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## Editorial Forward

*From Which We Came*

Dr. Lason Mackey-Hines

In 1933, Carter Godwin Woodson stated, *The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History is projected on the fact that there is nothing in the past of the Negro more shameful than what is found in the past of other races. The Negro is as human as the other members of the family of mankind. The Negro, like others, has been up at times; and at times he has been down. With the domestication of animals, the discovery of iron, the development of stringed instruments, the advancement in fine art, and the inauguration of trial by jury to his credit, the Negro stands just as high as others in contributing to the progress of the world.*

As we embark on the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Mickey Leland's plane crash, and remember last year's 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Martin Luther King Jr.'s March on Washington, we are still today fighting the same battles of yesterday. The words of knowledge expressed eighty-one years ago in Woodson's book still chimes through the cities, states, and communities of today.

Woodson could not have said it any better, as the Negro (or African American today) is as human as any other human of mankind. The articles written in this edition of the Journal of History and Culture provide a historical knowledge of educational contributions and significant learning of vocational trades, preservation and establishments, struggles, progression, and communication relating to the African American, the same population of humans who have had struggles as have other members of mankind, but have also made great contributions to Texas and the United States.

In the 30s when Woodson wrote his book, there were approximately sixty African American Architects registered in the United States. African Americans have been involved in the building and architecture of this world for years. In 1867, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) formed the first recognized architecture

program, and one year later, Samuel C. Armstrong joined the Freedmen's Bureau and established Hampton Institute to train African-Americans, including many former slaves and Native Americans, and this prototype of teaching opened the doors for the formation of Tuskegee Institute where educating minority groups in various disciplines continued to grow.

Today, when we look at the education of architecture, Prairie View A&M University, School of Architecture, ranks number one in producing architecture undergraduates. The Negro (African Americans) race continues to contribute to society as do the other members of mankind. As we continue to learn from which we came, we also must remember we are all apart of mankind with many skills, abilities, and knowledge to help preserve our history and culture, as well as make living today a better place for all.

**Marginalized Modernisms:  
Progressive Architecture for Minority, Immigrant, and Rural  
Churches in Texas**

Jason John Paul Haskins

**Abstract**

*Marginalization threatens the conservation of post-war churches built by minority, immigrant, and rural communities. Their congregations face economic limitations, social changes, and insufficient resources to maintain their facilities. Many are undocumented and uncelebrated when they fall outside canonical definitions of Modernism, prevailing taste, and mainstream conceptions of historical significance. This paper will explore the social contexts of the development of modern churches for diverse religious identities to aid in their identification and evaluation.*

**A Prelude: The Progressive Architecture of John Chase.**

When John Saunders Chase, Jr. submitted his graduate thesis in 1952, he was the first architect to systematically apply the thorough analytical functionalism of modern architecture to the specific “doctrines and programs of the Negro Baptist church.”<sup>1</sup> In his conception of a program to satisfy the requirements of local autonomy of the Baptist churches, his thesis considered an exhaustive array of practical concerns: lines of sight, acoustics, proximity of various functions, lighting, ventilation and air conditioning, technology, and the distribution of church school facilities.

The hypothetical plan that concluded Chase's thesis recommended the specialization of spaces to address the increasing "concern for the social and economic condition of their people"<sup>2</sup> during what we now recognize as the development toward the African-American Civil Rights Movement. His goal was "a church that was noble in character and one that produced an atmosphere conducive to self-expression, this designer proceeded to solve the problem by designing a church that offered its congregation a definite release from the restraint, strain and restrictions of their daily grind."<sup>3</sup>

Unable to find work as the first African-American architect licensed to practice in the state of Texas, he built his own practice by sharing his thesis with church leaders throughout Texas and building on the importance of the church networks. Acknowledging the church as the "most dominant factor" in the lives of African-American communities,<sup>4</sup> he sought to accommodate an expanded program. In this, his work represented the forefront of trends in church architecture globally<sup>5</sup>. His approach also addressed concerns that dominate church planning across many denominations today as churches strive to become—or sometimes recover what is felt as a lost role as—a viable "third place." Church leadership now seek to design specialized "inclusively sociable places" based on the inherent potential of the church to be "both the basis of community and the celebration of it."<sup>6</sup>



Elements of the program and design features outlined in the thesis carried into John Chase's professional work, such as the Education Building for the historic St. John Missionary Baptist Church, Houston, a 1950 yellow brick classical revival building. Chase's 1963 addition featured a square chapel with a pyramidal roof



**Figure 1. John S. Chase, St. John Missionary Baptist Church (Dowling Street) Education Building and Malone Chapel, Houston, 1963. Photo by the author.**

topped by a futurist sculptural spire and a two-story classroom wing with full-height glazed wall system on the southeast face.

David Chapel in East Austin solved the issues identified in his thesis through different forms. Rather than using a horizontal composition to address the sight line problems in a typical pulpit-choir-baptistery arrangement, Chase used a vertical focal wall to ensure each component was visible and given the appropriate weight. The “open word of God” stood front and center immediately accessible to the congregation while the baptistery provided an elevated focal point and denominational marker.<sup>7</sup> Limited by

available land, single-loaded classroom wings flanked the main sanctuary instead of exterior courtyards. David Chapel also featured a developed narthex, identified as

lacking in most contemporary buildings, and a large community room separated from the sanctuary in part by a movable partition. An open brick and metal cruciform frame tower, frameless beveled corner glazing, and glazed walls with solid colored planes—a feature common in African-American Baptist churches, but here in a de



Figure 3. John S. Chase, David Chapel, Austin, 1959. Photo by the author.



Figure 2. John S. Chase, David Chapel, Austin, 1969. Photo by the author.

Stijl-inspired tessellation—contributed to the progressive language of the design.

John Chase was not the first to propose the suitability of Modern architecture to African-American denominations. For example, Trinity United Methodist Church,

Houston built a modern sanctuary designed by George Pierce and Able Pierce in 1951 with *dalle de verre* windows derived from Afro-American quilting traditions.<sup>8</sup> But Chase clearly articulated the reasons a congregation who is in some way marginalized—minority congregations, immigrant communities, or churches in rural towns—might have chosen to “get away from traditional styles and incorporate modern materials to produce an economical building, expressive of its purpose.”<sup>9</sup>



**Figure 4. George Pierce and Able Pierce ,Trinity United Methodist Church, Houston, 1951. Photo by Ross Wienert.**

**PART I**  
**Marginalized Modern Churches in Texas**

Modern religious architecture and marginalized sub-cultural heritage demand reading modernism from a hermeneutic of continuity<sup>10</sup> that simultaneously encompasses revolution and tradition. While there is no consensus on a comprehensive definition of the Modern Movement, most use a language of rupture to describe themes of “social and aesthetic innovation, using state-of-the-art technology and rejecting values of continuity and tradition”<sup>11</sup> or the “notion that artistic works must look forward to the future without overt references to historical precedent.”<sup>12</sup>

