



# Reflecting an Era:

*Social Justice in the  
Windows of St. Mark's  
Episcopal Church*

BY KRIS RUNBERG SMITH

Christ holds the sword of truth that cuts through falsehoods and prejudices in the window challenging America's social injustice. He is, according to Rector Charles Wilson, not "tolerant of injustice instead seeking to lift men above their own self-interests." Robert Harmon represents this struggle with a substantial vine that twines throughout the window with branches of men bitterly struggling with each other. A laboring black man confronts a well-dressed white man. A worker carrying a strike sign challenges "a feather-capped employer with a bloated face." The caricatures in window mock those in power and give dignity to those repressed. They convey that Christ will judge those "forces in our society that are oppressive," especially in the struggle for justice and quality. This window captured the lifelong ministry of Bishop William Scarlett who advocated for the laboring classes and for racial equality.



Bishop William Scarlett (far left) accepted the keys to St. Mark's from architects Charles Nagel and Frederick Dunn (center) in January 1939. Scarlett then passed them to Rector Charles C. Wilson (right). While many in the neighborhood dismissed the efforts of Nagel and Dunn, they received national acclaim for designing the first modern church in St. Louis. (Image: *St. Mark's Episcopal Church*)

Many St. Louisans expressed their disdain for the city's first modern church, St. Mark's Episcopal Church, when it opened in 1939. They found its simple design elements lacking, but it was the contemporary images in the church's stained glass windows that created outrage.<sup>1</sup> The windows, with marching soldiers and striking union members, poignantly reflected the fears and frustrations of the 1930s. They challenged the community about the role of Christianity in a country that was left cynical after World War I, reeling through a never-ending depression, and confused by the disturbing totalitarian movements in Europe, especially the increasingly the evil actions of Adolph Hitler.

Social justice made manifest at St. Mark's came from

the vision of Missouri Diocese Bishop William Scarlett and church's rector, Charles Wilson. Architects Frederick Dunn and Charles Nagel along with artists Robert Harmon and Emil Frei translated their visions into glass and mortar. These men, their ideas, and their craftsmanship created a building that challenged traditional ideas of what a Christian church should look like in the modern age. Their windows physically articulated the realities of changing national and community values that demanded a Christian response. According to Wilson, St. Mark's "has a real meaning, it tells a stirring story, it is a live and vibrant expression our day and it re-expresses the truths which are most fundamental in tradition."<sup>2</sup>



## “The Red Tie Bishop”

“St. Mark’s is really Bishop Scarlett’s ‘baby,’” argued the rector.<sup>3</sup> As Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Missouri, Scarlett selected the church’s location in the developing St. Louis Hills neighborhood and oversaw the designs for the building and its windows. He used the project to make his Christian belief manifest. Since the 1920s, Scarlett joined other church leaders, most notably his friend and colleague Reinhold Niebuhr, to contest the assumptions of mainstream churches enamored by the values brought by American industrial progress with little regard to the social costs. Niebuhr, one of the most influential twentieth century American theologians, came to his convictions through his ministry with beleaguered autoworkers in Detroit during the 1920s.<sup>4</sup> He decried the self-centered pride of Americans as embodied by Henry Ford, the most admired man of the time. Niebuhr argued that to fulfill the teachings of Jesus, Christians must cooperate rather than focus on individual achievements.

William Scarlett’s epiphany for social justice came as Dean of Trinity Cathedral in Phoenix, Arizona. Soon after his arrival in 1911, he established a reputation as a caring pastor willing to advocate for exploited workers. Eastern corporations with mining operations in the isolated Southwest recruited and then maltreated waves of immigrant workers. When conditions became unbearable in Bisbee, Arizona, in 1917, miners went on strike. In response owners herded 1,300 striking men onto railroad cattle cars and deported them out of state to New Mexico. Scarlett audaciously challenged these actions and, along with a handful of other clergy, demanded the United States Department of Justice investigate the travesty. The agency sent out a young Felix Frankfurter to scrutinize corporate actions. Scarlett assisted with the inquiries and the two became lifelong friends, even after Frankfurter’s

