

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin, *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. Place additional certification comments, entries, and narrative items on continuation sheets if needed (NPS Form 10-900a).

1. Name of Property

Historic name Trinity Episcopal Church
Other names/site number N/A
Name of related Multiple Property Listing N/A

2. Location

Street & number 600 N. Euclid Avenue N/A not for publication
City or town St. Louis N/A vicinity
State Missouri Code MO County St. Louis City Code 510 Zip code 63108

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended,
I hereby certify that this x nomination request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.

In my opinion, the property x meets does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant at the following level(s) of significance:

 national statewide x local

Applicable National Register Criteria: x A B C D

[Signature]
Signature of certifying official Title
10/29/19
JP Date

Missouri Department of Natural Resources
State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of commenting official _____ Date _____
Title _____ State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government _____

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

 X entered in the National Register determined eligible for the National Register
 determined not eligible for the National Register removed from the National Register

other (explain:) _____

[Signature]
Signature of the Keeper 11-5-19
Date of Action

Trinity Episcopal Church
Name of Property

St. Louis [Independent City], MO
County and State

5. Classification

Ownership of Property
(Check as many boxes as apply.)

Category of Property
(Check only **one** box.)

Number of Resources within Property
(Do not include previously listed resources in the count.)

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	private
<input type="checkbox"/>	public - Local
<input type="checkbox"/>	public - State
<input type="checkbox"/>	public - Federal

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	building(s)
<input type="checkbox"/>	district
<input type="checkbox"/>	site
<input type="checkbox"/>	structure
<input type="checkbox"/>	object

<u>Contributing</u>	<u>Noncontributing</u>	
1	0	buildings
		sites
1	0	structures
1	0	objects
3	0	Total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register

0

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions
(Enter categories from instructions.)

Current Functions
(Enter categories from instructions.)

Religion: religious facility

Religion: religious facility

7. Description

Architectural Classification
(Enter categories from instructions.)

Materials
(Enter categories from instructions.)

Late 19th and 20th Century Revivals: Late Gothic
Revival

foundation: Stone and concrete
walls: Stone
Brick
roof: Asphalt
other: N/A

NARRATIVE DESCRIPTION ON CONTINUATION PAGES

Trinity Episcopal Church
Name of Property

St. Louis [Independent City], MO
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8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

- A Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- B Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- C Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- D Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

Property is:

- A Owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- B removed from its original location.
- C a birthplace or grave.
- D a cemetery.
- E a reconstructed building, object, or structure.
- F a commemorative property.
- G less than 50 years old or achieving significance within the past 50 years.

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE ON CONTINUATION PAGES

Areas of Significance

Social History

Period of Significance

1969-1993

Significant Dates

1969

Significant Person

(Complete only if Criterion B is marked above.)

N/A

Cultural Affiliation

N/A

Architect/Builder

Original is unknown

North Parish Hall (1980) by Henderson-Gantz

South Parish Hall (2016) by Biddle, Jim

9. Major Bibliographical References

Bibliography (Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form.)

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67 has been requested)
- previously listed in the National Register
- previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # _____
- recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____
- recorded by Historic American Landscape Survey # _____

Primary location of additional data:

- State Historic Preservation Office
- Other State agency
- Federal agency
- Local government
- University
- Other

Name of repository: **Trinity Episcopal Church Archives**

Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): _____

Trinity Episcopal Church
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10. Geographical Data

Acreeage of Property Less than one acre

Latitude/Longitude Coordinates

Datum if other than WGS84: _____
(enter coordinates to 6 decimal places)

1 38.650454 -90.260301 3 _____
Latitude: Longitude: Latitude: Longitude:

2 _____ 4 _____
Latitude: Longitude: Latitude: Longitude:

UTM References

(Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet.)

_____ NAD 1927 or _____ NAD 1983

1 _____
Zone Easting Northing

3 _____
Zone Easting Northing

2 _____
Zone Easting Northing

4 _____
Zone Easting Northing

Verbal Boundary Description (On continuation sheet)

Boundary Justification (On continuation sheet)

11. Form Prepared By

name/title Dr. Katie Batza (Primary) and Michelle Diedrich, MO State Historic Preservation Office

organization University of Kansas date August 16, 2018

street & number 1729 Vermont St. telephone 773-991-7985

city or town Lawrence state KS zip code 66044

e-mail batza@ku.edu

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

- **Maps:**
 - A **USGS map** (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.
 - A **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources. Key all photographs to this map.
- **Continuation Sheets**
- **Photographs**
- **Owner Name and Contact Information**
- **Additional items:** (Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items.)

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Office of Planning and Performance Management, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1849 C. Street, NW, Washington, DC.

Trinity Episcopal Church

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Photographs

Submit clear and descriptive photographs. The size of each image must be 1600x1200 pixels (minimum), 3000x2000 preferred, at 300 ppi (pixels per inch) or larger. Key all photographs to the sketch map. Each photograph must be numbered and that number must correspond to the photograph number on the photo log. For simplicity, the name of the photographer, photo date, etc. may be listed once on the photograph log and doesn't need to be labeled on every photograph.

Photo Log:

Name of Property: Trinity Episcopal Church

City or Vicinity: St. Louis

County: St. Louis City State: Missouri

Photographer: Katie Batza, Ian Darnell

Date

Photographed: 8/24/18, 11/6/18

Description of Photograph(s) and number, include description of view indicating direction of camera:

Photo 1: Western exterior face of church

Photo 2: Western exterior of close up of main entrance

Photo 3: Southwestern corner exterior

Photo 4: Memorial garden and southern exterior

Photo 5: Southern exterior

Photo 6: Southeastern exterior, western entrance to South Parish Hall

Photo 7: Southeastern corner exterior

Photo 8: Eastern exterior

Photo 9: Northern exterior/side entrance to North Parish Hall

Photo 10: Northern exterior of church and church parking lot

Photo 11: Northwestern exterior of church, office entrance, and North Parish Hall

Photo 12: Northwestern corner exterior of main entrance

Photo 13: Interior entry vestibule facing north, door to coat closet

Photo 14: Interior entry vestibule, facing south and under belfry tower

Photo 15: Eastern interior wall of Nave/Chancel

Photo 16: Western interior wall of Nave

Photo 17: Northern Aisle in Nave

Photo 18: Main Alter on the eastern side of the Nave

Photo 19: Southern Aisle in Nave

Photo 20: Rector's Office, facing east

Photo 21: Rector's Office, facing west

Photo 22: Hallway from Parish Office entrance facing east, windows to Rector's Office on right, entrance to North Parish Hall on left

Photo 23: Parish Office

Photo 24: Northern interior view of North Parish Hall

Photo 25: Southern interior view of North Parish Hall

Photo 26: Interior of music room - southern room in the eastern side of North Parish Hall

Photo 27: Interior of infant and toddler room- center room in the eastern side of North Parish Hall

Photo 28: Church archive, library, and storage room- northern room in the eastern side of North Parish Hall

Photo 29: Hallway running along the eastern exterior wall of the church connecting North Parish Hall to the original portion of the church

Photo 30: Church kitchen located along the eastern exterior wall of the church linking South Parish Hall to the original portion of the church.

Photo 31: Western interior view of South Parish Hall

Photo 32: Eastern interior view of South Parish Hall

Photo 33: Artwork located in the entry vestibule, *The Holy Family* by Frank Douglas Blanchard given in memory of Rev. Charles Bewick

Photo 34: Main decorative stain glass window on the Western wall of the Nave.

Photo 35: Southern exterior of Nave and Memorial Garden

Photo 36: Eastern exterior from the Northeast

Photo 37: Eastern exterior

Photo 38: Northeastern exterior corner

Photo 39: Southeastern corner exterior

Photo 40: Southern exterior from the Southeast

Figure Log:

Include figures on continuation pages at the end of the nomination.

Figure 1: Contextual Map 600 N Euclid Ave.

Figure 2: Site Map Trinity Episcopal Church 600 N Euclid Ave.

Figure 3: Trinity Advertisement from the Mandrake newsletter.

Figure 4: 1960s Trinity picture, from *Living Church*, July 1965, cover.

Figure 5: Mayoral debate image from St. Louis Post-Dispatch, February 8, 1993.

Figure 6: Trinity Advertisement from the Mandrake Newsletter.

Figure 7: *Living Church*, July 2 1965 "Integrated Trinity"

Figure 8: First Story Floor Plan.

Figure 9: Photo Log.

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Trinity Episcopal Church
Name of Property
St. Louis [Independent City], MO
County and State
N/A
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Summary

Trinity Episcopal Church, 600 N. Euclid Avenue, St. Louis (Independent City), Missouri, sits at the intersection of Washington Ave. and North Euclid Ave. on the northern border of the Central West End neighborhood and Central West End Certified Local District.¹ The single building consists of three sections: the Nave (original part of the church), the North Parish Hall, and the South Parish Hall. All events and meetings pertinent to this nomination, which relates to the church's role in and impact on the local LGBTQ community, took place in the Nave (including the Rector's Office) beginning in 1969 and then in the North Parish Hall addition when it was constructed in 1980. The Nave is the original church, which was constructed in 1885 and originally located in north St. Louis and then moved brick by brick and stone by stone to its current location in 1910. It consists of a two-story vaulted nave, a three-story tower, and a single-story rector's office and parish office. Constructed in the Gothic Revival style, the Nave features stone cladding, a tower parapet, and historic stained glass windows. The North Parish Hall is a single-story concrete block addition added at the northeastern corner of the church in 1980. The South Parish Hall was originally completed in 1954 and then demolished in 2014 and replaced entirely in 2016. The newly completed South Parish Hall stands in the original 1954 footprint, with a ten foot expansion to the east but consists of all new materials and design for the space. There is a contributing parking lot (the contributing structure in the resource count) on the northwestern portion of the lot and a contributing concrete sign (object) at southwest corner. The immediate setting includes a driveway at the eastern edge of the property which the church uses for deliveries and short-term parking related to its food pantry. A memorial garden sits along the southern edge of the church building that extends to the Washington Avenue border of the property. Other than the replacement of the 1954 addition in 2016, the church has seen minimal alterations since 1993, the end to the period of significance.

Setting

Trinity Episcopal Church is north of Interstate 44 and 64 and south of Interstate 70. It is located in the Central West End neighborhood and is a block northeast of Forest Park (Figure 1). The main entrance is in the Nave on the west side of the church and is accessed via N. Euclid Avenue (Figure 2). Across the street (to the west) on N. Euclid is the historic Mahler Ballroom that is currently being used for condominiums.² To the east of the church is a residential neighborhood in the form of row houses and single-family homes. On its northern border, an alleyway marks the church's property line and then a vacant lot/parking lot rests on the opposite side of the alley outside of the nomination boundary. The church lies a block south of Delmar St., the historic and current racial dividing line in the city. To its immediate south lies a two-story mixed use building with a small business on the first floor and apartments on the second floor. Trinity is a

¹This district was first certified on 11/15/1979 and was expanded in 1989, 2002, and 2011. This property is included within the district. Trinity Episcopal Church is being individually nominated to the National Register of Historic Places to recognize the significant role it played in the LGBTQ community, as discussed at length in Section 8 below.

² Ramsay, Dr. John M., Mahler Ballroom, Eligibility Assessment, 2014. On file at the Missouri State Historic Preservation Office

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contributing resource of the Central West End Certified Local District and is located at the northern border of the eastern portion of the district.³

Within the boundary there is a contributing object (sign) and structure (parking lot) that are described in more detail below. The parking lot is at the northeast corner and sits between the Nave and the North Parish Hall (Figure 2). Behind the church to the east is a driveway off of the alley. The driveway offers a few parking spaces and is bordered to the east with trees. The entrance to this driveway features a short chain link fence and gate (Photo 38). Another entrance to this driveway is on the southeast corner of the property (Photo 39). Small retaining walls securing modest landscaping and plantings feature wrought iron fencing that flanks this driveway (Photo 7). Another retaining wall with landscaping extends from this corner west to the western corner of the South Parish Hall addition. Hedgerows extend to west to wrap around the southeast corner of the property. The hedgerows mark the borders of a memorial garden that feature a grassy lawn, seating, stone stepping stones, and the Trinity Church concrete sign (described below) (Photos 3-5, 36, 40). Small retaining walls and plantings are in front of the main entrance on the west side of the building. Concrete stairs and a walkway lead up to the entrance. A small, non-permanent sign for Trinity Church is left of the entrance (Photo 12). To the north of the church on the east side is the main entrance to the parking lot that has short stone piers and a modest wrought iron fence and gate. Sidewalks with trees planted recurrently surround the property on the west and south sides. This setting is very similar to that across the time period of significance for this nomination.

Parking lot, contributing structure, 1980

A paved parking lot sits between the Nave and North Parish Hall. It was added with the North Parish Hall addition was constructed in 1980. It is accessed on North Euclid Avenue and accommodates approximately 20 parking spaces (Figure 2, Photos 8, 10). As described above, a wrought iron gate is located at the entrance of the parking lot and wrought iron fencing encloses the lot on the north and west sides. The parking lot has painted spaces on the diagonal and does not feature plantings or curbing in the center of the lot, although there are concrete curbs for outer parking spaces.

Trinity Concrete Sign, contributing object, c.1965

A triangular concrete block with the name “Trinity Church” in mid-century script with color panel mosaic is located at the southwest corner of the property in the memorial garden (Figure 2, Photos 3 and 35). Church parishioners cannot recall the exact date the sign was installed but they believe it was sometime in the 1960s and they recall seeing it in photos from the early 1970s. According to them the artist was William Severson.⁴

³ Landmarks Association of St. Louis. The Central West End-East map. 1987. Map is accessible at Missouri State Historic Preservation Office’s website: <https://dnr.mo.gov/shpo/docs/CWE-E.pdf>, accessed December 12, 2018.

⁴ Emails from Katie Batza to Ellie Chapman on December 11, 2018 and from Ellie Chapman to Katie Batza on December 11 and 17, 2018.

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Trinity Episcopal Church
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Exterior Description

Overview

Trinity Episcopal Church is constructed of a gray stone exterior in a Gothic Revival style that harkens English architecture from the mid- seventeen and eighteen hundreds. The original portion of the church building was constructed in 1910. Referred to as the Nave in this nomination, it makes consistent use of Gothic arch windows and doors, crenellation of the tower and Rector's office, and stone buttresses on the western elevation. The Nave projects west towards Euclid Avenue. The North and South Parish Halls extend off the eastern end of the original Church building with the North Parish Hall extending farther away from the original Church building than the South Parish Hall. These two additions are quite different in architectural style from one another, with the North parish Hall addition hewing more closely to the architecture of the original church through the use of stone of the same color while the South Parish Hall has a more modern look and is constructed almost entirely of glass. However, the use of stone foundation and structural supports and buttresses unifies the building. All stained-glass windows throughout the Nave and Rector's office on the first floor are multi-colored, original, in pointed arch shape, and are religious in content. The windows in both additions are clear and rectangular. The main church Nave structure has a gabled roof while the North Parish Hall has a cross-gabled roof and the South parish Hall is a flat roofed structure. Both the Rector's Office and the Tower in the original structure have crenellated roof lines.

West Elevation

The West elevation is the original stone 1910 portion of the church, or Nave. The main entrance is located on this side of the property and is reached by two sets of concrete steps (Photos 1 and 2). This elevation consists of three bays. The left (north) and center bays are one story with a shed asphalt shingle roof. The left bay has a short stone buttress and a single gothic arched stained glass window (Photo 1). The central bay projects slightly from the façade and is flanked by stone buttresses. It features gabled parapet crowned with a stone Celtic cross (Photos 2 and 12). The main entrance consists of large historic wooden double arched doors set in a stone arched opening. There is a gold tau-rho cross with a crown above it on the door to the right. The second story of the center bay rises is recessed above the shed roof and features a gabled roof and a single Gothic arched stained glass window (Photo 2). Moving south there is a three-story stone tower topped with crenellation and adorned with a metal Celtic cross (Photo 3 and 12). The first floor of the tower is a gothic stained glass window. The second floor has a narrow stained glass rectangular window and the third story features a large rectangular vent (Photo 3).

Southern Elevation

The southern wall of the church is two stories tall for the length of the nave with pointed arch clear windows appearing in pairs on the second floor (12 total) and in larger single stained glass windows (5 total) on the ground level and at equal intervals along the length of the Nave (photo

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3, 4, 5, 35, and 40). Also at equal intervals are stone buttresses on the first floor similar in size and shape to those on the western wall. The second story of this elevation is clad in stucco (original) and the windows on this level appear to be clear glass replacements. Under the roofline is a dentil cornice. At the eastern end of the structure, the South Parish Hall, demolished in 2014 and rebuilt in 2016, extends to the south and stands in contrast to the historic backdrop with its flat roof and lack of windows in the stone portion of the addition on its western end (photo 6 and 7). Although it was recently built it appears to be influenced by Mid-Century Modern design due to the flat profile and floor to ceiling fixed grid of windows on the southernmost portion of the addition. Offset to the east (right) from the stone portion in another section of the addition that extends further south and is primarily made up of large fixed pane windows. It houses a double door entrance facing west (photo 6) and another, at the other end, facing east (photo 7 and 39). These doors have narrow side lights and are sheltered by a metal hood. Above these entrances are large fixed pane windows with sidelights that mimic the sidelights below on either side of the doors. On the eastern end are three more fixed pane windows to the south of the entrance, identical to those facing south: facing south are five bays with nine panes of glass each in stacks of three. The uppermost panes and lowermost panes are smaller than the center panes.

This addition has a streamlined stone frame along the bottom and corners of the structure. The stone of the South Parish Hall exterior mimics that on other portions of the church. The primary glass portion has a clearly modern look.

Foregrounding this side of the building is a memorial garden with benches, flowers, a stone garden labyrinth, and a large plaque on the side of west elevation with the names of Trinity Parishioners whose ashes are buried in the garden (photo 4 and 35). This garden is accessed by a stone path leading toward the main entrance on the western side of the building.

Eastern Elevation

The eastern exterior consists of the two-story original portion of the church building flanked on either side by single story stone structures (photo 8, 36, 37, 38 and 39). The 2016 one-story addition to the south houses an entrance facing east, as described above. To the north of this entrance that stone portion of the addition extends further east by approximately 10 feet. A single window, off-center to the south, sits in the stone portion of the 2016's east elevation. Behind and to the north of this addition the two-story portion of the original church is visible, housing a single stained glass window on the second floor in a gabled parapet (photo 36). The corner of the two-story portion has a single buttress. The original 1910 construction extends further north via single story construction with crenellation where the Rector's Office sits before giving way to a flat roofed North Parish Hall constructed in 1980. The 1910 portion houses three wood, historic, one over one windows on the first floor below which are three basement windows (photo 37). There is then a stone buttress at the corner, before a setback single door with hood reached by a set of concrete steps with metal railing. The door is sheltered by a small hood. The 1980 North Parish Hall extends east. It is one story with a side gable roof and is constructed of rusticated

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concrete blocks. Five identical windows single pane casement windows sit in the North Parish Hall's Eastern elevation. Three are grouped towards the south and two towards the north.

Northern Elevation

The north side of the church is the home of the church parking lot, the North Parish Hall, and the northern wall of the original church (Nave). In the north elevation of the North Parish Hall, clad in rusticated concrete block, sits a single metal door entrance, sheltered by a metal hood, reached via concrete stairs and a concrete ramp with a metal railing (photo 9 and 38). The only other opening is a vent. Facing west, the North Parish Hall addition from 1980 has two small windows before reaching a portion of the addition that extends west and has tri-part single pane fixed windows opening covered by red a metal awning (photo 10 and 11). These windows sit in a gabled bay flanked by flat piers. To the south is a recessed portion of the 1910 Nave, housing a single door entrance reached by concrete stairs with a metal rail. The entrance is covered by a metal hood. There is then a large single fixed window, a small single fixed window in a Gothic arch, and another entrance with a historic wood arched door, also reached by a set of concrete stairs with a metal railing (photo 11). This portion of the building features crenellation along the roof line and a chimney, marking the original northern elevation of the 1910 Nave. The northern elevation of the Nave extends west. It has seven arched stained-glass windows separated by stone buttresses. Beyond them, the two-story portion is faced in historic stucco rather than stone (photo 10). The windows on the second story appear to be clear glass replacement. The pointed arched windows on the first and second floor of the Nave portion mirror those of the southern wall.

Interior Description (See Figure 8 for Floor Plan)

For the purposes of this nomination, the relevant interior spaces of the Trinity Episcopal Church include the Nave (which includes the Rector's office), and the North Parish Hall. However, the building also has an entrance vestibule, Parish Office, South Parish Hall, and a very small galley style kitchen that runs the length of the eastern wall of the original 1910 portion of the building. Each of these spaces remains in their original state with the exception of maintenance and upkeep since their construction in the original 1910 part of the building, 1980 for the North Parish Hall, and 2016 for the South Parish Hall. The main church building did undergo a small remodeling in 1961, creating small closet-sized rooms in previously unused spaces behind the altar to create a working sacristy, clergy vesting room, and upstairs storage room. The original solid wood floors remain intact and well maintained throughout the original church building. The kitchen has updated appliances from the originals, though the footprint remains the same as it did in 1910. The most significant structural change in the original Church building was moving the altar away from the east wall of the Nave and toward the front of the pulpit which occurred in 1971 as a result of changes in ecumenical doctrine and practices. Beyond that, artworks have occasionally been added by parishioner artists or commissioned in response to important events in the community (such as a stained-glass window commemorating WWI) or in the congregation (such as the artwork memorializing Rev. Bewick after he succumbed to AIDS- photo 33). The

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significant events tied to the LGBTQ community primarily occurred in the Nave beginning in 1969 and then the North Parish Hall addition when it was constructed in 1980.

The original 1910 portion of the church consists of four rooms: a small entrance Vestibule, the Nave, the Rector's Office, and the kitchen. The vestibule can be accessed from the exterior through the two large red-painted wooden doors in a pointed arch that serves as the Church's front door on the Western side of the property (photo 1 and 2) and gives way after roughly ten feet to the Nave. The entrance vestibule is a one-story room that is rectangular in shape (photo 13). However, this space serves as more than a simple pass through to the Nave as it has areas in relief to either side. To the north, there is a small room that serves as a coat closet and small storage space. To the south, under the belfry there is an altar housed under an alcove with pointed arches, benches, and artworks on the north and south sides of the room (photo 14). Here, in the South section of the Vestibule sits the painting made to memorialize Rev. Bewick (photo 33). The eastern wall of the vestibule has a pointed archway that mirrors the size of the church doors on the western wall and opens into the two-story tall Nave (photo 16).

The Chapel space consists of two aisles and the Nave. The aisles are marked by one story enclosed arcades on the interior sides. The arcades feature Tudor arched openings resting on round Doric-inspired pillars that run the length of the Nave on either side (photo 17 and 19). The aisles have walls only on the exterior side of the building and are covered in white plaster. The flooring in both aisles is that same as throughout the entire old Church building- the original hardwood floors. The ceiling of the arcade matches the roof of the Nave and is darkly stained wood with structural beams visible. Under the western most window in both aisles sits large steam radiators that also date from the original 1910 building. At the eastern end of each aisle are wooden doorways in the ubiquitous pointed arch shape (photo 15). The doorway on the southern side leads to the vestry room, and access to the South Parish Hall while the door on the north side leads to short hallway to the other areas of the building including the Rector's Office, the kitchen, and the North Parish Hall.

Both the pointed arches and the much higher ceiling signal the movement from the aisles or Vestibule into the Nave. This room is the only one in the structure that is two stories and its ceiling has darkly stained wood and structural beams on display, with light flooding the Nave and arcade from the five sets of double lancet stain glass windows in either side of the Clerestory. The western wall of the Nave houses four symmetrically situated wooden cabinets that feature pointed arches (two on either side of the pointed archway entrance from the Vestibule) that stretch to the full height of the room and house the pipes for the organ (photo 16). The original organ with a smaller set of pipes originally on the eastern wall of the Nave was replaced in 2009. Between these pipe casings rests the large lancet stain-glass window (photo 34). Two sets of wooden pews sit in rows on both the north and south side of the Nave with a central aisles connecting the entrance to the Vestibule to the Chancel. The Chancel is set off from the rest of the Nave by four stairs and a large two-story pointed archway that then gives way to another, smaller two- story room in which the alter sits centrally (photo 18). Light for this

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area comes from two lancet windows located in the Clerestory. Within yet another pointed arch shaped set-back rests a life-sized crucifix that centers the eastern wall. There are two inconspicuous doorways off either side of the Chancel leading to the vestry room and to the hallway whereby the Kitchen and Rector's Office can be accessed.

The modestly sized Rector's Office is original to the original portion of the church and feels like walking back in time as does the rest of the 1910 section (photo 20 and 21). Immediately outside the office, on the western side, is a pointed wooden door to the exterior (photo 11 and 21). It is the only room in the church with a fireplace (wood-burning). This room has original hard wood floors, wood paneling, built-in bookshelves of the same dark stain as the ceiling of the Nave, and two small windows provide natural light. There are also two windows on the north side of this room that originally looked out to the norther exterior, but now look into a hallway in the North Parish Hall addition built in 1980 (photo 22). Immediately behind the eastern Rectors Office wall is a hallway lined with lower storage cabinets that connects the 1980 North Parish Hall addition to the original portion of the church (photo 29). To the Rector's Office immediate south is a hallway that at that western end leads directly to a door into the North Aisle of the Nave and at the eastern end connects to the hallway leading to the North Parish Hall Entry hallways and the kitchen. At the end of this hallway along the southern wall of the Rector's Office is a small winding staircase that leads to a small second floor storage room. This second-floor storage space was added in 1954 and is accessed by an exterior staircase and a wooden pointed arched doorway. However, as the 2016 South Parish Hall addition expanded the eastern boarder of the church ten feet to the east, it allowed for a small indoor stairway to be added and the external second-story doorway to be permanently locked and sealed (visible behind rooftop cooling equipment in photo 8).

The North Parish Hall, built in 1980, is roughly half the length of the original building and is set in the northwest corner of the property extending towards the back alley. The North Parish Hall has a main entrance on the western side of the building at the eastern edged of the parking lot (photo 11). This entrance gives way to a hallway (photo 22) that is stone on the southern side, consisting of the exterior of the original church building, and dry wall on the northern side. Here the flooring is an industrial laminate tile and the construction is more utilitarian and budget friendly than the ornate and ceremonial style of the Nave, Chancel, Vestibule, and Rector's Office. Immediately off of this hallway at the western end is the Parish Office. The Parish Office is small and has drywall walls with three windows on the western wall covered by a red awning on the exterior, one window on the northern wall, and another window on the southern wall that looks out onto the main entrance of the North Parish Hall addition (photo 23). Continuing east in the North Parish Hall entry hallway, there is a water fountain and the entrance, flanked on either side by restrooms, to another hallway that leads to the North Parish Hall.

