involved in national Chabad affairs provided a list of approximately 470 facilities. To confirm that the facilities on that list were synagogues, we called at least one in each area to confirm whether it and other Chabad facilities in close proximity met our criteria. We determined that about 120 of the units functioned primarily as education or outreach centers, youth centers, administrative offices, or schools, or else were university-based and served mainly college students. These Chabad centers did not have regularly scheduled services, or in some other way did not meet the criteria for being a synagogue.⁷

To augment the information obtained from the organizations,

⁷Given the rapid expansion of Chabad centers over the last decade it is possible that some of these non-synagogues will become synagogues. Our impression is that the number of Chabad synagogues is growing at a faster pace than the number of any other synagogue

we acquired synagogue lists from all Jewish federations whose catchment areas have a Jewish population of 10,000 or more, and cross-referenced them with other lists. As many catchment areas extend well beyond metropolitan boundaries and some even cover entire states, many local communities with fewer than 10,000 Jews are included in this process. These federation directories probably cover more than 90 percent of the American Jewish population.

Further, we used the 2001 listing of local Jewish populations appearing in the *American Jewish Year Book* to ensure that we did not overlook the presence of any synagogue in all communities with a known Jewish population of at least 100. This involved double-checking contact information for synagogues appearing in the United Jewish Communities' files and cross-checking with a Jewish travel guide, plus a keyword search on the Internet for the presence of synagogues that might not appear in other lists that we obtained.

Several areas are known to have a large concentration of Orthodox Jews, including a substantial number of Hassidim—Brooklyn, Manhattan, and Queens in New York City; Rockland County and Kiryas Joel (Orange County) in New York State; and Lakewood in New Jersey. In these areas we made additional efforts at gathering synagogue names. We cross-referenced the local telephone directory yellow pages with other lists we had of these communities. In addition, lists were acquired from local rabbis and other community leaders so as to locate smaller, independent, and nonaffiliated entities that might meet the criteria for being synagogues.

Our search—using name, location, denomination, and other relevant descriptor information—is, we believe, the most extensive effort ever conducted to enumerate U.S. synagogues. However, our data may contain errors due to such factors as the voluntary nature of synagogue identification and the unreliability of lists.

organization. This may largely be due to the Chabad strategy of sending young couples to areas previously not serviced by Chabad, with the goal of raising sufficient funds and other support within a relatively short period of time so as to become self-sustaining. While a synagogue may be described as Chabad, the actual number of members and attendees in such synagogues who consider themselves to be Chabad is often very small.

Total U.S. Synagogues by Denomination

The total number of synagogues in the United States in 2001 was 3,727 (see table 2). The denomination with the largest number of synagogues was Orthodox (40 percent), followed by Reform (26 percent), and Conservative (23 percent). All other denominations and forms of synagogue identification have 3 percent or less of the synagogues: Reconstructionist (3 percent), Sephardi (3 percent), Traditional (1 percent), Humanistic (1 percent), Gay/Lesbian (0.5 percent), and Jewish Renewal (0.4 percent). All but four of the Sephardi synagogues also identify themselves as Orthodox. Four percent of synagogues intentionally do not identify with any specific denomination, probably for a variety of reasons, including a desire to appeal to a broad range of members. One percent of the synagogues provided no denominational identification.

Formal affiliation with a denominational association does not necessarily follow from denominational identification. There may be fiscal, ideological, theological, political, geographic, and other reasons for some synagogues not to formally join the synagogue association of the denomination with which they identify. Among the 976 synagogues that consider themselves Reform, 90 percent belong to that movement's association, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Of the 865 synagogues identifying as Conservative, 79 percent are members of the Conservative movement's association, the United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism. All 99 Reconstructionist synagogues are members of the Jewish Reconstructionist Federation.

The Orthodox sector, unlike the other denominations, has several different synagogue groups. Of the 1,501 Orthodox synagogues, 352 identify as Orthodox Union (24 percent). In addition, OU officials maintain that since they have different levels of association, the number of synagogues in some sense affiliated with the organization is much larger than the number of formal members. Lubavitch has nearly as many members as the Orthodox Union, 346 (23 percent). The third largest Orthodox synagogue group is Young Israel, with 150 members (10 percent). Agudath Israel, with 55 members (4 percent), is the fourth largest Orthodox synagogue group. Like their counterparts at the OU, Agudath Israel leaders state that a good number of Orthodox synagogues

that are not actual members are nevertheless aligned with it. There is duplicate membership among all four of these groups. Among Orthodox Union synagogues, 56 are also members of another group, among Young Israel 35, among Lubavitch six, and among Agudath Israel five.

Over a third of all Orthodox synagogues (36 percent) appear to function independently. These 542 synagogues apparently are not members of any of the groups mentioned above, although many sympathize or identify with at least one of them. Based on their names and location we believe that many in this group are among the most traditional segments of the Jewish community, both Hassidic and non-Hassidic. The Hassidic groups include Satmar, Ger, Bobov, Vishnitz, Bratslav, Skver, and Boston, none of which practice the Lubavitch philosophy of actively proselytizing among Jews. Some of these independent synagogues tend to have relatively few members, and prefer the Yiddish term *shtieblach* (small prayer houses) to characterize their synagogues.

Forty-six synagogues use the word "traditional" to describe themselves. The Union for Traditional Judaism (UTJ), originally an offshoot of the Conservative movement, claims to represent a philosophy and does not define itself as a denomination. Nevertheless, two traditional synagogues reported UTJ membership without connections to any other denominational group. Another use of the identifier "traditional" is for a synagogue with an Orthodox-style service but without a physical divider separating men and women. Of the 19 synagogues identifying as gay and lesbian, seven are members of the UAHC, one of the JRF, and the remaining 11 are independent.

U.S. Synagogues by Metropolitan Area

The 50 metropolitan areas with the largest Jewish populations contain 3,075 synagogues, amounting to 82 percent of all U.S. synagogues (see table 3). The plurality of those synagogues is Orthodox (46 percent), more than a fifth are Conservative (24 percent) and Reform (21 percent), 3 percent Reconstructionist, and 7 percent some other type.

The metropolitan area with the greatest number of synagogues, by far and away, is New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island,

with a third (33 percent) of all synagogues.⁸ Six other areas contain 3 percent or more of all synagogues. The area with the second largest number of synagogues is Los Angeles-Riverside-Orange County (7 percent), followed by Boston-Worcester-Lawrence (5 percent), Chicago-Gary-Kenosha (4 percent), Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City (4 percent), Miami-Ft. Lauderdale (4 percent), and San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose (3 percent). These seven communities, the only ones with over 100 synagogues, account for well over half (58 percent) of all the synagogues in the country.

Three other communities have over 50 synagogues: Washington, D.C. (65), Baltimore (56), and Detroit-Ann Arbor (51). Two more have over 40, Cleveland-Akron (48) and West Palm Beach-Boca Raton (45). Sixteen additional communities have 20 or more synagogues, and nine more have 10–19 synagogues. In total, there are ten or more synagogues in 37 metropolitan areas. Three-quarters of all the synagogues are within the 26 metros with the largest Jewish populations.

The New York metro area, which contains 1,233 synagogues, dominates not only in the total number, but also in the number for all four major denominations. Relative to their national levels, the Orthodox are overrepresented in the New York area (57 percent) and the Conservative are in their proper proportion (24 percent), while the Reform (14 percent) and Reconstructionist (1 percent) are underrepresented.

In addition to New York, other areas where Orthodox synagogues are well represented are Los Angeles (128 synagogues), Miami (67), Boston (53), Chicago (53), Philadelphia (37), Baltimore (35), and San Francisco (35). Eleven other communities have at least ten Orthodox synagogues. There are eight metropolitan areas in which at least half of all the synagogues are Orthodox: Memphis (67 percent), Baltimore (62 percent), New York (57 percent), Syracuse (57 percent), Springfield, MA (54 percent), Miami (52 percent), Los Angeles (50 percent), and Columbus, OH (50 percent). The fact that three of these areas are the nation's largest Jewish population centers, along with the data noted above,

⁸Full names of metropolitan areas are listed for the first mention. Thereafter, only the first city in a metropolitan area is noted.

demonstrates the disproportionate concentration of Orthodox synagogues in major urban centers.