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Stained glass designer Robert Harmon illustrated the Christian themes of unity and cooperation with two laborers who need each other to complete their tasks. Charles Wilson explained that it is the “area of work where men’s self-interest is dominant and therefore where cooperation is most essential and most difficult.” This cooperative approach to life’s work was made real in the building of St. Mark’s as architects Dunn and Nagel together designed the church and its furnishings. Harmon captured this spirit using them models, for his image of laborers. In a play on Nagel’s name, which means nail in German, one man holds a nail which the other welded the hammer. Embedded in the hammer head is Dunn’s name. Nagel and Dunn brought to the project the kind of cooperative spirit Bishop Scarlett celebrated by using their network of artists and craftsmen. Later, *St. Louis Post Dispatch* art critic Patricia Degener called St. Mark’s the finest collaboration of art and architecture in Dunn’s body of work. (Image: Don Adams)



Architects Frederick Dunn and Charles Nagel designed four pairs of long, narrow windows running down St. Mark's narthex. The north windows imagine St. Mark's growing relationship with Jesus. According to Charles Wilson, the contrasting southern windows "are an attempt to interpret for our benefit today the significance of the story." Designer Robert Harmon used repetitive elements to tie all the windows together including representations of Jesus along the top of each. Jesus wears a stole, an ancient symbol still worn by the clergy to symbolize the "yoke" of Christ. Each pair of windows shares different symbolic patterns running down the glass stole.

St. Mark's rector in the 1950s contrasted the traditional imagery of the north windows. "The difference is that the windows on the South Side ask the question – 'If you follow Jesus, so what?' Here is presented the cutting or demanding side of Christianity. These windows repel, or demand that you stand up and be counted." (*Image: Don Adams*)

appointment to the U.S. Supreme Court. In Arizona, the foundations of Scarlett's "future greatness in the field of social justice were laid."<sup>5</sup>

Scarlett moved to St. Louis in 1922 as dean of Christ Church Cathedral and became Bishop of Missouri a decade later. He put into practice his belief of cooperation as a foundation of faith. When Rabbi Ferdinand Isserman came in 1932, Scarlett reached out and together they formed a social justice commission that fulfilled a variety of functions, including mediating local labor disputes.<sup>6</sup> Their efforts reduced tensions during strikes with streetcar workers and with miners in Illinois. Scarlett's vision of Christian cooperation also encompassed racial equality, and he helped found the Urban League. When he retired as the agency's president in 1948, he charged, "Racial segregation is the greatest foe of social, economic and educational freedom of opportunity in America."<sup>7</sup>

Throughout Scarlett's career, "His liberal approaches to social and church reform put him in constant tension with many of the fellow bishops."<sup>8</sup> He hosted an

interdenominational celebration of Holy Communion with Presbyterians in 1932 and received sanctions from the Episcopalian Church leadership. Even in the 1930s, Scarlett pushed the Episcopal Church nationally to encourage more access to birth control education and to acknowledge divorce.<sup>9</sup> He served on the national boards of the Urban League and the American Civil Liberties Union. Scarlett's social justice agenda, his avoidance of the clerical collar, and his colorful surname earned him a derisive nickname, the "Red Tie bisho"<sup>10</sup>

## Impetuous Young Men

Bishop Scarlett applied his principles to his own life, his preaching, his writings, and his hiring practices. He recruited "aggressive, socially conscious, at times impetuous young men" as missionaries to spread the gospel call.<sup>11</sup> Charles Wilson was one of those men. A graduate of the New York School of Social Work, he ministered in the city's notorious Bowery while preaching



The new St. Mark's Episcopal Church was considered architecturally significant even when it was newly built in 1939. It was included in the Historic American Buildings Survey, which was usually reserved for documenting historical architecture rather than new buildings. (Image: Historic American Building Survey)

on the growing labor troubles around the country at elegant Gothic Revival Grace Church.<sup>12</sup> In the spring of 1935 Scarlett invited Wilson to come to St. Louis to be Missioner for the city's south side. Scarlett told area church leaders that, "he was sure he had the right man for us" in Charles Wilson.<sup>13</sup>

Scarlett hoped Wilson could be part of a response to the changing demographics in the region as inner-city parishes lost membership and interest in Christian education waned.<sup>14</sup> He assigned Wilson to first focus on two languishing churches in the aging, predominately Catholic neighborhoods around Tower Grove Park.<sup>15</sup> He also tasked Wilson with organizing a new church in the developing suburb of St. Louis Hills where he purchased lots earlier.<sup>16</sup>

When Wilson started his ministry, St. Louis Hills boasted 328 new homes with 1,400 people. The depression had slowed development, and one resident recalled that much of the area was "largely nothing more than streets, alleys and vacant lots."<sup>17</sup> Developer Cyrus Crane Willmore promised prospective buyers that the "surroundings are beautiful, children are happy, neighbors are congenial and everyone is concerned about matters which constitute right living." Right living included attending church, but the Catholic St. Gabriel the Archangel offered neighbors the only option.<sup>18</sup> Scarlett saw the area as "underchurched," presenting an opportunity to breathe new life into the Episcopal presence in the city with the help of the energetic Wilson.