However, even the earliest historiography of self-conscious Modernism constructed deterministic narratives to lend historical justification to the radical.<sup>13</sup> Reactions to the limitations of rejecting history from the Modern Movement’s greatest proponents arose well before the Post-modern discourse.<sup>14</sup> Recent scholarship further underscores the limitations of narrow definitions of the canonical Modern Movement by recognizing the influence of vernacular architectures<sup>15</sup> or national historic aesthetic and material traditions<sup>16</sup> in multiple identities.<sup>17</sup>

Rhetoric of addressing the new challenges of the modern world arose within the Christian churches as well; however, its newness included that of ancient liturgical practices and rediscovery of orthodoxy. It was a *retour aux sources* that emphasized the essential principles of worship expressed in “noble simplicity.”<sup>18</sup> Practioners argued that new Christian architecture should then follow on the basis of

liturgical principles.<sup>19</sup> The traditions they rejected were accretions of excess. While material or ritual languages of abstraction highlight newness and change, it was not a rupture but a non-linear continuity via appeals to lost traditions.

Jean Labatut, influential Director of Graduate Studies at Princeton (1928-1967), developed a new pedagogy of modern architecture rooted in historical precedent and embracing popular culture.<sup>20</sup> His own designs for modern churches sought what he called ‘Eucharistic architecture’: timelessness and direct experience as third way realizing both abstract spirituality and figural corporality characteristic of the “Mystical Body of Christ.”<sup>21</sup>

Related inquiries into worship forms occurred in all denominations—and increasingly between denominations—as education and social activity increased. For example, John Chase observed an attempt to “improve” the worship services in Baptist churches “due mostly to the increasing volume of well-trained and educated members.”<sup>22</sup> Chase participated in a hybrid “progressive architecture” that valued a tradition of innovation, heritage, and advancement.<sup>23</sup>

Minority or diaspora communities who adopted progressive or international styles did so in the context of both assimilation and expression of a unique identity.<sup>24</sup> Conflicting motives resulted in complexly intertwined architectures that were hybrids of international and regional, universal and specific, and new and traditional that sometimes fall outside the realm of mainstream Modernism.<sup>25</sup>

### **Modern Architecture in Texas.**

Modern architecture in Texas grew out of the synthesis of international sources with a strong vernacular heritage. Design influences from outside the state arrived through the accessibility of travel, the proliferation of illustrated publications, architects who trained in the offices of prominent designers or studied at premier institutions before practicing in Texas, and the attraction of the state's growing cities to architects like Philip Johnson. Also pivotal were the Texas Rangers—a group of 1950s University of Texas professors including Colin Rowe<sup>26</sup> and John Hejduk—whose curriculum built on modern principles but with the inclusion of theoretical critiques of historical constructions.<sup>27</sup> One manifestation of this synthesis was Robert Mather, who studied under Mies at IIT, worked for Gropius and partners in Cambridge, traveled from Asia to Europe, and practiced in Stockholm before moving to Austin to design St. Martin's Evangelical Church in 1958.<sup>28</sup> The design of St. Martin's incorporates elements of modern German architecture with primitive ecclesiastic forms.<sup>29</sup>

The vernacular component of Texas modern architecture derived from immigrant builders adapting their known building traditions into simple forms tuned to the specific climate and landscape of the land. In 1968, Clovis Heimsath—himself a designer of churches in Texas—published a documentation of pioneer Texas buildings to showcase their timeless geometric principles resonant with some of the abstract aspects of contemporary architecture. In its forward, Louis Kahn described the Architect “admiring the work of the unschooled men,” built of materials “true to

their nature with clarity and economy” and “sensing in their work their integrity and psychological validity.”<sup>30</sup>

### **Vernacular Churches and Their Influence.**

In order to appreciate the context and continuity of marginalized modernisms, we need to consider buildings that might not fall into mainstream delineations of stylistic Modernism. One relevant body of structures comprises churches founded by freedman in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, whose basic forms contribute to a special type within Heimsath’s vocabulary of pioneer geometry. Such churches are routinely considered eligible for designation under criteria related to historical significance. Rarely listed for their architectural significance, many are abandoned or in need of rehabilitation to continue in their function. As a recent example, the Texas Historical Commission approved a historical marker for Brewington Baptist Church in Houston County in January 2014.<sup>31</sup> A local organization used a crowd-funding website to raise funds for the marker and the restoration of the church.

The current restoration of Capote Baptist Church in Guadalupe County has revealed the work of highly skilled craftspeople. The Wilson family and other freedmen settlers transformed the skills acquired during slavery into a prosperous pottery business and are now recognized as the first African-American Entrepreneurs in Texas.<sup>32</sup> The apparently simple church exterior belies tectonic sophistication: a hierarchical and efficient application of hand-forged nails and the use of a material particularly suited to local soil conditions known as “limecrete” that was developed in Seguin in the 1850s from the same clay used in the Wilson Pottery. Everett Fly, a

landscape architect involved with the restoration, describes the footings as “specifically shaped according to their particular locations, interior, corner and perimeter. It’s obvious that African-American knowledge of local construction materials and techniques has been underestimated.”<sup>33</sup>



**Figure 5. Capote Baptist Church, Guadalupe County, 1874. Photo by the author.**

The preservation project began as part of the efforts of the Wilson Pottery Foundation, descendants of the founding family of Capote. Following decades of decline for rural towns, this effort represents a growing trend of “family members returning to restore and revitalize the towns they remembered as children.”<sup>34</sup> The initiative of the Wilson family and the use of crowd-funding or microloans suggests a bottom-up model of historic preservation and architectural conservation suited to the communities who value these buildings.



The Little Chapel in the Woods on the campus of the College of Industrial Arts (now Texas Women's University) demonstrates the confluence of vernacular and modern architecture in the work of influential Texas architect O'Neil Ford. Ford and Arch Swank designed the building to be built with unskilled labor from the National Youth Administration as well as students and faculty of the college.<sup>35</sup> Amidst the common building methods typical of depression-era public works projects, they based the structure and spatial definition on massive parabolic arches—a union of



**Figure 6.** O'Neil Ford and Arch Swank, Little Chapel in the Woods, Denton, 1938-39. Photo by the author.



**Figure 7.** O'Neil Ford and Arch Swank, Little Chapel in the Woods, Denton, 1938-39. Photo by the author.

mathematical precision and abstracted naturalism celebrated by early modern architects.<sup>36</sup> Two graduate students contributed furnishings and stained glass windows that are now a prime example of the work of women in New Deal art and design.

First Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), another Denton church designed by O'Neil Ford, also displays an explicit union of conventional geometry and progressive architecture.<sup>37</sup> Ford worked with Félix Candela<sup>38</sup> on the distinctive thin shell concrete roof structure. Unlike the typical monolithic saddle roof application of the form, here Candela applied a hyperbolic paraboloid roof to the traditional bayed structure of the Christian basilica within the simple profile of the "Texas basic." As a result, a dynamic undulation occurs within the profile of the humble simplicity of the vernacular country church.



**Figure 8. O'Neil Ford, First Christian Church, Denton, 1958–59. Photo by the author.**



**Figure 9. O'Neil Ford, First Christian Church, Denton, 1958–59. Photo by the author.**

### **Complexity of Intent.**

The two churches by O'Neil Ford question a clear delineation between “modern” and “traditional” architecture and support an inclusive hermeneutic of continuity. In addition to expanding conceptions of modernism to place specific structures in the continuity of church-building and account for cultural differences, we must carefully consider the complexity of their intent—both from the perspective of the architects and the clients who decided to build in an explicitly progressive manner. Given the many hands involved with planning a church, their intents and interpretations may be contested or even contradictory.

The intents of the architects, objectives of the pastors, and aspirations of the congregations need to be carefully documented with an awareness of the danger of over-simplifying causality. A modern architecture could accommodate the particular needs of a local congregation's expanded programs through functionalism and structural efficiency. It had the ability to embody constrained costs and extravagant expressions,<sup>39</sup> international influence and local culture, the aesthetic of an individual designer and an artistic heritage, and innovation and tradition.

### **A Preliminary Survey.**

As a preliminary survey of marginalized modern churches, many overlooked and undocumented, the following selection of buildings represents a range of criteria and types to aid ongoing identification efforts.

Black Baptist churches, following the influence of John Chase and other first generation professional minority architects, increasingly built modern churches. Other examples in Austin include the Olivet Baptist Church and the 1966 building for the oldest black Baptist church in the city, First Baptist Church.<sup>40</sup>



**Figure 10. John S. Chase, Olivet Baptist Church, Austin, 1961. Photo by author.**

There are also examples among other African-American denominations or designated congregations within other denominations. Saint Philip's Episcopal Church, San Antonio, a brick tent-form church built in 1963, was the first permanent home of a congregation founded in 1895 as the first church for African Americans in the Diocese of West Texas.<sup>41</sup>



**Figure 11. St. Philip Episcopal, San Antonio, 1963. Photo by author.**

Lawrence A. Collins, African-American architect and professor at Prairie View A&M University, designed a similar church for Pilgrim Congregational United Church of Christ in Houston in 1971. The abandoned Beaux-Arts modern Sixth Church of Christ, Scientist, opposite Houston's Emancipation Park in an area under development pressures, sold to developers in March 2014.



**Figure 12. Sixth Church of Christ, Scientist, Houston, 1941. Photo by the author.**

Given the disproportionately small number of professional minority architects, influential pastors like Reverend L. L. Campbell of Austin<sup>42</sup> and minority contractors like James M. Thomas of Houston<sup>43</sup> contributed to the designs of churches.

Congregations who did hire professional architects had to look outside their immediate communities. Milton Ryan, best known for his Modernist residential architecture in San Antonio's Terrell Hills neighborhood, designed the First Church of Christ, Scientist in Victoria.<sup>44</sup>



**Figure 13. Milton G. Ryan, First Church of Christ, Scientist, Victoria, 1953.  
Photo by the author.**



**Figure 14. Milton G. Ryan, First Church of Christ, Scientist, Victoria, 1953.  
Photo by the author.**



Roman Catholic Church of Saints Peter and Paul in Plum contracted Maurice J. Sullivan, who had been the city architect for Houston and AIA chapter president, to design their new church in 1945. Parishioners quarried the stone for this abstracted basilica themselves.<sup>45</sup>



**Figure 15. Maurice J. Sullivan, Saints Peter and Paul, Plum, 1945. Photo by the author.**

Austin architects Fehr and Granger, who later won a Progressive Architecture award for the terminal at Austin's Mueller Airport, designed the octagonal Central Baptist Church in Luling. Here too the congregation provided the bulk of the construction labor. "The entire project was 'poorboyed' to achieve the most building cubage for the least expenditure of dollars and cents."<sup>46</sup> Education wings lit by industrial windows featured classrooms arrayed around open plan assembly areas. The octagonal sanctuary combined developments of the auditorium church with

interest in geometric plans while referring to archetypal forms of Christian baptisteries and martyria appropriate to the defining doctrine of the Baptist church.



**Figure 16. Arthur Fehr and Charles Granger, Central Baptist Church, Luling, 1940. Photo by the author.**

Hiring professional architects while donating labor and materials was evidence of the value these communities placed on design even when cost was a limiting factor. A 1946 special issue of *Architectural Record* on churches devoted a section to the problem of building costs that noted “‘archeological’ types certainly are not economical to build. ... By borrowing liberally from industrial construction, many economies will result without sacrifice in beauty or dignity.”<sup>47</sup>

In addition to buildings that expressed those economies of industrial construction, some designers chose to employ industrial material and techniques in the application of 20<sup>th</sup> century movements to traditional. The brick and glass block

towers of St. John Missionary Baptist Church (Gray Street) designed by James M. Thomas represent an abstraction of the Gothic Revival through economic materials. More consciously modern examples include the 1958 Art Deco Gothic St. Joseph Catholic Church in Baytown<sup>48</sup> and the former Trinidad Lutheran Church (Mexican) under consideration for landmark status by the City of San Antonio.<sup>49</sup>



**Figure 17. James M. Thomas, St. John Missionary Baptist Church (Gray Street), Houston, 1946. Photo by the author.**

Many Roman Catholic Churches built for Latino parishes exhibit modern variations on mission revival architecture, particularly in the Dioceses of Corpus Christi, Victoria, and Brownsville. San Antonio architect Harvey P. Smith led the work to document and restore the San Antonio missions during the depression.<sup>50</sup> In 1960, he designed St. Patrick Catholic Church in Bloomington, Texas as a variation on the Southwestern mission with modern fenestration, white stucco, and a parabolic entry.