The hallway to the North Parish Hall slopes downward and its flooring changes to a different laminate that mimics dark wood flooring (photo 24). At the bottom of the short, ramped hallway, the western hallway wall becomes half-height, giving way to the largest meeting space in the

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North Parish Hall addition. Within this large room, there is a kitchen area at the southern end (photo 25), three windows spaced evenly along the western wall, a metal exit door along the northern wall, and three doorways along the eastern wall. The three rooms off the eastern side of the main North Parish Hall room are evenly sized, each have one window, and serve as the music room (photo 26), the infant and toddler room (photo 27), and the Parish library and archives (photo 28), respectively. These rooms are accessed by wooden doors to the North Parish Hall main room. The North Parish Hall was designed to house the working side of the Church including Sunday school classes, meeting space, and conveniences for staff. North Parish Hall, along with the Nave, was used for LGBTQ-related meetings from its construction in 1980 onward. A larger bulletin board near the entry stairway with notices and flyers for all the groups utilizing the space, including those with no ties to the church, demonstrate that this remains the busy and multi-purpose space that is always has been and was designed to be.

Back at the top of the ramp to the North Parish Hall, and at the eastern end of North Church Hall entry hallway is an exit to the eastern parking area which consist of a metal door with an inset single pane of glass at the top half of the door (photo 22). At the end of this hallway is another hallway that goes south behind the Rector's Office and along the eastern wall of the church, leading to the original portion of the church as well as the South Parish Hall addition. The hallway to the rest of the Church, the kitchen, and South Parish Hall is also functional, with lower cabinets used for office supplies lining the western wall of the hallway (photo 29). This hallway connects to the hallway leading off the northern Aisle of the Nave, continues on past the narrow staircase leading to a small upstairs storage area and then leads down a set of four wooden steps into the large rectangular kitchen (photo 30). The kitchen has storage cabinets, appliances, and sinks on both the east and western walls as well as a long table running down the middle. This modest kitchen serves as the epicenter for Trinity's robust food pantry and soup kitchen. A small coat closet sits in the rooms' north eastern corner, next to the stairwell. The kitchen was significantly expanded to the east in the 2016 South Parish Hall addition.

The South Parish Hall appears designed more for social gathering than the working spaces of the North Parish Hall with greater concern for aesthetic appeal thanks to its frequent use of large windows. The South Parish Hall consist of a large rectangular room with restrooms, storage closets, and a water fountain in the northeast corner (photo 32). The northern wall gives access to the kitchen and the storage space, with the wall consisting of drywall, a small portion of the stone exterior of the original church building, and doorways. The western side of the room houses both a wheel chair lift, a set of 4 stairs leading down from the doorway directly to the southern Aisle of the Nave, a small dishwashing room with a window cutout to the main South Parish hall room, before giving way to a set of glass double doors that lead out to the Memorial Garden (photo 31). The glass of these doors wraps around the entire length of the southern wall supported by a three-foot-tall wall of drywall. The eastern wall also has glass double doors at the southern end. Because of the large windows and open floorplan of this smaller addition, the space is filled with natural light and used for receptions, the soup kitchen functions, and social events. The support for the roof comes from five square and unadorned columns on the southern

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side of the room that go from the industrial laminate flooring to the drop ceiling. Strips of fluorescent lights also hang from the ceiling here. With the original 1910 portion of the building providing the ceremonial and religiously adorned space, the North Parish Hall providing the hub for community outreach efforts and programs for the church, and the South Parish Hall offering spaces to socialize, celebrate, and build and serve community, often over food, Trinity Episcopal Church's architecture reflects the many roles it has played in the St. Louis and Central West End communities over the last 50 years. Though each section of this church reflects different purposes, architects, and time periods, each remains true to their original times of construction and manage to remain architecturally sympathetic due to the use of gables, setbacks, and complimentary finishes on the exteriors.

Integrity

Despite the 2016 replacement of the South Parish Hall addition, Trinity Episcopal Church maintains integrity in regards to location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association. Little else has changed on the building since 1993, the end to the period of significance, and all the significant interior spaces remain intact, the Nave, the Rector's Office, and the North Parish Hall. There have been minor updates with interior finishes and appliances. Windows on the second floor of the nave have been replaced with clear glass but the arched window openings are historic.

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Summary

Trinity Episcopal Church, located at 600 N. Euclid Ave. in the Central West End neighborhood of St. Louis (Independent City), Missouri, is locally significant under Criterion A in Social History for its early and substantial role in the rise of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer/Questioning⁵ (LGBTQ) community activism in St. Louis. Starting in late 1969, Trinity offered space to the Mandrake Society, which billed itself as St. Louis's first "homophile organization," a term commonly used in that time period by people who would today be called gay and lesbian activists. While operating out of the Trinity space, the Mandrake Society mounted the first organized political response to police harassment and raids of gay gatherings and bars in St. Louis. The church also provided financial support in the form of purchasing advertising space in the organization's newsletter. These advertisements welcomed members of the LGBTQ community into the church space and welcomed them to services. Records show that the church's commitment to that community pre-dated even the Mandrake Society in that priests from Trinity as early as the 1950s offered to bless the homes of LGBTQ couples living together as couples- a sort of early commitment/marriage ceremony. This practice continued until the first public same sex union ceremony took place in the church in the 1990s. In the 1980s, after the Mandrake Society disbanded, the church provided similar space and advertising to PREP which went on to become PROMO, the state's main LGBTQ political organization (and continues to serve in this capacity as needed nearly 40 years later). For decades, Trinity hosted some of St. Louis's most influential LGBTQ service and advocacy groups, playing a unique role in the city and region. The wide-ranging work they did there had lasting consequences for the region's history. The church building proved a cornerstone in the creation of a very gay friendly neighborhood in the surrounding Central West End, a tradition that continues today.

The period of significance for Trinity Episcopal Church under Criterion A in Social History for its association with LGBTQ history is 1969-1993. This period begins with the first meeting of the Mandrake Society held in the Nave (including the Rector's Office) of the church in 1969 and continues to 1993 when Trinity Church hosted the city's first mayoral debate on LGBTQ issues. The mayoral debate coincides with the time further sources of support became available to the LGBTQ community in St. Louis.

A chapter of Integrity, a national group of Episcopal gay men, was formed at the church. Even Dignity St. Louis, the Roman Catholic gay group, held services on Sunday evenings at Trinity Church. Later the Parish was active during the AIDS epidemic of the 1980s, welcoming, caring for, burying, and remembering a number of members as well as non-members. On a Sunday morning in 1990, a member living with AIDS gave the sermon. The church also welcomed an

⁵ The "Q" in LGBTQ has been interpreted to mean questioning or those unsure of their orientation but also "queer". Once a derogatory term, the word "queer" is now being reclaimed as an umbrella term. The term should be used carefully as it can still be used in an offensive manner. Source: Petrow, Steven. Washington Post: *Civilities: What does the acronym "LGBTQ" stand for?* May 23, 2014. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/arts-and-entertainment/wp/2014/05/23/civilities-what-does-the-acronym-lgbtq-stand-for/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.f85325c11588. Accessed December 31, 2018

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HIV+ priest from another area church after he was forced out of his own parish because of his HIV status. Through all of these services and actions, Trinity Episcopal Church served as a midwife to the LGBTQ community activism in St. Louis in a way that makes it both unique and historically significant in the LGBTQ history of the city of St. Louis.

Trinity Church meets Criteria Consideration G. It has achieved significance within the last 50 years, but is of exceptional significance due to its substantial role in supporting the local LGBTQ community during a time period in which LGBTQ individuals had very few places of safety, let alone support for community building or organizing.

The Church also meets Criteria Consideration A. Although the property has always functioned, and still functions, as a church, the argument for significance in this nomination focuses on Trinity's role in significant social history events in St. Louis associated with the rights of the LGBTQ community vs. purely religious functions.

Elaboration

Early Property Context: Trinity Episcopal Church moves to the Central West End

Trinity Episcopal Church moved to 600 North Euclid Avenue, the congregation's permanent location in the Central West End of St. Louis, in November 1935. However, the building itself has a much longer history with multiple owners and locations. This stone, English Gothic-style building had an unusual past leading up to Trinity's moving into it. The formerly vacant site at the corner of Euclid and Washington avenues was purchased by the Episcopal Church of the Redeemer in the late 1800s. Shortly after, a brick parish house was built on the north side of the space. Services were held in this parish house until the Redeemer parish merged with another Episcopal church, St. James Memorial Church, located in North St. Louis. In 1910 the St. James building was taken from the North St. Louis original site and reconstructed, stone by stone, on the vacant corner of Euclid and Washington in the Central West End neighborhood. This new merged congregation, named Church of the Redeemer, worshipped in this space for 25 years. Trinity Episcopal Church bought the Church of the Redeemer building as a way to mark the 80th anniversary of its congregation. Thus begins the history of Trinity Church in the Central West End of St. Louis.

Trinity Episcopal Church and Inclusion in the Post-War Era

To understand why Trinity became a significant and safe space for LGBTQ community, one must understand the church's role in the Central West End neighborhood in the post-war years. Shortly before becoming involved with LGBTQ issues, Trinity proudly became an inclusive space of worship for all races in the neighborhood. This open door policy likely played a strong role in serving and assisting LGBTQ individuals in subsequent and concurrent years.

The Central West End, in its earliest development in the second half of the nineteenth century, became "the last stand of the St. Louis elites" seeking relief from the more unsavory aspects of

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inner city living without relinquishing urban life.⁶ Large homes characterized the area and were soon bolstered by the development accompanying the 1904 World's Fair and the installation of street cars.⁷ By the early twentieth century, the Central West End was well established as a fairly ritzy white neighborhood in the highly racially and economically segregated St. Louis landscape. At the time, St. Louis was one of the largest cities in the country and a major destination for the Great Migration, despite its slave state history and continued strictly enforced segregation. More than 100,000 African Americans called St. Louis home by 1940, crammed within a few overcrowded ghettos in the city.

Fueled by equal parts racism, economic opportunities for white veterans under the newly signed GI Bill, and new post-war ideals of the American Dream that included suburban living and unprecedented domestic consumption, St. Louis experienced the exodus of middle-class whites to the suburbs that came to be a hallmark of the post-WWII period for most American urban landscapes. Though in the decades before the war, most black residents of the Central West End were live-in servants for wealthy white residents, by 1960, one third of Central West End residents were black.⁸ Many of the large homes that had epitomized the district became divided and split into rental properties. Amidst these demographic and architectural changes, Trinity Episcopal Church faced a dwindling congregation and an identity crisis.

In the immediate post-war years, most congregations were opting to move to the suburbs and follow in the footsteps of their congregants but Trinity Episcopal Church took the opportunity to reexamine its mission and make intentional choices about the future of the congregation. In 1953, the parish met and determined to remain in its current location rather than join the popular movement westward toward the more affluent and homogenous suburbs. Instead, Trinity decided to build an addition of the South Parish Hall in 1954. This decision to remain in the neighborhood would forever change Trinity's shape and mission. Since that time, in addition to maintaining its traditional worship services and parish activities, Trinity Church has continually looked outward—to its immediate neighborhood and the larger Central West End community as well as to the urban areas surrounding them.⁹ Trinity had traditionally sponsored music and drama presentations that attracted wide audiences from the community. To these the parish added a neighborhood-centric mission with summer programs for children, tutoring programs during the school year, and even a neighborhood school, all during the 1950s and 1960s. Thus, as the Central West End transformed from a well-to-do white enclave into what renowned sociologist Laud Humphries described in 1972 as, "a highly transient district.... The center of

⁶ Norbury Wayman, *History of St. Louis Neighborhoods: The Central West End* (St. Louis Community Development Agency, 1980), 4, 6, 8.

⁷ Norbury Wayman, *History of St. Louis Neighborhoods: The Central West End* (St. Louis Community Development Agency, 1980), 9.

⁸ Lia Nowar, "Anything Goes in the CWE," *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, December 27, 1994.

⁹ Elizabeth B. Platt, "History of Trinity Church, St. Louis, 1855-1955," 1955, Trinity Episcopal Church Parish Archives, St. Louis.

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what remains of St. Louis hippiedom,” Trinity Episcopal Church proved a constant force in the neighborhood.¹⁰

The congregation not only reached out to the surrounding community, it came to embody the new residents. Historian Ian Darnell explains that the neighborhood, “never truly transitioned from being a white neighborhood to a black one. Instead, in the 1950s and ’60s, it became a sort of middle ground, a patchwork of white, black, and racially mixed blocks between predominantly white and what had become predominantly black sections of the city. The parish also became racially integrated as black Episcopalians were welcomed into the church, and, later, other African-American residents of the neighborhood were drawn in because of the church’s outreach efforts.”¹¹ By 1958, a quarter of trinity parishioners were black, a percentage that increased to a third just seven years later.¹² By 1965, Trinity earned a “Distinguished Congregation” designation by Episcopal magazine *The Living Church* for its outreach programs, integration, and vibrancy in 1965 with one observer commenting, “This is a completely integrated congregation that truly lives its faith” (figure 4 and 7).¹³

Trinity served as a political incubator and host for the black community of St. Louis, though often in concert with many other churches, organizations, and groups. Beyond simply voting to stay in the Central West End rather than flee to white suburbs and welcome black parishioners into both the church services and leadership, Trinity undertook civil rights work in multiple ways. One of the ways in which this was done was through a “Team Ministry” approach used by Trinity throughout the 1970s, in which Trinity’s pastor Bill Chapman worked alongside Father Richard Tombaugh, a white theology professor associated with St. Louis University and Eden Seminary and Rev. John Mason, a black religious counselor. The *History of Trinity* explains that the clergy team approach including “the presence and experience of a black clergyman [gave] a clearer expression to its integrated congregation and [added] another dimension to the church and its neighborhood work.”¹⁴ Team ministry was the best response to leading the complex Trinity Parish that by 1971, “was made up of over 20 identifiable groups or constituencies, none comprising more than 15 or 20 persons. Since the needs of some of these groups were virtually endless, the tugging at and fragmenting of [a single] priest’s time was particularly debilitating

¹⁰ Laud Humphries, *Out of the Closets: The Sociology of Homosexual Liberation* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1971), 81.

¹¹ Ian Darnell, “Expanding the Bounds of Community: The Life of Bill Chapman – Episcopal Priest, Civil Rights Activist, and Gay Rights Pioneer,” unpublished.

¹² Ian Darnell interview with Chapman and Taylor, July 15, 2011; Elizabeth Gentry Sayad, “Euclid and McPherson,” *The St. Louis Magazine*, June 1963; Elizabeth B. Platt, “History of Trinity Church, St. Louis, 1855-1955,” 1955, Trinity Episcopal Church Parish Archives, St. Louis; Ian Darnell interview with Etta Taylor, August 3, 2011, in St. Louis; Arthur E. Walmsley to Jennifer [M. Phillips], October 18, 1999, Trinity Archives.

¹³ Charles F. Rehkopf, “Trinity Church, St. Louis: A Congregation that Loves,” *The Living Church*, July 18, 1965.

¹⁴ *History of Trinity Church: St. Louis, 1955-1975*, ed. Charlotte Brown, Trinity Parish Archives, 6.

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and frustrating.”¹⁵ In 1969, Trinity also hired Jesse Todd, an activist with the St. Louis black power group the Zulu 1200s to oversee a variety of neighborhood outreach efforts and programs. He also served as the director of the Concerned Citizens Center in a nearby space Trinity rented which offered a wide array of programming from dance classes to prison visitation programs directly related to black culture, the civil rights struggle, and/or black power. Trinity, in the mid-1970s also served as headquarters for a political campaign and eventual non-violent civil disobedience protest against city cuts to community services.¹⁶ Trinity became a lynchpin for the neighborhood as well as the political rights struggles for both black and LGBTQ folks in the larger St. Louis landscape.

This integrated reality and mission of Trinity became incorporated into the very building of the church itself in 1984 in the form of an artwork. That year parishioner Emily Ann Cramer painted the “Loaves and Fishes” artwork that hung prominently on the parish hall wall for more than two decades, but is now stored in the basement.¹⁷ In the words of Ian Darnell, “it is a reimagining of the Gospel story of Jesus’s feeding of the multitude. The artist based the features of many of the people in the mural on those of her fellow parishioners at Trinity. Members of the church could see themselves reflected in the image. Strikingly, some of the people in the painting are black, and some are white, and they mix freely and casually. And there’s another dimension to the range of people depicted in this scene—along with heterosexual pairs are what might be interpreted as same-sex couples.”¹⁸ Thus, Trinity came to embody the full diversity of the Central West End in the post-war decades and became a crucial site for nascent LGBTQ community building and politics.

While it is outside the current focus of this document, further research could potentially reveal a Criterion A: Ethnic History area of significance for the nominated property.¹⁹

LGBTQ Community and the Central West End

The neighborhood and congregation did not only change in terms of race. Historians John D’Emilio and Allan Berubé have documented the tremendous importance of WWII social and

¹⁵ Richard Gordon and George Benson, *1971 Annual report of Trinity Parish*, Trinity Parish Archives.

¹⁶ Ian Darnell, “Expanding the Bounds of Community: The Life of Bill Chapman – Episcopal Priest, Civil Rights Activist, and Gay Rights Pioneer,” unpublished, 7.

¹⁷ While the authors of this nomination would have liked to include an image of the painting, it currently is inaccessible.

¹⁸ Ian Darnell, “Expanding the Bounds of Community: The Life of Bill Chapman – Episcopal Priest, Civil Rights Activist, and Gay Rights Pioneer,” unpublished. Martha K. Baker and Etta Taylor, *A History of Trinity Church, St. Louis, 1975-2005* (St. Louis: 2005), 6; and “Dates for Timeline for History Night, Oct. 3, 2004,” Trinity Parish Archives.

¹⁹ The focus of this nomination is on Trinity’s significant relationship with the LGBTQ community. However, it may be worth researching a Criterion A: Ethnic History argument for Trinity’s early integration. At this stage, National Register eligibility is not known for this particular argument, which would need to develop its own context, level, and period of significance. It is recommended anyone interested in pursuing this option contact the Missouri State Historic Preservation Office for guidance.

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migratory shifts in the creation of gay political identities and gay urban enclaves in the immediate post-war period- a trend that also played out in St. Louis.²⁰ The Central West End hosted an increasingly well-known gay social scene that included a number of bars and gay-owned small businesses by the 1960s. By 1972, ten bars with a gay clientele called the neighborhood home and as Laud Humphreys wrote, formed “a gay ghetto... a bohemian community of high social and racial diversity... and a high proportion of homosexual residents.”²¹

While the neighborhood and bar provided a social outlet, it could not always offer safety for gay patrons. Historians of sexuality often describe the period of the 1950s and 1960s as one characterized by fear- fear of police harassment, fear of job loss, fear of social ostracism, fear of discrimination, and fear of violence.²² Though gay bars provided unprecedented opportunity for community and social interaction among homosexuals, they often proved targets for violence and harassment both by state actors, such as the police, and by the public. These forms of violence and harassment fueled the uprisings/riots and activism that catalyzed the gay liberation movement, including the Black Cat Riot in Los Angeles, the Compton Cafeteria Riot in San Francisco, and most famously, the Stonewall Inn Riot in New York City.²³ This relationship between harassment at gay bars and gay political activism proved true in St. Louis as much as in other, better documented places such as San Francisco, Los Angeles and New York. Examples include the 1969 Halloween raid, discussed below, and the 1969 creation of the Mandrake Society, the city’s first known official gay organization in which Trinity played an important role.²⁴

Trinity Episcopal Church and LGBTQ Inclusion

Trinity Episcopal Church has proven an unusually safe and welcoming place for LGBTQ community members since the 1950s and consequently played a significant role in the growing LGBTQ rights movement in St. Louis during the period. Rev. Arthur Walmsley, in a letter written in 1999 in which he reflected back on his time as rector at Trinity from 1953-1958, wrote, “We even had our own 1950s’ version of the blessing of same-sex unions when I was

²⁰ John D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Allan Bérubé, *Coming out under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two*, (New York: Free Press, 1990).

²¹ Laud Humphreys, *Out of the Closets*, 80-81.

²² D’Emilio and Marcia Gallo

²³ Baldwin, Belinda. "L.A., 1/1/67: The Black Cat Riots." *Gay and Lesbian Review Worldwide* 13, no. 2 (Mar/Apr 2006): 28-30; Silverman, Victor, and Susan Stryker. "Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton's Cafeteria." United States, 2005; Carter, David. *Stonewall: The Riots That Sparked the Gay Revolution*. 1st ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2004.

²⁴<http://wustl.maps.arcgis.com/apps/MapTour/index.html?appid=1a3bb142caa140018df5dc432a88bc80>

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asked to preside at house blessings of a numbers of parishioners living in committed relationships.”²⁵ There is no other evidence to corroborate this claim, thus, for the purposes of this nomination, the first well documented show of support by the church dates to 1969 with its housing of the Mandrake Society discussed below. While little more is known about these house blessing ceremonies, they certainly resonate with the church’s avant-garde acceptance of LGBTQ parishioners and larger communities in the following decades. After the 1953 vote to remain in the Central West End, Trinity began a number of outreach programs to the full range of diversity within the neighborhood ranging from summertime children’s programs to specific one-time events. In the words of then Trinity rector Rev. Anthony Morely, “We must be willing to explore new ways of attracting the interest of people who live in our neighborhood.... It’s important to us that we find different ways of making it possible for them to discover the meaning of the worship we would share with them.”²⁶ In an attempt to engage with the surrounding community including members of the LGBTQ community without proselytizing overtly, Trinity took two approaches. One was to hold special events within Trinity designed to attract new community members into the Church itself. The “Jazz Mass” event of January 1963 epitomized this tactic with its full band, youth choir, invitations to neighborhood residents, and even a guest preacher who commented to the national religious publication *Now*, “Morely and I are convinced that many people will come to this service out of curiosity who might otherwise never darken the doorway of Trinity Church.”²⁷ The second approach consisted of Trinity reaching beyond the Church walls, going out into spaces that attracted a “bohemian” crowd. As Darnell explains, “In 1964, a coalition of St. Louis churches opened a coffeehouse called The Exit... a few blocks from Trinity... near a number of gay bars and cafés. Open at night, staffed by volunteers from area churches, and hosting poetry readings and folk music performances, *Now* reported that The Exit attracted “hordes” of patrons, including many of the neighborhood’s “Bohemian [phrasing commonly used for gay] residents.”²⁸ The Exit was a collaborative project that included volunteers from multiple churches, yet Trinity spearheaded the effort and also provided the only participating church that had its own building, rather than temporarily renting space or moving among parishioners homes, making Trinity unique for The Exit patrons searching for a stable physical religious home.²⁹

²⁵ Martha M Baker and Etta Taylor, *The Years: 1975-2005*, Trinity Parish Archives, 33.

²⁶ “Modern Mission Jan. 25,” *NOW*, January 1963.

²⁷ “Modern Mission Jan. 25,” *NOW*, January 1963. Ian Darnell, “The Gospel of the Gay Ghetto: Neighborhood Churches and Queer Communities in the Era of the Urban Crisis, St. Louis, 1950s-1970s,” unpublished, 22.

²⁸ Ian Darnell, “The Gospel of the Gay Ghetto: Neighborhood Churches and Queer Communities in the Era of the Urban Crisis, St. Louis, 1950s-1970s,” unpublished, 23. The Exit was located at the corner of Westminster PL and N. Boyle Avenue.

<http://wustl.maps.arcgis.com/apps/MapTour/index.html?appid=1a3bb142caa140018df5dc432a88bc80>

²⁹ “Mapping LGBTQ St. Louis- Political Actions and Organizing, 1945-1992, The Exit Coffee Shop.” Accessed September 24, 2019.

<http://wustl.maps.arcgis.com/apps/MapTour/index.html?appid=1a3bb142caa140018df5dc432a88bc80>

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By both throwing its doors open intentionally for the diversity within the Central West End as well as by going out into the community, Trinity sought to make clear to all in the Central West End that it hoped to serve everyone.

Trinity's contributions to LGBTQ history, and most compelling evidence for inclusion in the National Register under criterion A for Social History, come into clearer focus starting in 1969. In April of that year, eight Central West End male residents met in an apartment near Trinity Episcopal Church to found the Mandrake Society, St. Louis' first homophile organization. With a loose affiliation and clear inspiration from the Mattachine Society, the first national homophile association started in Los Angeles by Harry Hay, the Mandrake Society sought to "equalize the state and position of the homosexual with the status and position of the heterosexual."³⁰ By the end of that summer, Trinity permanently hosted the small society within the church building, with only 18 dues-paying members twice a month for their meetings.³¹

As noted previously, raids upon homophile groups were known in St. Louis as in other cities. Plain clothes police officers from the St. Louis Police Department's Vice Division waited outside a Central West End Gay bar a few blocks from both Trinity and the site of the EXIT coffee house shortly after midnight on November 1 that year. As the Halloween drag ball within began to disperse, the officers arrested a group of nine men clad in wigs, jewelry, heels, and evening gowns for violating the city's anti-masquerading ordinance. This 1864-1989 ordinance made it illegal for same sex couples to publically show affection to one another, dance together, or dress in drag.³² Members of the Mandrake Society, using its phone tree in place for just such an occasion, raised the alarm and called for an immediate protest. By 3:00 a.m. on November 1, 1969 nearly two dozen protesters stood outside the St. Louis police headquarter demanding the men's release. The ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union) refused to take on the case, but the Mandrake Society helped finance the men's defense until the judge dropped charges.³³ The arrests and resulting protest solidified Trinity's role as the official home base for the St. Louis gay rights struggle as the regularly scheduled November, 1969 Mandrake Society meeting drew

³⁰ "Presenting the Mandrake Society," n.d. [ca. 1969], box 1, [St. Louis] Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History Project, sa1038, State Historical Society of Missouri Research Center, St. Louis, Missouri.

³¹ Humphries, *Out of the Closets*, 82-83; John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 60; Rodney Gateway Heritage article, p. 36.

³² City of St. Louis website. *Celebrating the Past to Awaken the Future*. June 25, 2013. <https://www.stlouis-mo.gov/government/departments/public-safety/news/pride-stl-2013.cfm>. Accessed January 2, 2019.

³³ Humphreys, *Out of the Closets*, 85-89; *Gay St. Louis* 4 (July/August 1978) 15, in collection 545, folder 267, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri- St. Louis; Police Report, Complaint No. 412758, 1-2, 4, Ian Darnell, "The Gospel of the Gay Ghetto: Neighborhood Churches and Queer Communities in the Era of the Urban Crisis, St. Louis, 1950s-1970s," unpublished, 24; Rodney C. Wilson, "'The Seed Time of Gay Rights': Rev. Carol Cureton, the Metropolitan Community Church, and Gay St. Louis, 1969-1980," *Gateway Heritage*, Fall 1994, 36.

