

THE ORIGINS AND GROWTH OF
THE SALVATION ARMY IN NEWFOUNDLAND
1885-1901

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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**The Origins and Growth of
The Salvation Army in Newfoundland**

1885-1901

by

Jefferson D. Dunton

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ABSTRACT

The Salvation Army has enjoyed more success on the island of Newfoundland than in any other province in Canada. Though Newfoundland has long been a stronghold for The Salvation Army very few academic studies exist that deal with the Army's arrival and growth. When the first Salvationists came to Newfoundland at the end of the nineteenth century, the island was in the grips of a depression and the fishers were struggling to survive. These elements, in combination with the island's geography and system of trade, proved beneficial to the Army. The Salvationist's methods of recruitment and preaching provided Newfoundlanders with entertainment and served to entice a number of people to join The Salvation Army. The Army was never a serious threat to the three main denominations: the Church of England, the Methodist Church, and the Catholic Church, and its popularity was limited in both size and location, but the Salvationists in Newfoundland have proven to be the Canadian Salvation Army's strongest and most abundant supporters.

The present-day Salvationist owes a debt to the men and women who took a chance on a strange and seemingly disreputable religion. The early Salvationists were drawn into the sectarian hostility which existed in nineteenth-century Newfoundland soon after they arrived. Yet, these people continued their work and the Army became a permanent part of the island's religious community.

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Chapter I
Historiography

The Salvation Army was founded in 1878, but its history dates from 10 years earlier when William Booth, founder of The Salvation Army and its first General, left the Methodist New Connexion Church and joined the East End Tent Mission. The purpose of the Mission was to bring Christianity to the poor of London's East End. The Mission prospered thanks to Booth's evangelical fervor and dedication, and other branches opened outside London. This small, seemingly insignificant, mission became The Salvation Army, one of the most widely known social institutions in the world. Before branching into social reform the Army was an evangelical Protestant denomination that gained popularity with the poor working class because of its unique brand of Christianity.¹ There are multiple reasons for the Army's popularity, but its greatest asset was the leadership's ability to borrow from various segments of society, not just religious ones, and to create publicity. Not until after 1890 did The Salvation Army involve itself in large scale social reform. The early Salvationists took to the slums of the world with little more to offer than 'salvation'. To understand the success of The Salvation Army, one must look at other Protestant movements that preceded it, especially the Methodist Church.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, industrialization had wrought social transformation in England and North America. Industrialization brought a wave of urbanization creating overcrowded slums as people moved to the cities in the hopes of finding employment. The urban poor's daily struggle for survival left little time for any leisure activities. Since few had the energy to attend Sunday service and church only reminded the working poor of their plight, attendance among the working class was declining in the second half of the nineteenth century.² New patterns of life formed in urban slums called for new ways to attract people back to their former denominations, but the

¹Booth in fact did not want The Salvation Army to become a Protestant sect. He hoped that it could remain outside of sectarian battles and serve as a means to help people enter one of the established Churches. This did not prove financially viable. For reaction to this change see, A. Sumner, *The New Papacy: Behind the Scenes in the Salvation Army by an ex-Staff Officer* (Toronto: 1889), p. 7.

²K. S. Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England* (London: 1963), p. 1.

churches did not understand why attendance had declined or how to fill the pews. With the established Protestant denominations slow to respond to the problem, alternative Christian movements were able to take advantage of the situation. One such movement that appeared in the late nineteenth century was The Salvation Army. The Army did not rise out of obscurity to form a new sect within the ranks of Protestantism; it was an outgrowth of Methodism influenced by the revivals taking place in England and the United States of America during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Salvation Army borrowed from these revivals in an effort to bring religion to those who were suffering from the new world of unrestricted capitalism.

The Salvation Army targeted those people hurt by urbanization. Yet, unlike other denominations involved in poor relief, The Salvation Army focused on aiding that segment of society which others ignored, the undeserving poor or what William Booth termed "The Submerged Tenth".³ This focus on the undeserving rather than the deserving poor stemmed from the belief that the deserving poor had the ability to care for themselves, but those who were beyond self-help were the ones charity organizations should reach out to with sympathy.⁴ Although the Army sought to save the poor and working class, debate surrounds whether Salvationists were in fact implanting middle-class values in their supporters. A number of historians have engaged in this debate, but none questions that The Salvation Army was an urban denomination. This appears to be the case in almost all of the Army's work throughout Europe and North America, but in the case of Newfoundland the Army was successful in areas that certainly did not resemble the cities of industrial England.⁵ Research on the Army's work in Newfoundland is needed in order to

³General William Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, 1890 (Atlanta: 1984), pp. 24-31.

⁴Asa Briggs, "The Salvation Army in Sussex, 1883-1892," *Studies in Sussex Church History* (1981), pp. 193-194.

⁵The Salvation Army did enjoy a great deal of success in small communities, especially in Ontario, but these areas did contain some industrialization and a working-class population that was aware of its interests and joined unions in an effort to protect those interests. Lynne S. Marks, "Ladies, Loafers, Knights and 'Lasses': The Social Dimensions of Religion and Leisure in Late Nineteenth Century Small-town Ontario," Ph.D. Thesis, York University, 1992.

understand how and why it was successful in a largely rural society tied to merchant and dockyard capital, not industrial capital. To understand how the Army gained a strong following in Newfoundland, one must first understand how and why The Salvation Army emerged as well as why it survived long enough to 'invade' Newfoundland in 1886.

In Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England, K. S. Inglis compiled a considerable amount of statistical data to illustrate a decline in Protestant church attendance during the nineteenth century. He linked this decline to the rise of industrialization and the urban sprawl created in its wake. The adjustment required to deal with new patterns of work caused by the shift from an agricultural economic base to an industrial one created a change in the social relations of the newly formed working class. One aspect of life that suffered because of these changing relations was church participation. People displaced from the countryside and forced to enter the city formed new life patterns to survive. With more time and energy expended on subsistence, little energy was left to engage in leisure activities, including organized religious worship. Until the urban poor were able to cope with their new position, either through gaining financial stability or by sheer willpower, few found the time, energy or incentive to attend church. The Churches in England failed to understand the reasons for the decline in attendance, but were aware workers failed to appear for Sunday service. The seemingly new moral weakness of the working class caused a reaction against urbanization which was blamed for an apparent rise of immorality, including drunkenness, prostitution, and the non-observance of the Sabbath. As a result, urbanization itself was viewed as a new challenge to Christianity. Urban areas offered alternatives to church attendance which many church members viewed as undermining Christian society. Rather than address the structural problems of the Churches, religious leaders preferred to blame society itself instead of looking inward. The source of society's moral decline was apparently identified, but the established denominations were ill-equipped to meet the problem.⁶

The Church of England was the first to attempt to understand why the lower classes

⁶Inglis, Churches and the Working Classes, p. 5.

were absent from Sunday services. Its long-held privileged position as the official Church of England rendered Anglicanism the choice of the upper classes, but by the middle of the nineteenth century many Church of England leaders were attempting to make the working class feel welcome and comfortable sitting in the same place of worship as their employers and economic superiors. The Anglicans did not grasp the significance of the changes caused by industrialization, but they were willing to work to build a better church for all classes. Sermons were directed at a more general audience, no longer assuming or requiring a comprehensive knowledge of the Scriptures. Methodism, on the other hand, had built itself up as the church of the humble and disadvantaged, but during the nineteenth century, as the Anglicans were reaching out to the poor, the Methodists were dissociating themselves from their humble roots.⁷

It is perhaps a harsh criticism of Methodists to accuse them of abandoning their roots and becoming a middle-class church. Their beginnings were not on the shop floor or in the urban slums, but with the marginalized agricultural worker. Their people were not the product of the Industrial Revolution and while some members of the Methodist church benefited from industrialization, many suffered. Yet enough Methodists prospered over the years of England's Industrial Revolution, due in part to the discipline learned in the class meetings that were of central importance in their Church, and obtained middle-class status that the Methodist church also gained middle-class status.⁸ In the face of urbanization Methodist leaders chose to return to their rural roots. Rather than concentrate efforts in urban areas and neglect the rural population, Reverend Jabez Bunting, leader of the Methodist Church in England, addressed the Methodist conference of 1854 and reminded Methodists that theirs was a rural religion and admonished them to focus their energy on the countryside.⁹ For Inglis, this return to a rural religion explained Methodism's failure to

⁷Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes*, p. 9.

⁸E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, 2 (Harmondsworth: 1968), pp. 390-392.

⁹Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes*, p. 11.

draw the working class into its church.¹⁰ This argument, however, was based on the assumption that Methodists abandoned the cities. The Methodists did work within urban areas and attempted to increase their attendance rates, but they focused their missionary zeal on those considered deserving, hence excluding a number of people. By dividing their efforts between urban and rural areas the Methodist church was late in joining the race for working-class converts and as a result its attendance suffered.