Missioner Wilson sent all the Episcopalians living in the area a letter asserting that "this is the beginning of a hope which the Diocese has long held, that we might have a Church to serve the residents of St. Louis Hills."<sup>19</sup> A small band of 30 met in Willmore's business office before

moving to the portable buildings of Nottingham School. Wilson stressed that his mission, known as St. Andrew's, endeavored to be known as a liberal community church concerned with the political and economic problems of society. He promised all were welcome regardless of denominational affiliation.

Wilson envisioned a church that "must seek to awaken men from the lethargy of an indifferent and selfishly individualistic life.... While never partisan, she must speak out against the evils and injustices in the community and nation."<sup>20</sup> In May 1937 Wilson and Scarlett found themselves with an opportunity to create a such a church, both spiritually and physically.<sup>21</sup> John A. Watkins, a recluse bachelor living in a cold-water flat on Kingshighway, died, leaving the Diocese \$75,000. However, the loan operator mandated the money must be used to build a new church with his devoutly Episcopalian mother's name on it as a memorial.<sup>22</sup>

Scarlett planned to bring together Wilson's three groups under a new roof announcing, "It would be possible for the Diocese to have one strong Church in a new and rapidly growing neighborhood."<sup>23</sup> He saw a unique opportunity to design a new church with little of the compromising and sanitizing that often comes with the building committee process. He served as the committee chair along with three others from the Council of Diocese, a handful of men representing the merging congregations, and Charles Wilson. One lay member remembered, "Wilson seemed to be MC at the meetings and the Bishop when there, which was often, just sat in on what took place, making such comment as he felt necessary."<sup>24</sup> The new church would be named St. Mark's.

## Holy Symphony

Bishop Scarlett stacked the deck from the beginning to create a church physically expressing his vision of modern Christianity. He appointed Charles Nagel and Frederick Dunn as the project's architects.<sup>25</sup> The pair met at the Yale University architecture program. Nagel convinced Dunn to follow him back to St. Louis to open a practice specializing in modern design. The men joined a growing number of young artists and architects "struggling against St. Louis conservative tendencies." They formed the Paint and Potter Club, "where the local intelligentsia met to drink and to discuss art, design, and life."<sup>26</sup> The architects drew on several club members, including sculptor Shelia Burlingame, to contribute to the new church.

Dunn and Nagel designed St. Mark's as St. Louis' first church in a modern style. Their project drew national notice, and critics compared it to ecclesiastical efforts by other contemporary innovators, such as Frank Lloyd Wright and Eliel and Eero Saarinen.<sup>27</sup> Walter Tyler, writing for *Architectural Record*, admired St. Mark's simplicity and functionalism. He observed, "While there is hardly more than a trace of traditional ecclesiastical detail in this building, it is unmistakably a church."<sup>28</sup>

Tyler marveled at St. Mark's "adventuresome spirit." He commented, "The ecclesiastical fields are to be found the most challenging occasions for creative design."<sup>29</sup> However, St. Mark's "spirit" was not honed by the lay members of the building committee. One member, when first viewing the revolutionary plans, exclaimed "Not that! Why that's just a paving brick covered with modeling clay, turned on its side with a dab for a steeple."<sup>30</sup> Another lay member recalled, "The church is a result of the thinking of the architects and that of Mr. Wilson. They built the church, [and] the building committee went along often."<sup>31</sup> Some members said they "resented the way the

architecture was superimposed" upon them.<sup>32</sup>

A story recalled by a lay member of the building committee illustrated the point well:

"At one meeting we were told we would pass on the windows for the church being designed by Emil Frei, Inc.... The building committee went along with his idea. We were told ... we could visit Mr. Frei's shop and watch him at work with the windows. In a day or two... I stopped in to take a look as to how the windows were coming along. Much to my surprise one of the windows, and they are very large, was already finished. ... Many of the committee thought that the architects and possibly Mr. Wilson had been advising Mr. Frei on the windows."<sup>33</sup>

Fifteen years later, the rector speculated that "it might be safe to say that had the people of St. Mark's had much to say we would never have had this Holy Symphony in mortar, brick, wood, steel, and glass."<sup>34</sup>

## First of its Kind in the Country

If St. Mark's architecture marked a first in St. Louis, its stained glass windows were "the first of its kind in this country."<sup>35</sup> Scarlett and Wilson's commitment to social justice became writ large in the building's eight long, narrow windows. The four north windows examined the life of St. Mark, but the matching southern windows demanded attention over current social justice issues, focusing on the "ways men today were betraying Christ."<sup>36</sup> They filled the windows with bold designs that challenged viewers about their visions of the church.