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150 people to the Trinity Episcopal Church building. One new attendee was a gay coffeehouse owner “concerned about the welfare of some of her boys ... who had been arrested.”³⁴ By January the Mandrake Society had over 100 dues paying members that attended meetings in the Nave of Trinity Episcopal Church every two weeks.³⁵ The Mandrake Society’s birth and success marked the start of the gay rights political movement in St. Louis.³⁶

By housing the first homophile organization in St. Louis, Trinity solidified its status as an important site in the history of LGBTQ St. Louis by 1970. It also solidified its welcoming reputation among the city’s gay communities. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* reported the thoughts of one gay activist in 1971 writing, “Trinity accepts people for what they are.”³⁷ However, the Church contributed more to the burgeoning gay movement than a simple meeting space. With a larger membership, the Mandrake Society began regularly publishing a newsletter called *Mandrake*, the first of its kind in St. Louis, in early 1970. Trinity Episcopal Church helped finance the new publication by purchasing advertising space (figure 3 and 6). The newsletter, available in bars and gay businesses both in the Central West End and beyond, provided Trinity with not only the opportunity to welcome and support gay parishioners and community members but also to grow Trinity’s reputation as a welcoming and inclusive congregation and meeting place for members of the LGBTQ communities. The advertisement speaks directly to this message: “All people, including each of you, are invited to attend all services in this historic Anglo-Catholic parish church whose special mission is to serve the entire community.” (Figure 3)³⁸ This advertising, along with the housing of the Mandrake Society, the community outreach programs, and direct engagement of gay activists by members of the team ministry leaders attracted gay men and lesbians to Trinity in numbers that grew steadily. These actions also set Trinity apart from any other religious institution in the St. Louis area during the late 1960s and 1970s. In the words of one community member, “One must look to Trinity Episcopal Church at Euclid and Washington, a cornerstone of the religious community in that area, as a factor in fostering the rise of a Gay ghetto.”³⁹

Trinity Episcopal Church played a critical role in the creation of St. Louis’ LGBTQ political activism and communities in that it provided the only non-bar public space welcoming to

³⁴ Humphreys, *Out of the Closets*, 90.

³⁵ Ian Darnell, “The Gospel of the Gay Ghetto: Neighborhood Churches and Queer Communities in the Era of the Urban Crisis, St. Louis, 1950s-1970s,” unpublished, 24; Rodney C. Wilson, “‘The Seed Time of Gay Rights’: Rev. Carol Cureton, the Metropolitan Community Church, and Gay St. Louis, 1969-1980,” *Gateway Heritage*, Fall 1994, 36.

³⁶ City of St. Louis website. *Celebrating the Past to Awaken the Future*. June 25, 2013. <https://www.stlouis-mo.gov/government/departments/public-safety/news/pride-stl-2013.cfm>. Accessed January 2, 2019.

³⁷ *Mandrake*, May 1971, 2. Surviving copies of *Mandrake* are archived in the Laud Humphreys Papers, Coll2007-012, ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives, Los Angeles, California.

³⁸ For an example of the ad, see *Mandrake*, March 1971. Surviving copies of the *Mandrake* are held in the Laud Humphreys Papers at the ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives, Los Angeles.

³⁹ Rodney CWE paper page 11.

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LGBTQ groups in the 1960s and into the first couple of years of the 1970s. However, shortly after this time it was not alone. In 1973, the St. Louis chapter of the Metropolitan Community Church (MCC), a specifically LGBTQ congregation started in California by defrocked Pentecostal preacher Troy Perry in 1968, opened just a few blocks south of Trinity Episcopal Church, offering another important place for LGBTQ people to meet and organize outside of bars. However, because attending MCC was tantamount to coming out of the closet, some “gays and lesbians were reluctant to attend MCC. Recalling bar raids and other forms of police harassment, they feared reprisals for appearing in daylight at a ‘homosexual’ church.”⁴⁰ MCC continues to exist to this day but has moved to a downtown location near the Kosciusko neighborhood on the east side of St. Louis, south of downtown. Further study may reveal potential National Register significance in association with MCC’s activities. Trinity remained uniquely important for LGBTQ history in St. Louis history for two reasons- by being neither a bar nor a gay specific organization, it allowed a safe place for LGBTQ meetings to occur that did not risk members being outed by being seen to go into a gay establishment and it also remained dedicated to political causes within the LGBTQ community, rather than just providing spiritual guidance. The integration of LGBTQ and heterosexual, white and black among its parishioners along with its dedication to supporting LGBTQ political equality set the Trinity Episcopal Church apart. In these ways, Trinity proved both a safe harbor and an outward actor for change. Furthermore, Trinity’s dedication to gay political activism and gay rights remained constant. The political engagement of the MCC congregation waxed and waned depending upon the minister leading the church, according to multiple oral histories.⁴¹ Meanwhile, other denominations and religious organizations beyond the MCC or Trinity Episcopal Church regularly shunned homosexuality.

Once more gays and lesbians from the surrounding neighborhood and city to joined the congregation, Trinity was careful to welcome and encourage those new members to engage fully with the Church by joining the choir, running for a place on the Trinity lay leadership board, and expanding the Church’s outreach efforts. In the first half of the decade, the congregation elected two openly gay members to the lay leadership board.⁴² Before the end of the 1970s, Trinity also became home to the St. Louis chapter of the Gay Liberation Front which included three Trinity congregants, a gay episcopal group called Integrity, a gay youth group named Youth of America, and even a group for gay Catholics.⁴³ Whether a member of the Trinity congregation or not, politically active gays and lesbians of St. Louis knew they were welcome at Trinity and that the church provided both a haven for LGBTQ people as well as a launching pad for many of the

⁴⁰ Rodney C. Wilson, “‘The Seed Time of Gay Rights’: Rev. Carol Cureton, the Metropolitan Community Church, and Gay St. Louis, 1969-1980,” *Gateway Heritage*, Fall 1994, 38.

⁴¹ Katie Batza phone interview with Jym Andris August, 21, 2018; Katie Batza phone interview with Rodney Wilson July 17, 2018; Katie Batza phone interview with Philip Deitch, September 12, 2018; Katie Batza phone interview with Gary H., September 26, 2018.

⁴² Ian Darnell interview with Chapman, July 1, 2013; Ian Darnell telephone interview with Jim Pfaff, March 25, 2014.

⁴³ *Mandrake*, May 1971; Baker and Taylor, *History of Trinity Church*, 34.

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city's LGBTQ services and organizations in the 1970s. However, Trinity didn't just ask for commitment to the church from its gay parishioners, it also asked the full congregation to engage with and commit to discussions of sexuality orientation and identity. In a congregation as racially and sexually diverse, not to mention one affiliated with a religion that generally remained highly critical of homosexuality throughout this period, creating opportunities for dialogue and reflection became a hallmark of the parish. Darnell explains, "Chapman was very conscious of Trinity's unusual identity as a congregation that was both racially mixed and welcoming to gays, and he encouraged parishioners to think through how this fit into their lived experience of faith. In Lent of 1976, for example, he led a weekly series of discussions of "Christian Perspectives" on the following topics: "Sexuality and Vocation," "Sexuality and Ordination," "Race and Identity," "Race and Power," and "Race and Community."⁴⁴ Engaging in these sometimes difficult and spiritually fraught conversations set the Trinity congregation up well for the onslaught of the AIDS crisis, even as the team ministry approach disintegrated in 1979 as Father Tombaugh and Rev. Mason both took jobs elsewhere and Pastor Bill Chapman became the fulltime, singular leader at the Church.

The AIDS Epidemic in St. Louis and Trinity Episcopal Church

An article in the Centers for Disease Control's weekly *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report (MMWR)* newsletter in June 1981 marked the start of the AIDS epidemic.⁴⁵ Though no one understood modes of transmission, the mechanics or progression of the disease, nor knew any effective treatments, one fact about the disease emerged almost simultaneously with the realization that a new pathogen had appeared- that it disproportionately impacted gay men. Amidst a national political backdrop that emphasized reducing state-funded social safety nets and a resurgence in religious conservatism, this mysterious and fatal disease's immediate association with the gay community fueled widespread homophobia and resulted in one of the greatest public health crises of the 20th century.⁴⁶ AIDS first appeared in major coastal cities in the United States but St. Louis began to see cases as early as 1983, by which time there was still not even a test for HIV, let alone any treatments. Initially the average life expectancy after diagnosis was less than 18 months. The FDA had no approved drugs to combat the disease until 1987, at which point the approved drugs often proved deadlier than the disease itself for many, and the "drug cocktail" that transformed HIV/AIDS from a fatal disease to a chronic one appeared only in 1996. The AIDS crisis of the 1980s and early 1990s was a scourge that killed a large proportion of an entire generation of gay men; it was vast in its scope, swift in its pace, and gruesome in both the bodily aspects of the disease and the inadequate political response at every level that resulted from both homophobia and racism.

⁴⁴ "Lent—1976," n.d., Trinity Parish Archives.

⁴⁵ Pneumocystis Pneumonia- Los Angeles, *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report*, 30 (21), June 5, 1981, 1-3.

⁴⁶ Katie Batza, *Before AIDS: Gay Health Politics in the 1970s*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), 2018.

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Though facing a much smaller scale of infection than places like New York or San Francisco, St. Louis' response was tempered by its more religiously and politically conservative landscape as well as the comparatively meager gay service infrastructure.⁴⁷ As a result, very few existing organizations embraced the new challenge of AIDS and throughout the 1980s, people with AIDS largely had to create the services they needed while simultaneously battling AIDS. In St. Louis, where there wasn't a gay community center or gay health center with which to partner, that often meant turning to the organizations best known and best equipped to offer a wide range of social services without government funding- religious institutions. Here again, Trinity proved a trailblazer in the first years of the epidemic as a religious organization not exclusively for gay parishioners (MCC remained the only specifically LGBTQ church) that quickly responded to the AIDS crisis.

As it had with the gay political groups of the 1970s, Trinity provided support to the AIDS crisis in the gay community through offering its physical space. In 1984, a small group including Daniel Flier, John Allen, and other gay activists and people with AIDS founded the St. Louis Effort for AIDS, the city's first AIDS related social service organization. Initial meetings and operations occurred in a room above a gay bar in the Central West End but then moved into the newly constructed North Parish Hall addition (built 1980, Photos 11 and 24-29) of Trinity Episcopal Church. While housed in Trinity, the St. Louis Effort for AIDS organization officially incorporated and secured nonprofit status in late 1985 with a modest \$6000 budget mostly raised by asking friends for donations at dinner parties held by the founders.⁴⁸ St. Louis Effort for AIDS provided (and continues to provide) a broad range of services from up-to-date information about the disease and its treatments and support groups for people with AIDS and those around them to connecting people with AIDS with food, housing, pet care, buddy systems, and government programs. Trinity also played host to the Privacy Right Education Project (PREP) that was founded in 1986 after the *Bowers v. Hardwick* Supreme Court decision upheld the laws forbidding sodomy in Georgia.⁴⁹ This organization, that went onto become PROMO, the statewide organization advocating for LGBTQ equality, initially advocated for a number of causes that related to privacy rights, including the rights of people with AIDS to have confidentiality from their doctors as the public reporting of HIV+ status frequently led to job loss, eviction, and other forms of discrimination. Trinity also occasionally provided space to the short-lived St. Louis ACT-UP chapter and partnered with the Metropolitan St. Louis AIDS Program through its food ministry to provide healthy food to people living with AIDS.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ For example, according to the CDC, by early September, 1985 (four years into the epidemic) New York State had 4, 645 AIDS cases while Missouri had only 59 cases. Centers for Disease Control, "AIDS Cases Reported to CDC Report", September 2, 1985, 2.

⁴⁸ "St. Louis Effort for AIDS- About EFA." Accessed July 22, 2018. http://www.stlefa.org/about_efa

⁴⁹ Martha K. Baker and Etta Taylor, *A History of Trinity Church, St. Louis, 1975-2005* (St. Louis: 2005), 43.

⁵⁰ Martha K. Baker and Etta Taylor, *A History of Trinity Church, St. Louis, 1975-2005* (St. Louis: 2005), 43, 46.

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Beyond offering space and other forms of financial support, like buying ads in newsletters, to the main AIDS social service and political agencies in the city, “Trinity Episcopal Church was an early haven for people with AIDS.”⁵¹ A handful of congregants became HIV+ in the 1980s and the parish organized care for them as they became weaker and died. People with AIDS also joined the Trinity parish as a result of its openness and dedication to those living with the disease.⁵² In 1986, Rev. Charles Bewick was forced to leave both his position and parish in another local parish after his HIV+ status became known. Trinity became his new spiritual home, inviting him to occasionally preach when his health allowed. Church clergy and volunteers from the congregation nursed him as he experienced numerous near fatal illnesses until he succumbed to AIDS in 1989. That year, a “hearty handful of Trinitarians” marched in St. Louis’ Pride parade with a banner honoring Rev. Bewick and an artwork commemorating Rev. Bewick still hangs in the entry vestibule of Trinity Episcopal Church today (Photo 33), a testament to the congregation’s dedication and pride in serving those most in need amidst the AIDS crisis.⁵³ In the late 1980s, as the AIDS-related death toll in St. Louis began to skyrocket, Trinity faced one of the grim realities of both the disease and the stigma that came with it as individuals who “were pushed away from their families and home churches” needed burials.⁵⁴ “In April of 1989, Chapman reported to the vestry that burials of people not members of Trinity, especially victims of AIDS “isolated from their own churches,” would be performed.”⁵⁵

Trinity also worked beyond the boundaries of the church walls to battle the stigma of AIDS. “In 1986, Rev. Michael Allen, Dean, Christ Church Cathedral, asked Trinity to co-sponsor an AIDS workshop for the Diocese” and on November 9th of that year, the church joined with the national church to remember AIDS victims.⁵⁶ As the epidemic’s size and scope came into clearer focus in the late 1980s, Trinity provided a rallying cry to other area churches to join the fight, evidenced by Rev. Bill Chapman joining with Trinity member Dr. George Tucker in January of 1988 to present “AIDS and the Churches” at Emmanuel Episcopal Church in Webster Groves. Bill Chapman also used the power of his position and reputation in the community to encourage less fear-driven and homophobic media coverage of the epidemic, writing letters to the media and

⁵¹ E-mail from Jym Andris to Katie Batza on July 23, 2018.

⁵² Katie Batza phone interview with Jym Andris August, 21, 2018; Katie Batza phone interview with Rodney Wilson July 17, 2018; Katie Batza phone interview with Philip Deitch, September 12, 2018; Katie Batza phone interview with Gary H., September 26, 2018.

⁵³ Artwork of Trinity Episcopal Church.,

http://ecva.org/congregations/features/trinity_st_louis/03_holy_family_painting.htm. Accessed July 27, 2018; Martha K. Baker and Etta Taylor, *A History of Trinity Church, St. Louis, 1975-2005* (St. Louis: 2005), 35, 39.

⁵⁴ Martha K. Baker and Etta Taylor, *A History of Trinity Church, St. Louis, 1975-2005* (St. Louis: 2005), 35.

⁵⁵ Martha K. Baker and Etta Taylor, *A History of Trinity Church, St. Louis, 1975-2005* (St. Louis: 2005), 35.

⁵⁶ Martha K. Baker and Etta Taylor, *A History of Trinity Church, St. Louis, 1975-2005* (St. Louis: 2005), 35.

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news outlets about their coverage.⁵⁷ As a result of these efforts, Trinity responded to the AIDS crisis with compassion and love, providing a refuge for people with AIDS, and undertaking and nurturing efforts to make St. Louis a kinder and safer place to be a person with AIDS.

Trinity Episcopal Church and Same-Sex Unions

As Trinity faced the harsh realities of AIDS claiming the lives of many of its members, it also began to grapple with the issue of same sex unions. Historians have argued that in many ways the dire circumstances of the AIDS crisis catalyzed the push for same sex unions and marriage as marriage provided the most obvious and inclusive legal vehicle to obtain many of the rights people with AIDS most needed like hospital visitation rights, transfer of property upon death, access to spousal health insurance, etc.⁵⁸ According to a 2011 interview with Trinity priest Bill Chapman, the ability to bless same sex partnerships had much more to do with the meaning of love and God's love than with legal rights or benefits. To him, the blessing of same-sex couples did not conflict with God's love and laws even if it did with Church doctrine. As a result, he began to hold private blessings of same-sex couples in his office and in non-denominational services held outside the church in 1987.⁵⁹ In his annual report in 1987, he reported "an outward and visible sign of ... grace working among us" when he "prayed with two males as they offered their friendship to God."⁶⁰ This was nothing new. As previously discussed, Rev. Arthur Walmsley of Trinity Church preformed blessing of homes and same-sex unions as early as the 1950s.⁶¹ However, the national Episcopal church leadership and the Diocese of Missouri often were in tension, if not conflict with the zeitgeist and actions of Rev. Chapman, particularly around the issue of same sex unions and marriage. Discussions of same sex unions and marriage factored heavily at many of the national meetings of this decade with most other Episcopal churches of the city objecting to the proposed practices. Much as it did in providing a safe meeting space for LGBTQ groups in the 1960s and 1970s, here again, Trinity stood apart from other churches in the area, providing a welcoming place. As a result the congregation of Trinity also appeared conflicted about a public blessing of same-sex unions in Trinity with one parishioner writing to Chapman with concerns that "a rift would be opened between Trinity and the rest of the church by acting outside church custom and canon law."⁶²

⁵⁷ Martha K. Baker and Etta Taylor, *A History of Trinity Church, St. Louis, 1975-2005* (St. Louis: 2005), 35.

⁵⁸ Chauncey, George. *Why Marriage? : The History Shaping Today's Debate over Gay Equality*. New York: Basic Books, 2004.

⁵⁹ Ian Darnell interview with Chapman, July 25, 2011.

⁶⁰ *The Chapman Chapbook*, 59.

⁶¹ Martha M Baker and Etta Taylor, *The Years: 1975-2005*, Trinity Parish Archives, 33.

⁶² Martha K. Baker and Etta Taylor, *A History of Trinity Church, St. Louis, 1975-2005* (St. Louis: 2005), 36.

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Trinity Episcopal Church again proved a tremendous advocate for the LGBTQ community in St. Louis as Chapman set about pushing the stance of the Diocese and national church leadership on same-sex unions by sending “study documents” from the more open Californian Diocese and writing letters to his Bishop.⁶³ By 1991, the opposition and slow movement of the Diocese frustrated Chapman as he declared that “It is no longer thinkable not to do it.” He decided unilaterally and without seeking advice from the Vestry to hold a Holy Union ceremony between two female parishioners at Trinity. On July 27th of that year, Chapman officiated the union of Carrie Clement and Amy Squire, who assumed the surname Strongheart, in front of a full audience of family, friends, and fellow parishioners.⁶⁴ Also officiating what was one of the first public same-sex unions by a mainstream congregation in St. Louis was Susan Nanny, co-rector, hired in 1990, and first out lesbian rector of Trinity. Though she had had multiple job offers rescinded when revealing her sexuality, Trinity celebrated her sexuality, writing “Good, that’s exactly what we’ve been looking for!”⁶⁵ However, Rev. Chapman made sure to do the ceremony in such a way so that if the Episcopal church reprimanded anyone for conducting the ceremony, the punishment would come to him at the end of his career rather than to Nanny at the start of hers.⁶⁶ However, no punishment for Chapman ever came, the Strongheart’s union proved the very first of many such ceremonies held at Trinity, and the Diocese approved same sex unions in 1996.

The 1993 Mayoral Forum and Expansion of LGBTQ Services

Determining the period of significance for Trinity Episcopal Church under Criterion A in Social History for its association with LGBTQ history is difficult in part because the history is so rich and continues up until today. The year 1993 was chosen because it was the year of the city’s first mayoral debate on lesbian and gay issues. It was during this time that more support services became available to the LGBTQ community (discussed further below). While not directly tied to the period of significance, it should be mentioned that 1993 also marks the year Bill Chapman retired after forty-one years in the priesthood and twenty-four years at Trinity Episcopal Church. In the words of historian Ian Darnell, “indicative of Chapman’s influence and high stature in St. Louis, Mayor Freeman Bosley Jr.—the city’s first black mayor and the first with close ties to the city’s lesbian and gay activists—declared one Sunday that spring William D. Chapman Day.”⁶⁷ Now over ninety years of age, Bill’s wife Ellie remains an engaged member of Trinity and serves

⁶³ Martha K. Baker and Etta Taylor, *A History of Trinity Church, St. Louis, 1975-2005* (St. Louis: 2005), 36-37.

⁶⁴ Baker and Taylor, *History of Trinity Church*, 36-38; Ian Darnell interview with Pfaff, March 25, 2014.

⁶⁵ Martha K. Baker and Etta Taylor, *A History of Trinity Church, St. Louis, 1975-2005* (St. Louis: 2005), 39.

⁶⁶ Martha K. Baker and Etta Taylor, *A History of Trinity Church, St. Louis, 1975-2005* (St. Louis: 2005), 38.

⁶⁷ Ian Darnell, “Expanding the Bounds of Community: The Life of Bill Chapman – Episcopal Priest, Civil Rights Activist, and Gay Rights Pioneer,” unpublished.

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as one of the Parish archivists who has kept many of the meticulous records upon which this nomination is built.

On February 8, 1993, Trinity Episcopal church hosted the first ever Mayoral Forum on gay and lesbian rights (figure 5). Five mayoral candidates including four Democrats and one Independent faced a crowd of roughly 130 potential voters for questions and comments after Sunday Church services. The Forum was sponsored by ACTION, a gay and lesbian advocacy group in St. Louis with ties to Trinity.⁶⁸ That year, as numerous cities around the country were weighing civil rights ordinances that would either include for the first time or remove sexual orientation as a protected class, this Mayoral forum was the first of its kind in St. Louis and provided voters a unique opportunity to quiz candidates on stances that generally fell to the wayside in mainstream settings. Questions ranged from police harassment and participation in the Pride Parade to funding for AIDS services and civil rights. For Trinity, this event once again illustrated its dedication to serving its LGBTQ parishioners, its commitment to serve the larger community, and its significance to local LGBTQ history under Criterion A: Social History.

The lesbian and gay issues mayoral debate hosted by Trinity in 1993 led to the election of Mayor Freeman Bosley, Jr. The swearing in of both President Bill Clinton and Mayor Bosley in 1993 marked the dawning of a new political reality for LGBTQ people in the United States and St. Louis specifically as both politicians included LGBTQ-friendly political stances in their platforms and created spaces at political tables previously unwelcome to LGBTQ communities. For example, in 1993 Mayor Bosley issued a Pride proclamation recognizing Pride and even attended the festival to give remarks- that first mayor to do so. He also formed the first gay and lesbian taskforce for the city, attended the Pride parade, and passed the first LGBTQ anti-discrimination ordinances in the city in 1993. Meanwhile Clinton's White House created the first Special Council to the President on LGBT Issues within the Office of Public Liaison. This mainstreaming and acknowledgement of LGBTQ communities translated into an exponential growth of services and spaces for LGBTQ St. Louisans, evidenced best by the significant increase of longstanding LGBTQ weekly publications in the city and region from just two in 1993, to five by 1995. Just in 1993 alone a coffee shop, lesbian choir, art space, AIDS housing organization, hotline, radio program, lesbian and gay teacher's network, and gay community center appeared on the St. Louis landscape.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Lori Teresa Yearwood, "Gays Give Five Mayoral Candidates a Grilling – Hopefuls Left Some Cold by Their Answers," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, February 8, 1993, 3A.

⁶⁹ "St. Louis Law Includes Gays and Lesbians," *The Lesbian and Gay News-Telegraph*, January 1993, Vol. 12, No. 4, p. 1; "Photography Show at South Side Coffee House," *The Lesbian and Gay News-Telegraph*, March, 1993, p. 5; "Women's Chorus is Prospering," *The Lesbian and Gay News-Telegraph*, April 1993, p. 9; "KDXH 88.1 Begins HIV Radio Talk Show," *The Lesbian and Gay News-Telegraph*, July 1994, p. 4; "St. Louis group Aims to Build Gay Community Center," September, 1993, p 3; "Violence Hotline in the Works," *The Lesbian and Gay News-Telegraph*, October 22-November 11, 1993, p. 5; "The Center Holds Community Meeting," *The Lesbian and Gay News-Telegraph*, November 12-25, 1993, p. 1; "Doorways Break Ground for Building," *The Lesbian and Gay News-Telegraph*,

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Serving LGBTQ communities became less stigmatized, and even became somewhat fashionable in progressive and liberal segments of the city so that a number of religious organizations that had somewhat closeted LGBTQ services made them more prominent and well-known to all congregants, not just those that were LGBTQ. With the widespread availability and use of the internet starting in 1994, the landscape of LGBTQ political and religious organizing in St. Louis also shifted as is evidenced by advertisements for computer-based networks and subscriptions appearing in LGBTQ publications from that year.

Other Religious Offerings for the LGBTQ Community, 1969-1992

The Mapping LGBTQ St. Louis Project, undertaken by scholars at Washington University and local LGBTQ public historians, demonstrates the uniqueness of Trinity as a long-standing physical and religious space welcoming to LGBTQ communities as it maps 59 faith-based significant sites onto the St. Louis landscape that served LGBTQ faithful between 1969 and 1992. These sites include not only religious organizations but sites where LGBTQ religious affinity groups regularly met when not welcome in their churches or synagogues. Of these 59, only eight lasted longer than 18 months, including Trinity. Among those eight that showed any longevity, Trinity originally housed three of the other organizations listed which included affinity groups for LGBTQ Catholics, Episcopalians, and Lutherans. The remaining five long-standing LGBTQ religious sites include Christ Church Cathedral, Second Presbyterian Church, St. John's Episcopal Church, the St. Louis MCC Metropolitan Community Church, and Trinity Episcopal Church.⁷⁰ Even among these five, Trinity stands apart as the only religious organization that fully integrated its commitment to the LGBTQ communities in its religious services and teachings, support for nascent LGBTQ political organizations, and continuous outreach efforts to LGBTQ communities over the full time period of significance. The other churches in this category limited their commitment to the LGBTQ communities in their comparative size, scope, consistency and duration. For example, Christ Church Cathedral hosted the First Midwest Regional Homophile Conference in St. Louis in 1967 as well as occasional meetings of gay and lesbian Episcopal groups, but did not offer any lasting LGBTQ outreach or host any outside organizations for any length of time. The St. Louis MCC Metropolitan Community Church, though dedicated to providing religious services specifically to the LGBTQ community, did not use its space to nurture LGBTQ services, political rights battles, or communities beyond the strict confines of neither the Church itself nor its spiritual focus. Both St. John's Episcopal Church and the Second Presbyterian Church both hosted sporadic meetings of religiously focused and denominationally specific LGBTQ meetings, but did little beyond that

November 26-December 9, 1993, p. 1; "New Organization of L/G Parents," *The Lesbian and Gay News-Telegraph*, November 26-December 9, 1993, p. 4;

⁷⁰ [Mapping LGBTQ St. Louis, LGBTQ Spaces 1945-1992, Accessed September 23, 2019.](http://wustl.maps.arcgis.com/apps/Cascade/index.html?appid=d650dce414924b07b35a591d1202a6b5)
<http://wustl.maps.arcgis.com/apps/Cascade/index.html?appid=d650dce414924b07b35a591d1202a6b5>

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Trinity Episcopal Church
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to serve the larger LGBTQ communities of St. Louis.⁷¹ In short, Trinity Episcopal Church was the city leader among religious organizations for LGBTQ community members, not only in its spiritual support, but in its steady political and social services support of the larger LGBTQ political effort beyond the church property.