Members from every Protestant denomination concerned themselves with the decline in attendance. The common assumption was that urban development had outpaced the Churches' ability to service their congregations. The problem was viewed as one of accessibility and not a lack of religious commitment. As new urban areas were formed they were without churches. Religious leaders believed those who lived in these areas did not attend church because they lacked the ability to travel to the nearest parish. The solution was to construct churches in poor urban areas so the poorer classes could return to their former denominations.¹¹ With this in mind the Church of England created approximately seventy new parishes a year between 1868 and 1880.¹² This proved costly. for the assumption more churches would lead to greater attendance proved false as there was little increase during this twelve year period.¹³ The Methodists also followed the lead of the Church of England, with similar results.

Despite Bunting's earlier advice, the Methodist church began working in earnest to aid the urban poor in their religious development. Finding church-building to be a failure, the 'Forward Movement' was created. It consisted of young nonconformists who took over where their elders failed. The movement recognized a change had taken place in society due to industrialization and a new approach was needed to deal with the surge of

¹⁰Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes*, p. 11.

¹¹Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes*, p. 18.

¹²Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes*, p. 27.

¹³Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes*, p. 27.

secular thought and opinion accompanying it.¹⁴ The 'Forward Movement' in combination with the Wesleyan home missionaries was an attempt by Methodists to reach the urban poor in the late nineteenth century. Since the people living in city slums appeared unable and unwilling to enter a church, these Protestant movements went into the community to hold less formal religious meetings.¹⁵ Despite these efforts there was little increase in working-class attendance, as Inglis demonstrated. His primary concern, however, was the decline in working-class church attendance and what was done to reclaim lost members. Understanding why the lower classes were not attending religious services would have given Inglis a clearer understanding of why the Churches' efforts to reclaim members failed.

Other historians besides Inglis have attempted to understand why many of the new working class did not attend church when their forebears had done so on a regular basis. In Disorderly Conduct, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg investigated the role evangelicalism played in the lives of Victorian American women. While investigating the roots of evangelicalism she found revival meetings, emphasizing anti-ritualism, were a product of societies with minimal social control.¹⁶ The Industrial Revolution produced just such a society, leaving many in a precarious economic situation. As a result, anti-ritualism appealed to a wide spectrum of people from a number of class backgrounds and led to a rise in evangelicalism. Smith-Rosenberg further illustrated that as people's economic and social position stabilized those who had joined revivalist groups returned to their former churches. This primarily applied to members of the middle and upper class, as workers' lives rarely stabilized. Although Smith-Rosenberg was concerned primarily with the role of women in the Second Great Awakening, her findings can be applied to men as well as other societies. She wrote, "in this extreme form, anti-ritualism appeals to most women only fleetingly, only during

¹⁴Inglis, Churches and the Working Classes, p. 70.

¹⁵Inglis, Churches and the Working Classes, p. 87.

¹⁶Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America (New York: 1985), p. 140.

those rare times when society itself pauses briefly, hesitatingly, between structures, and political and cultural hegemony is momentarily suspended."¹⁷ Smith-Rosenberg's work shed greater light on the question of why working-class church attendance declined during the nineteenth century and the reasons for the success of revival movements.

Although Smith-Rosenberg suggested some reasons for people joining evangelical movements and leaving at a later date, she did not explain why evangelical urban missions organized by various denominations failed to increase church attendance by any significant degree. If people were inclined to join evangelical movements when their lives were in a state of flux, why did movements like the 'Forward Movement', which employed a number of revivalist techniques, fail to fill the pews of the Methodist Church? Inglis held these missions failed because the upper classes were acting as liaisons between the poor and the church, leaving the Churches unable to shake the stigma of being organs of the middle and upper classes.¹⁸ The Salvation Army was able to avoid this by using converts to reach out to members of their own class thereby putting the preacher and the converted on an equal footing.

The Salvation Army exhibited a number of traits which new recruits found appealing. As its name suggests, The Salvation Army was a military force in every sense with the exception of the use of violence. A complete system of ranks, uniforms, and language existed, emulating the military. Salvation Army members were promoted based on merit, allowing the poor and uneducated to rise in rank through hard work and dedication. The open system of the Army appealed to those who could not foresee changing their social status through economic channels. The Army also held 'free and easy' religious meetings that, although viewed as an affront to society by many members of the nineteenth-century middle class, offered people the ability to define for themselves how they wished to

¹⁷Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct*, p. 163.

¹⁸Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes*, p. 176.

worship.¹⁹ The military style of The Salvation Army served to draw the poor into its ranks and, as Smith-Rosenberg has suggested, the evangelical style maintained their loyalty, at least for a short period. Lynne S. Marks found that in Canada, "for most young women, the role of hallelujah lass represented a relatively brief phase in their life cycle."²⁰ For many their involvement in the Army was a short-lived experience as they attempted to deal with their changing world.

In Church and Sect in Canada, S.D. Clark presented his frontier thesis as it applied to Canada of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.²¹ Similar to Smith-Rosenberg's work on the rise of anti-ritualism in Victorian America, Clark suggested such movements were linked to the precariousness of life inherent in a frontier situation. With the end of westward settlement's expansion, the confines of urbanization and the increased state intervention accompanying it were inescapable. Communities were thus forced to mature and nationalism and community solidarity replaced individualism. As a result, the spirit of the sect movement of the 1820's to the 1860's, which appealed to the individual, was ill-suited to the new community spirit.²² Urbanization did not end the possibility for religious revivals, but forced new religious movements and old ones to harness the communal feeling to a religious advantage.

The Salvation Army, which first appears in Church and Sect in Clark's chapter titled "The Great Revival of the City, 1885-1900", was one religious movement that realized personalized revivals were no longer applicable in urban society.²³ Although the Army is considered an urban religion because it sought out converts in taverns and poor

¹⁹Although the regulations and orders of The Salvation Army were to be strictly followed and no order from Headquarters could be challenged, the religious meetings were fairly unstructured allowing the congregation to act spontaneously.

²⁰Lynne S. Marks, "Working-Class Femininity and the Salvation Army: 'Hallelujah Lasses' in English Canada, 1882-1892," in Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita Clair Fellman eds., Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History, 2 (Toronto: 1991), p. 195.

²¹S.D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada (Toronto: 1948).

²²Clark, Church and Sect, p. 330.

²³Clark, Church and Sect, pp. 368-424.

districts, Salvationists glorified the countryside. They presented potential converts with a community of support to aid them in their transition from a life of sin. This was confirmed with the publication of William Booth's In Darkest England and The Way Out. In it, Booth described his ideas about how to relieve the problems of overpopulation and unemployment in England.²⁴ The 'Darkest England Scheme' was designed to move people through various Salvation Army colonies with the final stop being 'The Overseas Colony', a farm or farms operated by the Army in a Commonwealth country.²⁵ This scheme did not prove successful, but the Army did establish a farm at Hadleigh in Essex, just outside of London, as well as two farms in the United States.²⁶ Salvationists were also involved in a number of government-sponsored emigration plans designed to move people out of the cities of England to farms in the British Commonwealth.²⁷ Clark presented The Salvation Army as an urban religion, but the ultimate goal for the Army was to place people in rural areas. For the Salvationist, a movement back to the land represented a return to a spiritual bastion free from the evil temptations of urban sprawls. Major industrial areas were targeted by The Salvation Army because large numbers of people meant a greater chance of making converts, but the Army was willing to enter any community regardless of population size or urbanization.

Clark believed The Salvation Army was successful because of a wave of evangelical revivalism and anti-denominational feeling occurring during the late nineteenth

²⁴Although the book was written by Booth and the ideas are credited to him, Victor Bailey has suggested that many of the schemes within In Darkest England and The Way Out were the product of Frank Smith, a Salvation Army Officer who became a Socialist and Independent Labour Party member after leaving the Army. See Victor Bailey, "In Darkest England and The Way Out, The Salvation Army, Social Reform and the Labour Movement, 1885-1910," International Review of Social History, 29 (1984), Part 2, pp. 133-171.

²⁵Booth, Darkest England and the Way Out, pp. 102-163.

²⁶ See Clark C. Spence, The Salvation Army Farm Colonies (Tucson: 1985), and Frederick Booth-Tucker, A Review of The Salvation Army Land Colony in California (New York: 1903).

²⁷Desmond Glynn, "'Exporting Outcast London': Assisted Emigration to Canada 1886-1914," Histoire - Social History, 15 (1982), pp. 209-38.

century.²⁸ The Salvation Army tapped into this re-emergence of evangelicalism by using many of the methods employed by an older generation of professional revivalists. The methods The Salvation Army borrowed were altered to fit the changes taking place in society. With the willingness of Army soldiers and officers to use any moral means to attract attention and the 'free and easy' meetings relying on the spontaneity of the congregation, Salvationists were accused by members of the established denominations of attempting to destroy the good name of religion.²⁹ It was this attack on the ritualism of other denominations that attracted many to the ranks of the Army. Clark wrote, "the loss of members by the churches to The Salvation Army represents not a shift of denominational attachments but a strengthening of a spirit of religious fellowship hostile to the whole position of religious denominationalism."³⁰ The Army rode a wave of social protest and offered the poor an opportunity to identify with an organization they could truly call their own.