**Figure 18. Harvey P. Smith, St. Patrick, Bloomington, 1960. Photo by the author.**

The hierarchical denominations provided support beyond the local congregation, more formal architectural heritage, and greater connection to global developments in ecclesiastic architecture. They also had recourse to architect members of the denomination, as in two churches in the Diocese of Austin designed by Leo Danze: the expansion of the African-American parish of Holy Cross in East Austin (1979)<sup>51</sup> and St. John the Evangelist in San Marcos (1970) for a parish with a significant Hispanic population.<sup>52</sup>



**Figure 19. Leo Danze, Holy Cross, Austin, 1979. Photo by the author.**



**Figure 20. Leo Danze, St. John the Evangelist, San Marcos, 1970. Photo by the author.**

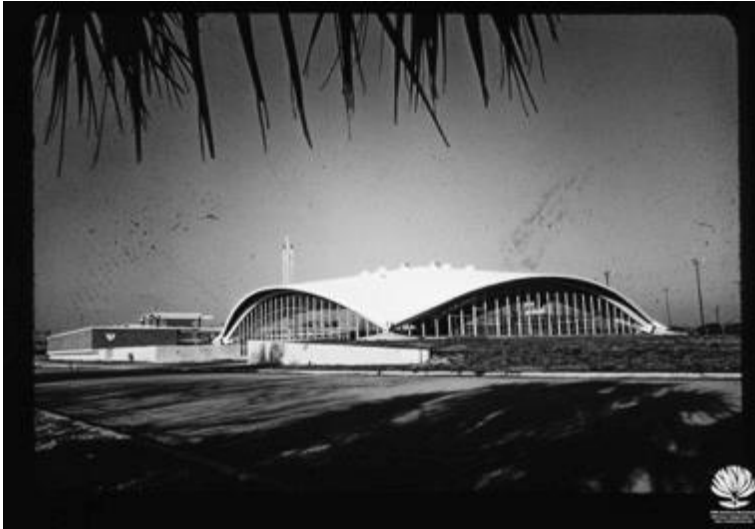
Further Catholic examples illustrate the importance of structural innovation. St. Paul in Mission, Texas, with its shallow thin-shell concrete barrel vault over saw-

tooth perimeter walls with masonry unit *brise soleil*, or St. Anthony in Columbus, with its expressed economical portal frame and industrial free-standing campanile, reflect the influence of international church design in modest applications.



**Figure 21. St. Paul, Mission, 1960. Photo by the author.**

The buildings designed by Caudill, Rowlett & Scott for St. Joseph’s Academy in Brownsville—day lit classrooms, a glulam gym reminiscent of MIT’s Kresge Auditorium, and a structurally expressive chapel—provided the firm’s innovative concepts for educational spaces and structures to a school staffed by refugee priests and brothers who fled violent persecutions in Mexico.<sup>53</sup>



**Figure 22. Caudill Rowlett and Scott, St. Joseph Academy Gymnasium, Brownsville, 1959. CRS Center Archives, College of Architecture, Texas A&M University.**



**Figure 23. Caudill Rowlett and Scott, St. Joseph Academy Chapel, Brownsville, 1959. Photo by the author.**

In the 1960, space age thin shell concrete structures flourished in the Coast Bend region, in part because they were “resistive to the area’s corrosive humidity.”<sup>54</sup> An article touting the revolution in a 1963 Texas Architect included Parkway Baptist Church, the Minor Seminary in Corpus Christi and a Knights of Columbus Hall in Alice.



**Figure 24. Wayne, Gibson & Martin, Minor Seminary, Corpus Christi. Photo by the author.**

These models of identification provide a framework for churches to appreciate the significance of their own buildings based on the context of their development. The evaluation of these related buildings across ethnocultural and denominational distinctions needs to consider both global trends and particular circumstances in architecture and religion.



## **PART II**

### **The Conservation of Marginalized Modern Churches**

As an increasing body of post-World War II religious buildings reaches the half-century threshold, relocations and changing needs of congregations lead to reassessment of their utility and significance. Modern Texas churches vacated by their congregations and recently lost to demolition include Central Presbyterian Church in Houston, designed by Astrodome architects Wilson, Morris, Crain & Anderson in 1960–1962 and demolished in 2010, and Trinity Lutheran Church in Dallas, designed by Koetter & Tharp in 1961. The Texas Society of Architects honored the distinguished design of Trinity Lutheran in 1961.<sup>55</sup> Before its demolition in 2013, the building's owner and the city Office of Cultural Affairs managed to save the historically significant stained glass by Mexican-born artist Octavio Medellín.<sup>56</sup>

These are examples of churches in relatively affluent urban or suburban neighborhoods. The even greater challenges for a disadvantaged congregation maintaining or preserving a modern building arise from the mutually reinforcing difficulties of conserving the recent past, the characteristics of modern architecture, disregard for or ignorance of minority cultural heritage, and the tensions of modern churches.

### **Conservation of the Recent Past.**

Urban renewal and infrastructure projects following World War II contributed to the displacement of low-income residents and the destruction of historical sites. As a response, the National Historic Preservation Act (1966) led to a uniquely American

market-driven system of interrelated federal, state, and local legislation wherein public organizations work in partnership with experts, property owners and the private sector.<sup>57</sup> Increases in advocates and funding brought preservation out of a narrow, elite definition of historical significance and provided increased opportunity for local, recent<sup>58</sup>, and ethnoculturally diverse significance.<sup>59</sup>

The familiarity, number, and viability of recent buildings hinder their appreciation while in a liminal state between having fallen out of style but not yet passed through a Darwinian process of selection wherein scarcity establishes value.<sup>60</sup> By encouraging earlier appreciation of recent but impermanent cultural heritage, communities and specialists can more actively participate in retaining the buildings they determine to be most significant, not just the most circumstantially lucky; however, the processes of redevelopment frequently reveal inequitable balance in favor of economic interests over the local significance of existing structures to displaced residents.

### **Conservation of Modernism.**

When the architecture of the recent past is also Modernist, certain technical challenges and problems of perception enter the equation. Post-war construction booms and new construction techniques and materials introduced the building as commodity. The reduced durability of the resultant structures—which may be less likely to reach the traditional 50-year standard—feeds a rapid pace of re-development and negative emotional responses.<sup>61</sup>

The United States chapter of the International Committee for the Documentation and Conservation of Buildings, Sites, and Neighborhoods of the Modern Movement (Docomomo US) lists criteria for evaluating Modern sites and includes “technological merit” and “social merit” in addition to “artistic and aesthetic merit.”<sup>62</sup> The technological marker involves “innovative modern technology to solve structural, programmatic, or aesthetic challenges.” However, innovative techniques and materials require analogous innovations in the techniques for their preservation. Significant but failed experiments in materials later discovered to be toxic add to the complexity of preservation efforts. Significant but failed social experiments, especially in public housing for low-income residents, contributed to negative public perception that hinders preservation of other modern buildings.