Washington University

As one other comparable extant property, Washington University played a significant role in St. Louis LGBTQ history in that it hosted student groups related to LGBTQ history such as the Gay Liberation Front and also regularly hosted national LGBTQ activists to lecture to the larger city.⁷² While these lectures were often open to the public, Washington University's relationship to the public is complex, like many universities and especially private universities such that a truly economically, racially, and sexually diverse public did not always feel fully welcome to attend such events. Additionally, the student groups were specifically for those students that attended the University, further accentuating and articulating this divide between the University and the larger town. Though the University's contributions to the city's LGBTQ history are tangible and important, its well-manicured and well-articulated architectural, geographic, and economic borders appear as greater barriers to many in the larger St. Louis landscape than the Trinity church building located on the racial dividing line of the city in a bohemian and racially and economically diverse neighborhood.

Conclusion

In many ways, the 1993 Mayoral Forum epitomizes the ways in which Trinity addressed sexuality and identity throughout the post-war period- it provided space for difficult conversations that touched the lives of parishioners and those in the larger community. Furthermore, it did this in innovative and groundbreaking ways, particularly for a mainstream church whose congregation consisted of interracial, heterosexual and homosexual parishioners. There are accounts of Trinity priests blessing homes and unions of same-sex couples as early as the 1950s. However, Trinity's involvement with the LGBTQ community solidified when the church became the official meeting space of St. Louis' earliest known homophile group, the Mandrake Society, in 1969. Since then it has hosted many other LGBTQ-related activities, namely in the intact Nave and, starting in 1980, North Parish Hall, in addition to its community outreach activities. Whether through the Mandrake Society or its AIDS response, or the Mayoral Forum, Trinity has played a vital and unique role in providing a safe and welcoming stage for the discussion and advocacy of LGBTQ issues in St. Louis. The Central West End and Trinity continue to be a LGBTQ enclave, thus it could be argued Trinity's significance is still ongoing.

⁷¹ [Ibid.](#)

⁷² [Ibid.](#)

National Register of Historic Places
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For the purposes of this nomination, 1993 serves as the end of the period of significance as it coincides with the first Mayoral Forum that discussed gay and lesbian rights and when more LGBTQ services became available in the City of St. Louis.

While some other area churches and religious institutions have become more welcoming to LGBTQ people, Trinity was the forerunner in St. Louis. The church remains a central pillar, both currently and historically of St. Louis's LGBTQ community so much so that when determining which site would be the best initial historic site to nominate for its importance to the city's LGBTQ history, activists, life-long LGBTQ residents, public historians, and academics agreed unanimously that Trinity should be the first due to its prominence.⁷³ In addition to Criterion A: Social History, Trinity Episcopal Church at 600 North Euclid Ave. also meets Criterion Consideration G for its exceptional local significance. It served as a safe space for LGBTQ groups like the Mandrake Society and educational and support efforts in the face of the AIDS epidemic well beyond the traditional 50-year mark. As Trinity's significance stems from these civic efforts, it also meets Criterion Consideration A for religious properties.

⁷³ Meetings with Katie Batza, Steven Brawley, Ian Darnell, Jim Andris, Rodney Wilson, Miranda Rechtenwald, and Andrea Friedman held on February 27, 2018.

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Trinity Episcopal Church
Name of Property
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N/A
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

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Section number 9 Page 30

Trinity Episcopal Church
Name of Property
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Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

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Trinity Episcopal Church
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Trinity Episcopal Church
Name of Property
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Trinity Episcopal Church
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Verbal Boundary Description

The boundary is depicted in the Figure 2 map and is demarcated by Washington Ave. on the south, N. Euclid Ave. to the west, an alleyway to the north and a line of trees marking the property line to the east.

Boundary Justification

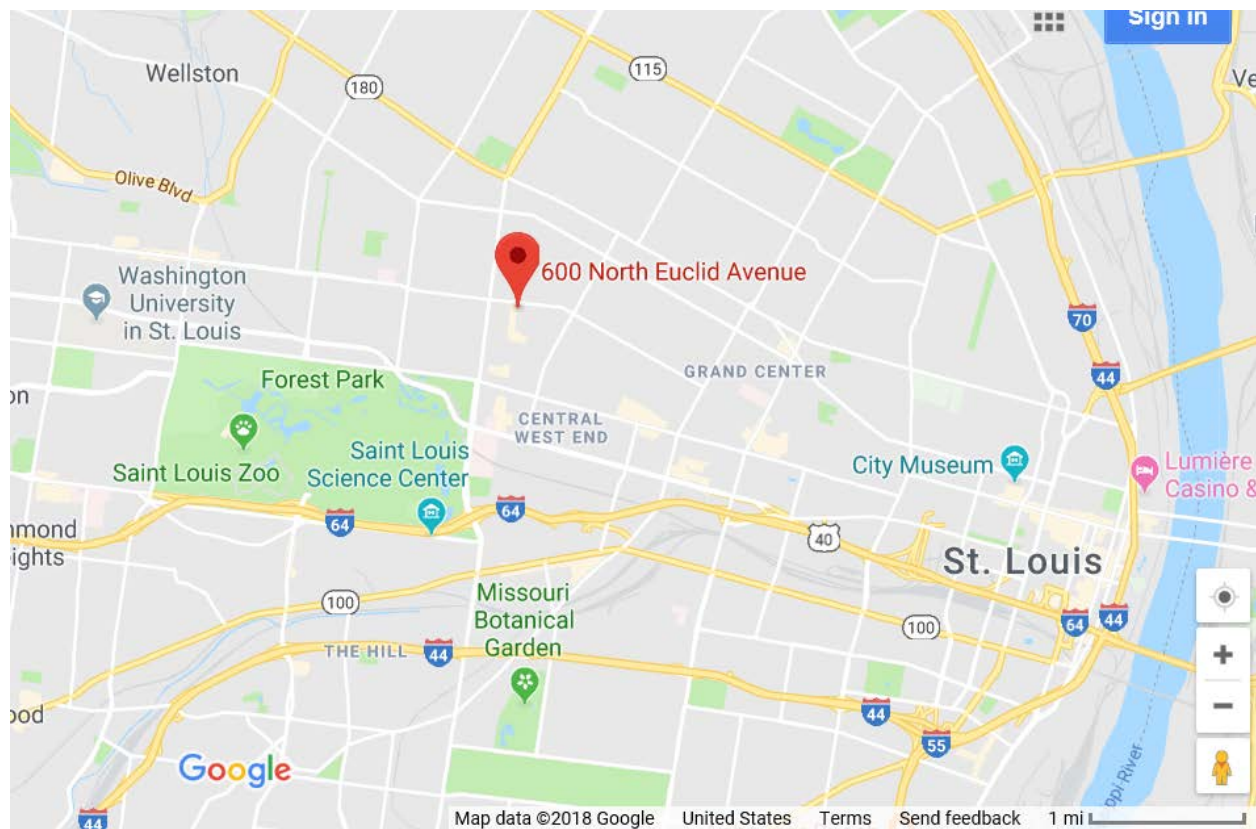
The nominated boundary consists of the current legal parcel, which is the land historically associated with Trinity Episcopal Church at its current location at 600 N. Euclid, St. Louis [Independent City], Missouri.

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Figure 1: Contextual Map. Trinity Episcopal Church, 600 N. Euclid Ave.
Source: Google Maps, 2018.

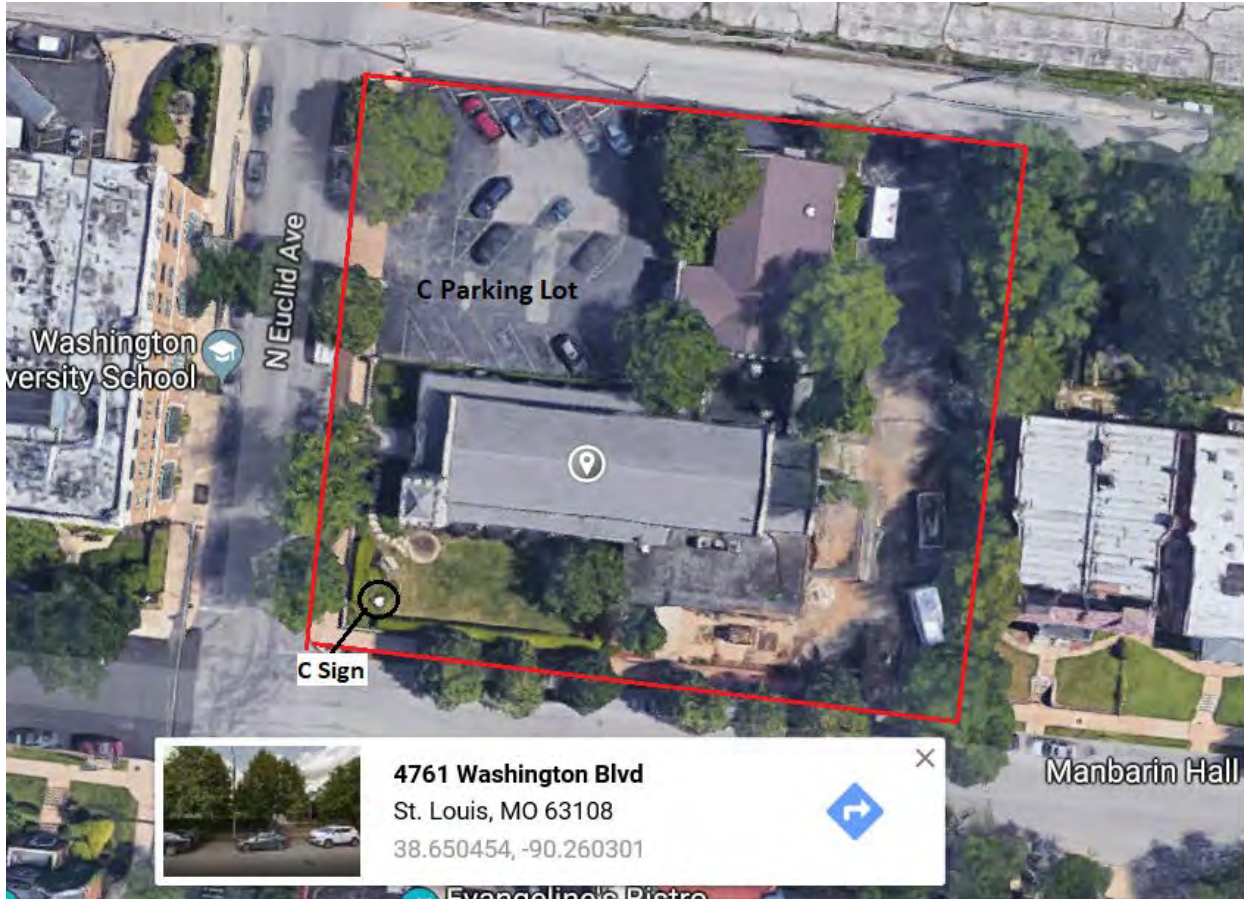


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Figure 2: Site Map Trinity Episcopal Church 600 N Euclid Ave. (noted as 4761 Washington Blvd. on Google Maps). Source: Google Maps, 2018.
Red line denotes boundary. Lat/Long Coordinates: 38.650454 -90.260301



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N/A
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Figure 3: Trinity advertisement. From the Mandrake Newsletter.

**TRINITY
EPISCOPAL
CHURCH**

Euclid at Washington Avenue
Saint Louis, Missouri 63108

ALL PEOPLE.....INCLUDING EACH OF YOU.....ARE INVITED TO ATTEND ALL SERVICES
IN THIS HISTORIC ANGLICAN-CATHOLIC PARISH CHURCH WHOSE SPECIAL MISSION IS TO
SERVE THE ENTIRE COMMUNITY. YOU ARE INVITED TO HELP IN THIS MISSION!

SUNDAYS

7:45 A.M. MORNING PRAYER & LOW MASS
(No Choir or Sermon at this service. Light
breakfast in Parish House following service).

10:00 A.M. SOLEMN HIGH MASS
(With Choir & Sermon. Church School for the
children during service. Coffee Hour in Parish
House following service).

WEEKDAYS

Tuesday: 6:45 A.M. Morning Prayer & Low Mass
Wednesday: 5:45 P.M. Evening Prayer & Low Mass
Thursday: 9:45 A.M. Morning Prayer & Low Mass
Masses on Holy Days: As Announced

Confessions: 1st Saturday & By Appointment

CHURCH IS OPEN DAILY FOR PRIVATE PRAYER, MEDITATION AND VISITS BEFORE THE
BLESSED SACRAMENT.....ENTER.....REST.....PRAY.....

PRIESTS SERVING TRINITY PARISH

The Reverend William D. Chapman
The Reverend Richard E. Tombaugh

Both Father Chapman and Father Tombaugh are available for private counseling
by appointment. Telephone: 361-4655.

National Register of Historic Places
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Section number Figures Page 38

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Figure 4: 1960 Trinity Picture, from *Living Church*, July 1965, cover.



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Trinity Episcopal Church

Name of Property

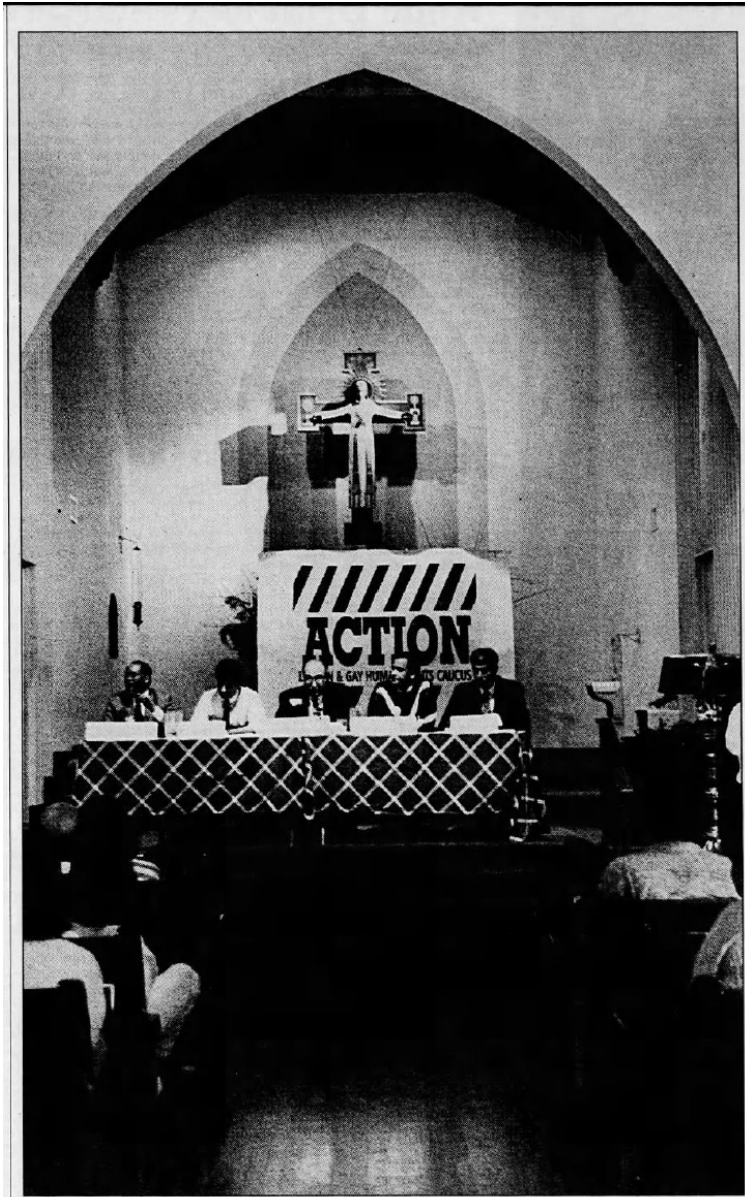
St. Louis [Independent City], MO

County and State

N/A

Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Figure 5: Mayoral debate image from *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, February 8, 1993.



Wendi Fitzgerald/Post-Dispatch

Mayoral candidates gathered Sunday at Trinity Episcopal Church in the Central West End at a forum sponsored by a gay and lesbian advocacy group. From left are Freeman Bosley Jr., William Haas, Anthony D. Ribaldo, Steven C. Roberts and Thomas A. Villa.

Mayoral Candidates Answer Questions About, From Gays At ACTION Forum

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Figure 6: Trinity advertisement in Mandrake Newsletter.

HEY KIDS

STOP

**DRINKS
DANCING
FRIENDS**

at your

NYX ROOM

ss

Then After Hours & On Sundays There's

**THE GOLDEN GATE
COFFEE HOUSE**

For Fun And Frolic

It's The Late-Night Place To Be

3542 Olive St.

**TRINITY
EPISCOPAL
CHURCH**

24014 at Washington Avenue
Saint Louis, Missouri 63108

ALL PEOPLE.....INCLUDING EACH OF YOU.....ARE INVITED TO ATTEND ALL SERVICES
IN THIS HISTORIC ANGLICAN-PARISH CHURCH WHOSE SPECIAL MISSION IS TO
SERVE THE ENTIRE COMMUNITY. YOU ARE INVITED TO HELP IN THIS MISSION

SUNDAYS

7:45 A.M. MORNING PRAYER & LOW MASS
(No Choir or Sermon at this service. Light
breakfast in Parish House following service).

10:00 A.M. SOLEMN HIGH MASS
(With Choir & Sermon. Church School for the
children during service. Coffee Hour in Parish
House following service).

WEEKDAYS

Tuesday: 6:45 A.M. Morning Prayer & Low Mass
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Thursday: 9:45 A.M. Morning Prayer & Low Mass
Masses on Holy Days: As Announced

Confessions: 1st Saturday & By Appointment

CHURCH IS OPEN DAILY FOR PRIVATE PRAYER, MEDITATION AND VISITS BEFORE THE
BLESSED SACRAMENT.....ENTER.....REST.....PRAY.....

PRIESTS SERVING TRINITY PARISH

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The Reverend Richard E. Tombaugh

Both Father Chapman and Father Tombaugh are available for private counseling
by appointment. * Telephone: 361-4655.

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Figure 7: *Living Church*, July 2 1965 “Integrated Trinity”

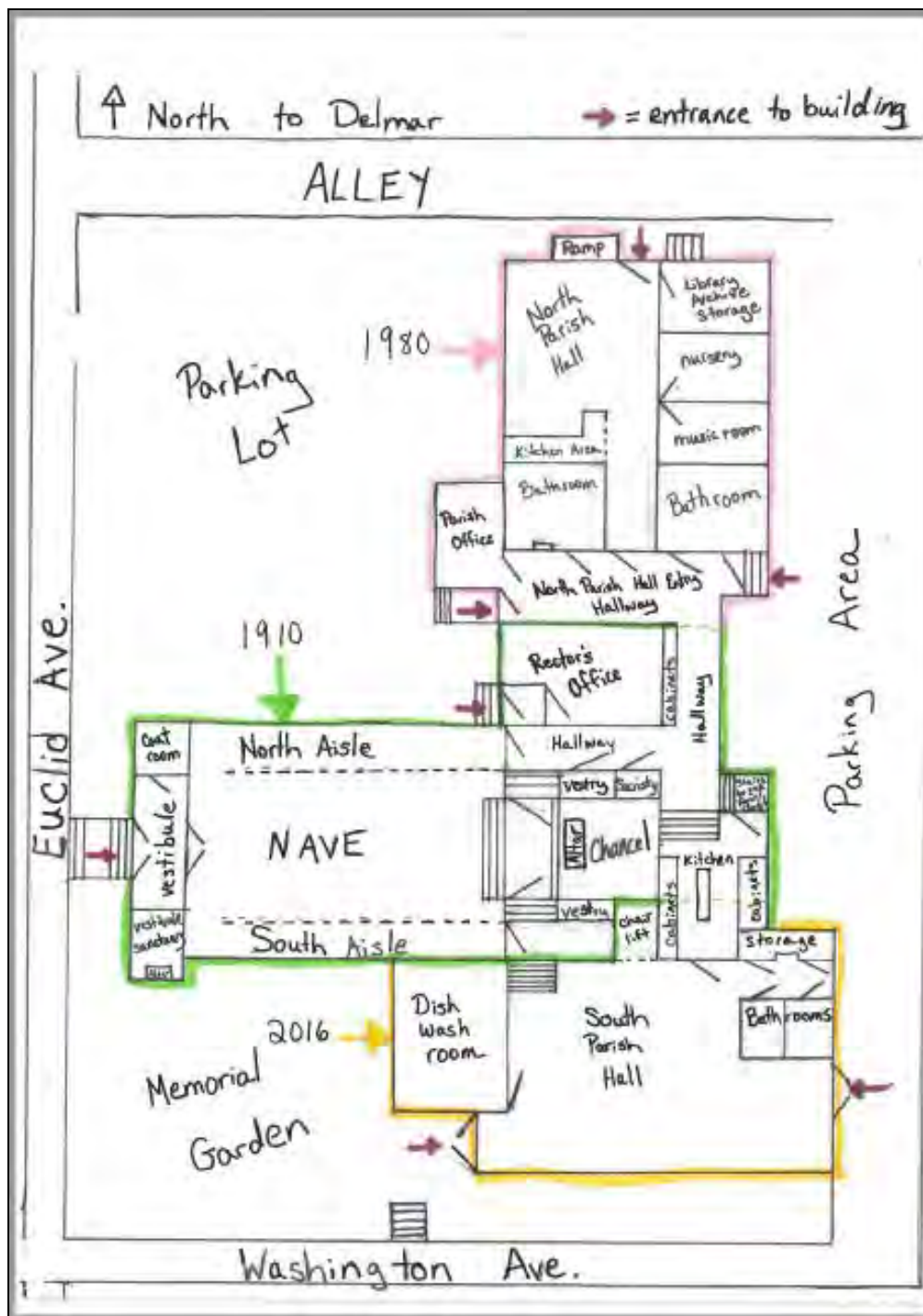


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Figure 8: Trinity Episcopal Church: First Story Floor Plan. Source: Katie Batza, 2018.

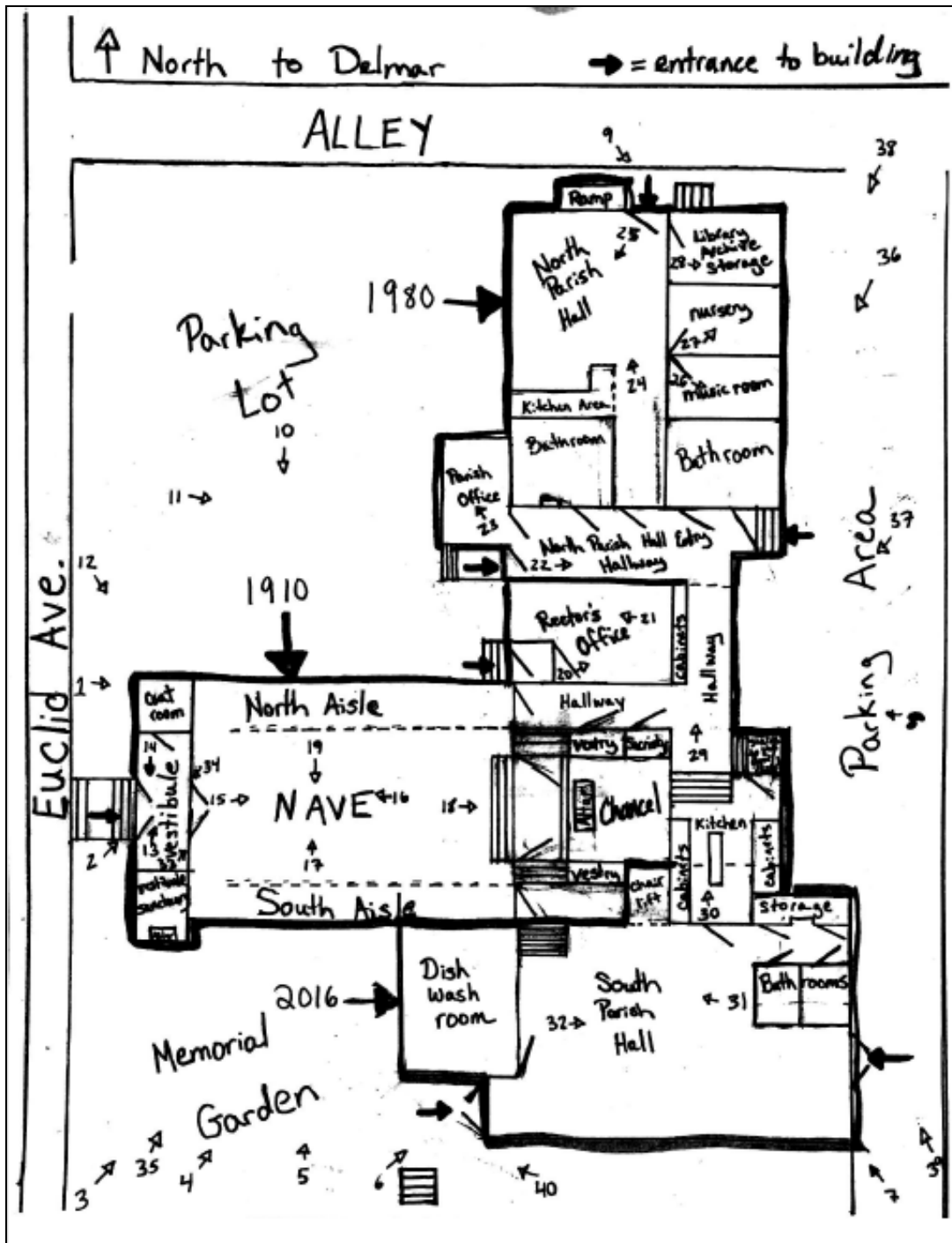


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Figure 9: Photo Log. Source Katie Batza, 2019.