The only other major denomination identified as being a church for the poor was Methodism. Support, under founder John Wesley, had been built by appealing to the underprivileged and social outcasts. Over the years Methodists gained a degree of respectability and were no longer willing to support the revival work that had made their Church a success.³¹ As a result, the Methodists were unable and unwilling to engage in the evangelical works that had been their mainstay in the past. In order to ensure the financial support needed to maintain new churches, Methodist church revivals declined. As Clark wrote, "revivalism and the large church edifice were incompatible. The former attracted the support of the poor, the latter required the support of the rich."³² The Methodist church also abandoned the use of revivals because such meetings were found to be of little long

²⁸Clark, Church and Sect, p. 381.

²⁹Clark, Church and Sect, p. 385.

³⁰Clark, Church and Sect, p. 386.

³¹Clark, Church and Sect, p. 391.

³²Clark, Church and Sect, p. 400.

term benefit. Although many people joined the Methodist ranks in the midst of the spiritual frenzy of a revival meeting, few maintained their enthusiasm once the revival ended. This left the Methodists in the same position as before the revival meetings, with the exception of expenditures. The Salvation Army on the other hand had not incurred a debt and therefore did not need to appease middle-class members in an effort to gain large financial support. The Army's appeal, according to Clark, was to those who were politically and economically illiterate, both before joining the Army and during their time as members.³³ These people did not contribute a great deal to The Salvation Army's coffers. Economic support for The Salvation Army came mostly from middle-class citizens who were unwilling to join the Army themselves, but hoped Salvationists would be able to reform the poor and thereby aid in the creation of a better society. Although the Army's financial support came from the middle class, these people rarely joined The Salvation Army and therefore did not directly influence the Army's doctrines.

Clark's work has helped in our understanding of the effect changes in society can have on religious development, but he failed to ascribe any empowerment to religious movements or their members. He presented The Salvation Army as a force appealing to those with little stability in their lives. Although the Army did in fact provide stability, Clark saw little else of value in The Salvation Army. Other authors since Clark have shown that religion, and The Salvation Army in particular, had the ability to empower their members and give to them strengths and abilities to challenge and change the world around them.

Richard Carwardine's Trans-Atlantic Revivalism, Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790-1865, dealt with the influence of American Revivalism on Britain and the lack of attention paid to these movements. Carwardine identified the underlying reasons for the success of revivals in America as opposed to England as being important in the different development of the two countries. He wrote, "it reflects the fact that revivalism was at the center of American social and religious life during this period (1790-1865) but stood at the periphery of the British. In one country, under a voluntaristic church system,

³³Clark, Church and Sect, p. 424.

revivals became an orthodoxy; in the other under the critical eye of a church establishment, they never achieved total respectability."³⁴ All who joined revival movements were forced to make a conscious choice to reject the established notions of religious practice and to reject, in part, society. This proved acceptable in America as revivals became the norm rather than the exception. Britain did have a number of its own evangelical movements, the most famous being Methodism.

Originally Methodism, unlike any other Protestant denomination before The Salvation Army, appealed to the needs and desires of the poorer classes by removing class barriers between the congregation and the minister. The ministers and even bishops in the Methodist church were often of humble backgrounds. Many were without formal education and made no attempt to distance themselves from their social origins. They were unpretentious and homespun figures identifying with and identified as emerging from the lower classes.³⁵ With the preacher and the congregation coming from the same social background, ministers needed to gain respect in order to maintain the flock. This respect was not inferred as a result of class position. Carwardine wrote:

The authority of the minister derived less from his formal status than from admiration for his driving sense of purpose and aggressive pursuit of souls, manifested in his acceptance of a debilitating regimen of constant travel in all conditions; it could derive too from his understanding and use of local superstitions in the name of religion and from a preacher's and the people's shared perception of a God that could and did intervene in human affairs through vision and dreams.³⁶

Revivalists of various religious backgrounds used a number of different methods that played on these local superstitions or used community pressure to influence individuals.

Community pressure long played a role in making sure members conformed to prescribed norms; this pressure was usually indirect. In The Burned-Over District, Whitney Cross investigated an area of western New York that during the first half of the nineteenth

³⁴Richard Carwardine, Trans-Atlantic Revivalism, Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790-1865 (Westport: 1978), p. xiv.

³⁵Carwardine, Trans-Atlantic Revivalism, p. 11.

³⁶Carwardine, Trans-Atlantic Revivalism, p. 11.

century was a hot-spot for religious revivals, gaining the title of the 'burned-over district'. In this area people could not avoid coming into contact with a Christian revival no matter how isolated their community was at the turn of the century. Cross wrote:

The lad who emigrated from these neighborhoods could hardly have escaped at least one such revival, whether he left his hillside home or valley hamlet as early as 1745 or as late as 1824. He was perhaps not himself a convert, though he had always gone to church and had scarcely considered doing otherwise.³⁷

People of this area were Christian because they had always been Christian and attended church because the community expected it. What Cross observed in the 'burned-over district' was that this dedication to Christianity and the revivals that emerged in the area during the 1830's were part of a continuum of community concern for others.

The 'burned-over district' of western New York was settled by New Englanders who possessed the religious enthusiasm of their Puritan ancestors. As people moved westward from New England in search of new farmland, those left behind worried this move could cause a loss of morality. As people moved out of New England to find land to cultivate, others moved with them to cultivate souls. With the settlement of New York a number of 'isms' formed in the area in an effort to ensure that former New Englanders did not stray from the moral path.³⁸ The burned-over district was a prime example of how community interests could influence the individual's ideas of what was acceptable within the world of religion. Here revivals were acceptable within the community, those who did not attend such meetings were social deviants rather than those who did attend. Ministers who traveled the United States were aware of the influence community pressure could have on an individual and many revival ministers used this to their advantage.

Two methods of community pressure employed by ministers from Charles Finney to James Caughey and later by The Salvation Army were the 'Anxious Seat' and calling people to the Altar. Both involved bringing the individual to the front of the congregation.

³⁷Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-Over District, The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (New York: 1950), p. 7.

³⁸Cross, *The Burned-Over District*, p. 14.

This served to separate the individual seeking salvation from the rest of the unconverted, leaving the cynical almost powerless to interfere. This meant the penitent, as the potential convert was called, was easily subjected to the psychological and social pressure of both the minister and the converted.³⁹ Revivals were further aided by the service's lack of structure and the spirit of the movement. These movements often represented the antithesis of the established denominations.

Carwardine identified a number of factors leading to the success of the revival movement in both the United States and to a limited extent in England. Unlike the Churches, revival missions not attached to an established denomination allowed mixed marriages, had lower standards of membership, did not anguish over irregular attendance, dealt with light reading in the services and at home, held concerts, and allowed the pursuit of worldly interests.⁴⁰ Developments in the economic and political world served to blur the line between the sacred and the profane, while revivalism further eroded that line. Revival ministers accepted that they would be unable to turn back the hands of time and worked within an increasingly secular world. Ministers like Charles Finney, Phoebe Palmer, and James Caughey sharpened their skills while traveling America spreading their fire-and-brimstone message. These American revivalists were also responsible for starting a wave of evangelicalism in England and influencing the young William Booth.

During the 1850's and early 1860's England witnessed an increase in revivalism thanks to the work of evangelicals from the United States. These revivals enjoyed the support and encouragement of the highest denominational authorities of England.⁴¹ The hope was religious sentiment would increase and people would turn to one of the established denominations to continue a Christian life. The success and methods of these American ministers and Caughey in particular had a profound impact on William Booth. As

³⁹Carwardine, *Trans-Atlantic Revivalism*, p. 13.

⁴⁰Carwardine, *Trans-Atlantic Revivalism*, p. 171.

⁴¹Carwardine, *Trans-Atlantic Revivalism*, p. 171.

a minister with the Methodist New Connexion Church during the mid-1850's. Booth witnessed Caughey's powerful preaching methods. The experience made such an impression that for the rest of his career as a minister, and later as the General of The Salvation Army, Booth used revival methods first employed in America.

In his 1985 Ph.D. thesis "The Salvation Army: An Anglo-American Revivalist Social Mission", Norman Murdoch developed two main points to explain The Salvation Army's success: its mimicry of the military and the use of women as evangelists. Booth's use of military jargon, dress, and rank was an outgrowth of his vision of the role The Salvation Army would play.⁴² The choice of employing the military element was not as radical an idea as the late-twentieth century observer would believe. The exploits and heroics of the military were extensively covered by the press in England, acquainting the reading public with the inner workings of the British Army.⁴³ The press was responsible for the popularization of the military and its role in defending the Empire. Booth hoped to harness this popular attitude as the Army's target group. "the dangerous classes of society"⁴⁴, were more inclined to join an army than a chapel or political party.⁴⁵ The military structure also served Booth's imperialist ambitions. Murdoch wrote, "... his (Booth's) mind turned to the idea of establishing a Christian imperium which shadowed the British imperial system in its federated internationalism."⁴⁶ With this idea of imperialism at the root of Booth's motives, the Army was not content to remain in England and women were the major force behind realizing Booth's empire.