The greatest number of Conservative synagogues is in the New York metro area (295), with other major centers being Los Angeles (49), Philadelphia (49), Boston (37), Miami (33), and Chicago (30). Five other communities have at least ten Conservative synagogues.

Reform synagogues are most prevalent in New York (175), with other major concentrations in Los Angeles (57), Chicago (41), Boston (34), and Philadelphia (32). Eleven other communities have at least ten Reform synagogues.

The two metropolitan areas where Reconstructionist synagogues are best represented are New York (15) and Philadelphia (13). Proportionately, Reconstructionism is strongest in Philadelphia (9 percent), at least partly owing to the presence of the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College in that community.

Altogether, there is at least one Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform synagogue in every one of the top 50 metros. A Reconstructionist synagogue exists in each of the top 16 metros, and 32 of the top 50.

Of the "other" types of synagogues, the 120 Sephardi synagogues are especially concentrated in the New York metropolitan area (64 synagogues). Within the New York area the counties having the greatest number of Sephardi synagogues are Kings (Brooklyn) 24, Queens 13, Monmouth, NJ 9, Nassau 4, and New York (Manhattan) 4. The two other metro areas with the greatest number of Sephardi synagogues are Los Angeles (10) and Miami (10).

The 46 "traditional" synagogues are most represented in Chicago (14), New York (9), and Philadelphia (5). The only communities with at least two Humanistic synagogues are New York (7), Los Angeles (4), and San Francisco (2). Two or more Jewish Renewal synagogues exist only in San Francisco (5) and Los Angeles (2). Synagogues without denominational affiliation are especially present in Boston (43), New York (16), and San Francisco (11).

Groups within Orthodoxy

Because Orthodox synagogues predominate and there are several divisions within Orthodoxy, it requires separate attention (see table 4).

The 708 Orthodox synagogues in the New York area are nearly

half (47 percent) of all Orthodox synagogues. Three-quarters of all Orthodox synagogues are in the top ten metros and 94 percent in the top 50. The dominant type of known, affiliated Orthodox synagogue in the New York area belongs to the Orthodox Union (25 percent; 22 percent are members of the OU only and not some other group). However, an even larger group (44 percent) has no known synagogue association. About a tenth of the New York Orthodox synagogues are Young Israel (11 percent; 9 percent are members only of Young Israel and not some other group) and Lubavitch (10 percent), while 5 percent are Agudath Israel.

There are at least ten nonaffiliated Orthodox synagogues in each of nine metropolitan areas. In addition to the 310 in the New York area, the greatest numbers are in Los Angeles (41), Baltimore (22), Miami (21), Chicago (19), Boston (17), and San Francisco (17). Lubavitch has ten or more synagogues in seven communities. Its greatest penetration is in the New York (69) and Los Angeles (54) areas. Other communities with at least ten Lubavitch synagogues are Miami (23), Boston (17), Philadelphia (13), Chicago (12), and San Francisco (10). Aside from New York, with 176 synagogues, the Orthodox Union has at least ten synagogues in four communities: Chicago (17), Los Angeles (12), Boston (12), and Washington, D.C. (10).

Of the 150 Young Israel synagogues, over half (81) are in the New York area. The only other metro area with at least ten Young Israel synagogues is Miami (10). Over half of the Orthodox Sephardi congregations are in the New York metro area (51 are non-OU and 10 are OU). Two other communities, Los Angeles and Miami, each have ten Sephardi synagogues (all non-OU). The only metro area with a large number of Agudath Israel synagogues is New York (38).

Metro vs. Non-Metro Concentration

While 82 percent of all U.S. synagogues are in the 50 largest metropolitan areas, the Orthodox are even more heavily concentrated in those areas (94 percent). Among the individual Orthodox groups, Chabad, with its outreach programs, has the lowest percentage in the top 50 metros (87 percent). In contrast, 84 percent of Conservative, 65 percent of Reform, and 81 percent of Reconstructionist synagogues are in the 50 metropolitan areas with the

largest Jewish populations. Conversely, many more Reform synagogues are located outside the major metros than is the case for the other denominations, both in absolute numbers (339) and relative terms (35 percent). There are 141 Conservative synagogues outside the 50 major metros (16 percent), 93 Orthodox (6 percent), 19 Reconstructionist (19 percent), and 60 “other” synagogues (21 percent).

U.S. Synagogues by Regions, States, and Counties

Table 5 provides details on the number of synagogues by denomination within states, as well as for all counties containing at least five synagogues.

There are synagogues in all 50 states. The state with the greatest number of synagogues is New York (995), followed by California (425), New Jersey (331), Florida (263), and Massachusetts (201). These five states also have the largest Jewish populations, with one exception—Pennsylvania’s 197 synagogues rank it slightly below Massachusetts, even though its Jewish population is a bit larger (282,000 vs. 275,000).⁹ Three more states have more than 100 synagogues: Illinois (161), Ohio (114), and Maryland (107). Another 14 states have at least 20 synagogues, five of them with 50–99, six with 30–49, and three with 20–29. In contrast, over half of the states (27) and the District of Columbia have fewer than 20 synagogues—ten states below 10, another ten states and Washington, D.C., having 10–14, and seven with 15–19. North Dakota, Idaho, and Wyoming have the fewest synagogues, with only two each.

Only in New York State are Orthodox synagogues a majority of all synagogues (60 percent). In ten additional states—regionally diverse and with Jewish populations ranging from small to substantial—Orthodox synagogues constitute a plurality. In order of the Orthodox plurality, these are Maryland (49 percent), Rhode Island (47 percent), New Jersey (43 percent), California (43 percent), Ohio (39 percent), Florida (37 percent), Michigan (35 percent), Colorado (32 percent), Massachusetts (32 percent), and Oregon (27 percent).

⁹Population estimates are taken from Jim Schwartz and Jeffrey Scheckner, “Jewish Population in the United States, 2001,” pp. 247–74 in this volume. That article reports a compilation of estimates provided by local communities.

Reform synagogues dominate in small communities and rural areas, especially in the South. In five states, 90 percent or more of all synagogues are Reform: Arkansas, Idaho, Mississippi, North Dakota, and Wyoming. Furthermore, in 16 states 50–89 percent of the synagogues are Reform: Alabama, Alaska, Hawaii, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Missouri, Montana, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, Utah, and West Virginia.

Conservative synagogues do not constitute a majority in any state. However, the plurality of synagogues in Connecticut (33 synagogues=38 percent) and Pennsylvania (65 synagogues=33 percent) are Conservative.

Aggregating the data to the regional level, the Northeast contains half of all U.S. synagogues (1,865=50 percent), the South has a fifth (744=20 percent), and the West (613=16 percent) and the Midwest (505=14 percent) less than a fifth each.

There are 3,066 counties in the U.S.¹⁰ Of these, 24 have 30 or more synagogues, 47 have 10–29, 47 have 5–9, 167 have 2–4, 335 have only one, and 2,446 have none (see table 6). In other words, the most prevalent Jewish institution does not exist in 80 percent of U.S. counties, and only 4 percent of all counties have at least five synagogues.

The counties with the largest number of synagogues are in the large metropolitan areas, with five of the top ten in the New York area (see table 7). Cumulatively, these ten counties account for a third (33 percent) of all U.S. synagogues.