TRINITY EPISCOPAL CHURCH

ALL SAINTS MEMORIAL GARDEN





TRINITY EPISCOPAL CHURCH

THE TRINITY EPISCOPAL CHURCH
1854





UNITY CHURCH
IN THE CENTRAL WEST END
SUNDAY SERVICES 8 & 10:30 AM
CHRISTIAN EDUCATION AND
WEDNESDAY MORNING SCHOOLS
714.364.4476









IN MEMORIAM
E.C. HUTCHINSON
Priest
Founder of the Parish of St. John
and the former Dean of Trinity Church
Born Dec. 5, A.D. 1864
Ordained Dec. 1, 1902
DIED
July 25, A.D. 1976
This stone is erected by the
Parishioners

































YES?
NTY!
Back
25.





Restrooms ↑

ready

COCA COLA









S. PAUL

THE CLERGY OF THE CHURCH OF ST. PAUL

THE CLERGY OF THE CHURCH OF ST. PAUL



TRINITY EPISCOPAL CHURCH

ALL-SAINTE MEMORIAL GARDEN

RIVERSIDE











TRINITY
EPISCOPAL
CHURCH
2014

YES ON 1
to close up Michigan's politics

MICHIGAN
MAKE
AMERICA
GREAT

National Register of Historic Places
Memo to File

Correspondence

The Correspondence consists of communications from (and possibly to) the nominating authority, notes from the staff of the National Register of Historic Places, and/or other material the National Register of Historic Places received associated with the property.

Correspondence may also include information from other sources, drafts of the nomination, letters of support or objection, memorandums, and ephemera which document the efforts to recognize the property.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
EVALUATION/RETURN SHEET

Requested Action:

Property Name:

Multiple Name:

State & County:

Date Received: 10/31/2019 Date of Pending List: Date of 16th Day: 12/16/2019 Date of 45th Day: Date of Weekly List: 9/4/2020

Reference number:

Nominator:

Reason For Review:

Accept Return Reject 11/5/2019 Date

Abstract/Summary
Comments:

Recommendation/
Criteria

Reviewer Barbara Wyatt Discipline Historian

Telephone (202)354-2252 Date _____

DOCUMENTATION: see attached comments : No see attached SLR : No

If a nomination is returned to the nomination authority, the nomination is no longer under consideration by the National Park Service.



Memorandum

Date: APR 26 2019

To: Joy Beasley, Keeper of the National Register of Historic Places

From: Mike Sutherland, Deputy SHPO, Missouri SHPO

Subject: Trinity Episcopal Church, St. Louis [Independent City], Missouri, National Register of Historic Places Nomination

Our state review board, the Missouri Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, approved the above nomination on **March 29, 2019**. All owners and appropriate elected public officials were notified and provided at least thirty (30) days to comment on the above proposed nomination in accordance with Section 36CFR60.6, interim regulations, using the exact notification format recommended by the National Register. **The enclosed disc contains the true and correct copy of the nomination to the National Register of Historic Places.**

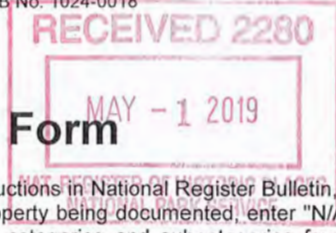
Please find enclosed the following documentation:

- 1 CD with original National Register of Historic Places registration form
- Multiple Property Documentation Form
- Photographs
- 3 CD with electronic images
- Original USGS map(s)
- 2 Piece(s) of correspondence (cover letter and signature page)
- Other: _____

Comments:

- Please ensure that this nomination is reviewed
- The enclosed owner objection(s) do ___ do not ___ constitute a majority of property owners.
- Other: _____

4067



National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin, *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. Place additional certification comments, entries, and narrative items on continuation sheets if needed (NPS Form 10-900a).

1. Name of Property

Historic name Trinity Episcopal Church

Other names/site number N/A

Name of related Multiple Property Listing N/A

2. Location

Street & number 600 N. Euclid Avenue

N/A

not for publication

City or town St. Louis

N/A

vicinity

State Missouri Code MO County St. Louis City

Code 510

Zip code 63108

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended,

I hereby certify that this nomination request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.

In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant at the following level(s) of significance:

national statewide local

Applicable National Register Criteria: A B C D


Signature of certifying official/Title


Deputy Director

4/25/19
Date 4/25/19

Missouri Department of Natural Resources
State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of commenting official

Date

Title

State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

entered in the National Register

determined eligible for the National Register

determined not eligible for the National Register

removed from the National Register

other (explain): _____

Signature of the Keeper

Date of Action

Trinity Episcopal Church
Name of Property

St. Louis [Independent City], MO
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5. Classification

Ownership of Property
(Check as many boxes as apply.)

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	private
<input type="checkbox"/>	public - Local
<input type="checkbox"/>	public - State
<input type="checkbox"/>	public - Federal

Category of Property
(Check only **one** box.)

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	building(s)
<input type="checkbox"/>	district
<input type="checkbox"/>	site
<input type="checkbox"/>	structure
<input type="checkbox"/>	object

Number of Resources within Property
(Do not include previously listed resources in the count.)

<u>Contributing</u>	<u>Noncontributing</u>	
1	0	buildings
		sites
1	0	structures
1	0	objects
3	0	Total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register

0

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions
(Enter categories from instructions.)

Religion: religious facility

Current Functions
(Enter categories from instructions.)

Religion: religious facility

Returned

7. Description

Architectural Classification
(Enter categories from instructions.)

Late 19th and 20th Century Revivals: Late Gothic
Revival

Materials
(Enter categories from instructions.)

foundation: Stone and concrete
walls: Stone
Brick
roof: Asphalt
other: N/A

NARRATIVE DESCRIPTION ON CONTINUATION PAGES

Trinity Episcopal Church
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8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

- A Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- B Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- C Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- D Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Areas of Significance

Social History

Period of Significance

1969-1993

Significant Dates

1969

Criteria Considerations

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

Property is:

- A Owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- B removed from its original location.
- C a birthplace or grave.
- D a cemetery.
- E a reconstructed building, object, or structure.
- F a commemorative property.
- G less than 50 years old or achieving significance within the past 50 years.

Significant Person

(Complete only if Criterion B is marked above.)

N/A

Cultural Affiliation

N/A

Architect/Builder

Original is unknown

North Parish Hall (1980) by Henderson-Gantz

South Parish Hall (2016) by Biddle, Jim

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE ON CONTINUATION PAGES

9. Major Bibliographical References

Bibliography (Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form.)

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67 has been requested)
- previously listed in the National Register
- previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # _____
- recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____
- recorded by Historic American Landscape Survey # _____

Primary location of additional data:

- State Historic Preservation Office
- Other State agency
- Federal agency
- Local government
- University
- Other

Name of repository: Trinity Episcopal Church Archives

Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): _____

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10. Geographical Data

Acreege of Property Less than one acre

Latitude/Longitude Coordinates

Datum if other than WGS84:
(enter coordinates to 6 decimal places)

1 38.650454 -90.260301 3 Latitude: Longitude: Latitude: Longitude:
2 Latitude: Longitude: 4 Latitude: Longitude:

UTM References

(Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet.)
NAD 1927 or NAD 1983

1 Zone Easting Northing 3 Zone Easting Northing
2 Zone Easting Northing 4 Zone Easting Northing

Verbal Boundary Description (On continuation sheet)

Boundary Justification (On continuation sheet)

11. Form Prepared By

name/title Dr. Katie Batza (Primary) and Michelle Diedrich, MO State Historic Preservation Office
organization University of Kansas date August 16, 2018
street & number 1729 Vermont St. telephone 773-991-7985
city or town Lawrence state KS zip code 66044
e-mail batza@ku.edu

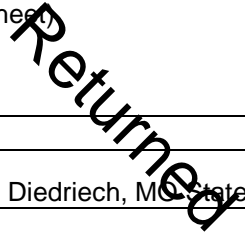
Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

- Maps:
 - A USGS map (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.
 - A Sketch map for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources. Key all photographs to this map.
- Continuation Sheets
- Photographs
- Owner Name and Contact Information
- Additional items: (Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items.)

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Office of Planning and Performance Management, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1849 C. Street, NW, Washington, DC.



Trinity Episcopal Church

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Photographs

Submit clear and descriptive photographs. The size of each image must be 1600x1200 pixels (minimum), 3000x2000 preferred, at 300 ppi (pixels per inch) or larger. Key all photographs to the sketch map. Each photograph must be numbered and that number must correspond to the photograph number on the photo log. For simplicity, the name of the photographer, photo date, etc. may be listed once on the photograph log and doesn't need to be labeled on every photograph.

Photo Log:

Name of Property: Trinity Episcopal Church

City or Vicinity: St. Louis

County: St. Louis City State: Missouri

Photographer: Katie Batza, Ian Darnell

Date

Photographed: 8/24/18, 11/6/18

Description of Photograph(s) and number, include description of view indicating direction of camera:

Photo 1: Western exterior face of church

Photo 2: Western exterior of close up of main entrance

Photo 3: Southwestern corner exterior

Photo 4: Memorial garden and southern exterior

Photo 5: Southern exterior

Photo 6: Southeastern exterior, western entrance to South Parish Hall

Photo 7: Southeastern corner exterior

Photo 8: Eastern exterior

Photo 9: Northern exterior/side entrance to North Parish Hall

Photo 10: Northern exterior of church and church parking lot

Photo 11: Northwestern exterior of church, office entrance, and North Parish Hall

Photo 12: Northwestern corner exterior of main entrance

Photo 13: Interior entry vestibule facing north, door to coat closet

Photo 14: Interior entry vestibule, facing south and under belfry tower

Photo 15: Eastern interior wall of Nave/Chancel

Photo 16: Western interior wall of Nave

Photo 17: Northern Aisle in Nave

Photo 18: Main Alter on the eastern side of the Nave

Photo 19: Southern Aisle in Nave

Photo 20: Rector's Office, facing east

Photo 21: Rector's Office, facing west

Photo 22: Hallway from Parish Office entrance facing east, windows to Rector's Office on right, entrance to North Parish Hall on left

Photo 23: Parish Office

Photo 24: Northern interior view of North Parish Hall

Photo 25: Southern interior view of North Parish Hall

Photo 26: Interior of music room - southern room in the eastern side of North Parish Hall

Photo 27: Interior of infant and toddler room- center room in the eastern side of North Parish Hall

Photo 28: Church archive, library, and storage room- northern room in the eastern side of North Parish Hall

Photo 29: Hallway running along the eastern exterior wall of the church connecting North Parish Hall to the original portion of the church

Photo 30: Church kitchen located along the eastern exterior wall of the church linking South Parish Hall to the original portion of the church.

Photo 31: Western interior view of South Parish Hall

Photo 32: Eastern interior view of South Parish Hall

Photo 33: Artwork located in the entry vestibule, *The Holy Family* by Frank Douglas Blanchard given in memory of Rev. Charles Bewick

Photo 34: Main decorative stain glass window on the Western wall of the Nave.

Photo 35: Southern exterior of Nave and Memorial Garden

Photo 36: Eastern exterior from the Northeast

Photo 37: Eastern exterior

Photo 38: Northeastern exterior corner

Photo 39: Southeastern corner exterior

Photo 40: Southern exterior from the Southeast

Figure Log:

Include figures on continuation pages at the end of the nomination.

Figure 1: Contextual Map 600 N Euclid Ave.

Figure 2: Site Map Trinity Episcopal Church 600 N Euclid Ave.

Figure 3: Trinity Advertisement from the Mandrake newsletter.

Figure 4: 1960s Trinity picture, from *Living Church*, July 1965, cover.

Figure 5: Mayoral debate image from St. Louis Post-Dispatch, February 8, 1993.

Figure 6: Trinity Advertisement from the Mandrake Newsletter.

Figure 7: *Living Church*, July 2 1965 "Integrated Trinity"

Figure 8: First Story Floor Plan.

Figure 9: Photo Log.

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Trinity Episcopal Church
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Summary

Trinity Episcopal Church, 600 N. Euclid Avenue, St. Louis (Independent City), Missouri, sits at the intersection of Washington Ave. and North Euclid Ave. on the northern border of the Central West End neighborhood and Central West End Certified Local District.¹ The single building consists of three sections: the Nave (original part of the church), the North Parish Hall, and the South Parish Hall. All events and meetings pertinent to this nomination, which relates to the church's role in and impact on the local LGBTQ community, took place in the Nave (including the Rector's Office) beginning in 1969 and then in the North Parish Hall addition when it was constructed in 1980. The Nave is the original church, which was constructed in 1885 and originally located in north St. Louis and then moved brick by brick and stone by stone to its current location in 1910. It consists of a two-story vaulted nave, a three-story tower, and a single-story rector's office and parish office. Constructed in the Gothic Revival style, the Nave features stone cladding, a tower parapet, and historic stained glass windows. The North Parish Hall is a single-story concrete block addition added at the northeastern corner of the church in 1980. The South Parish Hall was originally completed in 1954 and then demolished in 2014 and replaced entirely in 2016. The newly completed South Parish Hall stands in the original 1954 footprint, with a ten foot expansion to the east but consists of all new materials and design for the space. There is a contributing parking lot (the contributing structure in the resource count) on the northwestern portion of the lot and a contributing concrete sign (object) at southwest corner. The immediate setting includes a driveway at the eastern edge of the property which the church uses for deliveries and short-term parking related to its food pantry. A memorial garden sits along the southern edge of the church building that extends to the Washington Avenue border of the property. Other than the replacement of the 1954 addition in 2016, the church has seen minimal alterations since 1993, the end to the period of significance.

Setting

Trinity Episcopal Church is north of Interstate 44 and 64 and south of Interstate 70. It is located in the Central West End neighborhood and is a block northeast of Forest Park (Figure 1). The main entrance is in the Nave on the west side of the church and is accessed via N. Euclid Avenue (Figure 2). Across the street (to the west) on N. Euclid is the historic Mahler Ballroom that is currently being used for condominiums.² To the east of the church is a residential neighborhood in the form of row houses and single-family homes. On its northern border, an alleyway marks the church's property line and then a vacant lot/parking lot rests on the opposite side of the alley outside of the nomination boundary. The church lies a block south of Delmar St., the historic and current racial dividing line in the city. To its immediate south lies a two-story mixed use building with a small business on the first floor and apartments on the second floor. Trinity is a

¹This district was first certified on 11/15/1979 and was expanded in 1989, 2002, and 2011. This property is included within the district. Trinity Episcopal Church is being individually nominated to the National Register of Historic Places to recognize the significant role it played in the LGBTQ community, as discussed at length in Section 8 below.

²Ramsay, Dr. John M., Mahler Ballroom, Eligibility Assessment, 2014. On file at the Missouri State Historic Preservation Office

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contributing resource of the Central West End Certified Local District and is located at the northern border of the eastern portion of the district.³

Within the boundary there is a contributing object (sign) and structure (parking lot) that are described in more detail below. The parking lot is at the northeast corner and sits between the Nave and the North Parish Hall (Figure 2). Behind the church to the east is a driveway off of the alley. The driveway offers a few parking spaces and is bordered to the east with trees. The entrance to this driveway features a short chain link fence and gate (Photo 38). Another entrance to this driveway is on the southeast corner of the property (Photo 39). Small retaining walls securing modest landscaping and plantings feature wrought iron fencing that flanks this driveway (Photo 7). Another retaining wall with landscaping extends from this corner west to the western corner of the South Parish Hall addition. Hedgerows extend to west to wrap around the southeast corner of the property. The hedgerows mark the borders of a memorial garden that feature a grassy lawn, seating, stone stepping stones, and the Trinity Church concrete sign (described below) (Photos 3-5, 36, 40). Small retaining walls and plantings are in front of the main entrance on the west side of the building. Concrete stairs and a walkway lead up to the entrance. A small, non-permanent sign for Trinity Church is left of the entrance (Photo 12). To the north of the church on the east side is the main entrance to the parking lot that has short stone piers and a modest wrought iron fence and gate. Sidewalks with trees planted recurrently surround the property on the west and south sides. This setting is very similar to that across the time period of significance for this nomination.

Parking lot, contributing structure, 1980

A paved parking lot sits between the Nave and North Parish Hall. It was added with the North Parish Hall addition was constructed in 1980. It is accessed on North Euclid Avenue and accommodates approximately 20 parking spaces (Figure 2, Photos 8, 10). As described above, a wrought iron gate is located at the entrance of the parking lot and wrought iron fencing encloses the lot on the north and west sides. The parking lot has painted spaces on the diagonal and does not feature plantings or curbing in the center of the lot, although there are concrete curbs for outer parking spaces.

Trinity Concrete Sign, contributing object, c.1965

A triangular concrete block with the name “Trinity Church” in mid-century script with color panel mosaic is located at the southwest corner of the property in the memorial garden (Figure 2, Photos 3 and 35). Church parishioners cannot recall the exact date the sign was installed but they believe it was sometime in the 1960s and they recall seeing it in photos from the early 1970s. According to them the artist was William Severson.⁴

³ Landmarks Association of St. Louis. The Central West End-East map. 1987. Map is accessible at Missouri State Historic Preservation Office’s website: <https://dnr.mo.gov/shpo/docs/CWE-E.pdf>, accessed December 12, 2018.

⁴ Emails from Katie Batza to Ellie Chapman on December 11, 2018 and from Ellie Chapman to Katie Batza on December 11 and 17, 2018.

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Exterior Description

Overview

Trinity Episcopal Church is constructed of a gray stone exterior in a Gothic Revival style that harkens English architecture from the mid- seventeen and eighteen hundreds. The original portion of the church building was constructed in 1910. Referred to as the Nave in this nomination, it makes consistent use of Gothic arch windows and doors, crenellation of the tower and Rector's office, and stone buttresses on the western elevation. The Nave projects west towards Euclid Avenue. The North and South Parish Halls extend off the eastern end of the original Church building with the North Parish Hall extending farther away from the original Church building than the South Parish Hall. These two additions are quite different in architectural style from one another, with the North parish Hall addition hewing more closely to the architecture of the original church through the use of stone of the same color while the South Parish Hall has a more modern look and is constructed almost entirely of glass. However, the use of stone foundation and structural supports and buttresses unifies the building. All stained-glass windows throughout the Nave and Rector's office on the first floor are multi-colored, original, in pointed arch shape, and are religious in content. The windows in both additions are clear and rectangular. The main church Nave structure has a gabled roof while the North Parish Hall has a cross-gabled roof and the South parish Hall is a flat-roofed structure. Both the Rector's Office and the Tower in the original structure have crenellated roof lines.

West Elevation

The West elevation is the original stone 1910 portion of the church, or Nave. The main entrance is located on this side of the property and is reached by two sets of concrete steps (Photos 1 and 2). This elevation consists of three bays. The left (north) and center bays are one story with a shed asphalt shingle roof. The left bay has a short stone buttress and a single gothic arched stained glass window (Photo 1). The central bay projects slightly from the façade and is flanked by stone buttresses. It features gabled parapet crowned with a stone Celtic cross (Photos 2 and 12). The main entrance consists of large historic wooden double arched doors set in a stone arched opening. There is a gold tau-rho cross with a crown above it on the door to the right. The second story of the center bay rises is recessed above the shed roof and features a gabled roof and a single Gothic arched stained glass window (Photo 2). Moving south there is a three-story stone tower topped with crenellation and adorned with a metal Celtic cross (Photo 3 and 12). The first floor of the tower is a gothic stained glass window. The second floor has a narrow stained glass rectangular window and the third story features a large rectangular vent (Photo 3).

Southern Elevation

The southern wall of the church is two stories tall for the length of the nave with pointed arch clear windows appearing in pairs on the second floor (12 total) and in larger single stained glass windows (5 total) on the ground level and at equal intervals along the length of the Nave (photo

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3, 4, 5, 35, and 40). Also at equal intervals are stone buttresses on the first floor similar in size and shape to those on the western wall. The second story of this elevation is clad in stucco (original) and the windows on this level appear to be clear glass replacements. Under the roofline is a dentil cornice. At the eastern end of the structure, the South Parish Hall, demolished in 2014 and rebuilt in 2016, extends to the south and stands in contrast to the historic backdrop with its flat roof and lack of windows in the stone portion of the addition on its western end (photo 6 and 7). Although it was recently built it appears to be influenced by Mid-Century Modern design due to the flat profile and floor to ceiling fixed grid of windows on the southernmost portion of the addition. Offset to the east (right) from the stone portion in another section of the addition that extends further south and is primarily made up of large fixed pane windows. It houses a double door entrance facing west (photo 6) and another, at the other end, facing east (photo 7 and 39). These doors have narrow side lights and are sheltered by a metal hood. Above these entrances are large fixed pane windows with sidelights that mimic the sidelights below on either side of the doors. On the eastern end are three more fixed pane windows to the south of the entrance, identical to those facing south: facing south are five bays with nine panes of glass each in stacks of three. The uppermost panes and lowermost panes are smaller than the center panes.

This addition has a streamlined stone frame along the bottom and corners of the structure. The stone of the South Parish Hall exterior mimics that on other portions of the church. The primary glass portion has a clearly modern look.

Foregrounding this side of the building is a memorial garden with benches, flowers, a stone garden labyrinth, and a large plaque on the side of west elevation with the names of Trinity Parishioners whose ashes are buried in the garden (photo 4 and 35). This garden is accessed by a stone path leading toward the main entrance on the western side of the building.

Eastern Elevation

The eastern exterior consists of the two-story original portion of the church building flanked on either side by single story stone structures (photo 8, 36, 37, 38 and 39). The 2016 one-story addition to the south houses an entrance facing east, as described above. To the north of this entrance that stone portion of the addition extends further east by approximately 10 feet. A single window, off-center to the south, sits in the stone portion of the 2016's east elevation. Behind and to the north of this addition the two-story portion of the original church is visible, housing a single stained glass window on the second floor in a gabled parapet (photo 36). The corner of the two-story portion has a single buttress. The original 1910 construction extends further north via single story construction with crenellation where the Rector's Office sits before giving way to a flat roofed North Parish Hall constructed in 1980. The 1910 portion houses three wood, historic, one over one windows on the first floor below which are three basement windows (photo 37). There is then a stone buttress at the corner, before a setback single door with hood reached by a set of concrete steps with metal railing. The door is sheltered by a small hood. The 1980 North Parish Hall extends east. It is one story with a side gable roof and is constructed of rusticated

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concrete blocks. Five identical windows single pane casement windows sit in the North Parish Hall's Eastern elevation. Three are grouped towards the south and two towards the north.

Northern Elevation

The north side of the church is the home of the church parking lot, the North Parish Hall, and the northern wall of the original church (Nave). In the north elevation of the North Parish Hall, clad in rusticated concrete block, sits a single metal door entrance, sheltered by a metal hood, reached via concrete stairs and a concrete ramp with a metal railing (photo 9 and 38). The only other opening is a vent. Facing west, the North Parish Hall addition from 1980 has two small windows before reaching a portion of the addition that extends west and has tri-part single pane fixed windows opening covered by red a metal awning (photo 10 and 11). These windows sit in a gabled bay flanked by flat piers. To the south is a recessed portion of the 1910 Nave, housing a single door entrance reached by concrete stairs with a metal rail. The entrance is covered by a metal hood. There is then a large single fixed window, a small single fixed window in a Gothic arch, and another entrance with a historic wood arched door, also reached by a set of concrete stairs with a metal railing (photo 11). This portion of the building features crenellation along the roof line and a chimney, marking the original northern elevation of the 1910 Nave. The northern elevation of the Nave extends west. It has seven arched stained-glass windows separated by stone buttresses. Beyond them, the two-story portion is faced in historic stucco rather than stone (photo 10). The windows on the second story appear to be clear glass replacement. The pointed arched windows on the first and second floor of the Nave portion mirror those of the southern wall.

Interior Description (See Figure 8 for Floor Plan)

For the purposes of this nomination, the relevant interior spaces of the Trinity Episcopal Church include the Nave (which includes the Rector's office), and the North Parish Hall. However, the building also has an entrance vestibule, Parish Office, South Parish Hall, and a very small galley style kitchen that runs the length of the eastern wall of the original 1910 portion of the building. Each of these spaces remains in their original state with the exception of maintenance and upkeep since their construction in the original 1910 part of the building, 1980 for the North Parish Hall, and 2016 for the South Parish Hall. The main church building did undergo a small remodeling in 1961, creating small closet-sized rooms in previously unused spaces behind the altar to create a working sacristy, clergy vesting room, and upstairs storage room. The original solid wood floors remain intact and well maintained throughout the original church building. The kitchen has updated appliances from the originals, though the footprint remains the same as it did in 1910. The most significant structural change in the original Church building was moving the altar away from the east wall of the Nave and toward the front of the pulpit which occurred in 1971 as a result of changes in ecumenical doctrine and practices. Beyond that, artworks have occasionally been added by parishioner artists or commissioned in response to important events in the community (such as a stained-glass window commemorating WWI) or in the congregation (such as the artwork memorializing Rev. Bewick after he succumbed to AIDS- photo 33). The

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significant events tied to the LGBTQ community primarily occurred in the Nave beginning in 1969 and then the North Parish Hall addition when it was constructed in 1980.

The original 1910 portion of the church consists of four rooms: a small entrance Vestibule, the Nave, the Rector's Office, and the kitchen. The vestibule can be accessed from the exterior through the two large red-painted wooden doors in a pointed arch that serves as the Church's front door on the Western side of the property (photo 1 and 2) and gives way after roughly ten feet to the Nave. The entrance vestibule is a one-story room that is rectangular in shape (photo 13). However, this space serves as more than a simple pass through to the Nave as it has areas in relief to either side. To the north, there is a small room that serves as a coat closet and small storage space. To the south, under the belfry there is an altar housed under an alcove with pointed arches, benches, and artworks on the north and south sides of the room (photo 14). Here, in the South section of the Vestibule sits the painting made to memorialize Rev. Bewick (photo 33). The eastern wall of the vestibule has a pointed archway that mirrors the size of the church doors on the western wall and opens into the two-story tall Nave (photo 16).

The Chapel space consists of two aisles and the Nave. The aisles are marked by one story enclosed arcades on the interior sides. The arcades feature Tudor arched openings resting on round Doric-inspired pillars that run the length of the Nave on either side (photo 17 and 19). The aisles have walls only on the exterior side of the building and are covered in white plaster. The flooring in both aisles is that same as throughout the entire old Church building- the original hardwood floors. The ceiling of the arcade matches the roof of the Nave and is darkly stained wood with structural beams visible. Under the western most window in both aisles sits large steam radiators that also date from the original 1910 building. At the eastern end of each aisle are wooden doorways in the ubiquitous pointed arch shape (photo 15). The doorway on the southern side leads to the vestry room, and access to the South Parish Hall while the door on the north side leads to short hallway to the other areas of the building including the Rector's Office, the kitchen, and the North Parish Hall.