William Booth and The Salvation Army owed their success in the 1880's to the

⁴²Norman Howard Murdoch, "The Salvation Army: An Anglo-American Revivalist Social Mission," Ph.D. Thesis, University of Cincinnati, 1985.

⁴³Edward M. Spires, The Army and Society, 1815-1914 (London: 1980), p. 211. I must thank Dr. David Facey-Crowther for bring this to my attention.

⁴⁴Asa Briggs, "The Salvation Army in Sussex, 1883-1892," Studies in Sussex Church History (London: 1981), p. 192.

⁴⁵Briggs, "The Salvation Army in Sussex, 1883-1892," p. 192.

⁴⁶Norman Howard Murdoch, "The Salvation Army: An Anglo-American Revivalist Social Mission," p. xii.

employment of thousands of young female evangelists.⁴⁷ These women served as the vanguard of the Army and were used to 'open fire' in communities in England and throughout the world. Although other Protestant denominations allowed women to assume important roles within their churches and missions, women rarely became ministers. In The Salvation Army women were able to climb the ranks and become officers, the equivalent of a minister. The Army's willingness to treat the sexes as equals attracted a number of women to the ranks. The Army's acceptance of women as officers and active soldiers was a combination of Phoebe Palmer's influence on Catherine Booth, William's wife, and Catherine's influence on William. Society's conventions during the nineteenth century held that women were not capable of performing many public roles, especially ones of leadership. The position of a preacher was an obvious position of leadership and many in the nineteenth century did not want women to fill this role. Catherine, before meeting William, had defended women's right to preach and Phoebe Palmer acted as her inspiration.⁴⁸ While Catherine was penning letters in an attempt to change the Churches' attitudes towards women, Palmer was traveling throughout North America and Europe proving female preachers were just as capable as male ministers.

The inclusion of women as officers and front-line soldiers proved to be the Army's greatest attribute. Officers in The Salvation Army were expected and encouraged to use any moral method at their disposal to gather an audience. The sight of a young woman preaching on a corner or parading down the street playing a tambourine was sure to attract attention. Although many late-nineteenth century middle-class women and men were shocked and appalled at the sight of women preaching the gospel, any publicity the Army generated was welcomed. This was a double-edged sword, however. The Salvation Army's methods were successful in attracting attention but much of that attention turned negative and often violent. The use of women as preachers was the most obvious example

⁴⁷Murdoch, "The Salvation Army: An Anglo-American Revivalist Social Mission," p. xii.

⁴⁸Norman H. Murdoch, "Female Ministry in the Thought and Work of Catherine Booth," Church History, 53 (September 1984), pp. 351-352.

of how The Salvation Army challenged the accepted beliefs of nineteenth century middle-class society. Upon closer examination, however, some have argued that the Salvationists, rather than preaching values and beliefs contrary to society's morals, were in fact attempting to establish middle-class values among their supporters.

John Kent in Holding the Fort: Studies in Victorian Revivalism, suggested The Salvation Army supported the status quo, using Booth's book as evidence.⁴⁹ Kent held that Booth's 'scheme', as laid out in In Darkest England and the Way Out was both economically conservative and unconnected to the political realities of the time.⁵⁰ Booth had to remain conservative and politically aloof. If the 'Scheme' were to function properly he had to keep it as conservative as possible since money was always in short supply. Yet to claim Booth's idea of taking the poor off the streets and having them work through three different colonies in an effort to make them productive citizens was conservative seems a harsh criticism. Kent's claim that In Darkest England and the Way Out was not a political book is true as well as obvious. Booth was a minister and a social reformer, but he was not a politician. Had Booth engaged in a political debate he would have run the risk of alienating the middle class and without their financial support there would have been little hope of turning his scheme into reality. Kent failed to deal with William Booth's life before 1890, which would have helped in understanding the role Booth intended for The Salvation Army.

Before the publication of Booth's book, The Salvation Army was a religious movement offering a few services to the poor in an effort to save their souls. After In Darkest England and the Way Out was published, the Army expanded into the field of social services, focusing its energy on the undeserving poor. This required money which those the Army 'saved' did not possess since their life of sin, as defined by the Christian elite, usually stemmed from a lack of money. The Army was forced to tone down its meetings and support the status quo in an effort to gain the financial support of those who

⁴⁹John Kent, Holding the Fort: Studies in Victorian Revivalism (London: 1978), p. 335.

⁵⁰Kent, Holding the Fort, p. 335.

frowned upon the unusual in the religious world. Since The Salvation Army was attempting to aid a segment of society middle-class reformers deemed undeserving of aid and beyond redemption, the Army had to develop a method to satisfy their financial supporters and simultaneously ensure the poorest of the poor and those viewed by the Churches as the greatest sinners received the help they needed. The result was that Salvationists sacrificed some of their religious enthusiasm in an effort to gain financial support. Kent failed to account for this change and left the reader with the impression that The Salvation Army had always supported the status quo.

In "'In Darkest England and the Way Out' The Salvation Army, Social Reform and the Labour Movement, 1885-1910", Victor Bailey set out a counter argument to Kent's. Bailey presented The Salvation Army as aiding in the development of an independent working-class consciousness.⁵¹ By examining the links between the Army and the labour movement, Bailey demonstrated a number of occasions when the interests of the two movements were similar. Where Kent saw the development of The Salvation Army's social wing as support for the established authorities, Bailey believed the Army was concerning itself with improving the standard of living for the working class.⁵² He also found direct links between the labour movement and The Salvation Army. The Independent Labour Party [ILP] in England was a major working-class party during the late nineteenth century. One of its founding fathers, George Lansbury, had belonged to The Salvation Army during his youth. As a Salvationist, Lansbury became aware of the living conditions of England's poor working class. This experience helped to shape his political ideas when the ILP was formed.⁵³ Lansbury left the Army while he was still young, but Frank Smith was a Commissioner in The Salvation Army before joining the ILP. It was Smith who influenced William Booth's ideas on social reform. Bailey wrote, "under Smith's influence, the Army departed from the plain evangelical tradition and turned to ways of improving the material

⁵¹Bailey, "Darkest England and the Way Out." p. 134.

⁵²Bailey, "Darkest England and the Way Out." p. 136.

⁵³Bailey, "Darkest England and the Way Out." p. 137.

environment of the depressed poor."⁵⁴ Under Smith's direction the 'Social Reform Wing' was established as an independent organization of The Salvation Army. The links between The Salvation Army and the labour movement included more than just an exchange of personnel and ideas.

When the London Dock Strike occurred in 1889, The Salvation Army aided the strikers in a number of ways. Food depots supplied cheap provisions and Salvationists raised funds in support of the strike.⁵⁵ Bailey wrote, "from Australia, the Salvation Army sent the proceeds of the sale of War Cry to the London dockers' strike fund, supplementing the donations from the Australian labour movement."⁵⁶ Bailey illustrated that the Army was concerned with improving the life of the working class and aided in developing a consciousness among them. Although The Salvation Army's religious message could be very invasive, often attacking what some have seen as working-class culture,⁵⁷ the Army's primary concern was saving the souls of those with little material wealth. The poor working class made up the majority of The Salvation Army's early supporters, making the Army as much a part of working-class culture as any tavern or union hall. The Salvationists drew their support from the working class, but they did not enjoy the support of the majority.

In England between 1881 and 1890, The Salvation Army faced organized opposition on a number of fronts which often had nothing to do with religion. The greatest opposition came from alcohol merchants' objections to a potential decrease in business if the Army 'saved' people from their sinful vices, as the Army targeted a publican's best customers. The publicans, beersellers, and other tradesmen helped to organize the 'Skeleton Armies' Bailey wrote about in "Salvation Army Riots, the 'Skeleton Army' and

⁵⁴Bailey, "Darkest England and the Way Out," p. 148.

⁵⁵Bailey, "Darkest England and the Way Out," p. 145.

⁵⁶Bailey, "Darkest England and the Way Out," p. 146.

⁵⁷For example see, Peter DeLottinville, "Joe Beef of Montreal: Working Class Culture and the Tavern, 1860-1889," in Laurel Sefton MacDowell and Ian Radforth, eds., Canadian Working Class History, Selected Readings (Toronto, 1992), pp. 246-249.

Legal Authority in the Provincial Town".⁵⁸ The 'Skeleton Army' was designed to harass Salvationists as they paraded, preached on street corners, or in front of taverns. Although most of the harassment consisted of jeering or throwing rotten food, at times these 'Skeleton Armies' turned violent and inflicted bodily harm on the Salvationists.⁵⁹ Members of these armies were easily identified, as they wore uniforms imitating The Salvation Army dress. An even greater threat to Army members, due to its unpredictability, was the community at large, especially when making first contact.

Salvationists often found themselves under attack when they entered new communities. This was caused by a number of factors such as, "popular resentment against the social content of Salvationism; and community disapproval of an organization extraneous to the local society."⁶⁰ With attacks being organized by the local beer traders and the community often attempting to drive the Army out, Salvationists had to constantly struggle to make people listen to their message.