Shifting social values and the programs of modern buildings similarly require a shift in the evaluation of architectural and historical significance. In some cases Modernism’s emphasis on expressed functionalism limits reuse for other functions; conversely, adaptive reuse may destroy the structure’s original social significance and the conceptual intent of the author.<sup>63</sup>

### **Conservation of Minority Cultural Heritage.**

Challenges are compounded for communities without political champions and resources to preserve their heritage. Economic and legal restrictions limited the development of endemic architectures and reduced the number of potentially significant sites. Instead, place-making often occurred through cultural artifacts other than whole buildings. For example, architecture of the Chicano Movement relied

heavily on manipulation of existing surfaces with motifs incorporating pre-Columbian deities and patterns with colonial and revolutionary imagery.<sup>64</sup>

Just as the previously established standards of significance may not apply to modern buildings, they may not represent the values of minority and immigrant communities or non-monumental sites.<sup>65</sup> Recognizing the need in the case of Latino heritage, the National Park Service commissioned a theme study to help “tell the layered story of American Latinos as an integral part of the history, culture, and politics of the United States.”<sup>66</sup> Additionally, the specific criteria of “traditional cultural significance” apply to the majority of these sites, especially for active congregations with defined cultural identity when their architecture reflects “association with cultural practices or beliefs of a living community that are rooted in that community's history and are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community.”<sup>67</sup>

The dispute in 2013 over the demolition of the Univision Building in San Antonio highlights the challenges of preserving marginalized modern sites. A review by the Texas Historic Commission found that the Univision building was eligible for listing under both ethnic heritage and architectural designations<sup>68</sup> as the headquarters and studios of the first full-time Spanish-language television station in the United States,<sup>69</sup> the first to be owned by a Mexican-American,<sup>70</sup> and the first radio station in San Antonio to air a regular black program.<sup>71</sup> Its architectural significance derived from its innovative design to accommodate state-of-the-art broadcast technology in an emerging building type.



**Figure 25. Demolition of the Univision Building, San Antonio. Photo by Stuart Johnson.**

Its demolition represented a failure of the preservation process. According to activists fighting for the building’s preservation, city officials “expressed the opinion that the building was ugly, ignoring—or perhaps ignorant of—the guidelines used to determine historic significance, guidelines in which aesthetics play no role.”<sup>72</sup> The city disregarded input from preservation experts, community groups, and the state commission in favor of economic development. This case raised the question of what we expect history to look like, whether it is an unrecognized style or it is the history of another culture.

### **Conservation of Modern Churches.**

Ideological differences created tensions for church architecture for both the architect and the church.<sup>73</sup> Some self-consciously Modern architects rejected religion

outright; others considered the religious as merely another assembly function. Many in the church questioned the appropriateness of modern architecture for religion, and that persistent question impedes the conservation of modern church buildings.

It is a theme in the conservation of difficult modern architecture generally that the greatest need is “not buildings that die spectacularly but that simply live effectively.”<sup>74</sup> As needs change, a modern church building can become a burden on a congregation. The first step in saving the building is supporting its inhabitants. Although there are examples of secularized reuse, “a church, even of cathedral status, without a ministry to people quickly loses its reason for being.”<sup>75</sup>

### **Bethlehem Baptist Church.**

Given the international development of modern architecture, conservation precedents of architectures that influenced local designs suggest approaches to their conservation.<sup>76</sup> A recent effort to restore and list the Rudolf M. Schindler-designed Bethlehem Baptist Church as an Historic-Cultural Monument exemplifies the challenges and opportunities of conserving marginalized modern religious architecture.

One African-American Baptist church in Los Angeles has been recognized by the city as a significant part of the history of Mid-century California Modernism. Bethlehem Baptist Church, completed in 1945, was the work of one of the seminal figures in the movement. Schindler was most well known as a residential architect before World War II and for working for clients, as a 2001 LA MoCA exhibition put

it, “with more taste than money.” Bethlehem Baptist was his only realized church building and exemplifies his investigations into achieving ‘space architecture’ through economical construction. Most notably, it was unique among the work of that early group of California Modernists as “the lone example of Modernist architecture to cross Los Angeles economic and racial boundaries in the era of Jim Crow housing covenants.”<sup>77</sup>

The congregation had planned to build after the end of World War II, and African-American architect James Homer Garrott prepared a relatively modest Mission Revival design for the church. But when a devastating fire in 1943 forced them to build during the war when costs were “sky-high,” they hired R. M. Schindler to design a modern building. The transition from African-American Garrott to Austrian-American Schindler was swift and delicate.<sup>78</sup> While cost appears to have been a factor, according to Reverend C.J. Hall, the pastor at the time, “some of the congregation had the idea that the church should reach toward the future as well as the past. . . . It took people a while to get used to it. Now they’ve lost all sense of it being different. In time the community will forget completely that it breaks from tradition.”<sup>79</sup>

“Although at first glance the building doesn’t look a bit like a church, the superstructure is cruciform, the mood, if not devout in any conventional old-world sense, is serious and purposeful. Most compelling features of the design is the breaking with clichés in order to utilize a limited area sensibly.”<sup>80</sup> The main sanctuary consisted of an L-shaped room with seating in each arm and the platform for the

baptistery and pulpit in the corner. The pulpit's placement gave an illuminated centrality and immediate accessibility to the Word of God.<sup>81</sup> The cruciform tower rose from the opposite inside corner with the front doors below its skylights.

Schindler, like Chase, recognized the prominence of the social role of the church in African-American culture and religion. Accommodating an expanded range of functions, both planned and incidental, led to the non-typical design. Schindler compared his design to the "usual church" where "the congregation arrives, finds pews and sits until the service is over. Then they stand on the public sidewalk in front of the church to chat. There is no freedom of movement. People are incidental to the church. But in the Bethlehem Baptist Church people are needed to complete the picture. . . . Only modern architecture takes into account this social aspect of the church."<sup>82</sup>





**Figure 26. Rudolph Schindler, Bethlehem Baptist Church, Los Angeles, 1941, photo taken May 2012, prior to restoration. Photo by Robert Mace.**



**Figure 27. Rudolph Schindler, Bethlehem Baptist Church, Los Angeles, 1941, photo taken Easter 2014, after restoration. Photo by Robert Mace.**

The city Cultural Heritage Board first assessed the building in 1972. The Cultural Heritage Committee of the AIA opined, “since the building was constructed under a very low budget, it was not one of R.M. Schindler’s best works.”<sup>83</sup> This assessment disregards both the significance of broadening the accessibility of Modernism and a defining characteristic of Schindler’s architecture. In 2009, the city declared the church to be a Historic-Cultural Monument. At the time it was

abandoned and deteriorating. But the building is now home to a new congregation, Faith Build International, who reopened the restored church for Easter 2014.<sup>84</sup>

### **Conclusions.**

Many of the churches identified, and many more underrepresented in the current preservation system, would benefit from similar support in the recognition and restoration of their buildings. Religious buildings are often fundamental properties in the history of marginalized communities because the church was one of the few organizations autonomously operated by slave, segregated, or otherwise repressed communities.