With the exception of Westchester and Broward counties, Orthodox synagogues dominate in these ten counties. The proportion of Orthodox synagogues is highest in Kings County (Brooklyn), at 86 percent. Ocean County, NJ, which includes the community of Lakewood, is second (83 percent), and Baltimore City third (81 percent). In addition to Kings County, three other New York City counties rank in the top ten: Bronx (73 percent), Queens (68 percent), and New York—Manhattan (67 percent). Other counties where more than 65 percent of all synagogues are Orthodox are Sullivan (Catskill Mountain area), NY (70 percent), Dade

¹⁰National Association of Counties, Washington, D.C., <http://www.naco.org/counties/general>, 2002.

(Miami), FL (69 percent), Shelby (Memphis), TN (67 percent), and Rockland (Monsey-Spring Valley), NY (66 percent).

Turning again to table 5, counties with fewer than five synagogues are collapsed into the category "all other counties," with an indication of their number. (See table 8 below for counties with one to four synagogues.) Eighteen states (Alaska, Arkansas, Hawaii, Idaho, Iowa, Maine, Mississippi, Montana, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont, West Virginia, and Wyoming) do not have even one county with as many as five synagogues. There is not one state in which all counties have at least five synagogues.

Synagogue Density

The concentration of synagogues may be measured by the number of synagogues per 1,000 Jewish population. Tables 3 and 5 provide this data for the 50 top metros, the 50 states, and the District of Columbia. The ten metropolitan areas with the highest ratios are medium-size communities, eight of them in the Northeast and Midwest: Providence-Fall River-Warwick (1.4), Albany-Schenectady-Troy (1.0), Buffalo-Niagara Falls (1.0), Cincinnati (1.0), Milwaukee-Racine (1.0), Springfield (MA) (1.0), Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News (1.0), Pittsburgh (0.9), Hartford (0.8), and Austin (0.8). None of these communities ranks higher than 23 (Pittsburgh) in total Jewish population. We hypothesize that the high synagogue densities in these communities, particularly those in the Northeast and Midwest, reflect the length of Jewish settlement, the more traditional Jews who tend to live there, and the priority given to institution-building and affiliation in moderate-sized communities as a way of sustaining social connections among Jews.

Conversely, the ten communities with the lowest synagogue densities are in the South and West: Las Vegas (0.2), West Palm Beach (0.3), Portland-Salem (OR-WA) (0.3), Phoenix-Mesa (0.3), Los Angeles (0.4), Miami (0.4), Washington, D.C. (0.4), Atlanta (0.4), San Diego (0.4), and Sacramento-Yolo (0.4). Most of the communities with low ratios have posted significant Jewish population growth in recent decades, and, with two exceptions (Portland and Sacramento) are now among the top 17 metros. This suggests that the number of synagogues commencing operations has not kept

pace with the growth in Jewish population. Another factor possibly contributing to the low ratio of synagogues to Jewish population is that new areas of growth attract relatively less traditional Jews, who have less desire to support and be connected to Jewish institutions. Among the largest Jewish population centers in this category (Los Angeles, Miami, West Palm Beach, Washington, D.C.), low synagogue density may reflect reduced pressure on Jews to affiliate with and support synagogues in order to develop social ties to other Jews.

The states with the highest ratios tend to be rural and to have relatively small and declining Jewish populations: South Dakota (10.0), Mississippi (9.3), Montana (7.5), Arkansas (5.9), Wyoming (5.0), West Virginia (4.8), North Dakota (4.4), Iowa (2.6), Vermont (2.4), Alabama (2.0), and Oklahoma (2.0). We hypothesize that this is a residual effect of Jewish settlement—many of the synagogues in these areas were established in the last half of the 19th and first half of the 20th centuries. These communities went into decline due to the passing of the founders and the movement of their children and grandchildren to larger urban areas, and many of the synagogues remain more as a testament to earlier generations than as thriving institutions.

The five states with the lowest ratios are in the South and West: Nevada (0.3), Florida (0.4), California (0.4), Arizona (0.5), and Oregon (0.5). As with the metro areas with low synagogue concentrations, each of these states experienced significant Jewish population growth in recent decades. This also suggests either that population growth precedes institutional development, or that the Jews moving to these areas are less inclined to build and support synagogues.

Discussion

In conclusion, we wish to highlight three findings.

First, American Jews are primarily an urban population, and consequently their synagogues are located primarily in urban areas. A remarkably high 50 percent of American Jews live in the top three metropolitan areas, and 94 percent in the top 50. Their synagogues are almost as concentrated, with 43 percent in the top three metros and 82 percent in the top 50.

One factor that helps explain the smaller proportion of syna-

gogues than Jewish population in the largest metros is Jewish mobility. American Jewish population was more dispersed among smaller communities during the 19th and first half of the 20th centuries than it would later become, and the primary physical expression of those communities was the synagogue building. As Jews moved up the socioeconomic ladder, they and their children migrated to more populated areas, leaving a declining and often less affluent population.¹¹ Many of the synagogues that they built remained.

Second, Orthodox synagogues are highly overrepresented relative to the Orthodox population. Though less than 10 percent of American Jews are estimated to be Orthodox,¹² the Orthodox synagogues represent 40 percent of all U.S. synagogues.

Several factors might account for this. Orthodox Jews tend to have a greater population concentration than other Jews, and this provides a social structure that encourages development of and participation in the Orthodox synagogue. A major reason for this concentration is the desire to be within walking distance of a synagogue on Shabbat, when other forms of transportation are prohibited. That social structure also creates a demand for other communal services, such as Jewish schools, kosher butchers, and ritual baths (*mikvaot*).

In addition, a higher proportion of Orthodox Jews attend and “use” their synagogues, at least for traditional religious purposes, than is the case among other Jews, and they do so for a greater proportion of their lives, thus increasing the demand for synagogues. In contrast, many non-Orthodox Jews who attend services do so less frequently and tend to affiliate with a synagogue for fewer years, most commonly the period prior to a child’s bar/bat mitzvah. Additionally, the need for synagogues among the non-

¹¹For examples, see Ira M. Sheskin, “The Dixie Diaspora: The ‘Loss’ of the Small Southern Jewish Community,” *Southeastern Geographer* 40, May 2000, pp. 52–74; Lee Shai Weissbach, “East European Immigrants and the Image of Jews in the Small-Town South,” *American Jewish History* 85, Sept. 1997, esp. pp. 260–61; and Lee Shai Weissbach, “Small Town Jewish Life and the Pennsylvania Pattern,” *Western Pennsylvania History* 83, Spring 2000, esp. p. 45.

¹²Barry A. Kosmin, et al., *Highlights of the CJF 1990 National Jewish Population Survey* (New York: Council of Jewish Federations, 1991), p. 33; Ira Sheskin, *How Jewish Communities Differ: Variations in the Findings of Local Jewish Population Studies* (New York: North American Jewish Data Bank, 2001), pp. 71–76.

Orthodox declines even further to the extent that non-Orthodox Jews have fewer children than the Orthodox, and tend to intermarry more as well, both factors limiting the number of Jewish children.

Furthermore, anecdotal information suggests that the average membership size of Orthodox synagogues is smaller than membership in Reform and Conservative synagogues, the two denominations with which the greatest number of American Jews identify.¹³ Also, the Orthodox community is divided internally in ways that Conservative and Reform Jews are not, and those internal divisions may take institutional form in the creation and maintenance of more synagogues.

The third significant finding is the relationship between Jewish population and two important characteristics of synagogues—total number and density. Not surprisingly, the correlation between Jewish population size and absolute number of synagogues is remarkably high and statistically significant at both the metropolitan ($r=.99$, $p=.00$) and state ($r=.98$, $p=.00$) levels. The greater the number of Jews who reside in a geographic area, the greater the number of synagogues in that area as well.

Less intuitively, Jewish population size appears to have a weak inverse relationship to synagogue density across all 50 metros ($r=.14$, $p=.35$) and the 50 states ($r=-.23$, $p=.11$). These correlations must be interpreted cautiously because they do not reach conventional levels of statistical significance. As a general pattern, though, they suggest that the larger the number of Jews in a geographic area, the lower the concentration of synagogues, as measured by the number of synagogues per 1,000 Jews. As noted above, several factors may explain this, including differences between small and large Jewish communities in the pressures and incentives to affiliate with a synagogue, historic and contemporary mobility patterns, and the time lag between shifting populations and institutional decline or development.