While the life of a Salvationist was difficult and at times dangerous it offered an escape from a life of servitude and empowerment to its members. In Lynne S. Marks' Ph.D. study of The Salvation Army in small-town Ontario, she found the Army's greatest support came from women who lived in towns of less than 5,000 people.⁶¹ A large number of these women had been employed before they decided to become officers in The Salvation Army. Marks wrote:

The high proportion of female officers who were gainfully employed may be explained in part by the fact that such women would be less constrained by family opposition to their joining the Army. This would be particularly true for servants, who did not live with their own families. Many other working women did live with their parents, but may have found that wage earning provided them with some margin of independence in opposing their parent's wishes.⁶²

⁵⁸Victor Bailey, "Salvation Army Riots, the 'Skeleton Army' and Legal Authority in the Provincial Town," in A.P. Donajgradzki ed., *Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London: 1977).

⁵⁹Bailey, "Salvation Army Riots," p. 234.

⁶⁰Bailey, "Salvation Army Riots," p. 235.

⁶¹Marks, "Ladies, Loafers, Knights and 'Lasses'," p. 419.

⁶²Marks, "Ladies, Loafers, Knights and 'Lasses'," p. 425.

Working women were able to take active roles in The Salvation Army because they were free of family constraint. The Army also brought a degree of entertainment and social interaction that was limited in a small town and gave women the power to challenge their employers.

In an effort to save souls, all individuals who were on the brink of salvation had to be attended to until they finally accepted God's grace. At times this meant Army meetings continued well into the night and long past a young person's curfew. This left servants, at the time many young women were employed as domestic servants, tired and often unable to attend to their duties in the morning, yet their employer could do little in the way of discipline. These women were attempting to save the souls of their fallen neighbours; to punish someone for such a thing would only serve to make an employer seem anti-Christian. As a result many were forced to accept the behaviour of their domestics until a replacement could be found.⁶³ Though these women may have felt a deep spiritual connection to The Salvation Army, there were other, non-religious reasons for them to join.

The works sighted above provided an insight into how and why religious revival movements developed and became successful. The Salvation Army, to a limited degree, was able use the lessons learned from previous revival missions and used this knowledge to its advantage. For the history of The Salvation Army in Newfoundland one cannot find the same abundance of sources. The few works about The Salvation Army in Newfoundland failed to give its early years, 1885 to 1892, any more than a passing glance. This is in part caused by the lack of primary sources. Due to the 'Great Fire' of 1892 and a failure to recognize the value of old documents, much of the history of the early Salvationists on the island has been lost. Another reason for the brief accounts is those few histories that have appeared were produced by The Salvation Army and designed to inspire today's Salvationists. These histories tended to deal with events within living memory allowing the reader to identify with the people involved.

⁶³Marks, "Ladies, Loafers, Knights and 'Lasses'," pp. 412-413.

One such book is R.G. Moyles' The Blood and Fire in Canada. Although Moyles is a professor of English at the University of Alberta and the author of a number of books including a historical look at British perceptions of Canada,⁶⁴ he is also a member of The Salvation Army and the purpose of Blood and Fire was to provide a popular history of the Canadian Salvation Army. This book contains a half chapter on Newfoundland and despite the lack of any real insight into the reasons for The Salvation Army flourishing in Newfoundland, Blood and Fire is still the best available work on the history of Salvationists on the island. The chapter provided a number of details not found in any other published source, but Moyles failed to analyze critically much of that information. Still it was not Moyles' purpose to write an academic study of The Salvation Army and therefore it would be unfair to criticize him for not producing such a work.

The Salvation Army developed into a powerful and respected religion around the world, especially after the formation of the 'Social Reform Wing'. The reasons for its popularity are numerous as each individual was attracted to the Army for his or her own reasons. The Salvationists used a number of revival techniques borrowed from the popular missions of the nineteenth century. The Army was also an outgrowth of Methodism. Despite William Booth's break with the Methodist church, he still believed the principles of Methodism were sound. Booth did not emulate Methodism, but there was enough similarity between the Army and the Methodist church that members of each would feel comfortable attending the service of the other.

⁶⁴R.G. Moyles and Doug Owram. Imperial Dreams and Colonial Realities British Views of Canada, 1880-1914 (Toronto: 1988).

Chapter II

The Nineteenth-Century Newfoundland Society

Many of Newfoundland's past and present problems were and are caused by a failure to develop a sustainable alternative to the fisheries. The lack of another major industry allowed merchants to gain unchallenged ascendancy over Newfoundland's economy. This ascendancy meant merchant capital dominated the economy throughout the nineteenth century. The lack of diversity was the result of Newfoundland's geography. Sean Cadigan has argued that commercial agriculture never proved viable on the island because of poor soil and a short summer causing a limited growing season and little crop diversification. A lack of large scale agriculture meant Newfoundlanders were unable to break the merchant's hold on the economy and generate the development of other industries.⁶⁵ According to Cadigan commercial agriculture aided industrial development in the rest of North America. The formation of local farmers' markets forced North American merchants to expand their economic sphere to maintain their hegemony, eventually leading to industrial development. The lack of commercial agriculture in Newfoundland meant a similar development never occurred, leaving many Newfoundlanders dependent on the fisheries.⁶⁶

An almost complete reliance on the fishery meant fishers (those directly engaged in the fishery) became dependent for their economic survival on the island's merchants. Fishers depended on merchant credit to engage in the fisheries and survive the winter. An unstable economic situation developed as fishers' ability to repay their debts depended on next season's catch, something heavily influenced by unpredictable variables. Most Newfoundlanders relied on the fisheries for their livelihood. However, the majority did not

⁶⁵Sean Cadigan, "The Merging of Farm, Fishery and Wage Labour in Rural Newfoundland: a Long-term Perspective," Paper presented to the Social Science History Association, Chicago, 1995. P. 1. This chapter predominantly deals with Protestant communities as they were the areas The Salvation Army invaded.

⁶⁶See Introduction to Sean Cadigan, Hope and Deception in Conception Bay. Merchant-Settler Relations in Newfoundland, 1785-1855 (Toronto: 1995).

make enough to survive the year. Fishing alone did not provide the income needed to survive, forcing families to find alternative ways to maintain themselves. Reliance on the fishery and merchants created a precarious economic situation for the fishers and a society that was ideal for The Salvation Army's message and methods. The Army offered the people of Newfoundland some control over their religious lives and the ability to gain social status outside the economic world.

Merchant control of Newfoundland's economy had a pervasive social influence. The merchant class controlled the fisheries without actually catching any fish. Through outfitting the fishers and selling their products overseas, merchants dictated the price of supplies, and the extension of credit, thereby maintaining control over their clients. The island's inability to diversify its economy and a dependency on mercantile exchange retarded Newfoundland's capitalist development. Little money or reason existed to industrialize Newfoundland or modernize the fisheries. Unchallenged, the merchants never adjusted their economic practices.

Newfoundland's geography further aided the merchant. Most of the island's nineteenth-century population lived in small coastal communities, difficult to reach during the winter. A lack of modern communication systems and roadways enhanced a sense of isolation. This lack of solidarity slowed the development of unions until the twentieth century. The Longshoreman's Protective Union [LSPU] was founded in 1903⁶⁷, and the Fishermen's Protective Union [FPU] was formed in 1908.⁶⁸ Neither union was able to encompass the island. The LSPU concerned itself with longshoremen and limited its work to St. John's, the island's largest port. The FPU, a union of fishers, spread north of St. John's along the North-East coast. The late development of unions does not reflect apathy on the part of Newfoundlanders. A number of popular protests and strikes during the

⁶⁷Jessie Chisholm, "Organizing on the Waterfront: The St. John's Longshoremen's Protective Union (LSPU), 1890-1914," in David Frank and Gregory S. Kealey, eds., *Labour & Working-Class History in Atlantic Canada* (St. John's: 1995), p. 234.

⁶⁸Ian D. H. McDonald, "To Each His Own", *William Coaker and the Fishermen's Protective Union in Newfoundland Politics, 1908-1925* J. K. Hiller, ed., (St. John's: 1987), p. 14.

nineteenth century illustrated people's unwillingness to act as passive victims while the merchants absconded with the island's wealth. These protests, however, were limited in scope and area, local responses seeking local change, not surprising given the lack of transportation and communication. Few nineteenth-century Newfoundlanders sought to change the economic structure.

By the nineteenth century the credit or 'truck' system was entrenched in Newfoundland's economy and few thought to alter it. The entire trade system of the island depended upon the smooth operation of 'truck', where fishers took supplies on credit from merchant outfitters and in return sold their catch to their creditors.⁶⁹ This relationship was based more on custom than law, providing neither the fisher nor merchant was insolvent. The 'truck' system was symbiotic for both the merchant and the fisher as each required the other's assistance. The merchant was unable to pay off debts incurred without the year's catch and the fishers made every effort to pay their debts to remain credit-worthy.⁷⁰ The merchants, however, maintained a distinct advantage over the fishers.