Scarlett selected the Emil Frei studio to create St. Mark's windows. The company dated back to 1898 and gained national recognition at the 1904 World's Fair. Roman Catholic churches were its primary customers, but Scarlett invited the firm to make its first efforts for the Episcopal Church in St. Louis.<sup>37</sup> The timing was fortuitous because Frei had just hired designer Robert Harmon, a recent



William Scarlett served as Bishop of the Missouri Episcopal Diocese from 1933–52 and possessed a "willingness to interpret scripture according to modern perspectives." After World War II he served on the national Joint Commission on Social Reconstruction, which brought together influential Americans to highlight the need for civil rights and social justice. It is through this work he became a mentor and friend of Eleanor Roosevelt. Scarlett wrote in 1949 that Christianity is "either the Rock on which we build our civilization or else it is the Rock against which civilization will continue to pound itself to pieces." (*Image Episcopal Diocese of Missouri*)



Washington University School of Art graduate. Harmon would enjoy a long career noted for his massive window projects, but for his first assignment with St. Mark's he only had eight very tall, very narrow windows. The tight budget of the project forced him "to depart from the commonly used form of stained glass and the necessity of creating a richness of color and effect through the use of large rather than small pieces of glass."<sup>38</sup> Harmon took advantage of the financial restraints to move away from the studio's "Munich" style, which followed the realistic approach of the Renaissance. Instead, he used more abstract representations. Charles Wilson appreciated Harmon's contemporary, expressionistic style that evoked primitive art. In Harmon's stained glass, "traditional medieval symbols receive modern treatment."<sup>39</sup>

Stephen Frei, current head of the studios, posits that, "St. Mark's was perhaps the cutting edge of the very first of the style of contemporary windows that due to economic constraints, was to be the new wave of the future."<sup>40</sup> His father asserted that out of the hundreds of churches the studio has worked on over the decades, the windows of St. Mark's are "still perhaps his favorite of all."<sup>41</sup>

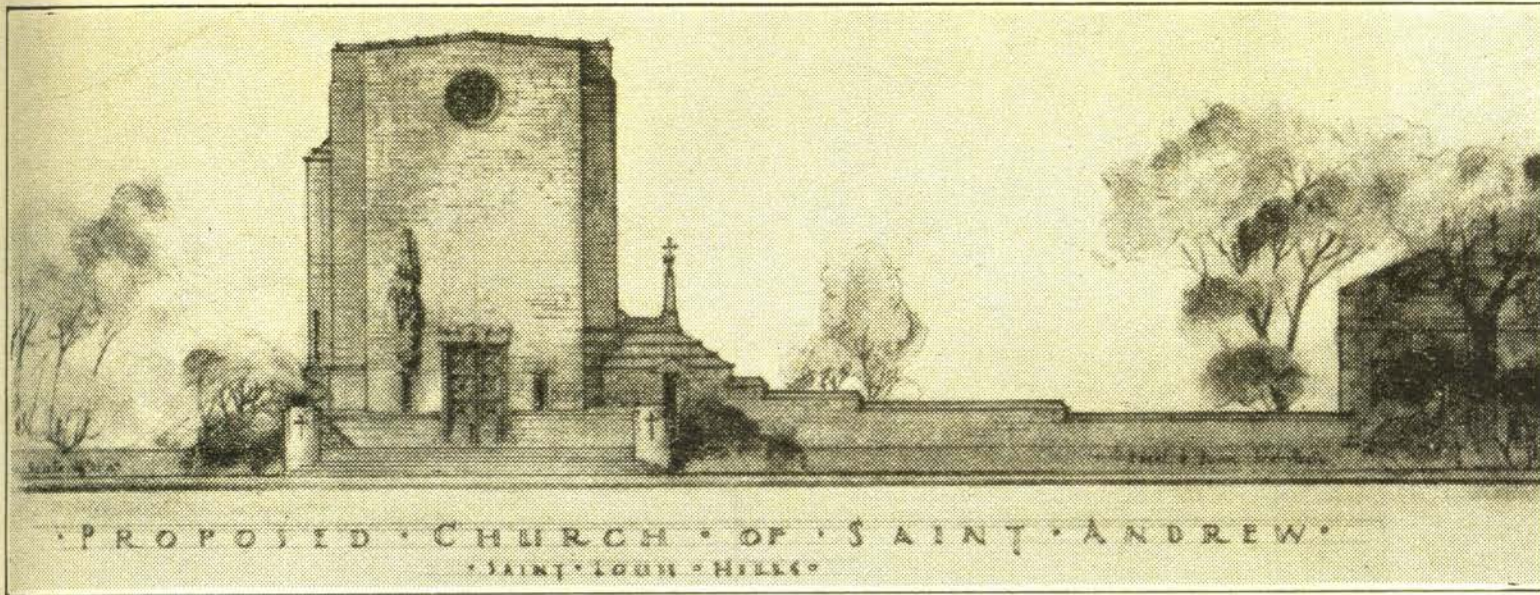
According to stained glass historian Ken Leubbering, "Harmon and the younger Frei wanted to get at the essence of the religious experience and depict it in such a way that people were challenged to think and to constantly look at the windows anew."<sup>42</sup> Harmon drew on early Christian symbols to express the new Liberal Christian ideals that Wilson and Scarlett championed. Wilson compared the symbolism used by the underground movement of Christians under repressive Roman rule to the "partisans in Hitler-dominated Europe today."<sup>43</sup> The windows would serve as a symbol to the community, expressing visibly what Wilson hoped St. Mark's should become, a "live 'liberal' church."