¹³Kosmin, et al., *Highlights*, p. 33; Sheskin, *How Jewish Communities Differ*, pp. 71–76.

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF CONGREGATIONS AND EDIFICES REPORTED IN U.S. CENSUS OF RELIGIOUS BODIES*

Year	Number of Congregations	Number of Edifices
1850	37	Not provided
1860	77	Not provided
1870	189	152
1875-78	270	Not provided
1890	533	301
1906	1769	821
1916	1901	866
1926	3118	1782
1936	3728	2851

*The numbers are culled from Engelman, "Jewish Statistics," cited in note 1 in the text. Census for 1875-78 was conducted by two major Jewish organizations of that time, and not an agency of the U.S. government.

TABLE 2. U.S. SYNAGOGUES BY DENOMINATION

		% of Total Total U.S. Synagogues	% within Denomination
Total Orthodox	1,501	40.3	100.0
Total Orthodox Union (OU)	352	9.4	23.5
Orthodox Union*	296	7.9	19.7
Orthodox Union and Agudath Israel	3	0.1	0.2
Orthodox Union and Lubavitch	4	0.1	0.3
Orthodox Union and Young Israel	33	0.9	2.2
Sephardi OU	16	0.4	1.1
Total Lubavitch/Chabad	346	9.3	23.1
Lubavitch/Chabad*	340	9.1	22.7
Lubavitch/Chabad and Orthodox Union	4	0.1	0.3
Lubavitch/Chabad and Young Israel	2	0.1	0.1
Total Young Israel	150	4.0	10.0
Young Israel*	115	3.1	7.7
Young Israel and Lubavitch	2	0.1	0.1
Young Israel and Orthodox Union	33	0.9	2.2
Total Agudath Israel	55	1.5	3.7
Agudath Israel*	50	1.3	3.3
Agudath Israel and Orthodox Union	3	0.1	0.2
Sephardi Agudath Israel	2	0.1	0.1

TABLE 2.—(Continued)

	Total	% of Total U.S. Synagogues	% within Denomination
Sephardi Other Orthodox	98	2.6	6.5
Other Orthodox	542	14.5	36.1
Total Reform	976	26.2	100.0
Reform-UAHC	875	23.5	89.7
Gay/Lesbian-UAHC	7	0.2	0.7
Reform-non-UAHC	94	2.5	9.6
Total Conservative	865	23.2	100.0
Conservative-USCJ	684	18.4	79.1
Conservative-non-USCJ	181	4.9	20.9
Total Reconstructionist	99	2.7	100.0
Reconstructionist-JRF	98	2.6	99.0
Gay/Lesbian-Reconstructionist-JRF	1	0.0	1.0
Total Sephardi	120	3.2	100.0
Sephardi OU	16	0.4	13.3
Sephardi Agudath Israel	2	0.1	1.7
Sephardi other orthodox	98	2.6	81.7
Sephardi-non-orthodox	4	0.1	3.3
Total Traditional	46	1.2	100.0
Union for Traditional Judaism	2	0.1	4.3
Traditional-non-UTJ	44	1.2	95.7
Humanistic	32	0.9	
Total Gay/Lesbian	19	0.5	100.0
Gay/Lesbian-no denomination	11	0.3	57.9
Gay/Lesbian-Reconstructionist	1	0.0	5.3
Gay/Lesbian-UAHC	7	0.2	36.8
Jewish Renewal	14	0.4	
No Denomination noted	142	3.8	
Other/Not Known	37	1.0	
Total number of U.S. synagogues = 3,727			

*No duplicate membership

TABLE 3. U.S. SYNAGOGUES IN 50 METROPOLITAN AREAS WITH LARGEST JEWISH POPULATIONS, 2001

	Total	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	Reconstructionist	Other*	Jewish Population	Synagogues		
								per 1,000 Jewish Pop.	% of Cumulative Total %	
1. New York-No. NJ-Long Island, NY-NJ-CT-PA	1,233	708	295	175	15	40	2,051,000	0.60	33.1	33.1
2. Los Angeles-Riverside-Orange County, CA	254	128	49	57	4	16	668,000	0.38	6.8	39.9
3. Miami-Ft. Lauderdale, FL	129	67	33	20	3	6	331,000	0.39	3.5	43.4
4. Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atl. City, PA-NJ-DE-MD	141	37	49	32	13	10	285,000	0.49	3.8	47.1
5. Chicago-Gary-Kenosha, IL-IN-WI	144	53	30	41	3	17	265,000	0.54	3.9	51.0
6. Boston-Worcester-Lawrence, MA-NH-ME-CT	174	53	37	34	5	45	254,000	0.69	4.7	55.7
7. San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose, CA	103	35	19	27	2	20	218,000	0.47	2.8	58.4
8. W. Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL	45	14	19	10	1	1	167,000	0.27	1.2	59.6
9. Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV	65	18	19	15	5	8	166,000	0.39	1.7	61.4
10. Baltimore, MD	56	35	9	8	3	1	106,000	0.53	1.5	62.9
11. Detroit-Ann Arbor, MI	51	24	9	11	3	4	103,000	0.50	1.4	64.3
12. Cleveland-Akron, OH	48	23	8	13	1	3	86,000	0.56	1.3	65.5
13. Atlanta, GA	34	12	4	10	2	6	86,000	0.40	0.9	66.5
14. Las Vegas, NV-AZ	19	7	2	7	1	2	75,000	0.25	0.5	67.0
15. San Diego, CA	29	13	7	7	1	1	70,000	0.41	0.8	67.7
16. Denver-Boulder-Greeley, CO	30	11	5	7	1	6	67,000	0.45	0.8	68.6

TABLE 3.—(Continued)

	Total	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	Reconstructionist	Other*	Jewish Population	Synagogues		
								per 1,000 Jewish Pop.	% of Cumulative Total %	
17. Phoenix-Mesa, AZ	20	6	5	7		2	60,000	0.33	0.5	69.1
18. St. Louis, MO-IL	24	8	3	10	1	2	54,500	0.44	0.6	69.7
19. Dallas-Ft. Worth, TX	24	9	4	9	2	2	50,000	0.48	0.6	70.4
20. Houston-Galveston-Brazoria, TX	26	6	5	11	1	3	45,500	0.57	0.7	71.1
21. Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	24	4	6	11		3	45,000	0.53	0.6	71.7
22. Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI	22	6	7	4	1	4	40,500	0.54	0.6	72.3
23. Pittsburgh, PA	36	10	12	8	1	5	40,500	0.89	1.0	73.3
24. Seattle-Tacoma-Bremerton, WA	28	10	4	11	1	2	40,000	0.70	0.8	74.0
25. Hartford, CT	28	9	12	6		1	33,500	0.84	0.8	74.8
26. Portland-Salem, OR-WA	9	3	1	2	2	1	27,000	0.33	0.2	75.0
27. Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	24	10	5	5	1	3	24,000	1.00	0.6	75.7
28. Rochester, NY	15	5	4	5		1	23,000	0.65	0.4	76.1
29. Columbus, OH	12	6	1	5			22,000	0.55	0.3	76.4
30. Sacramento-Yolo, CA	9	2	1	5	1		21,500	0.42	0.2	76.6
31. Milwaukee-Racine, WI	21	7	4	7	1	2	21,000	1.00	0.6	77.2
32. Orlando, FL	15	3	5	6	1		21,000	0.71	0.4	77.6
33. Tucson, AZ	12	2	3	5	1	1	20,000	0.60	0.3	77.9
34. Kansas City, MO-KS	9	3	2	3		1	19,000	0.47	0.2	78.2
35. Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	20	6	6	6		2	19,000	1.05	0.5	78.7
36. Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY	19	8	5	5	1		18,500	1.03	0.5	79.2
37. Providence-Fall River-Warwick, RI-MA	24	11	9	4			17,000	1.41	0.6	79.8
38. Sarasota-Bradenton, FL	7	1	1	4		1	15,500	0.45	0.2	80.0
39. Austin, TX	11	3	2	2	1	3	13,500	0.81	0.3	80.3