Policy changes that increase recognition of diverse traditional cultural properties and support sites that seem insignificant to those not directly involved in their inhabitation would aid in this effort.<sup>85</sup> Continued education on the values encoded in modern religious architecture will provide context to evaluate significance. At the local level, the historic centrality of religious congregations to many marginalized communities suggests alternative approaches to conservation: partnerships between churches, interdenominational co-location, space-sharing arrangements between churches and compatible non-profit service providers,<sup>86</sup> crowd-sourcing and microloans, and other grassroots techniques. With any approach, increased stakeholder involvement will be paramount.<sup>87</sup> For an active congregation, the first step in saving the church building must be supporting the living culture, ministry, and faith of its inhabitants.

## End Notes

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<sup>1</sup> John S Chase, "Progressive Architecture for the Negro Baptist Church" (M.Arch Thesis, University of Texas, 1952), iii.

<sup>2</sup>Chase, "Progressive Architecture," 15.

<sup>3</sup> Chase, "Progressive Architecture," 82.

<sup>4</sup> Chase, "Progressive Architecture," 15-16.

<sup>5</sup> In this regard, Chase expanded with specificity on the trends identified in George D Butler, "Church Planning for Recreation," AIA Bulletin, vol 2., no. 3, May 1948 34–35; and foreshadowed some of the ideas later put forth in J G Davies, *The Secular Use of Church Buildings* (New York: Seabury Press, 1968).

<sup>6</sup> Oldenburg, *The Great Good Place*, 14.

<sup>7</sup> Chase, "Progressive Architecture," Plate 1-A

<sup>8</sup> "Stained Glass Windows," *Tritnity United Methodist Chruch* website, accessed May 12, 2014, <http://www.tumchouston.org/118839>

<sup>9</sup>Chase, "Progressive Architecture," 83.

<sup>10</sup> The language of a "hermeneutic of continuity" borrows from Pope Benedict XVI's Christmas Address to the Roman Curia, December 22, 2005, where it refers to the interpretation of the Second Vatican Council documents as reform or "renewal in the continuity of the one subject-Church" which "increases in time and develops, yet always remaining the same." [http://www.vatican.va/holy\\_father/benedict\\_xvi/speeches/2005/december/documents/hf\\_ben\\_xvi\\_spe\\_20051222\\_roman-curia\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/speeches/2005/december/documents/hf_ben_xvi_spe_20051222_roman-curia_en.html)

<sup>11</sup> Hubert-Jan Henket, "Back from Utopia: The Challenge of the Modern Movement," *Back from Utopia: The Challenge of the Modern Movement*, ed. Hubert-Jan Henket & Hilde Heynen (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2002), 9.

<sup>12</sup> "How to evaluate modern buildings and sites," Docomomo US, accessed February 8, 2014, [http://www.docomomo-us.org/register/how\\_to\\_evaluate](http://www.docomomo-us.org/register/how_to_evaluate)

<sup>13</sup> Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pioneers of the Modern Movement from William Morris to Walter Gropius* (London: Faber and Faber, 1936) and Emil Kaufmann, *Von Ledoux bis Le Corbusier: Ursprung and Entwicklung der autonomen Architektur* (Vienna: Verlag, 1933). In *Space, Time and Architecture*, Sigfried Gideon went further to proclaim the importance of "constituent facts" over "transient facts" in forming a new tradition.

<sup>14</sup> Sibyl Moholy-Nagy's *Native Genius in Anonymous Architecture* (1957), Aldo van Eyk's inclusion of pueblos alongside Greek classical temples and abstract modernism in his *Otterlo Circles* (1959), and the 1964 MOMA exhibit 'Architecture without Architects.'

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<sup>15</sup> Kevin D. Murphy, "The Vernacular Moment: Eleanor Raymond, Walter Gropius, and New England Modernism between the Wars," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 70, no. 3, September 2011, 308-329.

<sup>16</sup> Enrique X. de Anda Alanís, "The Preservation of Historic Architecture and the Beliefs of the Modern Movement in Mexico: 1914–1963," *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation, History, Theory, and Criticism* 6, no. 2, Winter 2009, 58-73.

<sup>17</sup> Vladimir Kulic, Timothy Parker, and Monica Penick, ed. *Sanctioning Modernism: Architecture and the Making of Postwar Identities* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014).

<sup>18</sup> The constitutions of the Second Vatican Council codified the church's response to modern movements, especially in the *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (Sacrosanctum Concilium)* and the *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World (Gaudium et Spes)*.

<sup>19</sup> Among the voices calling for an architecture based on primitive or ancient liturgical practice were Rudolf Schwarz in *Vom Bau der Kirche* (1938), published in English as *The Church Incarnate: The Sacred Function of Church Architecture* (1958), and Peter Hammond in *Liturgy and Architecture* (1960).

<sup>20</sup> Jorge Otero-Pailos, *Architecture's Historical Turn: Phenomenology and the Rise of the Postmodern* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).

<sup>21</sup> Pope Pius XII, *Mediator Dei*, November 20, 1947, in *Papal Archives of the Holy See*.

<sup>22</sup> Chase, "Progressive Architecture," 35.

<sup>23</sup> While touting the benefits of progressive architecture, Chase dedicated half of his thesis to the history and disposition of the African-American churches and the community principles that led to the expanded social activities of the churches. These in turn provided the environment in which the Civil Rights Movement developed.

<sup>24</sup> The same tensions existed in emerging nations after World War II—i.e., Brazil, Israel, Pakistan, Czechoslovakia—who also borrowed the international language of modern architecture as part of efforts to construct or redefine a national identity.

<sup>25</sup> Jean-Louis Cohen, "International Rhetoric, Local Response" and Geert Bakaert, "'Modern Classicism' or The Critical Function of Regionalism" in *Back from Utopia: The Challenge of the Modern Movement*, ed. Hubert-Jan Henket & Hilde Heynen (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2002).

<sup>26</sup> Rowe explored the resonance of modernism and earlier architectures via post-mortem analysis in essays like "The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa," first published in *Architectural Review* in 1947.

<sup>27</sup> Alexander Caragonne, *The Texas Rangers: Notes from the Architectural Underground* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995).

<sup>28</sup> Richard Swallow (1987). *Robert George Mather: In Memoriam 1921-1984*. MATHR Box 1. Robert G. Mather Papers. The Alexander Architectural Archive. The University of Texas Libraries. The University of Texas at Austin.

<sup>29</sup> Jason John Paul Haskins, "Saint Martin's Evangelical Lutheran Church: Modernity and Continuity," *Docomomo US Blog*, February 2, 2012, [http://docomomo-us.org/news/saint\\_martin%E2%80%99s\\_evangelical\\_church\\_modernity\\_and\\_continuity](http://docomomo-us.org/news/saint_martin%E2%80%99s_evangelical_church_modernity_and_continuity)

<sup>30</sup> Louis Kahn, foreword to *Pioneer Texas Buildings: A Geometry Lesson*, by Clovis Heimsath (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968).