Merchants manipulated the fishery's grading system to maintain their advantage. Like any other industry, the price of Newfoundland's saltfish was subject to fluctuations caused by demands in the export market and the size of the year's catch. Nineteenth-century communication systems meant merchants were unable to make quick adjustments according to market demands, but they possessed information relating to the size of the year's catch. No standardized grading system existed leaving the merchants free to grade fish according to their own system. Each export merchant employed his own cullers⁷¹, enabling him to alter the grade of fish according to market demands. When catches were small, creating a sellers' market, cullers' standards were low, giving fish a better grade and a higher price in the market. A glut on the market led to demanding grading standards, giving only the best

⁶⁹James Hiller, "The Newfoundland Credit System: An Interpretation," in Rosemary E. Ommer, ed., *Merchant Credit and Labour Strategies in Historical Perspective* (Fredericton: 1990), p. 87.

⁷⁰Hiller, "The Newfoundland Credit System," p. 87.

⁷¹Culler- One employed to sort dried and salted cod-fish into grades by quality, size and 'cure'.

fish top grade.⁷² Although the market price for saltfish was higher during low catch years, fishers did not make much more than in years when the catch was good.⁷³ The price of saltfish was also limited since the target market was the poor of South America and Europe.

The market for Newfoundland's saltfish was largely in Europe and South America. Demand was high in these areas because saltfish was cheaper than most meat products.⁷⁴ A large consumer base existed, but the price had to remain low to maintain that market. If the price was high, the poor could not afford the product. Limited price fluctuations meant merchants profited from volume, not high prices. Europe and South America served as Newfoundland's saltfish markets because American and Canadian fisheries supplied the large and conveniently located markets in the rest of North America. Few countries in Europe or South America supplied goods to Newfoundland, adding to the economic troubles of the island. As Shannon Ryan wrote:

The saltfish on which Newfoundland's economy was so dependent during the period from 1814 to 1914 was sold in foreign markets. Yet, at the same time, the colony had very little direct influence on these markets. This was the case because, although the colony was forced to purchase from abroad almost all the manufactured goods and food it required, its suppliers generally were not the saltfish markets but, rather, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Canada.⁷⁵

Lacking an agricultural and industrial base, Newfoundland traded with industrial countries for basic necessities. These countries had their own fisheries leading to unfavourable terms of trade for Newfoundland as it sold saltfish to poorer, less industrialized nations and purchased goods from wealthy industrialized ones.

The foundation of Newfoundland's economy was the fishery, but the merchants derived profits from raising the price of goods sold to the fishers rather than the re-sale of

⁷²Shannon Ryan, *Fish Out of Water, The Newfoundland Saltfish Trade, 1814-1914* (St. John's: 1986), p. 44.

⁷³Barbara Neis, "A Sociological Analysis for the Factors Responsible for the Regional Distribution of the Fisherman's Protective Union of Newfoundland," M. A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1980, p. 41.

⁷⁴Ryan, *Fish Out of Water*, p. 78.

⁷⁵Ryan, *Fish Out of Water*, p. 74.

fish.⁷⁶ Unable to control the price of saltfish on the international markets, the merchants focused their attention on making a profit from the sale of goods on credit, the price of which the merchant could control. Concern was still shown over the fluctuations of price in foreign markets and many of the small merchants faced financial difficulties if the price was too low, but whatever the price it usually represented a profit. Money, time and effort were needed to improve the fishery and its product and thus increase profitability, but fishers were unable to do this and merchants were unwilling. The incentive to change was absent, and instead of revamping the fishing industry the merchants turned to a quick and easy way of acquiring greater profits without a large outlay of capital. Merchants derived profit from the sale of goods to the fishers by charging as much as possible for goods extended on credit and paid as little as possible for the fish received.⁷⁷ The fish was then sold on the foreign markets usually supplying a profit. The 'truck' system kept the fishers indebted to the merchants and forced them to deal with the same merchant each year as the fishers rarely had a balanced book at the end of the season. Since goods sold on credit cost more than those purchased with cash, the merchants had a vested interest in keeping the flow of currency on the island to a minimum.⁷⁸

Very little cash was exchanged between the merchant and the fishers and what cash people did possess was rarely spent. The fishers' accounts were paid at the end of the fishing season by their catch and any credit in a fisher's favour, a rarity, was put on the merchant's books for future use, thus ensuring the fisher would continue to deal with that merchant. Without any cash, and almost always in debt, most fishers could not break the cycle of dependency. A cash economy would have meant cheaper supplies, leaving fishers with money for reinvestment in equipment and giving them the freedom to sell to the highest bidder.

Newfoundlanders were unable to challenge the impoverishing 'truck' system. This

⁷⁶Hiller, "The Newfoundland Credit System," p. 90.

⁷⁷Hiller, "The Newfoundland Credit System," P. 90.

⁷⁸Hiller, "The Newfoundland Credit System," p. 90.

system, entrenched because of a lack of opposition, impeded the development of industry leaving little options for the population. As J. K. Hiller wrote, "put simply, a fishery run on a credit system had prevented, and continued to impede, economic diversification."⁷⁹ Blaming the merchant class for Newfoundland's economic difficulties, however, ignores other North American merchants who were involved in a number of industries and worked to maintain and enhance their dominance. The difference between Newfoundland and the rest of North America was, in the latter merchant dominance eroded with the rise of industrial capitalism. Academics are just now beginning to investigate aspects other than the 'truck' system, such as the island's poor agricultural base, to explain Newfoundland's slow industrial development.⁸⁰

The 'truck' system forced the fishers to meet their subsistence needs outside of a market economy. Merchant credit was precious and any product a family could produce meant saving credit for the fishery. The soil and climate of Newfoundland could only sustain hardy root crops and for most producing these crops commercially was impossible. Growing garden vegetables, hunting, fishing, berrying, wood cutting, and the raising of a limited amount of livestock were the fishing families' source of subsistence.⁸¹ What wage labour a person found, mostly in the sealing industry, contributed to the family's survival, but wage labour was rarely the sole means of support. Subsistence, not the expansion of commercial activities, concerned the fishers of Newfoundland and every able-bodied person contributed.

Fishing proper was a male-dominated job, along with sealing, but the onshore duties of the rest of the family were as important as those performed at sea. Women were responsible for waking earlier than the men to start the fires and prepare an early morning snack. Once the men took to the sea, women prepared the next meal of the day, breakfast

⁷⁹Hiller, "The Newfoundland Credit System," p. 96.

⁸⁰See Cadigan, *Hope and Deception*.

⁸¹Sean Cadigan, "The Historical Role of Marginal Agriculture in Sustaining Coastal Communities on the Bonavista Peninsula," Presented to the Eco-Research Program, Memorial University of Newfoundland, (1994).

(there were seven to eight meals a day during the cod season) before going to the shore in anticipation of the first of the day's catch.⁸² Women, children, and the elderly controlled the culling and curing of the fish. Within this aspect of the fishery, women commanded a great deal of authority. Marilyn Porter wrote:

While the shore operation never became "women's work"... it did become an area in which women developed skills and expertise. Above all, in the context of the full-fledged trap fishery it involved considerable authority as the "skipper," that is the fisherman's wife, had charge of the whole process, including the hiring and supervision of labour.⁸³

Obviously all family members were important for survival. Rarely could one escape this situation. Once old enough boys took to the sea and girls often married into other fishing families, performing the same duties their mothers had handled. The struggle for survival became harder as the island's population increased and more people became dependent on the fishery.

The population of Newfoundland increased during the nineteenth century without an increase in commercial output. The island's inhabitants numbered approximately 75,000 in 1836, and by 1891 had increased to over 200,000.⁸⁴ The 1891 population was forced to survive in the same manner as those of 1836. Output, however, had not increased and other commercial enterprises were limited. Although the fisheries sustained themselves, more people came to depend on the fishery, placing more pressure on this static resource, causing economic hardship.⁸⁵ The sealing industry along the North-East coast and the Avalon Peninsula offered a way of augmenting the family income.

For the fishers of the North-East coast, sealing represented a way of aiding the household economy without interfering with other income-generating duties. For the

⁸²Marilyn Porter, *Place and Persistence in the Lives of Newfoundland Women* (Aldershot: 1993), p. 45.

⁸³Porter, *Place and Persistence*, p. 47.

⁸⁴Ryan, *Fish out of Water*, p. 66.

⁸⁵Ryan, *Fish Out of Water*, p. 66.

merchants, the sealing season often determined a good year from a bad one.⁸⁶ Unlike the cod fishery where the fishers owned their own gear or worked for one who did, sealing was the domain of the largest merchant firms.⁸⁷ Sealing employed a limited number of people and, unlike cod, the seal population and demand were declining by the end of the nineteenth century. Exports of seal skins for the five-year period ending in 1865 averaged 259,896 improving to 386,028 at its peak in 1871-75, but declining to 282,956 by the 1881-85 period and further to 269,193 for 1886-90.⁸⁸ The cod fishery was static during these years and difficulties arose from an increasing number of people becoming dependent on that resource, but the sealing industry was declining by the 1880's. The use of fish oils decreased in Newfoundland's overseas markets, namely England. This translated into a fall in the price of fish oils to \$81 per ton for the period 1885-1889 from \$128 per ton for the 1880-1884 period.⁸⁹ Both fishers and merchants were affected by the declining price and decreased demand for fish oils.