TABLE 3.—(Continued)

	Total	Conservative			Reconstructionist			Other* Population	Jewish Population	Synagogues	
		Orthodox	votive	Reform	Reform	Reconstructionist	Other*			per 1,000 Jewish Pop.	Total
40. Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, VA-NC	13	3	6	4				13,500	0.96	0.3	80.7
41. Springfield, MA	13	7	3	2		1		13,000	1.00	0.3	81.0
42. New Orleans, LA	9	4	1	4				13,000	0.69	0.2	81.3
43. Richmond-Petersburg, VA	8	3	3	2				13,000	0.62	0.2	81.5
44. San Antonio, TX	5	2	1	1		1		11,000	0.45	0.1	81.6
45. Indianapolis, IN	6	2	2	1		1		10,000	0.60	0.2	81.8
46. Syracuse, NY	7	4	2	1				9,500	0.74	0.2	82.0
47. Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC	5	1	1	2		1		9,000	0.56	0.1	82.1
48. Louisville, KY-IN	5	1	2			2		8,500	0.59	0.1	82.2
49. Memphis, TN-AR-MS	6	4	1	1				8,500	0.71	0.2	82.4
50. Ft. Myers-Cape Coral, FL	4	1	1			2		8,000	0.50	0.1	82.5
Total—top 50 Metro areas	3,075	1,408	724	637		80	226	5,806,500	0.53	82.5	82.5
Percent of 50 Metros	100.0	45.8	23.5	20.7		2.6	7.3				
Percent of U.S. Total	82.5	93.8	83.7	65.2		80.8	79.0	94.3			
Total—remainder of U.S.	652	93	141	339		19	60	348,500	1.9	17.5	100.0
Percent of remainder of U.S.	100.0	14.3	21.6	52.0		2.9	9.2				
Percent of U.S. Total	17.5	6.2	16.3	34.7		19.2	21.0	5.7			
U.S. Total	3,727	1,501	865	976		99	286	6,155,000			
Percent of U.S. Total	100.0	40.3	23.2	26.2		2.7	7.7				

*Other denominations/groups include Traditional (45), Humanistic (27), Jewish Renewal (14), Gay/Lesbian non-UAHC/non-Reconstructionist (11), Sephardi non-Orthodox (2), no denomination noted (120), and other (7)

TABLE 4. U.S. ORTHODOX SYNAGOGUES IN 50 METROPOLITAN AREAS WITH LARGEST JEWISH POPULATIONS, 2001

	Total	Lubavitch	Orthodox Union	Orthodox Israel**	Young Israel	OU/Young Israel	Sephardi Non-OU	Agudath Israel	Orthodox Synagogues	
									Orthodox	Other % of Cumulative
									Orthodox	Total %
1. New York-No. NJ-Long Island, NY-NJ-CT-PA	708	69	159	64	17	51	38	310	47.2	47.2
2. Los Angeles-Riverside-Orange County, CA	128	54	11	8	1	10	3	41	8.5	55.7
3. Miami-Ft. Lauderdale, FL	67	23	3	7	3	10		21	4.5	60.2
4. Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atl. City, PA-NJ-DE-MD	37	13	5	5		3		11	2.5	62.6
5. Chicago-Gary-Kenosha, IL-IN-WI	53	12	15	2	2	1	2	19	3.5	66.2
6. Boston-Worcester-Lawrence, MA-NH-ME-CT	53	17	10	4	2	2	1	17	3.5	69.7
7. San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose, CA	35	10	4	1		3		17	2.3	72.0
8. W. Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL	14	7	4	1		1		1	0.9	73.0
9. Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV	18	5	9	2	1			1	1.2	74.2
10. Baltimore, MD	35	3	5			2	3	22	2.3	76.5
11. Detroit-Ann Arbor, MI	24	6		2	1	2	1	12	1.6	78.1
12. Cleveland-Akron, OH	23	6	4	2		1	1	9	1.5	79.6
13. Atlanta, GA	12	4	1	1		2		4	0.8	80.4
14. Las Vegas, NV-AZ	7	3	1	1				2	0.5	80.9
15. San Diego, CA	13	7	2	1				3	0.9	81.7
16. Denver-Boulder-Greeley, CO	11	2	2				1	6	0.7	82.5
17. Phoenix-Mesa, AZ	6	4	1	1				4	0.4	82.9
18. St. Louis, MO-IL	8	1	1	1			1	4	0.5	83.4

TABLE 4.—(Continued)

	Total	Lubavitch	Orthodox Union	Young Israel**	OU/Young Israel	Sephardi Non-OU	Agudath Israel	Other Orthodox	Orthodox Synagogues	
									% of Total	Cumulative %
19. Dallas-Ft. Worth, TX	9	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	0.6	84.0
20. Houston-Galveston-Brazoria, TX	6	2	1	1	1	1		1	0.4	84.4
21. Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	4	1		2				1	0.3	84.7
22. Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI	6	3	1	1				1	0.4	85.1
23. Pittsburgh, PA	10	2	4	1		1		2	0.7	85.7
24. Seattle-Tacoma-Bremerton, WA	10	3	5		1			1	0.7	86.4
25. Hartford, CT	9	2	4	1	1			1	0.6	87.0
26. Portland-Salem, OR-WA	3	1	1		1				0.2	87.2
27. Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	10	4	3		1			2	0.7	87.9
28. Rochester, NY	5	1	2		1			1	0.3	88.2
29. Columbus, OH	6	1	3	1				1	0.4	88.6
30. Sacramento-Yolo, CA	2	1	1						0.1	88.7
31. Milwaukee-Racine, WI	7	3			1			3	0.5	89.2
32. Orlando, FL	3	2						1	0.2	89.4
33. Tucson, AZ	2			1				1	0.1	89.5
34. Kansas City, MO-KS	3		1	1				1	0.2	89.7
35. Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	6	2	4						0.4	90.1
36. Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY	8	2	2	1	1			2	0.5	90.7
37. Providence-Fall River-Warwick, RI-MA	11	2	5	1		1		2	0.7	91.4
38. Sarasota-Bradenton, FL	1	1							0.1	91.5
39. Austin, TX	3	1						2	0.2	91.7

TABLE 4.—(Continued)

	Total Lubavitch		Orthodox Union		Young Israel**		OU/Young Israel		Sephardi Agudath Israel		Orthodox Synagogues		
											Other Orthodox	% of Cumulative Total	
40. Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, VA-NC	3	1	2									0.2	91.9
41. Springfield, MA	7	3	3							1		0.5	92.3
42. New Orleans, LA	4	3	1									0.3	92.6
43. Richmond-Petersburg, VA	3	1	1		1				0.2	92.8		0.1	92.9
44. San Antonio, TX	2	1	1					1				0.1	93.1
45. Indianapolis, IN	2	1	1									0.3	93.3
46. Syracuse, NY	4	1	1		1							0.1	93.4
47. Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC	1	1										0.1	93.5
48. Louisville, KY-IN	1	1										0.3	93.7
49. Memphis, TN-AR-MS	4	1	2							1		0.1	93.8
50. Ft. Myers-Cape Coral, FL	1	1											
Total—top 50 Metro areas	1,408	296	287		116		30	98	53	528		93.8	93.8
Percent of 50 Metros	100.0	21.0	20.4		8.2		2.1	7.0	3.8	37.5			
Percent of U.S. Total	93.8	87.1	90.1		99.1		90.9	100.0	96.4	97.4			
Total—remainder of U.S.	93	44	29		1		3		2	14		6.2	100.0
Percent of remainder of U.S.	100.0	47.3	31.2		1.1		3.2		2.1	15.0			
Percent of U.S. Total	6.2	12.9	9.9		0.9		9.1		3.6	2.6			
U.S. Total	1,501	340	316		117		33	98	55	542			
Percent of U.S. Total	100.0	22.7	21.1		7.8		2.2	6.5	3.7	36.1			

*Orthodox Union includes 16 Sephardi synagogues in the following communities: 7 in Kings County (NYC), NY, 2 in Cook County (Chicago), IL, 2 in King County (Seattle), WA, and one each in Bergen, NJ, Essex, NJ (both counties in NYC metro), Montgomery County (Washington DC metro), MD, Philadelphia, PA, and Queens County (NYC), NY. In addition, three OU synagogues are also members of Agudath Israel: Pittsburgh, PA, Savannah, GA, and Scranton, PA. To avoid duplication they are listed only in the Agudath Israel column. Four synagogues are members of both OU and Lubavitch: Nashville, TN, Raleigh, NC, Reading, PA, and Youngstown, OH. To avoid duplication they are listed only in the OU column.