## Feet of Clay

When Scarlett dedicated St. Mark's in January 1939, "members of the congregation, at first resentful of anything so different, are already beginning to accept it, some even to like."<sup>44</sup> Neighbors were not as conciliatory. Congregational member Jane Carr recalled the derisive howls from the community; "How do they get by with building such a monstrosity in the neighborhood?" It

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This window portrayed Jesus' saving power of religion which he revealed to both men and women. The woman is depicted independent from the man but bound together in the cloak of God which surrounds them. Rector Charles Wilson and designer Robert Harman drew on symbols of the early Christian church. The fish shown here not only represented Christ and communion but also the story of Jesus feeding the five thousands. Wilson interpreted the miracle of the loaves and the fishes as Christ's command for believers to share the world's natural resources. Critics of Wilson pointed to such interpretations as proof of his support for communism. (Image: Don Adams)



## NEW ADDITION TO THE DIOCESE THAT MAY RISE IN ST. LOUIS HILLS. THE REV. CHARLES E. WILSON IS THE RECTOR

This sketch by architects Nagel and Dunn was the original concept of the modern St. Mark's. (Image: St. Mark's Episcopal Church)

"don't look like a church, it looks like a Union Electric substation."<sup>45</sup> Another exclaimed "gross, ugly, garish, not churchy."<sup>46</sup> Carr ruefully added, "When the windows went in, it got worse." Neighbors decried the stained windows that portrayed modern images of war, race, class, and labor.

Charles Wilson later reflected that the year he spent working on St. Mark's was the best in his life.<sup>47</sup> The year that followed might have been his worse. The call for social justice demanded by the church windows quickly became bound up with the political turmoil of a country on the edge of another world war. Even images illustrating Christian cooperation were rejected. The St. Mark's congregation in its new building languished under Wilson. Vestry, its governing board, was unable or unwilling to raise the funds to even cover their annual budget, and they laid the financial crisis at the feet of Wilson.<sup>48</sup> They became uncomfortable that Wilson was "emotionally cemented to his political and social views," especially as organizations he supported became under government scrutiny.<sup>49</sup>

Scarlett's and Wilson's views of cooperation, racial equality, and social justice smacked of communism to many. A conservative backlash grew in the late 1930s over many of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal programs. Critics began leveling allegations, and Republicans formed what would become the House Committee on Un-American Activities aimed at exposing communist connections. Committee chair Martin Dies, Jr., came to St. Louis in 1940 to hold hearings and to seize records of organizations that were "pro-Nazi, pro-Communists and pro-Japanese."<sup>50</sup>

Along with the Dies Committee presences in St. Louis, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) also

launched a regional investigation of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union and its ties with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Wilson and Scarlett supported both unions. The Bishop had even tried to negotiate a strike by the CIO. The Bureau scrutinized the unions' connections with the local National Labor Relations Board that it claimed "is known to have radical tenancies leaning toward communism."<sup>51</sup> The Dies hearings and the FBI investigations stirred up local paranoia and resentment.<sup>52</sup>