Both the pointed arches and the much higher ceiling signal the movement from the aisles or Vestibule into the Nave. This room is the only one in the structure that is two stories and its ceiling has darkly stained wood and structural beams on display, with light flooding the Nave and arcade from the five sets of double lancet stain glass windows in either side of the Clerestory. The western wall of the Nave houses four symmetrically situated wooden cabinets that feature pointed arches (two on either side of the pointed archway entrance from the Vestibule) that stretch to the full height of the room and house the pipes for the organ (photo 16). The original organ with a smaller set of pipes originally on the eastern wall of the Nave was replaced in 2009. Between these pipe casings rests the large lancet stain-glass window (photo 34). Two sets of wooden pews sit in rows on both the north and south side of the Nave with a central aisles connecting the entrance to the Vestibule to the Chancel. The Chancel is set off from the rest of the Nave by four stairs and a large two-story pointed archway that then gives way to another, smaller two-story room in which the alter sits centrally (photo 18). Light for this

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area comes from two lancet windows located in the Clerestory. Within yet another pointed arch shaped set-back rests a life-sized crucifix that centers the eastern wall. There are two inconspicuous doorways off either side of the Chancel leading to the vestry room and to the hallway whereby the Kitchen and Rector's Office can be accessed.

The modestly sized Rector's Office is original to the original portion of the church and feels like walking back in time as does the rest of the 1910 section (photo 20 and 21). Immediately outside the office, on the western side, is a pointed wooden door to the exterior (photo 11 and 21). It is the only room in the church with a fireplace (wood-burning). This room has original hard wood floors, wood paneling, built-in bookshelves of the same dark stain as the ceiling of the Nave, and two small windows provide natural light. There are also two windows on the north side of this room that originally looked out to the norther exterior, but now look into a hallway in the North Parish Hall addition built in 1980 (photo 22). Immediately behind the eastern Rectors Office wall is a hallway lined with lower storage cabinets that connects the 1980 North Parish Hall addition to the original portion of the church (photo 29). To the Rector's Office immediate south is a hallway that at that western end leads directly to a door into the North Aisle of the Nave and at the eastern end connects to the hallway leading to the North Parish Hall Entry hallways and the kitchen. At the end of this hallway along the southern wall of the Rector's Office is a small winding staircase that leads to a small second floor storage room. This second-floor storage space was added in 1954 and is accessed by an exterior staircase and a wooden pointed arched doorway. However, as the 2016 South Parish Hall addition expanded the eastern boarder of the church ten feet to the east, it allowed for a small indoor stairway to be added and the external second-story doorway to be permanently locked and sealed (visible behind rooftop cooling equipment in photo 8).

The North Parish Hall, built in 1980, is roughly half the length of the original building and is set in the northwest corner of the property extending towards the back alley. The North Parish Hall has a main entrance on the western side of the building at the eastern edged of the parking lot (photo 11). This entrance gives way to a hallway (photo 22) that is stone on the southern side, consisting of the exterior of the original church building, and dry wall on the northern side. Here the flooring is an industrial laminate tile and the construction is more utilitarian and budget friendly than the ornate and ceremonial style of the Nave, Chancel, Vestibule, and Rector's Office. Immediately off of this hallway at the western end is the Parish Office. The Parish Office is small and has drywall walls with three windows on the western wall covered by a red awning on the exterior, one window on the northern wall, and another window on the southern wall that looks out onto the main entrance of the North Parish Hall addition (photo 23). Continuing east in the North Parish Hall entry hallway, there is a water fountain and the entrance, flanked on either side by restrooms, to another hallway that leads to the North Parish Hall.

The hallway to the North Parish Hall slopes downward and its flooring changes to a different laminate that mimics dark wood flooring (photo 24). At the bottom of the short, ramped hallway, the western hallway wall becomes half-height, giving way to the largest meeting space in the

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North Parish Hall addition. Within this large room, there is a kitchen area at the southern end (photo 25), three windows spaced evenly along the western wall, a metal exit door along the northern wall, and three doorways along the eastern wall. The three rooms off the eastern side of the main North Parish Hall room are evenly sized, each have one window, and serve as the music room (photo 26), the infant and toddler room (photo 27), and the Parish library and archives (photo 28), respectively. These rooms are accessed by wooden doors to the North Parish Hall main room. The North Parish Hall was designed to house the working side of the Church including Sunday school classes, meeting space, and conveniences for staff. North Parish Hall, along with the Nave, was used for LGBTQ-related meetings from its construction in 1980 onward. A larger bulletin board near the entry stairway with notices and flyers for all the groups utilizing the space, including those with no ties to the church, demonstrate that this remains the busy and multi-purpose space that is always has been and was designed to be.

Back at the top of the ramp to the North Parish Hall, and at the eastern end of North Church Hall entry hallway is an exit to the eastern parking area which consist of a metal door with an inset single pane of glass at the top half of the door (photo 22). At the end of this hallway is another hallway that goes south behind the Rector's Office and along the eastern wall of the church, leading to the original portion of the church as well as the South Parish Hall addition. The hallway to the rest of the Church, the kitchen, and South Parish Hall is also functional, with lower cabinets used for office supplies lining the western wall of the hallway (photo 29). This hallway connects to the hallway leading off the northern Aisle of the Nave, continues on past the narrow staircase leading to a small upstairs storage area and then leads down a set of four wooden steps into the large rectangular kitchen (photo 30). The kitchen has storage cabinets, appliances, and sinks on both the east and western walls as well as a long table running down the middle. This modest kitchen serves as the epicenter for Trinity's robust food pantry and soup kitchen. A small coat closet sits in the rooms' north eastern corner, next to the stairwell. The kitchen was significantly expanded to the east in the 2016 South Parish Hall addition.

The South Parish Hall appears designed more for social gathering than the working spaces of the North Parish Hall with greater concern for aesthetic appeal thanks to its frequent use of large windows. The South Parish Hall consist of a large rectangular room with restrooms, storage closets, and a water fountain in the northeast corner (photo 32). The northern wall gives access to the kitchen and the storage space, with the wall consisting of drywall, a small portion of the stone exterior of the original church building, and doorways. The western side of the room houses both a wheel chair lift, a set of 4 stairs leading down from the doorway directly to the southern Aisle of the Nave, a small dishwashing room with a window cutout to the main South Parish hall room, before giving way to a set of glass double doors that lead out to the Memorial Garden (photo 31). The glass of these doors wraps around the entire length of the southern wall supported by a three-foot-tall wall of drywall. The eastern wall also has glass double doors at the southern end. Because of the large windows and open floorplan of this smaller addition, the space is filled with natural light and used for receptions, the soup kitchen functions, and social events. The support for the roof comes from five square and unadorned columns on the southern

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side of the room that go from the industrial laminate flooring to the drop ceiling. Strips of fluorescent lights also hang from the ceiling here. With the original 1910 portion of the building providing the ceremonial and religiously adorned space, the North Parish Hall providing the hub for community outreach efforts and programs for the church, and the South Parish Hall offering spaces to socialize, celebrate, and build and serve community, often over food, Trinity Episcopal Church's architecture reflects the many roles it has played in the St. Louis and Central West End communities over the last 50 years. Though each section of this church reflects different purposes, architects, and time periods, each remains true to their original times of construction and manage to remain architecturally sympathetic due to the use of gables, setbacks, and complimentary finishes on the exteriors.

Integrity

Despite the 2016 replacement of the South Parish Hall addition, Trinity Episcopal Church maintains integrity in regards to location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association. Little else has changed on the building since 1993, the end to the period of significance, and all the significant interior spaces remain intact, the Nave, the Rector's Office, and the North Parish Hall. There have been minor updates with interior finishes and appliances. Windows on the second floor of the nave have been replaced with clear glass but the arched window openings are historic.

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Summary

Trinity Episcopal Church, located at 600 N. Euclid Ave. in the Central West End neighborhood of St. Louis (Independent City), Missouri, is locally significant under Criterion A in Social History for its early and substantial role in the rise of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer/Questioning⁵ (LGBTQ) community activism in St. Louis. As early as the 1950s, Trinity staff worked with gay individuals and couples in the Central West End. Starting in late 1969, Trinity offered space to the Mandrake Society, which billed itself as St. Louis's first "homophile organization," a term commonly used in that time period by people who would today be called gay and lesbian activists. While operating out of the Trinity space, the Mandrake Society mounted the first organized political response to police harassment and raids of gay gatherings and bars in St. Louis. The church also provided financial support in the form of purchasing advertising space in the organization's newsletter. These advertisements welcomed members of the LGBTQ community into the church space and welcomed them to services. Records show that the church's commitment to that community pre-dated even the Mandrake Society in that priests from Trinity as early as the 1950s offered to bless the homes of LGBTQ couples living together as couples- a sort of early commitment/marriage ceremony. This practice continued until the first public same sex union ceremony took place in the church in the 1990s. In the 1980s, after the Mandrake Society disbanded the church provided similar space and advertising to PREP which went on to become PROMO, the state's main LGBTQ political organization (and continues to serve in this capacity as needed nearly 40 years later). For decades, Trinity hosted some of St. Louis's most influential LGBTQ service and advocacy groups, playing a unique role in the city and region. The wide-ranging work they did there had lasting consequences for the region's history. The church building proved a cornerstone in the creation of a very gay friendly neighborhood in the surrounding Central West End, a tradition that continues today.

The period of significance for Trinity Episcopal Church under Criterion A in Social History for its association with LGBTQ history is 1969-1993. This period begins with the first meeting of the Mandrake Society held in the Nave (including the Rector's Office) of the church in 1969 and continues to the 1993 retirement of Pastor Bill Chapman, who oversaw and encouraged much of the church's support of the LGBTQ communities throughout this period. A chapter of Integrity, a national group of Episcopal gay men, was formed at the church. Even Dignity St. Louis, the Roman Catholic gay group, held services on Sunday evenings at Trinity Church. Later the Parish was active during the AIDS epidemic of the 1980s, welcoming, caring for, burying, and remembering a number of members as well as non-members. On a Sunday morning in 1990, a member living with AIDS gave the sermon. The church also welcomed an HIV+ priest from another area church after he was forced out of his own parish because of his HIV status. Through

⁵ The "Q" in LGBTQ has been interpreted to mean questioning or those unsure of their orientation but also "queer". Once a derogatory term, the word "queer" is now being reclaimed as an umbrella term. The term should be used carefully as it can still be used in an offensive manner. Source: Petrow, Steven. Washington Post: *Civilities: What does the acronym "LGBTQ" stand for?* May 23, 2014. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/arts-and-entertainment/wp/2014/05/23/civilities-what-does-the-acronym-lgbtq-stand-for/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.f85325c11588. Accessed December 31, 2018

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all of these services and actions, Trinity Episcopal Church served as a midwife to the LGBTQ community activism in St. Louis in a way that makes it both unique and historically significant in the LGBTQ history of the city of St. Louis.

Trinity Church meets Criteria Consideration G. It has achieved significance within the last 50 years, but is of exceptional significance due to its substantial role in supporting the local LGBTQ community during a time period in which LGBTQ individuals had very few places of safety, let alone support for community building or organizing.

The Church also meets Criteria Consideration A. Although the property has always functioned, and still functions, as a church, the argument for significance in this nomination focuses on Trinity's role in significant social history events in St. Louis associated with the rights of the LGBTQ community vs. purely religious functions.

Elaboration

Early Property Context: Trinity Episcopal Church moves to the Central West End

Trinity Episcopal Church moved to 600 North Euclid Avenue, the congregation's permanent location in the Central West End of St. Louis, in November 1935. However, the building itself has a much longer history with multiple owners and locations. This stone, English Gothic-style building had an unusual past leading up to Trinity's moving into it. The formerly vacant site at the corner of Euclid and Washington avenues was purchased by the Episcopal Church of the Redeemer in the late 1800s. Shortly after, a brick parish house was built on the north side of the space. Services were held in this parish house until the Redeemer parish merged with another Episcopal church, St. James Memorial Church, located in North St. Louis. In 1910 the St. James building was taken from the North St. Louis original site and reconstructed, stone by stone, on the vacant corner of Euclid and Washington in the Central West End neighborhood. This new merged congregation, named Church of the Redeemer, worshipped in this space for 25 years. Trinity Episcopal Church bought the Church of the Redeemer building as a way to mark the 80th anniversary of its congregation. Thus begins the history of Trinity Church in the Central West End of St. Louis.

Trinity Episcopal Church and Inclusion in the Post-War Era

To understand why Trinity became a significant and safe space for LGBTQ community, one must understand the church's role in the Central West End neighborhood in the post-war years. Shortly before becoming involved with LGTBQ issues, Trinity proudly became an inclusive space of worship for all races in the neighborhood. This open door policy likely played a strong role in serving and assisting LGBTQ individuals in subsequent and concurrent years.

The Central West End, in its earliest development in the second half of the nineteenth century, became "the last stand of the St. Louis elites" seeking relief from the more unsavory aspects of

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inner city living without relinquishing urban life.⁶ Large homes characterized the area and were soon bolstered by the development accompanying the 1904 World's Fair and the installation of street cars.⁷ By the early twentieth century, the Central West End was well established as a fairly ritzy white neighborhood in the highly racially and economically segregated St. Louis landscape. At the time, St. Louis was one of the largest cities in the country and a major destination for the Great Migration, despite its slave state history and continued strictly enforced segregation. More than 100,000 African Americans called St. Louis home by 1940, crammed within a few overcrowded ghettos in the city.

Fueled by equal parts racism, economic opportunities for white veterans under the newly signed GI Bill, and new post-war ideals of the American Dream that included suburban living and unprecedented domestic consumption, St. Louis experienced the exodus of middle-class whites to the suburbs that came to be a hallmark of the post-WWII period for most American urban landscapes. Though in the decades before the war, most black residents of the Central West End were live-in servants for wealthy white residents, by 1960, one third of Central West End residents were black.⁸ Many of the large homes that had epitomized the district became divided and split into rental properties. Amidst these demographic and architectural changes, Trinity Episcopal Church faced a dwindling congregation and an identity crisis.

In the immediate post-war years, most congregations were opting to move to the suburbs and follow in the footsteps of their congregants but Trinity Episcopal Church took the opportunity to reexamine its mission and make intentional choices about the future of the congregation. In 1953, the parish met and determined to remain in its current location rather than join the popular movement westward toward the more affluent and homogenous suburbs. Instead, Trinity decided to build an addition of the South Parish Hall in 1954. This decision to remain in the neighborhood would forever change Trinity's shape and mission. Since that time, in addition to maintaining its traditional worship services and parish activities, Trinity Church has continually looked outward—to its immediate neighborhood and the larger Central West End community as well as to the urban areas surrounding them.⁹ Trinity had traditionally sponsored music and drama presentations that attracted wide audiences from the community. To these the parish added a neighborhood-centric mission with summer programs for children, tutoring programs during the school year, and even a neighborhood school, all during the 1950s and 1960s. Thus, as the Central West End transformed from a well-to-do white enclave into what renowned sociologist Laud Humphries described in 1972 as, "a highly transient district.... The center of

⁶ Norbury Wayman, *History of St. Louis Neighborhoods: The Central West End* (St. Louis Community Development Agency, 1980), 4, 6, 8.

⁷ Norbury Wayman, *History of St. Louis Neighborhoods: The Central West End* (St. Louis Community Development Agency, 1980), 9.

⁸ Lia Nowar, "Anything Goes in the CWE," *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, December 27, 1994.

⁹ Elizabeth B. Platt, "History of Trinity Church, St. Louis, 1855-1955," 1955, Trinity Episcopal Church Parish Archives, St. Louis.

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what remains of St. Louis hippiedom,” Trinity Episcopal Church proved a constant force in the neighborhood.¹⁰

The congregation not only reached out to the surrounding community, it came to embody the new residents. Historian Ian Darnell explains that the neighborhood, “never truly transitioned from being a white neighborhood to a black one. Instead, in the 1950s and ’60s, it became a sort of middle ground, a patchwork of white, black, and racially mixed blocks between predominantly white and what had become predominantly black sections of the city. The parish also became racially integrated as black Episcopalians were welcomed into the church, and, later, other African-American residents of the neighborhood were drawn in because of the church’s outreach efforts.”¹¹ By 1958, a quarter of trinity parishioners were black, a percentage that increased to a third just seven years later.¹² By 1965, Trinity earned a “Distinguished Congregation” designation by Episcopal magazine *The Living Church* for its outreach programs, integration, and vibrancy in 1965 with one observer commenting, “This is a completely integrated congregation that truly lives its faith” (figure 4 and 7).¹³

Trinity served as a political incubator and host for the black community of St. Louis, though often in concert with many other churches, organizations, and groups. Beyond simply voting to stay in the Central West End rather than flee to white suburbs and welcome black parishioners into both the church services and leadership, Trinity undertook civil rights work in multiple ways. One of the ways in which this was done was through a “Team Ministry” approach used by Trinity throughout the 1970s, in which Trinity’s pastor Bill Chapman worked alongside Father Richard Tombaugh, a white theology professor associated with St. Louis University and Eden Seminary and Rev. John Mason, a black religious counselor. The *History of Trinity* explains that the clergy team approach including “the presence and experience of a black clergyman [gave] a clearer expression to its integrated congregation and [added] another dimension to the church and its neighborhood work.”¹⁴ Team ministry was the best response to leading the complex Trinity Parish that by 1971, “was made up of over 20 identifiable groups or constituencies, none comprising more than 15 or 20 persons. Since the needs of some of these groups were virtually endless, the tugging at and fragmenting of [a single] priest’s time was particularly debilitating

¹⁰ Laud Humphries, *Out of the Closets: The Sociology of Homosexual Liberation* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1971), 81.

¹¹ Ian Darnell, “Expanding the Bounds of Community: The Life of Bill Chapman – Episcopal Priest, Civil Rights Activist, and Gay Rights Pioneer,” unpublished.

¹² Ian Darnell interview with Chapman and Taylor, July 15, 2011; Elizabeth Gentry Sayad, “Euclid and McPherson,” *The St. Louis Magazine*, June 1963; Elizabeth B. Platt, “History of Trinity Church, St. Louis, 1855-1955,” 1955, Trinity Episcopal Church Parish Archives, St. Louis; Ian Darnell interview with Etta Taylor, August 3, 2011, in St. Louis; Arthur E. Walmsley to Jennifer [M. Phillips], October 18, 1999, Trinity Archives.

¹³ Charles F. Rehkopf, “Trinity Church, St. Louis: A Congregation that Loves,” *The Living Church*, July 18, 1965.

¹⁴ *History of Trinity Church: St. Louis, 1955-1975*, ed. Charlotte Brown, Trinity Parish Archives, 6.

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and frustrating.”¹⁵ In 1969, Trinity also hired Jesse Todd, an activist with the St. Louis black power group the Zulu 1200s to oversee a variety of neighborhood outreach efforts and programs. He also served as the director of the Concerned Citizens Center in a nearby space Trinity rented which offered a wide array of programming from dance classes to prison visitation programs directly related to black culture, the civil rights struggle, and/or black power. Trinity, in the mid-1970s also served as headquarters for a political campaign and eventual non-violent civil disobedience protest against city cuts to community services.¹⁶ Trinity became a lynchpin for the neighborhood as well as the political rights struggles for both black and LGBTQ folks in the larger St. Louis landscape.

This integrated reality and mission of Trinity became incorporated into the very building of the church itself in 1984 in the form of an artwork. That year parishioner Emily Ann Cramer painted the “Loaves and Fishes” artwork that hung prominently on the parish hall wall for more than two decades, but is now stored in the basement.¹⁷ In the words of Ian Darnell, “it is a reimagining of the Gospel story of Jesus’s feeding of the multitude. The artist based the features of many of the people in the mural on those of her fellow parishioners at Trinity. Members of the church could see themselves reflected in the image. Strikingly, some of the people in the painting are black, and some are white, and they mix freely and casually. And there’s another dimension to the range of people depicted in this scene—along with heterosexual pairs are what might be interpreted as same-sex couples.”¹⁸ Thus, Trinity came to embody the full diversity of the Central West End in the post-war decades and became a crucial site for nascent LGBTQ community building and politics.

While it is outside the current focus of this document, further research could potentially reveal a Criterion A: Ethnic History area of significance for the nominated property.¹⁹

LGBTQ Community and the Central West End

The neighborhood and congregation did not only change in terms of race. Historians John D’Emilio and Allan Berubé have documented the tremendous importance of WWII social and

¹⁵ Richard Gordon and George Benson, *1971 Annual report of Trinity Parish*, Trinity Parish Archives.

¹⁶ Ian Darnell, “Expanding the Bounds of Community: The Life of Bill Chapman – Episcopal Priest, Civil Rights Activist, and Gay Rights Pioneer,” unpublished, 7.

¹⁷ While the authors of this nomination would have liked to include an image of the painting, it currently is inaccessible.

¹⁸ Ian Darnell, “Expanding the Bounds of Community: The Life of Bill Chapman – Episcopal Priest, Civil Rights Activist, and Gay Rights Pioneer,” unpublished. Martha K. Baker and Etta Taylor, *A History of Trinity Church, St. Louis, 1975-2005* (St. Louis: 2005), 6; and “Dates for Timeline for History Night, Oct. 3, 2004,” Trinity Parish Archives.

¹⁹ The focus of this nomination is on Trinity’s significant relationship with the LGBTQ community. However, it may be worth researching a Criterion A: Ethnic History argument for Trinity’s early integration. At this stage, National Register eligibility is not known for this particular argument, which would need to develop its own context, level, and period of significance. It is recommended anyone interested in pursuing this option contact the Missouri State Historic Preservation Office for guidance.

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migratory shifts in the creation of gay political identities and gay urban enclaves in the immediate post-war period- a trend that also played out in St. Louis.²⁰ The Central West End hosted an increasingly well-known gay social scene that included a number of bars and gay-owned small businesses by the 1960s. By 1972, ten bars with a gay clientele called the neighborhood home and as Laud Humphreys wrote, formed “a gay ghetto... a bohemian community of high social and racial diversity... and a high proportion of homosexual residents.”²¹

While the neighborhood and bar provided a social outlet, it could not always offer safety for gay patrons. Historians of sexuality often describe the period of the 1950s and 1960s as one characterized by fear- fear of police harassment, fear of job loss, fear of social ostracism, fear of discrimination, and fear of violence.²² Though gay bars provided unprecedented opportunity for community and social interaction among homosexuals, they often proved targets for violence and harassment both by state actors, such as the police, and by the public. These forms of violence and harassment fueled the uprisings/riots and activism that catalyzed the gay liberation movement, including the Black Cat Riot in Los Angeles, the Compton Cafeteria Riot in San Francisco, and most famously, the Stonewall Inn Riot in New York City.²³ This relationship between harassment at gay bars and gay political activism proved true in St. Louis as much as in other, better documented places such as San Francisco, Los Angeles and New York. Examples include the 1969 Halloween raid, discussed below, and the 1969 creation of the Mandrake Society, the city’s first known official gay organization in which Trinity played an important role.²⁴

Trinity Episcopal Church and LGBTQ Inclusion

Trinity Episcopal Church has proven an unusually safe and welcoming place for LGBTQ community members since the 1950s and consequently played a significant role in the growing LGBTQ rights movement in St. Louis during the period. Rev. Arthur Walmsley, in a letter written in 1999 in which he reflected back on his time as rector at Trinity from 1953-1958, wrote, “We even had our own 1950s’ version of the blessing of same-sex unions when I was asked to preside at house blessings of a numbers of parishioners living in committed

²⁰ John D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Allan Bérubé, *Coming out under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two*, (New York: Free Press, 1990).

²¹ Laud Humphreys, *Out of the Closets*, 80-81.

²² D’Emilio and Marcia Gallo

²³ Baldwin, Belinda. "L.A., 1/1/67: The Black Cat Riots." *Gay and Lesbian Review Worldwide* 13, no. 2 (Mar/Apr 2006): 28-30; Silverman, Victor, and Susan Stryker. "Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton's Cafeteria." United States, 2005; Carter, David. *Stonewall: The Riots That Sparked the Gay Revolution*. 1st ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2004.

²⁴<http://wustl.maps.arcgis.com/apps/MapTour/index.html?appid=1a3bb142caa140018df5dc432a88bc80>

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relationships.”²⁵ Little more is known about these house blessing ceremonies, however, they certainly resonate with the church’s avant-garde acceptance of LGBTQ parishioners and larger communities in the following decades. After the 1953 vote to remain in the Central West End, Trinity began a number of outreach programs to the full range of diversity within the neighborhood ranging from summertime children’s programs to specific one-time events. In the words of then Trinity rector Rev. Anthony Morely, “We must be willing to explore new ways of attracting the interest of people who live in our neighborhood.... It’s important to us that we find different ways of making it possible for them to discover the meaning of the worship we would share with them.”²⁶ In an attempt to engage with the surrounding community including members of the LGBTQ community without proselytizing overtly, Trinity took two approaches. One was to hold special events within Trinity designed to attract new community members into the Church itself. The “Jazz Mass” event of January 1963 epitomized this tactic with its full band, youth choir, invitations to neighborhood residents, and even a guest preacher who commented to the national religious publication *Now*, “Morely and I are convinced that many people will come to this service out of curiosity who might otherwise never darken the doorway of Trinity Church.”²⁷ The second approach consisted of Trinity reaching beyond the Church walls, going out into spaces that attracted a “bohemian” crowd. As Darnell explains, “In 1964, a coalition of St. Louis churches opened a coffeehouse called The Exit...a few blocks from Trinity... near a number of gay bars and cafés. Open at night, staffed by volunteers from area churches, and hosting poetry readings and folk music performances, *Now* reported that The Exit attracted “hordes” of patrons, including many of the neighborhood’s “Bohemian [phrasing commonly used for gay] residents.”²⁸ By both throwing its doors open intentionally for the diversity within the Central West End as well as by going out into the community, Trinity sought to make clear to all in the Central West End that it hoped to serve everyone.

Trinity’s contributions to LGBTQ history, and most compelling evidence for inclusion in the National Register under criterion A for Social History, come into clearer focus starting in 1969. In April of that year, eight Central West End male residents met in an apartment near Trinity Episcopal Church to found the Mandrake Society, St. Louis’ first homophile organization. With a loose affiliation and clear inspiration from the Mattachine Society, the first national homophile association started in Los Angeles by Harry Hay, the Mandrake Society sought to “equalize the

²⁵ Martha M Baker and Etta Taylor, *The Years: 1975-2005*, Trinity Parish Archives, 33.