Originally sealing took place from shore as the seals drifted near land on ice floes, but the declining number of seals meant fishers had to travel further from land to reach their prey. Larger boats were required to pursue the seals, meaning capital was needed to engage in the industry, capital the fishers did not possess. Merchants along the North-East coast and in St. John's took over the sealing industry, but with depression, poor catches in the cod fishery, and the introduction of steamers, outport sealing fleets declined. With the exception of a few merchants in Harbour Grace, Carbonear and along the South-West coast, only the St. John's merchants had enough capital to survive the bad years and invest in new technology, giving them control over the industry. New technology, namely steamers, allowed the harvesting of more seals per voyage and cut down on transportation time between the ice and the port. Eventually outport firms were no longer able to compete

⁸⁶Shannon Ryan, *The Ice Hunters, A History of Newfoundland Sealing to 1914* (St. John's: 1994), p. 157.

⁸⁷Ryan, *The Ice Hunters*, p. 224.

⁸⁸Ryan, *The Ice Hunters*, p. 105.

⁸⁹Ryan, *The Ice Hunters*, p. 105.

with the St. John's merchants. The loss of outport sealing fleets meant fishers had to travel to St. John's, and to a lesser extent Harbour Grace and Carbonear, to gain a berth on a sealing vessel.⁹⁰

A lack of berths created a competitive labour market and those who secured a place on the steamer fleets were fortunate. Others were not as lucky and the government often aided their transportation home as what little cash they had was spent getting to St. John's.⁹¹ The limited number of berths and the extra income meant sealers became the envy of their neighbours as those not hired with a sealing vessel often emigrated off the island to find work.⁹²

The sealing industry served a number of different functions for the people of Newfoundland. For the merchant it determined whether a good profit would be made; for the fishers it often determined whether or not they would be able to remain on the island. Despite its importance, sealing was never anything more than a way of augmenting the family income.

The seal fishery brought fishers from all over the North-East coast and set them to work in close quarters. The environment meant any discontent a sealer felt could be infectious. Working side by side for months also lent itself to solidarity as sealers identified their difficulties and problems as part of a greater whole. This discontent was harnessed by William Coaker when he formed the FPU. But, the feeling of solidarity did not extend outside of the North-East coast and the FPU was largely limited to that area's fishing population, since Coaker's primary concern was reforming the fishing industry. The FPU was also limited to fishers because on the sealing voyage, the ice hunters, who were predominantly fishers during the cod season, were separated from the other trades aboard. The FPU became a union of fishers with the goal of improving the industry, not searching

⁹⁰Ryan, *The Ice Hunters*, p. 224.

⁹¹Ryan, *The Ice Hunters*, p. 232.

⁹²Ryan, *The Ice Hunters*, p. 218.

for workers' solidarity.⁹³ Still its roots were found in the nineteenth century.

Before any large-scale unions emerged in Newfoundland a number of protests and strikes occurred, spurred by economic and social reasons. The nineteenth century witnessed a number of strikes and plebeian conflicts, but these were limited to the large settlements along the North-East coast and St. John's. Economic protests involved the sealing industry and did not spill over into the cod fishery and the 'truck' system until the formation of the FPU almost eighty years after the first sealers strike occurred in 1832.⁹⁴ Due to the pervasiveness of the 'truck' system and its ability to control the fishers, few in the nineteenth century thought it was possible or desirable to change the credit system. Instead popular protest focused on those areas under community control. The sealing industry operated differently than the cod fishery and became an area of conflict between the merchants and the sealers. As Little pointed out:

In contrast to the cod fishery, the seal fishery had a straightforward organization whereby men hired on board a sealing vessel and worked for a share of the catch; all sealers were essentially equal. Also, the seal fishery was not always conducted completely through the truck system, as there was a limited history of cash being used for at least partial payment in the seal trade in some areas.⁹⁵

The fact that all fishers hired on a sealing vessel found they were, for a few months, of the same 'class' (with, at times, cash being paid rather than shares) led to the 1832 sealers' strike in Harbour Grace and Carbonear.

The sealers in Harbour Grace and Carbonear, nineteenth-century Newfoundland's second and third most prosperous areas respectively behind St. John's, refused to take to the waters until the merchants agreed to pay wages in cash rather than shares. The lines were quickly drawn between the merchants and the sealers. Using intimidation the sealers presented a united front and the strike lasted less than two months as the merchants

⁹³Ryan, *The Ice Hunters*, p. 230.

⁹⁴Ryan, *The Ice Hunters*, p. 329.

⁹⁵Linda Little, "Collective Action in Outport Newfoundland: A Case Study from the 1830's," in David Frank and Gregory S. Kealey, eds., *Labour and Working-Class History in Atlantic Canada* (St. John's: 1995), pp. 43-44.

complied with the demands.⁹⁶ This proved to be the only major economic protest of the nineteenth century, with a few small strikes between 1832 and 1853. Economic protest stopped because of the depressed conditions in the 1860's and the depression of the 1880's.⁹⁷ During these poor economic times the sealers had little leverage to use against the merchants as a number of people were willing to fill the positions aboard a sealing vessel for any price. Without much control over their economic lives, Newfoundlanders focused on those areas they could control. Little found a long history and tradition of protest in Newfoundland building upon traditions brought from the old world and concerning conformity to the community's rules.

All life in nineteenth-century Newfoundland was tied in some way to the fisheries, but not all protests were about economics. For example, in 1838 John Moxley took his own life in Carbonear. Since Moxley was a Catholic this was viewed as a mortal sin and his body was refused burial in the Catholic cemetery. It was decided that the body would be put in the Church of England graveyard to the horror of the Anglican population which did not want a rejected Catholic disgracing their cemetery. Moxley's body was buried three times in the Anglican cemetery; the first two times members of the congregation removed it, the final time Moxley's friends exhumed his body and buried it in the woods to avoid any more violations.⁹⁸ In this case community and religious attitudes took precedence over the law. According to the law the coroner had the legal right to place Moxley's body in the Church of England cemetery, but the Anglicans refused to allow this and took it upon themselves to remove the body.⁹⁹ During a ten year period from 1830 to 1840 in Harbour Grace and Carbonear, Little also found "at least 30 different acts of protest ranging from a solitary cry against injustice to a parade of up to 4,000 striking sealers were recorded over

⁹⁶Ryan, *The Ice Hunters*, p. 329.

⁹⁷Ryan, *The Ice Hunters*, pp. 342-346.

⁹⁸Little, "Collective Action," pp. 48-49.

⁹⁹Little, "Collective Action," p. 48.

the decade, each one pointing to a strong tradition of Newfoundland resistance."¹⁰⁰ One of the factors preventing the fishers from harnessing this tradition of resistance and turning it into a large scale attack on the merchants and the 'truck' system were the religious and ethnic divisions that permeated Newfoundland society and prevented much class action.

The sealers' strike of 1832 was the exception that proved the rule. The sealers were able to overcome their religious differences to confront a common enemy, the sealing merchants, but this was rare. Religion further served to indicate one's ethnic background with most Catholics being of Irish stock and most Protestants being of English ancestry. With Newfoundland being a British colony the prejudices of the old world were still strong on the island, pitting the Irish Catholics against the English Protestants. Yet, religious and ethnic prejudices were not as prevalent outside of St. John's and the large towns. Most areas tended to be made up almost entirely of Protestants or Catholics, or if there was a mix, one group was too small to warrant much attention from the majority.

The well-populated towns were able to support their ministers and priests. This was not the case for much of the island. Many of Newfoundland's coastal communities were too small to support a minister or priest and if the community's population belonged to more than one denomination it was impossible for them to permanently support the number of religious leaders that were needed. In order to insure the morality of those living in the outports did not lapse, the churches employed the type of circuit system found within the Methodist ranks. Yet demand was high and the number of ministers and priests were inadequate to meet the island's needs. For example, as late as 1891, Anglicans from New World Islands were without a Church of England mission and therefore a missionary.¹⁰¹ The other Protestant churches' lack of ministers was to The Salvation Army's advantage. In areas where the Army gained support, soldiers were able to lead services or if an officer was needed, a soldier from the area could easily be promoted. This meant that every Salvation Army town had an officer either living in the community or nearby. The fact that

¹⁰⁰Little, "Collective Action," p. 41.

¹⁰¹*Diocesan Magazine*, May 1891.

The Salvation Army was present in the community for the entire year while other ministers traveled a circuit was one of the greatest reasons for the Army's success in outport Newfoundland.