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<sup>31</sup> "Historical Marker Application Approved for Augusta's Brewington Baptist Church," *Houston County Courier*, vol. 125, no. 14, February 16, 2014, A1.

<sup>32</sup> "History," *Wilson Pottery Foundation*, accessed September 11, 2013, <http://wilsonpotteryfoundation.org/founders.html>

<sup>33</sup> Everett Fly, "Capote Baptist Church Sustainable Construction-1," *Everett L. Fly*, May 18, 2013, accessed September 11, 2013, <http://www.everettfly.com/capote-baptist-church-sustainable-construction-1/>.

<sup>34</sup> Ellen Hunt, email to author, May 30, 2013.

<sup>35</sup> Mary Carolyn Hollers George, "LITTLE CHAPEL IN THE WOODS," *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, June 15, 2010, accessed June 19, 2014, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ccleb>

<sup>36</sup> For example, they are prominent in Antoni Gaudí's structural experiments for Church of Colònia Güell and the Sagrada Família.

<sup>37</sup> Hugh Ayer, "Architecture," *First Christian Church Website*, accessed November 16, 2013, <http://www.fccdenton.com/about-us/8-2/>

<sup>38</sup> Dianne Susan Duffner Laurence, "A Symbiotic Relationship Between Mid-Century Modern Masters: The Collaborative Works of Arthur and Marie Berger, Landscape Architects, and O'Neil Ford, Architect," (Thesis, The University of Texas at Arlington, 2007), 61.

<sup>39</sup> St Basil Catholic Church on Wilshire Boulevard in Los Angeles entered the history of the Chicano Movement as it became the target of protests as a symbol of excess "that graphically illustrates the misapplication of funds which should be devoted to the poor and to social justice." Dan L Thrapp, "Catholic Group Stages Fast in Church Protest," *Los Angeles Times*, Jan 4, 1970, B3. The Brutalist design itself became part of the content of the protests. Oscar Zeta Acosta described it as "McIntyre's personal monstrosity ... a harsh structure for puritanical worship, a simple solid excess of concrete, white marble and black steel. It is a tall building with a golden cross and jagged cuts of purple stained glass thirty feet in the air, where bleeding Christ bears down on the people of America below."

<sup>40</sup> Clyde McQueen, *Black Churches in Texas* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2000), 64.

<sup>41</sup> "Saint Philip's Episcopal Church," *Texas Historic Sites Atlas*, Texas Historical Commission, accessed June 20, 2014, [http://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/viewform.asp?atlas\\_num=5029011749](http://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/viewform.asp?atlas_num=5029011749)

<sup>42</sup> John S Chase, "Progressive Architecture for the Negro Baptist Church" (M.Arch Thesis, University of Texas, 1952), 33.

<sup>43</sup> St. John Missionary Baptist Church Historical Marker, Texas Historical Commission.

<sup>44</sup> Joseph Edwin Blanton, *The Organ in Church Design* (Albany, Texas: Venture Press, 1957), 105-110.

<sup>45</sup> Katie Kulhanek, "The History of Sts. Peter and Paul Catholic Church in Plum," *Fayette County History*, accessed May 15, 2014, <http://www.fayettecountyhistory.org/plum.htm>

<sup>46</sup> "'Poorboyed' Baptist Church," *Architectural Record* 100, No. 4, (October 1946), 107.

<sup>47</sup> Paul C. Ruth, "Modern Church and Building Costs," *Architectural Record* 100, no. 4, (October 1946), 106.

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<sup>48</sup> "St. Joseph Catholic Church," *Houston Deco: Modernistic Architecture of the Texas Coast*, Preservation Houston, accessed June 21, 2014, <http://www.houstondeco.org/1950s/stjoseph.html>

<sup>49</sup> City of San Antonio Office of Historic Preservation, Westside Proposed Landmarks Phase II, 2013, [https://www.sanantonio.gov/historic/Docs/Westside\\_Phase\\_II.pdf](https://www.sanantonio.gov/historic/Docs/Westside_Phase_II.pdf)

<sup>50</sup> "Harvey P. Smith: An Inventory of his Drawings and Field Notes, 1929-1957," The Alexander Architectural Archive. The University of Texas Libraries. The University of Texas at Austin. <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/taro/utaaa/00024/aaa-00024.html>

<sup>51</sup> Roxanne J. Evans, "BLACK CATHOLICS," *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, September 19, 2010, accessed June 21, 2014. <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/icb03>; "Dedication Program," November 25, 1979. Austin Files, Austin History Center. Austin, TX.

<sup>52</sup> "Dedication Souvenir Booklet," 11. San Marcos-Hays County Collection, San Marcos Public Library.

<sup>53</sup> Brother Martin Thomas, F.M.S., "Chapter VI - Brief Histories of Marist Communities: The South" *The Historical Growth and Development of the Marist Brothers in the United States*, revised October 29, 2010. Marist Heritage Project, Archives and Special Collections, James A. Cannavino Library, Marist College, <http://library.marist.edu/archives/writtenHistory/chapterVI/theSouthCh6.htm>

<sup>54</sup> "The Coastal Bend Revolution," *Texas Architect*, December 1963, 4-16.

<sup>55</sup> "Texas Architecture 1961: Honored for distinguished design," *Texas Architect*, January 1962, 14-15.

<sup>56</sup> "Before they raze Trinity Lutheran Church on Gaston to make way for Y, city to rescue 'significant' stained glass windows," *DallasNews City Hall Blog*, August 19, 2013, <http://cityhallblog.dallasnews.com/2013/08/before-they-raze-trinity-lutheran-church-on-gaston-to-make-way-for-y-city-to-rescue-significant-stained-glass-windows.html/>. For more on Octavio Medellín, see the Octavio Medellín: Works of Art and Artistic Processes, Bywaters Special Collections, held at Southern Methodist University (<http://digitalcollections.smu.edu/all/cul/med/>); and Stephanie Lewthwaite, "Modernism in the Borderlands: The Life and Art of Octavio Medellín," *Pacific Historical Review* 81, no. 3 (August 2012), pp. 337-370.

<sup>57</sup> Robert E. Stipe, "Historic Preservation: The Process and Actors," in *American Mosaic: Preserving a Nation's Heritage*, ed. Robert E. Stipe and Antoinette J. Lee (Washington, D.C.: US/ICOMOS, 1987).

<sup>58</sup> Explicitly considered under Criterion G: Properties That Have Achieved Significance Within the Last Fifty Years. Marcella Sherfy and W. Ray Luce, *National Register Bulletin 22: Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties that Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of The Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places, 1979, revised 1998).