**Two synagogues are members of both Young Israel and Lubavitch: Palm Harbor, FL, and Tucson, AZ. To avoid duplication they are listed only in the Young Israel column.

TABLE 5. U.S. SYNAGOGUES BY DENOMINATION WITHIN STATES AND COUNTIES, 2001*

	Total	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	Reconstructionist	Other***	State Jewish Population§	Synagogues per 1,000 Jewish Population
ALABAMA								
Jefferson	5	2	1	1	1			
All other counties (9)**	13		3	9		1		
Total	18	2	4	10	1	1	9,000	2.00
ALASKA								
All other counties (3)**	5	1		3		1		
Total	5	1		3		1	3,400	1.47
ARIZONA								
Maricopa	20	6	5	7		2		
Pima	12	2	3	5	1	1		
All other counties (6)**	6			5		1		
Total	38	8	8	17	1	4	81,500	0.47
ARKANSAS								
All other counties (9)**	10	1		9				
Total	10	1		9			1,700	5.88
CALIFORNIA								
Alameda	8	1	2	5				
Contra Costa	15	2	3	6		4		
Los Angeles	202	114	35	38	3	12		
Marin	5	1		1		3		
Orange	28	6	6	11	1	4		
Riverside	11	4	4	3				
Sacramento	7	2	1	3	1			
San Bernardino	7	1	3	3				
San Diego	29	13	7	7	1	1		
San Francisco	36	23	4	5		4		
San Mateo	7		3	2		2		
Santa Clara	17	7	3	5	1	1		
Sonoma	7		2	2	1	2		
Ventura	6	3	1	2				
All other counties (24)**	40	4	7	18		11		
Total	425	181	81	111	8	44	999,000	0.43

TABLE 5.—(Continued)

	Total	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	Reconstructionist	Other***	State Jewish Population§	Synagogues per 1,000 Jewish Population
COLORADO								
Boulder	6	1	2	2		1		
Denver	17	8	2	3	1	3		
All other counties (10)**	18	4	2	6	1	5	73,000	0.56
Total	41	13	6	11	2	9		
CONNECTICUT								
Fairfield	28	8	9	8		3		
Hartford	25	8	10	6		1		
New Haven	19	6	8	5				
New London	7	4	2	1				
All other counties (4)**	8	2	4	2				
Total	87	28	33	22		4	111,000	0.78
DELAWARE								
New Castle	6	2	1	1	1	1		
All other counties (1)**	1		1					
Total	7	2	2	1	1	1	13,500	0.52
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA								
District of Columbia	11	3	2	3		3		
Total	11	3	2	3		3	25,500	0.43
FLORIDA								
Broward	59	19	20	12	2	6		
Dade	70	48	13	8	1			
Duval	5	2	2	1				
Hillsborough	10	3	2	4		1		
Orange	9	3	2	3	1			
Palm Beach	45	14	19	10	1	1		
Pinellas	12	1	3	6		2		
Sarasota	5	1	1	2		1		
All other counties (26)**	48	6	14	26	1	1	620,000	0.42
Total	263	97	76	72	6	12		

TABLE 5.—(Continued)

	Total	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	Reconstructionist	Other***	State Jewish Population§	Synagogues per 1,000 Jewish Population
GEORGIA								
Fulton	26	10	3	6	2	4		
All other counties (16)**	26	3	5	14		4		
Total	52	13	8	20	3	8	93,500	0.56
HAWAII								
All other counties (2)**	4	1	1	2			7,000	0.57
Total	4	1	1	2				
IDAHO								
All other counties (2)**	2			2			1,100	1.82
Total	2			2				
ILLINOIS								
Cook	117	50	23	28	3	13		
Lake	15	3	4	6		2		
All other counties (22)**	29	1	7	18		3		
Total	161	54	34	52	3	18	270,000	0.60
INDIANA								
Marion	6	2	2	1	1			
All other counties (14)**	21	1	5	15			17,500	1.54
Total	27	3	7	16	1			
IOWA								
All other counties (11)**	16	3	5	8			6,100	2.62
Total	16	3	5	8				
KANSAS								
Johnson	6	3	1	1		1		
All other counties (4)**	4			2		2	14,000	0.71
Total	10	3	1	3		3		
KENTUCKY								
Jefferson	5	1	2	2				
All other counties (4)**	6		2	4			11,500	0.96
Total	11	1	4	6				

TABLE 5.—(Continued)

	Total	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	Reconstructionist	Other***	State Jewish Populations	Synagogues per 1,000 Jewish Population
LOUISIANA								
Orleans	6	3		3				
All other counties (9)**	11	1	2	8			16,000	1.06
Total	17	4	2	11				
MAINE								
All other counties (5)**	10	3	3	3		1	9,300	1.08
Total	10	3	3	3		1		
MARYLAND								
Baltimore	19	11	4	3	1			
Baltimore City	27	22	2	1	1	1		
Howard	5	1	1	2	1			
Montgomery	36	15	10	5	2	4		
Prince Georges	9	1	4	1	2	1		
All other counties (8)**	11	2	3	5		1	213,000	0.50
Total	107	52	24	17	7	7		
MASSACHUSETTS								
Barnstable	5	1	1	3				
Berkshire	6	1	1	3	1			
Bristol	5	2	3					
Essex	29	5	9	5	2	8		
Hampden	10	6	2	1		1		
Middlesex	51	14	9	14	2	12		
Norfolk	41	13	12	8		8		
Plymouth	8	3	1	1	1	2		
Suffolk	22	13	1	1		7		
Worcester	18	5	2	3		8		
All other counties (4)**	6	1	2	2		1	275,000	0.73
Total	201	64	43	41	6	47		

TABLE 5.—(Continued)

	Total	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	Reconstructionist	Other***	State Jewish Population§	Synagogues per 1,000 Jewish Population
MICHIGAN								
Oakland	35	21	5	6	1	2		
Washtenaw	5	2	1	1	1			
All other counties (19)**	31	2	7	16	2	4		
Total	71	25	13	23	4	6	110,000	0.65
MINNESOTA								
Hennepin	14	3	4	3	1	3		
Ramsey	7	3	2	1		1		
All other counties (3)**	4	1	1	2				
Total	25	7	7	6	1	4	42,000	0.60
MISSISSIPPI								
All other counties (14)**	14	1	13					
Total	14	1	13	1,500		9.33		
MISSOURI								
St. Louis	20	8	3	7		2		
All other counties (10)**	13	1	1	11	1			
Total	33	8	4	18	1	2	62,500	0.53
MONTANA								
All other counties (6)**	6			4		2		
Total	6			4		2	800	7.50
NEBRASKA								
Douglas	5	2	1	1		1		
All other counties (1)**	2	1	1	1				
Total	7	2	2	2	1		7,000	1.00