Out of the red-baiting came a complaint lodged with the FBI that St. Mark's rector Charles Wilson was a communist. The FBI maintained an agreement with the St. Louis Police Department (SLPD) to investigate local threats of communism. The SLPD established a "Red Squad" in the early 1930s "to monitor communist and socialist organizations," and according to labor historian Rosemary Feurer, by the late 1930s it "targeted left-leaning unions, generating a lot of red baiting in the city."<sup>53</sup>

In November two plain-clothes policemen descended on St. Mark's Vestry members and their wives to investigate Rector Wilson's record. The men "asking leading and insinuating questions, succeeded in frightening some of the members of the Vestry, made them fearful they might be harboring someone guilty of subversive acts."<sup>54</sup> Vestry responded by demanding Charles Wilson's resignation.

In the meantime, Scarlett visited the local FBI office hoping to find out the specific charges against Wilson. They told him only the offices of FBI Director Edgar J. Hoover or the U.S. Attorney General could release such information. Scarlett then wrote to Attorney General Robert Jackson, arguing that if Wilson "has been guilty of any subversive deeds, which I cannot believe, I, as the head of the Diocese, ought to know it so that we ourselves





An unexpected 1937 bequest provided enough money to construct St. Mark's Episcopal Church but not to build the rectory or parish hall, also designed by Nagel and Dunn. The congregation grew after the war as St. Louis Hills expanded with returning veterans. The rectory was built in 1950 and the parish hall in 1954. By St. Mark's twenty-fifth anniversary, the *Globe-Democrat* proclaimed, "St. Louis' architectural ugly duckling that became the whitest of swans." Today the church is listed on the National Register of Historical Places and continues to receive critical architectural attention. (Image: Charles Doyle)

can take whatever action may be necessary." Scarlett dismissed any credibility to the accusations: "Certainly he is not, as the questioners seem to insinuate, a Communist. I do not see how any minister of the Christian religion can be a Communist."<sup>55</sup>

Scarlett asked that if the evidence amounted to nothing, to let him know so he could inform the Vestry to "help to relieve their minds, and save the young man from a gross injustice." He requested that if they did have any actual questions, would it be possible for Wilson to have a hearing and a "chance to clear himself of the suspicion which has settled upon him in the minds of some of his people?"<sup>56</sup> Scarlett expressed frustration at the injustice done to Wilson with innuendoes and feared such actions could create dissensions in other congregations throughout his diocese.

Scarlett went to Washington, D.C., where the FBI told him no recommendation concerning Wilson had been made or would be made, by any one officially connected with them. They blamed the SLPD, who it asked to explore allegations that "appear to be purely local in nature."<sup>57</sup> Scarlett responded, "I shall ask the local FBI chiefs, who have been most considerate, if they cannot persuade the local police department to be somewhat more subtle in their conduct."<sup>58</sup> He also visited his old friend Felix Frankfurter, now a Supreme Court justice, and asked for his help. Frankfurter talked with the Attorney General and wrote Scarlett that he thought Jackson "felt

about these things as you do and will be alert against any nonsense."<sup>59</sup>

Scarlett's efforts all the way to the Supreme Court did not save Wilson's position at St. Mark's. He left and became rector at Trinity Episcopal Church in Kirksville, Missouri. Eventually Wilson came back to St. Louis where he spent ten years as head of the Grace Hill Settlement House. There he continued to advocate for the disadvantaged, applying the theology he embedded in St. Mark's windows. His successor at St. Mark's distanced himself from the social justice messages in the windows, claiming they were "designed to admit much light while figuratively telling a part of the Christian story."<sup>60</sup>

As America plunged into World War II, Bishop Scarlett organized a national, ecumenical dialogue to ensure the same mistakes following the Great War were not repeated. He preached, he published, and he organized national committees that addressed moral issues raised by the war and the atomic bomb that ended it. Scarlett, along with Eleanor Roosevelt, also led a growing movement for racial equality. He spoke out against McCarthyism and again and again made a clear distinction between social justice and communism.<sup>61</sup> Many believed Scarlett would have been head of the American Episcopal Church had he not been "a man ahead of his time." Or as a friend succinctly put it, "but for his left-leaning ways."<sup>62</sup>