<sup>59</sup> Robert E. Stipe, "Discovering Old Cultures in the New World: The Role of Ethnicity," in *American Mosaic: Preserving a Nation's Heritage*, ed. Robert E. Stipe and Antoinette J. Lee (Washington, D.C.: US/ICOMOS, 1987).

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<sup>60</sup> For further discussion of these characteristics, see Andrew Saint, "Philosophical Principles of Modern Conservation," in *Modern Matters: Principles and Practice in Conserving Recent Architecture*, ed. Susan MacDonald (Shaftesbury: Donhead, 1996), 15–28.

<sup>61</sup> Deborah Edge Abele and Grady Gammage, Jr., "The Shifting Signposts of Significance," *Preserving the Recent Past 2*, ed. Deborah Slaton and William G. Foulks. (Washington, D.C.: Historic Preservation Education Foundation, 2000), 2-7-2-11.

<sup>62</sup> "How to evaluate modern buildings and sites," *Docomomo US*, accessed February 8, 2014, [http://www.docomomo-us.org/register/how\\_to\\_evaluate](http://www.docomomo-us.org/register/how_to_evaluate)

<sup>63</sup> Andrew Saint, "Philosophical Principles of Modern Conservation," in *Modern Matters: Principles and Practice in Conserving Recent Architecture*, ed. Susan MacDonald (Shaftesbury: Donhead, 1996), 20–22.

<sup>64</sup> Martin D. Rosen and James Fisher, "Chicano Park and the Chicano Park Murals: Barrio Logan, City of San Diego, California," *The Public Historian* 23, no. 4, Fall 2001, 99-111; Edgar Garcia, *Chicano Architecture*, accessed June 2, 2014, <http://chicanoarchitecture.wordpress.com/>

<sup>65</sup> David W. Morgan, Nancy I. M. Morgan and Brenda Barret, "Finding a Place for the Commonplace: Hurricane Katrina, Communities, and Preservation Law," *American Anthropologist* 108, no. 4, December 2006, 706-718.

<sup>66</sup> Frances Negrón-Muntaner and Virginia Sánchez-Korrol, "Introduction," *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: Theme Study*, National Park Service, 2013, accessed June 21, 2014, [http://www.nps.gov/latino/latinothemestudy/pdfs/Panel\\_Intro\\_web\\_final.pdf](http://www.nps.gov/latino/latinothemestudy/pdfs/Panel_Intro_web_final.pdf)

<sup>67</sup> Patricia L. Parker and Thomas F. King, *National Register Bulletin 38: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of The Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places, 1990, revised 1998).

<sup>68</sup> Mary Tuma, "Inside the Messy Demolition of the Univision Building," *San Antonio Current*, November 20, 2013, accessed June 9, 2014, <http://sacurrent.com/news/inside-the-messy-demolition-of-the-univision-building-1.1588303>.

<sup>69</sup> Teresa Palomo Acosta, "SPANISH-LANGUAGE TELEVISION," *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, June 15, 2010, accessed June 9, 2014, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ecs01>

<sup>70</sup> Lauren Walser, "Lost: Univision Building Demolished in San Antonio," *PreservationNation* Blog, November 20, 2013, accessed June 9, 2013, <http://blog.preservationnation.org/2013/11/20/lost-univision-building-demolished-in-san-antonio/#.U5Zg9ZRdU63>

<sup>71</sup> "Univision Building Comes Down...Kinda," *The Source*, Texas Public Radio, November 5, 2013.

<sup>72</sup> "Willful Neglect: San Antonio's Historic Preservation Calamity," *La Voz de Esperanza*, vol. 26, no. 10, December 2013/January 2014, 4–5.

<sup>73</sup> The most thorough study to date of the full range of factors in Modern church architecture is Robert Proctor, *Building the Modern Church: Roman Catholic Church Architecture in Britain, 1955 to 1975* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014).

<sup>74</sup> Anthony Paletta, "Brutalism's Bullies" *The Awl*, June 11, 2014, accessed June 14, 2104, <http://www.theawl.com/2014/06/brutalisms-bullies>

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<sup>75</sup> Tim Ellis, "The Conservation of Twentieth Century Churches and Cathedrals," *The Conservation of Twentieth Century Historic Buildings*, ed. Peter Burman et al. (York: Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies, University of York, c1996), 71–75.

<sup>76</sup> The work of international organizations, such as Docomomo, and resources published by regional authorities, such as English Heritage (such as Susan Macdonald, ed., and English Heritage, *Preserving Post-War Heritage: The Care and Conservation of Mid-Twentieth Century Architecture* (Shaftesbury: Donhead Publishing, 2001) will largely apply to the conservation of local buildings..

<sup>77</sup> Los Angeles Department of City Planning, Cultural Heritage Commission, Recommendation Report: Historic-Cultural Monument Application for the Bethlehem Baptist Church, Case No. CHC-2009-2113-HCM (Los Angeles, 2009), 2.

<sup>78</sup> Steve Wallet, "From South Los Angeles to West Hollywood: James Garrott, Rudolph Schindler and the Bethlehem Baptist Church," *Steve Wallet, architect* blog, June 17, 2014, accessed June 19, 2014, <http://www.stevewallet.com/blog/2014/06/17/from-south-los-angeles-to-west-hollywood-james-garrott-rudolph-schindler-and-the-bethlehem-baptist-church-2/>

<sup>79</sup> Esther McCoy, "Bethlehem Baptist Church Story," 1939, in Esther McCoy papers, circa 1876-1990, bulk 1938-1989. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

<sup>80</sup> "Community Church," *Interiors* 104, no. 6, (January 1945), 82.

<sup>81</sup> Julius Schulman's period photograph taken from this perspective illustrates this effect clearly.

<sup>82</sup> Esther McCoy, "Bethlehem Baptist Church Story," 1939, in Esther McCoy papers, circa 1876-1990, bulk 1938-1989. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

<sup>83</sup> Recommendation Report, 3

<sup>84</sup> Robert Mace, "An Easter Surprise: The Unexpected Rebirth of Schindler's "Lost Church," Austin Cubed, April 13, 2014, accessed May 20, 2014, <http://austincubed.blogspot.com/2014/04/an-easter-surprise-unexpected-rebirth.html>.

<sup>85</sup> David W. Morgan, Nancy I. M. Morgan and Brenda Barret, "Finding a Place for the Commonplace: Hurricane Katrina, Communities, and Preservation Law," *American Anthropologist* 108, no. 4, December 2006, 715.

<sup>86</sup> "A Visionary Model," *Sacred Places*, Spring 2013, <http://www.sacredplaces.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Vision-Clinic-Spring-2013.pdf>

<sup>87</sup> Morgan et al., "Finding a Place," 710-711.