²⁶ “Modern Mission Jan. 25,” *NOW*, January 1963.

²⁷ “Modern Mission Jan. 25,” *NOW*, January 1963. Ian Darnell, “The Gospel of the Gay Ghetto: Neighborhood Churches and Queer Communities in the Era of the Urban Crisis, St. Louis, 1950s-1970s,” unpublished, 22.

²⁸ Ian Darnell, “The Gospel of the Gay Ghetto: Neighborhood Churches and Queer Communities in the Era of the Urban Crisis, St. Louis, 1950s-1970s,” unpublished, 23. The Exit was located at the corner of Westminster PL and N. Boyle Avenue.

<http://wustl.maps.arcgis.com/apps/MapTour/index.html?appid=1a3bb142caa140018df5dc432a88bc80>

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state and position of the homosexual with the status and position of the heterosexual.”²⁹ By the end of that summer, Trinity permanently hosted the small society within the church building, with only 18 dues-paying members twice a month for their meetings.³⁰

As noted previously, raids upon homophile groups were known in St. Louis as in other cities. Plain clothes police officers from the St. Louis Police Department’s Vice Division waited outside a Central West End Gay bar a few blocks from both Trinity and the site of the EXIT coffee house shortly after midnight on November 1 that year. As the Halloween drag ball within began to disperse, the officers arrested a group of nine men clad in wigs, jewelry, heels, and evening gowns for violating the city’s anti-masquerading ordinance. This 1864-1989 ordinance made it illegal for same sex couples to publically show affection to one another, dance together, or dress in drag.³¹ Members of the Mandrake Society, using its phone tree in place for just such an occasion, raised the alarm and called for an immediate protest. By 3:00 a.m. on November 1, 1969 nearly two dozen protesters stood outside the St. Louis police headquarter demanding the men’s release. The ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union) refused to take on the case, but the Mandrake Society helped finance the men’s defense until the judge dropped charges.³² The arrests and resulting protest solidified Trinity’s role as the official home base for the St. Louis gay rights struggle as the regularly scheduled November, 1969 Mandrake Society meeting drew 150 people to the Trinity Episcopal Church building. One new attendee was a gay coffeehouse owner “concerned about the welfare of some of her boys ... who had been arrested.”³³ By January the Mandrake Society had over 100 dues paying members that attended meetings in the Nave of Trinity Episcopal Church every two weeks.³⁴ The Mandrake Society’s birth and success marked the start of the gay rights political movement in St. Louis.³⁵

²⁹ “Presenting the Mandrake Society,” n.d. [ca. 1969], box 1, [St. Louis] Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History Project, sa1038, State Historical Society of Missouri Research Center, St. Louis, Missouri.

³⁰ Humphries, *Out of the Closets*, 82-83; John D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 60; Rodney Gateway Heritage article, p. 36.

³¹ City of St. Louis website. *Celebrating the Past to Awaken the Future*. June 25, 2013. <https://www.stlouis-mo.gov/government/departments/public-safety/news/pride-stl-2013.cfm>. Accessed January 2, 2019.

³² Humphreys, *Out of the Closets*, 85-89; *Gay St. Louis* 4 (July/August 1978) 15, in collection 545, folder 267, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri- St. Louis; Police Report, Complaint No. 412758, 1-2, 4, Ian Darnell, “The Gospel of the Gay Ghetto: Neighborhood Churches and Queer Communities in the Era of the Urban Crisis, St. Louis, 1950s-1970s,” unpublished, 24; Rodney C. Wilson, “‘The Seed Time of Gay Rights’: Rev. Carol Cureton, the Metropolitan Community Church, and Gay St. Louis, 1969-1980,” *Gateway Heritage*, Fall 1994, 36.

³³ Humphreys, *Out of the Closets*, 90.

³⁴ Ian Darnell, “The Gospel of the Gay Ghetto: Neighborhood Churches and Queer Communities in the Era of the Urban Crisis, St. Louis, 1950s-1970s,” unpublished, 24; Rodney C. Wilson, “‘The Seed Time of Gay Rights’: Rev. Carol Cureton, the Metropolitan Community Church, and Gay St. Louis, 1969-1980,” *Gateway Heritage*, Fall 1994, 36.

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By housing the first homophile organization in St. Louis, Trinity solidified its status as an important site in the history of LGBTQ St. Louis by 1970. It also solidified its welcoming reputation among the city's gay communities. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* reported the thoughts of one gay activist in 1971 writing, "Trinity accepts people for what they are."³⁶ However, the Church contributed more to the burgeoning gay movement than a simple meeting space. With a larger membership, the Mandrake Society began regularly publishing a newsletter called *Mandrake*, the first of its kind in St. Louis, in early 1970. Trinity Episcopal Church helped finance the new publication by purchasing advertising space (figure 3 and 6). The newsletter, available in bars and gay businesses both in the Central West End and beyond, provided Trinity with not only the opportunity to welcome and support gay parishioners and community members but also to grow Trinity's reputation as a welcoming and inclusive congregation and meeting place for members of the LGBTQ communities. The advertisement speaks directly to this message: "All people, including each of you, are invited to attend all services in this historic Anglo-Catholic parish church whose special mission is to serve the entire community." (Figure 3)³⁷ This advertising, along with the housing of the Mandrake Society, the community outreach programs, and direct engagement of gay activists by members of the team ministry leaders attracted gay men and lesbians to Trinity in numbers that grew steadily. These actions also set Trinity apart from any other religious institution in the St. Louis area during the late 1960s and 1970s. In the words of one community member, "one must look to Trinity Episcopal Church at Euclid and Washington, a cornerstone of the religious community in that area, as a factor in fostering the rise of a Gay ghetto."³⁸

Trinity Episcopal Church played a critical role in the creation of St. Louis' LGBTQ political activism and communities in that it provided the only non-bar public space welcoming to LGBTQ groups in the 1960s and into the first couple of years of the 1970s. However, shortly after this time it was not alone. In 1973, the St. Louis chapter of the Metropolitan Community Church (MCC), a specifically LGBTQ congregation started in California by defrocked Pentecostal preacher Troy Perry in 1968, opened just a few blocks south of Trinity Episcopal Church, offering another important place for LGBTQ people to meet and organize outside of bars. However, because attending MCC was tantamount to coming out of the closet, some "gays and lesbians were reluctant to attend MCC. Recalling bar raids and other forms of police

³⁵ City of St. Louis website. *Celebrating the Past to Awaken the Future*. June 25, 2013. <https://www.stlouis-mo.gov/government/departments/public-safety/news/pride-stl-2013.cfm>. Accessed January 2, 2019.

³⁶ *Mandrake*, May 1971, 2. Surviving copies of *Mandrake* are archived in the Laud Humphreys Papers, Coll2007-012, ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives, Los Angeles, California.

³⁷ For an example of the ad, see *Mandrake*, March 1971. Surviving copies of the *Mandrake* are held in the Laud Humphreys Papers at the ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives, Los Angeles.

³⁸ Rodney CWE paper page 11.

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harassment, they feared reprisals for appearing in daylight at a ‘homosexual’ church.”³⁹ MCC continues to exist to this day but has moved to a downtown location near the Kosciusko neighborhood on the east side of St. Louis, south of downtown. Further study may reveal potential National Register significance in association with MCC’s activities. Trinity remained uniquely important for LGBTQ history in St. Louis history for two reasons- by being neither a bar nor a gay specific organization, it allowed a safe place for LGBTQ meetings to occur that did not risk members being outed by being seen to go into a gay establishment and it also remained dedicated to political causes within the LGBTQ community, rather than just providing spiritual guidance. The integration of LGBTQ and heterosexual, white and black among its parishioners along with its dedication to supporting LGBTQ political equality set the Trinity Episcopal Church apart. In these ways, Trinity proved both a safe harbor and an outward actor for change. Furthermore, Trinity’s dedication to gay political activism and gay rights remained constant. The political engagement of the MCC congregation waxed and waned depending upon the minister leading the church, according to multiple oral histories.⁴⁰ Meanwhile, other denominations and religious organizations beyond the MCC or Trinity Episcopal Church regularly shunned homosexuality.

Once more gays and lesbians from the surrounding neighborhood and city to joined the congregation, Trinity was careful to welcome and encourage those new members to engage fully with the Church by joining the choir, running for a place on the Trinity lay leadership board, and expanding the Church’s outreach efforts. In the first half of the decade, the congregation elected two openly gay members to the lay leadership board.⁴¹ Before the end of the 1970s, Trinity also became home to the St. Louis chapter of the Gay Liberation Front which included three Trinity congregants, a gay episcopal group called Integrity, a gay youth group named Youth of America, and even a group for gay Catholics.⁴² Whether a member of the Trinity congregation or not, politically active gays and lesbians of St. Louis knew they were welcome at Trinity and that the church provided both a haven for LGBTQ people as well as a launching pad for many of the city’s LGBTQ services and organizations in the 1970s. However, Trinity didn’t just ask for commitment to the church from its gay parishioners, it also asked the full congregation to engage with and commit to discussions of sexuality orientation and identity. In a congregation as racially and sexually diverse, not to mention one affiliated with a religion that generally remained highly critical of homosexuality throughout this period, creating opportunities for dialogue and reflection became a hallmark of the parish. Darnell explains, “Chapman was very conscious of Trinity’s unusual identity as a congregation that was both racially mixed and welcoming to gays,

³⁹ Rodney C. Wilson, “‘The Seed Time of Gay Rights’: Rev. Carol Cureton, the Metropolitan Community Church, and Gay St. Louis, 1969-1980,” *Gateway Heritage*, Fall 1994, 38.

⁴⁰ Katie Batza phone interview with Jym Andris August, 21, 2018; Katie Batza phone interview with Rodney Wilson July 17, 2018; Katie Batza phone interview with Philip Deitch, September 12, 2018; Katie Batza phone interview with Gary H., September 26, 2018.

⁴¹ Ian Darnell interview with Chapman, July 1, 2013; Ian Darnell telephone interview with Jim Pfaff, March 25, 2014.

⁴² *Mandrake*, May 1971; Baker and Taylor, *History of Trinity Church*, 34.

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and he encouraged parishioners to think through how this fit into their lived experience of faith. In Lent of 1976, for example, he led a weekly series of discussions of “Christian Perspectives” on the following topics: “Sexuality and Vocation,” “Sexuality and Ordination,” “Race and Identity,” “Race and Power,” and “Race and Community.”⁴³ Engaging in these sometimes difficult and spiritually fraught conversations set the Trinity congregation up well for the onslaught of the AIDS crisis, even as the team ministry approach disintegrated in 1979 as Father Tombaugh and Rev. Mason both took jobs elsewhere and Pastor Bill Chapman became the fulltime, singular leader at the Church.

The AIDS Epidemic in St. Louis and Trinity Episcopal Church

An article in the Centers for Disease Control’s weekly *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report (MMWR)* newsletter in June 1981 marked the start of the AIDS epidemic.⁴⁴ Though no one understood modes of transmission, the mechanics or progression of the disease, nor knew any effective treatments, one fact about the disease emerged almost simultaneously with the realization that a new pathogen had appeared- that it disproportionately impacted gay men. Amidst a national political backdrop that emphasized reducing state-funded social safety nets and a resurgence in religious conservatism, this mysterious and fatal disease’s immediate association with the gay community fueled widespread homophobia and resulted in one of the greatest public health crises of the 20th century.⁴⁵ AIDS first appeared in major coastal cities in the United States but St. Louis began to see cases as early as 1983, by which time there was still not even a test for HIV, let alone any treatments. Initially the average life expectancy after diagnosis was less than 18 months. The FDA had no approved drugs to combat the disease until 1987, at which point the approved drugs often proved deadlier than the disease itself for many, and the “drug cocktail” that transformed HIV/AIDS from a fatal disease to a chronic one appeared only in 1996. The AIDS crisis of the 1980s and early 1990s was a scourge that killed a large proportion of an entire generation of gay men; it was vast in its scope, swift in its pace, and gruesome in both the bodily aspects of the disease and the inadequate political response at every level that resulted from both homophobia and racism.

Though facing a much smaller scale of infection than places like New York or San Francisco, St. Louis’ response was tempered by its more religiously and politically conservative landscape as well as the comparatively meager gay service infrastructure.⁴⁶ As a result, very few existing organizations embraced the new challenge of AIDS and throughout the 1980s, people with AIDS largely had to create the services they needed while simultaneously battling AIDS. In St. Louis,

⁴³ “Lent—1976,” n.d., Trinity Parish Archives.

⁴⁴ Pneumocystis Pneumonia- Los Angeles, *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report*, 30 (21), June 5, 1981, 1-3.

⁴⁵ Katie Batza, *Before AIDS: Gay Health Politics in the 1970s*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), 2018.

⁴⁶ For example, according to the CDC, by early September, 1985 (four years into the epidemic) New York State had 4, 645 AIDS cases while Missouri had only 59 cases. Centers for Disease Control, “AIDS Cases Reported to CDC Report”, September 2, 1985, 2.

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where there wasn't a gay community center or gay health center with which to partner, that often meant turning to the organizations best known and best equipped to offer a wide range of social services without government funding- religious institutions. Here again, Trinity proved a trailblazer in the first years of the epidemic as a religious organization not exclusively for gay parishioners (MCC remained the only specifically LGBTQ church) that quickly responded to the AIDS crisis.

As it had with the gay political groups of the 1970s, Trinity provided support to the AIDS crisis in the gay community through offering its physical space. In 1984, a small group including Daniel Flier, John Allen, and other gay activists and people with AIDS founded the St. Louis Effort for AIDS, the city's first AIDS related social service organization. Initial meetings and operations occurred in a room above a gay bar in the Central West End but then moved into the newly constructed North Parish Hall addition (built 1980, Photos 11 and 24-29) of Trinity Episcopal Church. While housed in Trinity, the St. Louis Effort for AIDS organization officially incorporated and secured nonprofit status in late 1985 with a modest \$6000 budget mostly raised by asking friends for donations at dinner parties held by the founders.⁴⁷ St. Louis Effort for AIDS provided (and continues to provide) a broad range of services from up-to-date information about the disease and its treatments and support groups for people with AIDS and those around them to connecting people with AIDS with food, housing, pet care, buddy systems, and government programs. Trinity also played host to the Privacy Right Education Project (PREP) that was founded in 1986 after the *Bowers v. Hardwick* Supreme Court decision upheld the laws forbidding sodomy in Georgia.⁴⁸ This organization, that went onto become PROMO, the statewide organization advocating for LGBTQ equality, initially advocated for a number of causes that related to privacy rights, including the rights of people with AIDS to have confidentiality from their doctors as the public reporting of HIV+ status frequently led to job loss, eviction, and other forms of discrimination. Trinity also occasionally provided space to the short-lived St. Louis ACT-UP chapter and partnered with the Metropolitan St. Louis AIDS Program through its food ministry to provide healthy food to people living with AIDS.⁴⁹

Beyond offering space and other forms of financial support, like buying ads in newsletters, to the main AIDS social service and political agencies in the city, "Trinity Episcopal Church was an early haven for people with AIDS."⁵⁰ A handful of congregants became HIV+ in the 1980s and the parish organized care for them as they became weaker and died. People with AIDS also joined the Trinity parish as a result of its openness and dedication to those living with the

⁴⁷ "St. Louis Effort for AIDS- About EFA." Accessed July 22, 2018. http://www.stlefa.org/about_efa

⁴⁸ Martha K. Baker and Etta Taylor, *A History of Trinity Church, St. Louis, 1975-2005* (St. Louis: 2005), 43.

⁴⁹ Martha K. Baker and Etta Taylor, *A History of Trinity Church, St. Louis, 1975-2005* (St. Louis: 2005), 43, 46.

⁵⁰ E-mail from Jym Andris to Katie Batza on July 23, 2018.

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disease.⁵¹ In 1986, Rev. Charles Bewick was forced to leave both his position and parish in another local parish after his HIV+ status became known. Trinity became his new spiritual home, inviting him to occasionally preach when his health allowed. Church clergy and volunteers from the congregation nursed him as he experienced numerous near fatal illnesses until he succumbed to AIDS in 1989. That year, a “heartly handful of Trinitarians” marched in St. Louis’ Pride parade with a banner honoring Rev. Bewick and an artwork commemorating Rev. Bewick still hangs in the entry vestibule of Trinity Episcopal Church today (Photo 33), a testament to the congregation’s dedication and pride in serving those most in need amidst the AIDS crisis.⁵² In the late 1980s, as the AIDS-related death toll in St. Louis began to skyrocket, Trinity faced one of the grim realities of both the disease and the stigma that came with it as individuals who “were pushed away from their families and home churches” needed burials.⁵³ “In April of 1989, Chapman reported to the vestry that burials of people not members of Trinity, especially victims of AIDS “isolated from their own churches,” would be performed.”⁵⁴

Trinity also worked beyond the boundaries of the church walls to battle the stigma of AIDS. “In 1986, Rev. Michael Allen, Dean, Christ Church Cathedral, asked Trinity to co-sponsor an AIDS workshop for the Diocese” and on November 9th of that year, the church joined with the national church to remember AIDS victims.⁵⁵ As the epidemic’s size and scope came into clearer focus in the late 1980s, Trinity provided a rallying cry to other area churches to join the fight, evidenced by Rev. Bill Chapman joining with Trinity member Dr. George Tucker in January of 1988 to present “AIDS and the Churches” at Emmanuel Episcopal Church in Webster Groves. Bill Chapman also used the power of his position and reputation in the community to encourage less fear-driven and homophobic media coverage of the epidemic, writing letters to the media and news outlets about their coverage.⁵⁶ As a result of these efforts, Trinity responded to the AIDS crisis with compassion and love, providing a refuge for people with AIDS, and undertaking and nurturing efforts to make St. Louis a kinder and safer place to be a person with AIDS.

Trinity Episcopal Church and Same-Sex Unions

⁵¹ Katie Batza phone interview with Jym Andris August, 21, 2018; Katie Batza phone interview with Rodney Wilson July 17, 2018; Katie Batza phone interview with Philip Deitch, September 12, 2018; Katie Batza phone interview with Gary H., September 26, 2018.

⁵² Artwork of Trinity Episcopal Church.,

http://ecva.org/congregations/features/trinity_st_louis/03_holy_family_painting.htm. Accessed July 27, 2018; Martha K. Baker and Etta Taylor, *A History of Trinity Church, St. Louis, 1975-2005* (St. Louis: 2005), 35, 39.

⁵³ Martha K. Baker and Etta Taylor, *A History of Trinity Church, St. Louis, 1975-2005* (St. Louis: 2005), 35.

⁵⁴ Martha K. Baker and Etta Taylor, *A History of Trinity Church, St. Louis, 1975-2005* (St. Louis: 2005), 35.

⁵⁵ Martha K. Baker and Etta Taylor, *A History of Trinity Church, St. Louis, 1975-2005* (St. Louis: 2005), 35.

⁵⁶ Martha K. Baker and Etta Taylor, *A History of Trinity Church, St. Louis, 1975-2005* (St. Louis: 2005), 35.

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As Trinity faced the harsh realities of AIDS claiming the lives of many of its members, it also began to grapple with the issue of same sex unions. Historians have argued that in many ways the dire circumstances of the AIDS crisis catalyzed the push for same sex unions and marriage as marriage provided the most obvious and inclusive legal vehicle to obtain many of the rights people with AIDS most needed like hospital visitation rights, transfer of property upon death, access to spousal health insurance, etc.⁵⁷ According to a 2011 interview with Trinity priest Bill Chapman, the ability to bless same sex partnerships had much more to do with the meaning of love and God's love than with legal rights or benefits. To him, the blessing of same-sex couples did not conflict with God's love and laws even if it did with Church doctrine. As a result, he began to hold private blessings of same-sex couples in his office and in non-denominational services held outside the church in 1987.⁵⁸ In his annual report in 1987, he reported "an outward and visible sign of ... grace working among us" when he "prayed with two males as they offered their friendship to God."⁵⁹ This was nothing new. As previously discussed, Rev. Arthur Walmsley of Trinity Church preformed blessing of homes and same-sex unions as early as the 1950s.⁶⁰ However, the national Episcopal church leadership and the Diocese of Missouri often were in tension, if not conflict with the zealous and actions of Rev. Chapman, particularly around the issue of same sex unions and marriage. Discussions of same sex unions and marriage factored heavily at many of the national meetings of this decade with most other Episcopal churches of the city objecting to the proposed practices. Much as it did in providing a safe meeting space for LGBTQ groups in the 1960s and 1970s, here again, Trinity stood apart from other churches in the area, providing a welcoming place. As a result the congregation of Trinity also appeared conflicted about a public blessing of same-sex unions in Trinity with one parishioner writing to Chapman with concerns that "a rift would be opened between Trinity and the rest of the church by acting outside church custom and canon law."⁶¹

Trinity Episcopal Church again proved a tremendous advocate for the LGBTQ community in St. Louis as Chapman set about pushing the stance of the Diocese and national church leadership on same-sex unions by sending "study documents" from the more open Californian Diocese and writing letters to his Bishop.⁶² By 1991, the opposition and slow movement of the Diocese frustrated Chapman as he declared that "It is no longer thinkable not to do it." He decided unilaterally and without seeking advice from the Vestry to hold a Holy Union ceremony between two female parishioners at Trinity. On July 27th of that year, Chapman officiated the union of

⁵⁷ Chauncey, George. *Why Marriage? : The History Shaping Today's Debate over Gay Equality*. New York: Basic Books, 2004.

⁵⁸ Ian Darnell interview with Chapman, July 25, 2011.

⁵⁹ *The Chapman Chapbook*, 59.

⁶⁰ Martha M Baker and Etta Taylor, *The Years: 1975-2005*, Trinity Parish Archives, 33.

⁶¹ Martha K. Baker and Etta Taylor, *A History of Trinity Church, St. Louis, 1975-2005* (St. Louis: 2005), 36.

⁶² Martha K. Baker and Etta Taylor, *A History of Trinity Church, St. Louis, 1975-2005* (St. Louis: 2005), 36-37.

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Carrie Clement and Amy Squire, who assumed the surname Strongheart, in front of a full audience of family, friends, and fellow parishioners.⁶³ Also officiating what was one of the first public same-sex unions by a mainstream congregation in St. Louis was Susan Nanny, co-rector, hired in 1990, and first out lesbian rector of Trinity. Though she had had multiple job offers rescinded when revealing her sexuality, Trinity celebrated her sexuality, writing “Good, that’s exactly what we’ve been looking for!”⁶⁴ However, Rev. Chapman made sure to do the ceremony in such a way so that if the Episcopal church reprimanded anyone for conducting the ceremony, the punishment would come to him at the end of his career rather than to Nanny at the start of hers.⁶⁵ However, no punishment for Chapman ever came, the Strongheart’s union proved the very first of many such ceremonies held at Trinity, and the Diocese approved same sex unions in 1996.

Determining the period of significance for Trinity Episcopal Church under Criterion A in Social History for its association with LGBTQ history is difficult in part because the history is so rich and continues up until today. Thus, the choice of 1993 is somewhat arbitrary, though there were a couple key events that make this year a suitable marker of an end of an era. For one, at 68-years-old Rev. Bill Chapman retired in June of 1993 after forty-one years in the priesthood and twenty-four years at Trinity Episcopal Church. In the words of historian Ian Darnell, “indicative of Chapman’s influence and high stature in St. Louis, Mayor Freeman Bosley Jr.—the city’s first black mayor and the first with close ties to the city’s lesbian and gay activists—declared one Sunday that spring William D. Chapman Day.”⁶⁶ Now over ninety years of age, Bill’s wife Ellie remains an engaged member of Trinity and serves as one of the Parish archivists who has kept many of the meticulous records upon which this nomination is built. The other important event that occurred in 1993 was a Mayoral Forum held in February of that year. On February 8, 1993, Trinity Episcopal church hosted the first ever Mayoral Forum on gay and lesbian rights (figure 5). Five mayoral candidates including four Democrats and one Independent faced a crowd of roughly 130 potential voters for questions and comments after Sunday Church services. The Forum was sponsored by ACTION, a gay and lesbian advocacy group in St. Louis with ties to Trinity.⁶⁷ That year, as numerous cities around the country were weighing civil rights ordinances that would either include for the first time or remove sexual orientation as a protected class, this Mayoral forum was the first of its kind in St. Louis and provided voters a unique opportunity to quiz candidates on stances that generally fell to the wayside in mainstream settings. Questions ranged from police harassment and participation in the Pride Parade to funding for AIDS

⁶³ Baker and Taylor, *History of Trinity Church*, 36-38; Ian Darnell interview with Pfaff, March 25, 2014.

⁶⁴ Martha K. Baker and Etta Taylor, *A History of Trinity Church, St. Louis, 1975-2005* (St. Louis: 2005), 39.

⁶⁵ Martha K. Baker and Etta Taylor, *A History of Trinity Church, St. Louis, 1975-2005* (St. Louis: 2005), 38.

⁶⁶ Ian Darnell, “Expanding the Bounds of Community: The Life of Bill Chapman – Episcopal Priest, Civil Rights Activist, and Gay Rights Pioneer,” unpublished.

⁶⁷ Lori Teresa Yearwood, “Gays Give Five Mayoral Candidates a Grilling – Hopefuls Left Some Cold by Their Answers,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, February 8, 1993, 3A.

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services and civil rights. For Trinity, this event once again illustrated its dedication to serving its LGBTQ parishioners, its commitment to serve the larger community, and its significance to local LGBTQ history under Criterion A: Social History.

Conclusion

In many ways, the 1993 Mayoral Forum epitomizes the ways in which Trinity addressed sexuality and identity throughout the post-war period- it provided space for difficult conversations that touched the lives of parishioners and those in the larger community. Furthermore, it did this in innovative and groundbreaking ways, particularly for a mainstream church whose congregation consisted of interracial, heterosexual and homosexual parishioners. There are accounts of Trinity priests blessing homes and unions of same-sex couples as early as the 1950s. However, Trinity's involvement with the LGBTQ community solidified when the church became the official meeting space of St. Louis' earliest known homophile group, the Mandrake Society, in 1969. Since then it has hosted many other LGBTQ-related activities, namely in the intact Nave and, starting in 1980, North Parish Hall, in addition to its community outreach activities. Whether through the Mandrake Society or its AIDS response, or the Mayoral Forum, Trinity has played a vital and unique role in providing a safe and welcoming stage for the discussion and advocacy of LGBTQ issues in St. Louis. The Central West End and Trinity continue to be a LGBTQ enclave, thus it could be argued Trinity's significance is still ongoing. For the purposes of this nomination, 1993 serves as the end of the period of significance as it coincides with the retirement of one of its most prominent church members, Rev. Bill Chapman, in addition to hosting the first Mayoral Forum that discussed gay and lesbian rights.