TABLE 5.—(Continued)

	Total	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	Reconstructionist	Other***	State Jewish Populations§	Synagogues per 1,000 Jewish Population
NEVADA								
Clark	18	7	2	6	1	2		
All other counties (2)**	5	1	1	3			77,000	0.30
Total	23	8	3	9	1	2		
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
All other counties (7)**	12		4	6		2		
Total	12		4	6		2	10,000	1.20
NEW JERSEY								
Atlantic	12	4	4	2	1	1		
Bergen	66	28	22	12	1	3		
Burlington	5	3	1	1				
Camden	13	3	5	4	1			
Essex	31	13	11	5	1	1		
Hudson	9	4	3	2				
Mercer	16	7	4	2		3		
Middlesex	27	11	12	3		1		
Monmouth	42	25	9	5		3		
Morris	19	5	8	4	1	1		
Ocean	35	29	4	2				
Passaic	16	6	6	3		1		
Somerset	9	1	4	2	2			
Union	16	6	6	4				
All other counties (5)**	15	1	6	4	3	1	485,000	0.68
Total	331	143	107	55	10	16		
NEW MEXICO								
All other counties (5)**	10	3	1	4		2		
Total	10	3	1	4		2	11,500	0.87

TABLE 5.—(Continued)

	Total	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	Reconstructionist	Other***	State Jewish Population§	Synagogues per 1,000 Jewish Population
NEW YORK								
Albany	8	3	2	2		1		
Bronx	44	32	7	3		2		
Erie	16	8	3	4	1			
Kings	256	219	21	11		5		
Monroe	14	5	4	4		1		
Nassau	141	57	45	34	2	3		
New York	102	68	15	13	2	4		
Onondaga	6	4	1	1				
Orange	9	1	5	3				
Queens	159	108	40	7		4		
Richmond	18	11	6	1				
Rockland	44	29	9	6				
Suffolk	48	16	18	12	1	1		
Sullivan	10	7	1	2				
Tompkins	5	2	1	1		1		
Ulster	7	2	1	2	2			
Westchester	62	16	18	22	3	3		
All other counties (27)**	46	7	18	17	4	4		
Total	995	595	215	145	11	29	1,657,000	0.60
NORTH CAROLINA								
Durham	6	2	1	1	1	1		
Wake	5	2	1	2				
All other counties (16)**	23	1	5	15	1	1		
Total	34	5	7	18	2	2	26,500	1.28
NORTH DAKOTA								
All other counties (2)**	2			2			450	4.44
Total	2			2				

TABLE 5.—(Continued)

	Total	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	Reconstructionist	Other***	State Jewish Population§	Synagogues per 1,000 Jewish Population
OHIO								
Cuyahoga	39	22	5	8	1	3		
Franklin	11	6	1	4				
Hamilton	21	9	4	4	1	3		
Montgomery	5	2	1	2				
All other counties (24)**	38	6	9	20	1	2		
Total	114	45	20	38	3	8	149,000	0.77
OKLAHOMA								
All other counties (6)**			10	2	2	6		
Total	10	2	2	6			5,000	2.00
OREGON								
Multnomah	6	3	1	1	1			
All other counties (8)**	9	1	1	2	2	3		
Total	15	4	2	3	3	3	32,000	0.47
PENNSYLVANIA								
Allegheny	29	10	8	6	1	4		
Bucks	16	3	4	5	4			
Dauphin	5	2	2	1				
Delaware	9	6	2	1				
Luzerne	6	2	2	2				
Montgomery	28	8	10	8	1	1		
Philadelphia	44	16	12	7	3	6		
All other counties (33)**	60	8	21	23	4	4		
Total	197	49	65	54	14	15	282,000	0.70
RHODE ISLAND								
Providence	12	7	3	2				
All other counties (3)**	7	2	3	2				
Total	19	9	6	4			16,000	1.19

TABLE 5.—(Continued)

	Total	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	Reconstructionist	Other***	State Jewish Populations†	Synagogues per 1,000 Jewish Population
SOUTH CAROLINA								
All other counties (10)**	15	2	4	9				
Total	15	2	4	9			11,500	1.30
SOUTH DAKOTA								
All other counties (3)**	3	1	1	2				
Total	3	1	1	2			300	10.00
TENNESSEE								
Shelby	6	4	1	1				
All other counties (8)**	13	2	3	7		1		
Total	19	6	4	8		1	18,000	1.06
TEXAS								
Bexar	5	2	1	1				
Dallas	17	8	2	5		2		
Harris	21	6	5	8		1		
Travis	11	3	2	2		3		
All other counties (27)**	38	2	6	25		5		
Total	92	21	16	41		11	131,000	0.70
UTAH								
All other counties (3)**	6	1	1	3				
Total	6	1	1	3			4,500	1.33
VERMONT								
All other counties (8)**	13	1	2	3		6		
Total	13	1	2	3		6	5,500	2.36

TABLE 5.—(Continued)

	Total	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	Reconstructionist	Other***	State Jewish Population§	Synagogues per 1,000 Jewish Population
VIRGINIA								
Fairfax	8	2	2	2		2		
Richmond (city)	7	3	2	2				
All other counties (23)**	38	5	12	18	1	2		
Total	53	10	16	22	1	4	66,000	0.80
WASHINGTON								
King	21	10	3	7	1			
All other counties (11)**	15		4	7	1	3		
Total	36	10	7	14	1	4	43,000	0.84
WEST VIRGINIA								
All other counties (11)**	11		2	9				
Total	11		2	9			2,300	4.78
WISCONSIN								
Dane	5	1	1	1	1	1		
Milwaukee	16	6	4	5	1			
All other counties (12)**	15	1	4	7		3		
Total	36	8	9	13	2	4	28,000	1.29
WYOMING								
All other counties (2)**			2	2				
Total	2			2			400	5.00
Total United States	3,727	1,501	865	976	99	286	6,155,000	0.61

*Counties with at least 5 synagogues

**Number of counties with 1-4 synagogues

***Other include Traditional (46), Humanistic (32), Jewish Renewal (14), Gay/Lesbian non UAHHC/non-Reconstructionist (11), Sephardi-non-Orthodox (4), no denomination noted (142), and other (37)

§Details may not add to total because of rounding

TABLE 6. NUMBER OF COUNTIES AT SYNAGOGUE LEVEL

Number of Synagogues	Number of Counties Containing Synagogues at Noted Level
100+	6
50-99	5
30-49	13
20-29	16
15-19	17
10-14	14
9	6
8	4
7	8
6	12
5	17
	29
3	44
2	94
1	335
None	2,446
Total	3,066

TABLE 7. COUNTIES WITH LARGEST NUMBER OF SYNAGOGUES

County	Number of Synagogues
1. Kings (Brooklyn), NY	256
2. Los Angeles, CA	202
3. Queens, NY	159
4. Nassau, NY	141
5. Cook, IL	117
6. New York (Manhattan), NY	102
7. Dade, FL	70
8. Bergen, NJ	66
9. Westchester, NY	62
10. Broward, FL	59
Total	1,234

TABLE 8. COUNTIES WITH FEWER THAN FIVE SYNAGOGUES, 2001

Note—Counties listed are those with one to four synagogues. Unless otherwise noted each county has only one synagogue.