After the war, St. Mark's new rector Murray Kenney led a growing congregation. The church became able to

build the rectory and then the parish hall designed years earlier by Dunn and Nagel. Kenney once again claimed the power of the stained glass windows, reminding members, "The vigorous social concern of Bishop Scarlett, Charles Wilson, the architects Nagel and Dunn, the artists Frei and Harmon is poured into these windows."<sup>63</sup>

For Scarlett and Wilson, the messages in the St. Mark's windows were not just for the congregation or the middle-class, white, St. Louis Hills families, but a visible symbol of what this new Christianity should look like in the face of a modern world wounded by the Great Depression and threatened by fascism. These windows captured the spirit of social justice preached by Bishop Scarlett when in the 1930s he argued, "Through the ages this has been a basic principle of religion, the unity of all mankind in God, a unity based not on our race or color or class but on our common humanity."<sup>64</sup>

These windows that were designed to demand a response to the pressing political and social issues of the 1930s sadly remain fresh and applicable today. Seventy years after its cornerstone was laid, the St. Mark's congregation still reflects the call demanded by their very building. Member Joleen Shelton, a union leader with the National Educational Association, recalled her fascination with the windows: "This was the world I lived in on this side.... It was the reality of how religion is part of this world, part of American history, it wasn't just what was passed down to us." Another member contended that the windows provide the "faith and world connect that is so alive for us at St. Mark's."



The stained glass window advocating cooperation includes two men engaged in a tug of war, which "is evidence of the difficulties that the Christian pilgrim's encounter." This image is countered by twin pine trees in a circle, a symbol adopted by the growing cooperative movement in America in 1922. The Great Depression intensified Bishop Scarlett's conviction of the need for cooperative efforts in all areas of life. He joined Reinhold Niebuhr as a trustee for the Delta and Providence Cooperative Farms in Mississippi. Niebuhr labeled this missionary effort, "the most significant experiment in social Christianity now being conducted in America." Scarlett and Charles served together on the board of directors for the Delmo Homes, a New Deal farm cooperative that supported striking sharecroppers in the Missouri Bootheel. Wilson later headed St. Louis' Grace Hill Settlement House, which advocated for cooperative approaches. (Image: Don Adams)