While some other area churches and religious institutions have become more welcoming to LGBTQ people, Trinity was the forerunner in St. Louis. In addition to Criterion A: Social History, Trinity Episcopal Church at 600 North Euclid Ave. also meets Criterion Consideration G for its exceptional local significance. It served as a safe space for LGBTQ groups like the Mandrake Society and educational and support efforts in the face of the AIDS epidemic well beyond the traditional 50-year mark. As Trinity's significance stems from these civic efforts, it also meets Criterion Consideration A for religious properties.

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Trinity Episcopal Church
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Trinity Episcopal Church
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N/A
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Verbal Boundary Description

The boundary is depicted in the Figure 2 map and is demarcated by Washington Ave. on the south, N. Euclid Ave. to the west, an alleyway to the north and a line of trees marking the property line to the east.

Boundary Justification

The nominated boundary consists of the current legal parcel, which is the land historically associated with Trinity Episcopal Church at its current location at 600 N. Euclid, St. Louis [Independent City], Missouri.

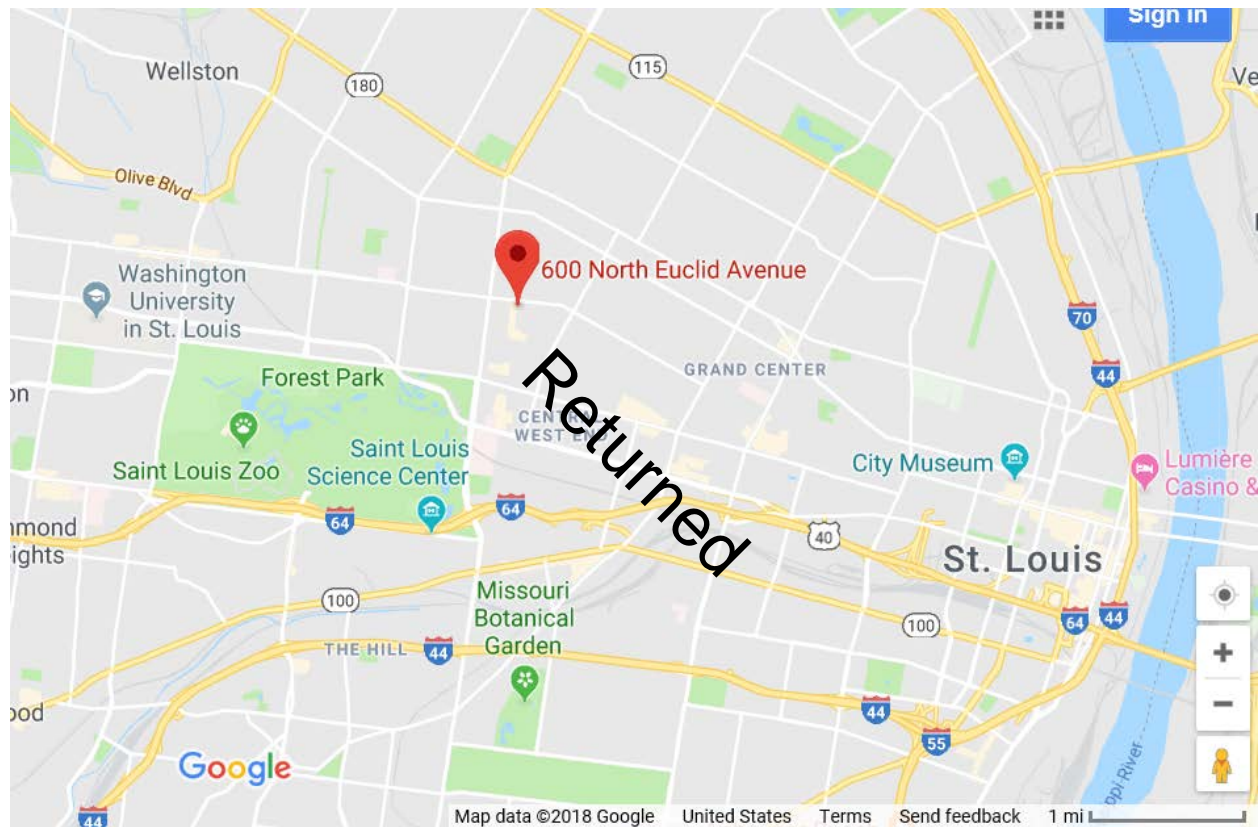
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Figure 1: Contextual Map. Trinity Episcopal Church, 600 N. Euclid Ave.
Source: Google Maps, 2018.



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Figure 2: Site Map Trinity Episcopal Church 600 N Euclid Ave. (noted as 4761 Washington Blvd. on Google Maps). Source: Google Maps, 2018.
Red line denotes boundary. Lat/Long Coordinates: 38.650454 -90.260301



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Trinity Episcopal Church
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Figure 3: Trinity advertisement. From the Mandrake Newsletter.

**TRINITY
EPISCOPAL
CHURCH**

Euclid at Washington Avenues
Saint Louis, Missouri 63108

ALL PEOPLE.....INCLUDING EACH OF YOU.....ARE INVITED TO ATTEND ALL SERVICES
IN THIS HISTORIC ANGLICAN-CATHOLIC PARISH CHURCH WHOSE SPECIAL MISSION IS TO
SERVE THE ENTIRE COMMUNITY. YOU ARE INVITED TO HELP IN THIS MISSION!

SUNDAYS

7:45 A.M. MORNING PRAYER & LOW MASS
(No Choir or Sermon at this service. Light
breakfast in Parish House following service)

10:00 A.M. SOLEMN HIGH MASS
(With Choir & Sermon. Church School for the
children during service. Coffee Hour in Parish
House following service).

WEEKDAYS

Tuesday: 6:45 A.M. Morning Prayer & Low Mass
Wednesday: 5:45 P.M. Evening Prayer & Low Mass
Thursday: 9:45 A.M. Morning Prayer & Low Mass
Masses on Holy Days: As Announced

Confessions: 1st Saturday & By Appointment

CHURCH IS OPEN DAILY FOR PRIVATE PRAYER, MEDITATION AND VISITS BEFORE THE
BLESSED SACRAMENT.....ENTER.....REST.....PRAY.....

PRIESTS SERVING TRINITY PARISH

The Reverend William D. Chapman
The Reverend Richard E. Tombaugh

Both Father Chapman and Father Tombaugh are available for private counseling
by appointment. Telephone: 361-4655.

National Register of Historic Places
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N/A

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Figure 4: 1960 Trinity Picture, from *Living Church*, July 1965, cover.



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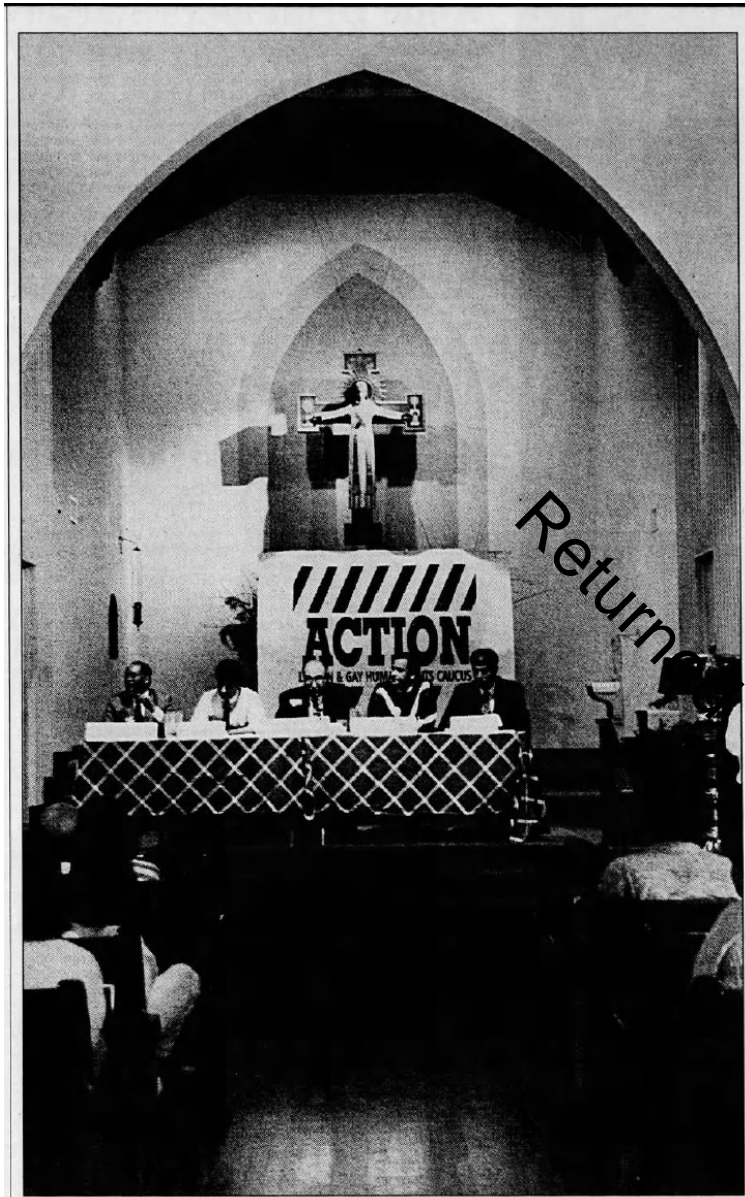
Trinity Episcopal Church

Name of Property
St. Louis [Independent City], MO

County and State
N/A

Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Figure 5: Mayoral debate image from *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, February 8, 1993.



Wendi Fitzgerald/Post-Dispatch
Mayoral candidates gathered Sunday at Trinity Episcopal Church in the Central West End at a forum sponsored by a gay and lesbian advocacy group. From left are Freeman Bosley Jr., William Haas, Anthony D. Ribaldo, Steven C. Roberts and Thomas A. Villa.

**Mayoral Candidates Answer Questions
About, From Gays At ACTION Forum**

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Figure 6: Trinity advertisement in Mandrake Newsletter.

HEY KIDS
STOP
DRINKS
DANCING
FRIENDS
at your
NYK ROOM
Then After Hours & On Sundays There's
**THE GOLDEN GATE
COFFEE HOUSE**
For Fun And Frolic
It's The Late-Night Place To Be
3542 Olive St.

**TRINITY
EPISCOPAL
CHURCH**
Worship at Washington Avenues
Saint Louis, Missouri 63108
ALL PEOPLE.....INCLUDING EACH OF YOU.....ARE INVITED TO ATTEND ALL SERVICES
IN THIS HISTORIC ANGLICAN-EPISCOPAL PARISH CHURCH WHOSE SPECIAL MISSION IS TO
SERVE THE ENTIRE COMMUNITY. YOU ARE INVITED TO HELP IN THIS MISSION!
SUNDAYS
7:45 A.M. MORNING PRAYER & LOW MASS
(No Choir or Sermon at this service. Light
breakfast in Parish House following service).
10:00 A.M. GOLDEN HOUR MASS
(With Choir & Sermon. Church School for the
children during service. Coffee Hour in Parish
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WEEKDAYS
Monday: 6:45 A.M. Morning Prayer & Low Mass
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Mass on Holy Days: As Announced
Confessions: 1st Saturday & By Appointment
CHURCH IS OPEN DAILY FOR PRIVATE PRAYER, MEDITATION AND VISITS BEFORE THE
BLESSED SACRAMENT.....EVER.....REST.....PRAY.....
PRIESTS SERVING TRINITY PARISH
The Reverend William D. Chapman
The Reverend Richard E. Tombaugh
Both Father Chapman and Father Tombaugh are available for private counseling
by appointment. * Telephone: 361-4655.

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Figure 7: *Living Church*, July 2 1965 “Integrated Trinity”

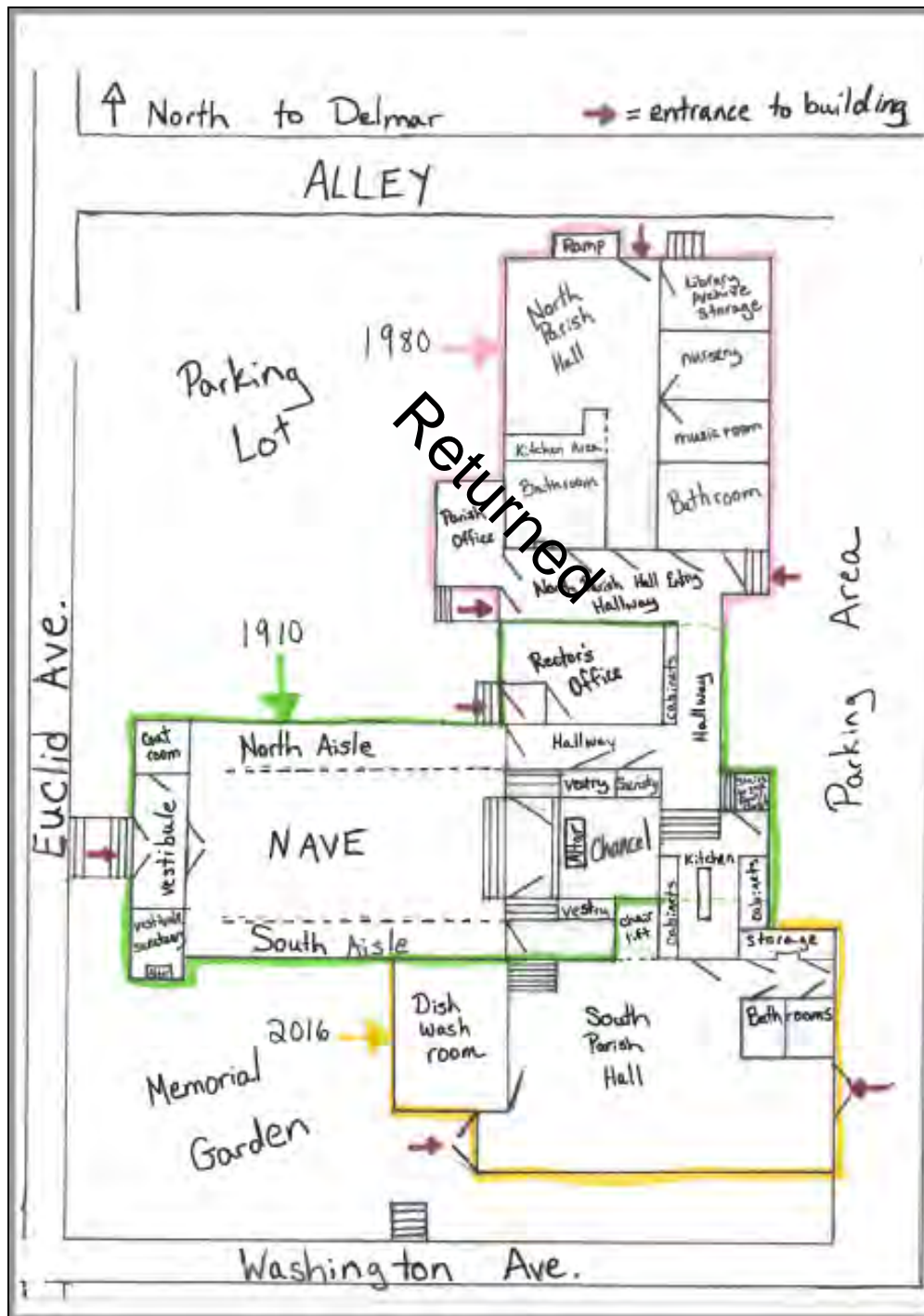


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Trinity Episcopal Church
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Figure 8: Trinity Episcopal Church: First Story Floor Plan. Source: Katie Batza, 2018.

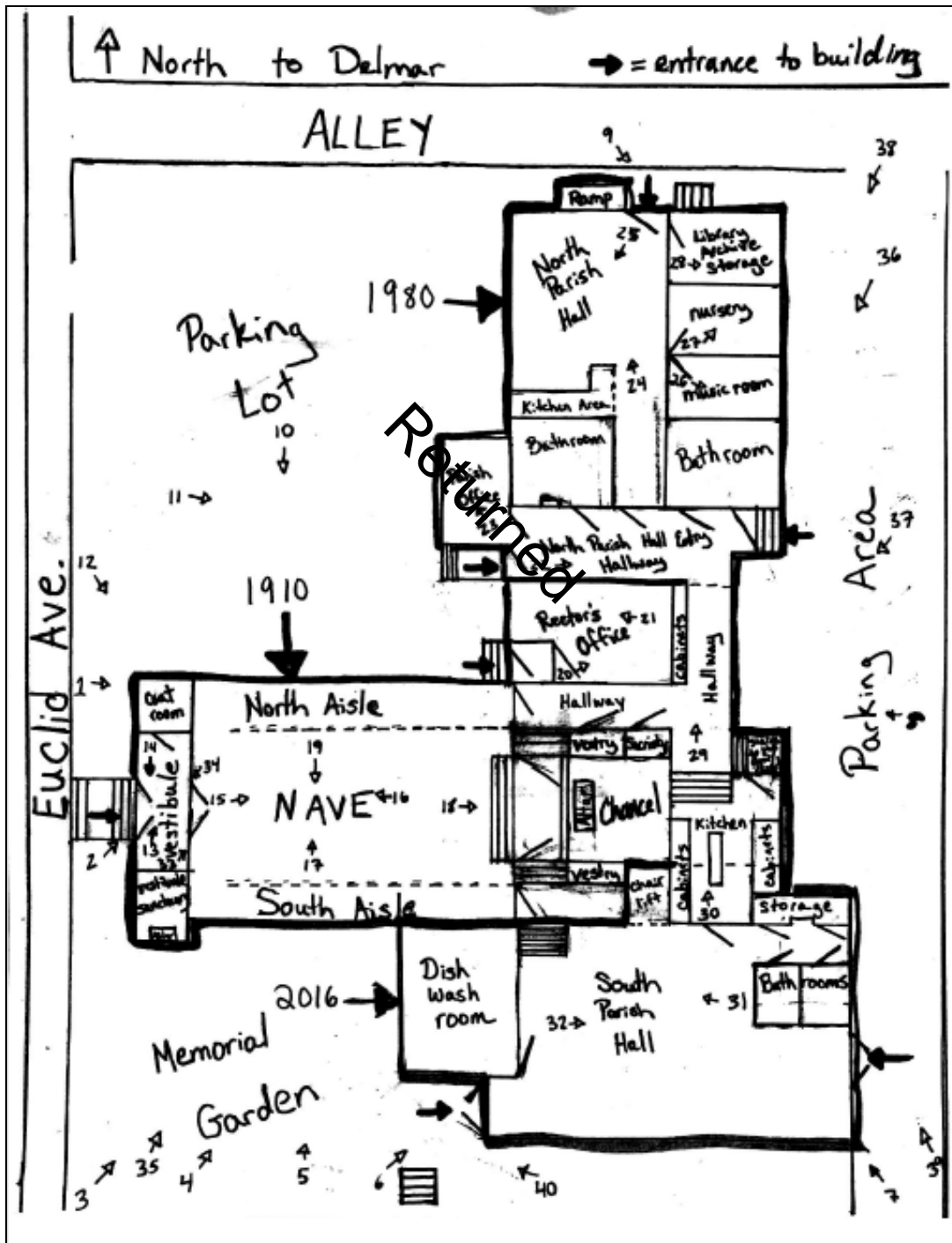


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Figure 9: Photo Log. Source Katie Batza, 2019.



**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service
National Register of Historic Places**

**Comments
Evaluation/Return Sheet**

Property Name: Trinity Episcopal Church
Property Location: St. Louis, Missouri
Reference Number: 10004067
Date of Return: 6-17-19

This property is nominated for its association with the LGBTQ history of the City of St. Louis. Trinity Episcopal Church provided welcoming support for the LGBTQ community, beginning at a time when discrimination was rampant and public acceptance was almost nonexistent. The property is nominated under Criterion A in the area of Social History, with a period of significance beginning in 1969 and ending in 1993. Criteria Considerations A and G are also applied due to the less than 50 year period and because the property is a church. The nomination is being returned because the period of significance is not entirely in keeping with National Register practice. The nomination admits that 1993 end date "is somewhat arbitrary", which is a valid statement (page 24).

Discussion

The historical significance under Criterion A pertains to Trinity's early support for the LGBTQ movement and its services and advocacy on behalf of the LGBTQ people in St. Louis when few other resources were available. The nomination reviews many programs and initiatives that Trinity hosted, sponsored, or encouraged. Although Trinity Church worked with the LGBTQ community "as early as the 1950s" (page 10), the period of significance begins in 1969 when its contributions came "into clear focus" with the founding of the Mandrake Society. This was "the city's first known official gay organization" (page 15), and Trinity Church "permanently hosted the small society within the church building" (page 17). Although this may be reasonable, the nomination describes earlier efforts to serve the entire Central West End, including gay and black communities. Specific LGBTQ events mentioned include the Jazz Mass in 1963, The Exit coffeehouse beginning in 1964 (which Trinity helped sponsor in a nearby building), and "our own 1950s' version of the blessing of same-sex unions" (page 15). Are these activities too vague to be included in the period of significance, or not distinguishing characteristics of Trinity but also typical of other Central West End churches? My question does not suggest that an earlier beginning date for the period of significance can be defended or is appropriate, but questions how it was ruled out.

The period of significance ends with the "1993 retirement of Pastor Bill Chapman, who oversaw and encouraged much of the church's support of the LGBTQ communities throughout this period" (page 10). Chapman became an associated with Trinity in 1970 and was appointed rector in 1979 or 1980.¹ He

¹ The nomination gives 1979 as the year he was appointed rector, but the Archives of the Episcopal Church marks his appointment as rector as 1980. It was consulted because I could not find the date of his arrival at Trinity in the

retired from Trinity in 1993, a few months after the Mayoral Forum on gay and lesbian rights. Because of these two events, 1969 is considered “a suitable marker of an end of an era” (page 24). It is not explained how Trinity’s involvement with the LGBTQ community changed after 1993. In fact, the nomination states, “The Central West End and Trinity continue to be a LGBTQ enclave, thus it could be argued Trinity’s significance is still ongoing” (page 25). Under Criterion A, “for properties associated with historic trends, such as commercial development, the period of significance is the span of time when the property actively contributed to the trend” (*Bulletin 16*, page 42). Perhaps a major chapter of Trinity’s contributions to LGBTQ Social History ended in 1993, but this should be explained with specific examples. It may be that the church did not replace Chapman with as effective a leader or replaced him with someone who had different priorities and, therefore, when he left various initiatives, programs, advocacy, or support was lost. Linking a major shift in church priorities to an individual suggests that Criterion B might have been applied. Please explain.

Most troubling about the rationale for the end date is its basis on the retirement of an individual without the application of Criterion B. Bill Chapman had an important role in the social history significance of the church, and the years he was there coincided with a major period of LGBTQ activism and change. However, the church is not nominated under Criterion B, which would suggest that the period of significance would be “the length of time the property was associated with the important person” (*Bulletin 16*, page 42). This is not to suggest that Criterion B should be applied, but that the end date would make more sense if it was. As mentioned above, there is not a clear explanation of how the life of the church changed in regard to LGBTQ social history after 1993. How did Trinity’s involvement with the LGBTQ community change after Mr. Chapman left?

Bulletin 16 states that “Events and activities occurring within the last 50 years must be exceptionally important to be recognized as “historic” and to justify extending a period of significance beyond the limit of 50 years ago” (page 42). The nomination does not explain a great deal about what was being done for the LGBTQ community in St. Louis by other churches, social service agencies, or other institutions. Extending the period of significance to 1993 requires exceptional significance to be explained. That cannot be done without reference to what else was going on in St. Louis, to prove Trinity was exceptional. The picture in the 1990s was quite different from 1969 when Trinity may have been one of the “only games in town”. This must be explained for 1993 to be an acceptable end date, including the other groups assisting with the AIDS crisis. The end date of 1993 probably reflects the greatest amount of additional research needed for a resubmission.

Is there a strong basis for making the period of significance earlier than 1969? Is the history of Trinity’s work with the LGBTQ community in the 1950s and earlier in the 1960s too unsubstantiated, too anecdotal, or too inconsistent (not a constant activity) to be considered significant? The year 1969 is a pivotal year at Trinity, with formation of the Mandrake Society. Perhaps in 1969 Trinity was formally launched into its important and ongoing work with the LGBTQ community. If true, 1969 could be an end-date for an earlier beginning date (1950s or 60s), with 1969 representing the ongoing (to the present) significance of Trinity’s involvement with the LGBTQ community. This conveys that “activities begun historically continued to have importance and no more specific date can be defined to end the historic period” (*Bulletin 16*, page 42). Another possibility is for the period of significance to be 1969, representing the formation of the Mandrake Society and 50 years ago, when activities begun historically continue.

nomination, which the Archives cites as 1970. See https://episcopalarchives.org/cgi-bin/the_living_church/TLCarticle.pl?volume=218&issue=10&article_id=26

I encourage the National Register staff to arrange to discuss this issue further with me so that an accurate period of significance, in keeping with National Register guidance, can be achieved. The National Register is only recently listing properties associated with LGBTQ history and there are issues to resolve and good nomination models to share—when they become available. If you have any questions or wish to discuss these comments, please contact me at barbara_wyatt@nps.gov or at 202-354-2252

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Barbara Wyatt". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal line extending to the right.

Barbara Wyatt, Historian
National Register of Historic Places

6-17-19



Memorandum

Date: OCT 30 2019
To: Joy Beasley, Keeper of the National Register of Historic Places
From: Mike Sutherland, Deputy SHPO, Missouri SHPO
Subject: Resubmission of Trinity Episcopal Church, St. Louis [Independent City],
Missouri, National Register of Historic Places Nomination

The enclosed National Register nomination is a resubmission of a return. Disc 1 contains a subfolder specifically for our reviewer, Barbara Wyatt, which includes materials that may assist with her review. The nomination was approved by our state review board, the Missouri Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, on **March 29, 2019**. All owners and appropriate elected public officials were notified and provided at least thirty (30) days to comment on the above proposed nomination in accordance with Section 36CFR60.6, interim regulations, using the exact notification format recommended by the National Register. **The enclosed disc contains the true and correct copy of the nomination to the National Register of Historic Places.**

Please find enclosed the following documentation:

1 CD with original National Register of Historic Places registration form and a subfolder for Barbara Wyatt that includes a marked version of the nomination and NPS return comments.

_____ Multiple Property Documentation Form

_____ Photographs

32 CD with electronic images

_____ Original USGS map(s)

2 Piece(s) of correspondence (cover letter and signature page)

_____ Other: _____

Comments:

x Please ensure that this nomination is reviewed: (Resubmission of return)

_____ The enclosed owner objection(s) do _____ do not _____ constitute a majority of property owners.

_____ Other: _____