ALABAMA	Butte	Middlesex	Clay 2	Sangamon 2
Calhoun	Fresno 3	Tolland 2	Cobb 4	Vermillion
Dallas	Humboldt	Windham 2	Decatur	Whiteside
Etowah	Imperial		Dougherty	Will
Houston	Kern 2	DELAWARE	Fayette	Williamson
Madison 2	Mendocino	Kent	Floyd	Winnebago 2
Mobile 2	Merced		Glynn	
Montgomery 3	Monterey 3	FLORIDA	Gwinnett 2	INDIANA
Tuscaloosa	Napa	Alachua 3	Lowndes	Allen 2
Walker	Nevada 2	Bay	Muscogee 2	Bartholomew
	Placer	Brevard 2	Richmond 2	Delaware
ALASKA	San Joaquin	Charlotte 2	Rockdale	Grant
Anchorage 3	San Luis	Citrus	Whitfield	Howard
Fairbanks	Obispo 2	Collier 2		La Porte 2
North Star	Santa	Escambia	HAWAII	Lake 3
Juneau	Barbara 4	Hernando	Honolulu 3	Monroe
	Santa Cruz 4	Highlands	Maui	St. Joseph 3
ARIZONA	Shasta	Indian River 2		Tippecanoe 2
Cochise	Solano 3	Lake 2	IDAHO	Vanderburgh
Coconino	Stanislaus	Lee 4	Ada	Vigo
LaPaz	Tuolumne	Leon 3	Custer	Warrick
Mohave	Tulare	Manatee 2		Wayne
Yavapai	Yolo	Marion	ILLINOIS	
Yuma	Yuba 2	Martin 2	Adams 2	IOWA
		Monroe 2	Champaign	Alamakee
ARKANSAS	COLORADO	Okaloosa	Coles	Black Hawk
Craighead	Adams 2	Osceola	Dekalb	Des Moines 2
Desha	Arapahoe 3	Pasco	DuPage	Dubuque
Garland	Eagle	Polk 2	Kane 2	Johnson 2
Jefferson	El Paso 4	Santa Rosa	Kankakee	Linn
Mississippi	Jefferson 2	Seminole 3	Knox	Polk 3
Phillips	Larimer	St. Johns	LaSalle	Scott
Pulaski 2	Mesa	St. Lucie 2	Macon	Story
Sebastian	Pitkin 2	Volusia 4	Madison	Wapello
Washington	Pueblo		Marion	Woodbury 2
	Routt	GEORGIA	McHenry 2	
CALIFORNIA		Bibb 2	McLean	KANSAS
Alpine	CONNECTICUT	Chatham 3	Peoria 3	Douglas
Amador	Litchfield 3	Clarke	Rock Island	Riley

TABLE 8.—(Continued)

Sedgwick	Hampshire 3	Lowdnes	Cumberland 4	Catawba
Shawnee	Nantucket	Warren	Hunterdon 4	Craven
		Washington	Sussex 4	Cumberland
KENTUCKY	MICHIGAN		Warren 2	Edgecombe
Daviess	Alpena	MISSOURI		Forsyth
Fayette 3	Bay	Boone	NEW MEXICO	Gaston
McCracken	Berrien	Buchanan	Bernalillo 4	Guilford 3
Warren	Emmet	Cole	Colfax	Halifax
	Genesee 3	Greene	Dona Ana	Henderson
LOUISIANA	Grand	Jackson 3	Los Alamos	Iredell
Caddo	Traverse 2	Jasper	Santa Fe 3	Lenoir
Calcasieu	Houghton	Miller		Mecklenburg 4
E. Baton Rouge	Ingham 2	Pettis	NEW YORK	New Hanover 2
Iberia	Isabella	St. Charles	Broome 3	Pitt
Jefferson 2	Jackson	St. Louis (city) 2	Cattaraugus	Wayne
Ouachita	Kalamazoo 2		Cayuga	
Rapides 2	Kent 3	MONTANA	Chataqua	NORTH DAKOTA
St. Tammany	Macomb 2	Cascade	Chemung 2	Cass
W. Baton Rouge	Marquette	Flathead	Clinton	Grand Forks
	Monroe 2	Gallatin	Columbia	
	Muskegon	Missoula	Cortland	OHIO
MAINE	Saginaw	Silver Bow	Delaware 2	Allen
Androscoggin	Van Buren	Yellowstone	Dutchess 4	Ashtabula
Cumberland 4	Wayne 4		Fulton	Athens
Kennebec		NEBRASKA	Greene	Butler 2
KNOX	MINNESOTA	Lancaster 2	Herkimer	Clark
Penobscot 3	Dakota		Jefferson	Columbiana
	Olmsted 2	NEVADA	Montgomery	Darke
MARYLAND	St. Louis	Douglas	Niagara 3	Erie
Allegany		Washoe 4	Oneida 3	Jefferson
Anne	MISSISSIPPI		Ontario	Lake
Arundel 3	Adams	NEW HAMPSHIRE	Otsego	Licking
Carroll	Bolivar	Belknap	Putnam 2	Lorain 3
Frederick	Claiborne	Cheshire 2	Rensselaer 3	Lucas 4
Harford	Coahoma	Grafton 2	Saratoga 4	Mahoning 4
Washington	Forrest	Hillsborough 4	Schenectady 4	Marion
Wicomico	Harrison	Merrimack	St. Lawrence	Montgomery 4
Worcester 2	Hinds	Rockingham	Steuben	Muskingam
	Holmes	Strafford	Warren	Richland
MASSACHUSETTS	Lauderdale			Ross
Dukes	Lee	NEW JERSEY	NORTH CAROLINA	Scioto
Franklin	Leflore	Cape May	Buncombe 2	Stark 3

TABLE 8.—(Continued)

Summit 4	Lancaster 3	Minnehaha	Wharton	Newport News
Trumbull	Lawrence	Pennington	Wichita	(city) 2
Warren	Lebanon			Norfolk (city) 4
Wayne	Lehigh 4	TENNESSEE	UTAH	Petersburg
	Lycoming	Anderson	Salt Lake 4	(city)
OKLAHOMA	McKean	Davidson 4	Summit	Portsmouth
Carter	Mercer	Hamilton 2	Weber	(city) 2
Kay	Monroe	Haywood		Prince William
Muskogee	Northamp-	Knox 2	VERMONT	Roanoke
Oklahoma 3	ton 4	Madison	Bennington 3	(city) 2
Pontotoc	Northumber-	Marion	Caledonia	Stafford
Tulsa 3	land	Sullivan	Chittenden 3	Staunton
	Pike		LaMoille	(city)
OREGON	Schuylkill 3	TEXAS	Rutland	Virginia Beach
Benton	Venango	Bowie	Washington	(city) 4
Clackamas	Washington	Brazoria	Windham 2	Winchester
Deschutes	Wayne	Brazos	Windsor	(city)
Jackson	Westmore-	Cameron 2		WASHINGTON
Klamath	land 3	Collin 3		Benton
Lane 2	York 2	Denton	VIRGINIA	Clallam
Marion		Ector 2	Alexandria	Clark
Washington	RHODE ISLAND	El Paso 2	(city) 3	Grays Harbor
	Bristol 2	Fayette 2	Arlington 2	Kitsap 2
PENNSYLVANIA	Kent 2	Fort Bend	Charlottesville	Pierce 2
Adams	Newport 3	Galveston 2	(city) 2	Snohomish
Beaver 2		Grayson	Danville (city)	Spokane
Berks 4	SOUTH CAROLINA	Gregg	Fairfax	Thurston 2
Blair 2	Aiken	Hidalgo	(city) 2	Whatcom 2
Butler	Beaufort 2	Jefferson	Falls Church	Yakima
Cambria	Charleston 3	Lubbock	(city)	
Centre 2	Florence	McLennan 2	Fredericksburg	WEST VIRGINIA
Chester 3	Georgetown	Mont-	(city)	Berkeley
Clearfield	Greenville 2	gomery	Hampton (city)	Cabell
Clinton	Horry	Nueces	Harrisonburg	Harrison
Cumberland 2	Richland 2	Potter	(city)	Kanawha
Erie 2	Spartanburg	Smith 2	Loudon 2	Mercer
Fayette 2	Sumter	Tarrant 3	Lynchburg	Mingo
Franklin		Taylor	(city)	Monongahela
Indiana	SOUTH DAKOTA	Victoria	Martinsville	Ohio
Lackawanna 3	Brown	Webb	(city)	Raleigh
			Montgomery	