## ENDNOTES

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- <sup>2</sup> Charles Wilson, "Majesty and Meaning in New St. Mark's," *The Foreword*, Lent, 1939.
- <sup>3</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Press Release.
- <sup>4</sup> Richard Fox, *Reinhold Niebuhr: A Biography* (New York: Pantheon, 1985).
- <sup>5</sup> Charles Rehkopf, "The Episcopate of William Scarlett," *The Missouri Historical Society Bulletin* 20, no. 3 (April, 1964): 193.
- <sup>6</sup> "Bishop Scarlett Dies," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, March 28, 1973.
- <sup>7</sup> *St. Louis American*, January 31, 1948.
- <sup>8</sup> "Scarlett Dies."
- <sup>9</sup> *New York Times*, October 21, 1934.
- <sup>10</sup> Rehkopf, "Episcopate of William Scarlett," 196.
- <sup>11</sup> "Scarlet Dies."
- <sup>12</sup> "History of the Church of the Holy Innocents," typed manuscript, St. Mark's Archives; Charles Coker Wilson obituary, December 1987, from the Archives of the Diocese of Missouri. "Church Programs in the City Today," *New York Times*, July 22, 1934.
- <sup>13</sup> Maurice Butler, "History of St. Mark's Given as the Wells Campaign Dinner," January 17, 1955, St. Mark's Archives.
- <sup>14</sup> Rehkopf, "Episcopate of William Scarlett," 195.
- <sup>15</sup> Holy Innocents in Oak Hill and Mt. Calvary at Grand and I-44.
- <sup>16</sup> Dates for the land vary between 1929 or 1933.
- <sup>17</sup> Jim Gimbelett, "St. Mark's 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Slide Show Script, 1964," St. Mark's Archives.
- <sup>18</sup> The congregation worshiped in the school building, completed in 1935, until the present church was dedicated in 1951. Ann Zanaboni, *St. Louis Hills* (St. Louis: Reedy Press, 2008), 84.
- <sup>19</sup> Charles Wilson to the Episcopalians in the St. Louis Hills Neighborhood, September 19, 1936, St. Mark's Archives.
- <sup>20</sup> "Saint Andrew's Episcopal Church in St. Louis Hills," News Item for December Issue of *The New of St. Louis Hills*. 1937, St. Mark's Archives.
- <sup>21</sup> Rehkopf, "Episcopate of William Scarlett," 198.
- <sup>22</sup> "Mother's Advice Made John A. Watkins Wealthy," *St. Louis Star-Times*, May 19, 1937.
- <sup>23</sup> "South St. Louis Churches Merge to Form St. Mark's Memorial," *The Foreword*,
- <sup>24</sup> Butler "History of St. Marks."
- <sup>25</sup> Bishop William Scarlett to Charles Wilson, December 15, 1937.
- <sup>26</sup> Lindsey Derrington, "The Lewis and Clark Branch Library," *Missouri Valley Chapter of The Society of Architectural Historians Newsletter*, 30, no. 1B (Spring 2014).
- <sup>27</sup> "Notes on Modern Church Design," *Journal of the Society of Clerks Secular of Saint Basil* 4, no. 2 (Summer 1943), 23.
- <sup>28</sup> Walter A. Tayler, "A Survey: Protestant Church Design in America," *Architectural Record* (July 1939), 66.
- <sup>29</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>30</sup> "Saga of Saint Mark's," brochure, ca. 1954.
- <sup>31</sup> Butler "History of St. Marks."
- <sup>32</sup> "Saga."
- <sup>33</sup> Butler "History of St. Marks."
- <sup>34</sup> "Saga."
- <sup>35</sup> Pictures, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch Sunday*, January 22, 1939.
- <sup>36</sup> Charles Wilson, "The Church of Saint Mark's: The Church Building and Its Symbols," ca. 1944.
- <sup>37</sup> "Missouri Studio's Work Spans Generations," *Interim*, April 2004.
- <sup>38</sup> "Story of Window in New St. Mark's," *The Foreword* (Trinity, 1939), 14.
- <sup>39</sup> *Post-Dispatch*, January 22, 1939.
- <sup>40</sup> Stephen Frei to Rev. Dr. Lydia Agnew Speller, January 28, 2010, St. Mark's Archives.
- <sup>41</sup> Frei to Speller.
- <sup>42</sup> Ken Luebbering and Robyn Burnett, *Gospels in Glass: Stained Glass Windows in Missouri* (Rocheport, Mo.: Pebble Publication, 2000), 76.
- <sup>43</sup> Wilson, "Church of St. Marks."
- <sup>44</sup> Nancy Blair, "St. Mark's Episcopal Church a Gem of Modern Architecture," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, January 21, 1939.
- <sup>45</sup> Interviews with St. Markans, Jane Carr, *Profiles*, St. Mark's Archives.
- <sup>46</sup> "Saga."
- <sup>47</sup> Frederick Dunn to Rev. Mr. W. Murray Kenney, August 11, 1960, St. Mark's Archives.
- <sup>48</sup> Charles Wilson to the Vestry, "In re. Financial Statement," September 8, 1939, St. Mark's Archives.
- <sup>49</sup> Rt. Rev. Arthur C. Lichtenberger to Rt. Rev. Leland Stark, December 13, 1955, St. Mark's Archives.
- <sup>50</sup> Henry N. Dorris, "Ties with Embassy," *New York Times*, November 22, 1940.
- <sup>51</sup> FBI Letter Protested, *New York Times*, December 9, 1940.
- <sup>52</sup> "Sworn Testimony before Hon. Martin Dies, Chairman Special Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities," Taken in St. Louis, Missouri on November 21, 1940.
- <sup>53</sup> Rosemary Feurer, *Radical Unionism in the Midwest, 1900-1950* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 123.
- <sup>54</sup> William Scarlett to Robert Jackson, U.S. Attorney General, December 26, 1940, St. Mark's Archives.
- <sup>55</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>56</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>57</sup> Matthew F. McGuire, Assistant to the Attorney General, to Right Reverend William Scarlett, January 9, 1941, St. Mark's Archives. In 2012, neither the St. Louis

Police Department nor the FBI under the Freedom of Information-Privacy Acts reported any records concerning Charles Wilson.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Justice Felix Frankfurter, Supreme Court of the United States, to Rt. Rev. William Scarlett, January 30, 1941, St. Mark's Archives.

<sup>61</sup> Raymond E. Maxell, "A Habitation of God in the Spirit," *News of St. Louis Hills*, August, 1946.

<sup>62</sup> "McCarthy Fought by Church Group," *New York Times*, April 24, 1954.

<sup>63</sup> "Saga."

<sup>64</sup> "Scarlett Dies."