Newfoundland's economic and social situation was ideal for the success of The Salvation Army. The island's dependence on the fisheries and the merchants led to the formation of the 'truck' system and without a commercially viable agricultural sector the fishers had few economic options. The struggle for survival took precedence over the expansion of commercial activities and this struggle became harder with the depression of the 1880's. Few found themselves in a stable economic position and the fishers were worse off than others. The economic world was beyond the control of many and they turned to areas free of merchant control; one of these was religion. When The Salvation Army arrived in Newfoundland in 1886 the island's population was offered the opportunity to join a religion that was more concerned with one's merit than economic or social position.

The Salvation Army was new to Newfoundland and those who joined made a conscious decision to leave their old church, usually the one their parents attended, and join a new and seemingly radical religious organization. Like other churches, the Army offered people the idea that their after-life would be better than their time spent on earth, but it also offered the opportunity to improve this life. People could define for themselves what was respectable within the religious world and the Army offered social mobility. A class system developed as a result of the credit system. Merchants formed part of the elite of Newfoundland society and the fishers were rarely in a position to join or oppose them. Through The Salvation Army a person could rise in rank and social status based on merit, not wealth. The Army also appealed to the women of Newfoundland. They had performed a number of critical jobs within the fisheries, often with little recognition. The Salvation Army offered women the opportunity to perform the same work as male officers with the same recognition for that work. Nineteenth-century Newfoundland was suffering economic troubles; it was divided between the merchant class and the fishers and few had the ability

to challenge the position of the merchants. The nature of the fishery created an unstable situation for the fishers, as illustrated in chapter one, the stability of a person's finances had a bearing on whether they joined and remained with a revival movement. The economic life of the fishers did not improve during the late nineteenth century, making them prime targets from The Salvation Army. Though the Army was never a serious threat to the other major religious in Newfoundland, the island's economic situation combined with the fact that the Army could offer the people of the outports year-round religious services made The Salvation Army a success. Relative to the number of Salvationists throughout the provinces of Canada, Newfoundland was the Army's most fertile colony.

*Chapter III***The Salvation Army 'Invades' Newfoundland**

Late nineteenth-century Newfoundland was ideal territory for The Salvation Army. The decline in sealing and increasing pressure on the fisheries caused the recession of the 1860's to become a depression by the 1880's. The 'truck' system caused increased poverty and a class division between fishers and merchants and the isolation of the sparsely populated outports made it impossible for the churches to provide regular service. These elements, in whole or in part, were cited by religious historians as leading to a successful evangelical campaign.¹⁰² Despite indications The Salvation Army would be successful in Newfoundland, the Army only entered the island after a couple of Salvationists honeymooned in Portugal Cove, just outside St. John's.

Research was not conducted to determine where to 'invade'. The opening of North America occurred as Salvationists emigrated from Britain to Canada and the United States to find work.¹⁰³ These immigrants longed for the energy and excitement of an Army meeting and took it upon themselves to begin Salvation Army-style services in their new country. Informal services eventually led to the formal establishment of The Salvation Army in these two countries. The origins of the Army in Newfoundland followed a similar pattern.

In 1885, Captain Emma Churchill, the eleventh officer commissioned in the Canadian Salvation Army,¹⁰⁴ married Charles Dawson, a Salvation Army soldier, in Guelph, Ontario. In keeping with Army regulations at the time forbidding officers marrying

¹⁰²See Chapter one.

¹⁰³For the first Salvation Army style meeting in Canada see, Robert Collins, *The Holy War of Sally Ann, The Salvation Army in Canada* (Saskatoon: 1984). For the United States of America see, Edward McKinley, *Marching to Glory: The History of the Salvation Army in the United States of America, 1880-1980* (San Francisco: 1980).

¹⁰⁴John O. Cooper, *Their Eyes Were on God* (St. John's: 199-), p. 2.

soldiers, Emma resigned her commission.¹⁰⁵ Emma and Charles, now soldiers the equivalent of congregation members, traveled to Emma's hometown of Portugal Cove, Newfoundland, for their honeymoon. Since the Dawsons were soldiers, the Army had no control over their movements and Headquarters was not officially informed of their whereabouts. The Salvation Army, however, was still in its infancy in Canada and the movements of all its soldiers and officers would have been easy to track. Considering the fact that Emma was an important officer, having opened a number of corps in Canada and the United States of America, the Army would have stayed in contact with her and her family and been aware that Emma and Charles were in Newfoundland.¹⁰⁶ Headquarters did not issue any orders to attempt an 'invasion' of Newfoundland, but considering Emma's experience in the rest of North America it was no surprise that the Dawsons held the first ever Salvation Army-style meeting in Newfoundland on September 3, 1885.¹⁰⁷

Like the Army's pioneers in the rest of North America, the Dawsons were accustomed to energetic religious services and finding this energy lacking in the local church, they held their own service. Emma had conducted a number of meetings in both Canada and the United States. With this experience she knew how to organize one in Newfoundland.¹⁰⁸ The venue was the Methodist church of Portugal Cove, Emma's family church. I was unable to find any advertisements, but somehow word spread to St. John's and a large number of people made the trip to Portugal Cove, making the first ever Salvation Army-style meeting in Newfoundland a tremendous success. The Evening Mercury wrote, "... a very successful meeting in connection with the Salvation Army was held. Eight o'clock was the hour appointed for the meeting to commence, but long before the hour arrived the Methodist Church was thronged, every available seat being

¹⁰⁵Salvation Army, Officer Rolls, Roll C, 1885-1890, Book 1.

¹⁰⁶Emma resigned her officership only to get married, not because of any ideological disagreement with The Salvation Army. She regained her rank of Captain two years after she married Charles.

¹⁰⁷The Evening Mercury, September 5, 1885.

¹⁰⁸Cooper, Their Eyes Were on God, p. 2.

occupied."¹⁰⁹ The meeting was so successful the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) of St. John's requested the Dawsons conduct services in the city.

No direct evidence exists stating the YMCA requested the Dawsons hold Salvation Army-style meetings in St. John's, but it is a logical conclusion based on the information available. The YMCA held interdenominational Protestant meetings before the Dawsons arrived in St. John's. Always looking for new and exciting religious services the YMCA enlisted the aid of the Dawsons. This was the only way for the Dawsons to hold services in the city since they did not have the financial means to rent Victoria Hall for what turned out to be five months. Both Emma and Charles were soldiers while in Newfoundland with no money or official sanction for them to hold Salvation Army services. Informal Army meetings in North America were conducted independently of any other religious organization by people living in the area. The Dawsons were not residents of Newfoundland and they were to leave the island once their honeymoon was complete. The Dawsons, therefore, were not attempting to establish a corps that they could attend.¹¹⁰ The Dawsons longed for the excitement of an Army service and so they had one. There was little thought given to the idea that they would establish The Salvation Army in Newfoundland. The service in Portugal Cove was as much for the Dawsons as it was for Newfoundlanders. Another significant difference between the work of the Dawsons in St. John's and that of the other Army pioneers in North America was that those in Canada and the United States of America acted independently of any other church. The Salvationists who first started Salvation Army meetings in the rest of North America made it clear to the public that they were attempting to establish the Army and make converts in both countries. The Dawsons, however, did not act independently of the YMCA. The two soldiers

¹⁰⁹The Evening Mercury, September 5, 1885. Although Portugal Cove was the birth place of The Salvation Army in Newfoundland, by 1891 there were no Salvationists living there, if they ever did. Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1891.

¹¹⁰The Dawsons were soldiers, not officers, meaning they could not take charge of a corps in Newfoundland or any other place and their trip to Newfoundland was for a honeymoon, not a relocation which meant they intended to return to Canada.

extended their stay for five months and never during this time did the Dawsons branch off from the YMCA and hold meetings of their own.¹¹¹ The Dawsons provided Newfoundlanders with a taste of The Salvation Army in the hopes that someone else would be able to build on the work they had initiated.

The size of the meetings in St. John's can never be known precisely, but The Mercury provided an indication they were well attended. The Mercury wrote, "the Salvation Army have fairly struck the town. Yesterday they held two meetings, both of which were crowded."¹¹² This success was attributable as much to the Dawsons as to the YMCA. Since the Dawsons were working for the YMCA, a respected Protestant organization, the churches of St. John's were not threatened. Catholics do not appear to have attended these meetings since The Terra Nova Advocate, a Catholic newspaper, did not chastise its people for taking part in the services, nor did it print any articles attacking the Dawsons. Protestants had little to fear from the Dawsons since there was no Salvation Army corps for converts to join. Those who found religion at these meetings would turn to an established church, presumably Protestant, to continue their Christian life. As long as the Army did not attempt to establish itself in Newfoundland, there was no opposition to their presence. This changed at the end of January 1886 when The Salvation Army officially 'opened fire' in Newfoundland.

The Dawsons were optimistic about their work in St. John's and informed Headquarters, requesting an official party be sent to the island. On January 20, 1886, four female officers arrived from Canada to prepare for the 'invasion'. The four women,

¹¹¹See The Evening Telegram, September 5, 1885-January 16, 1886.

¹¹²The Evening Mercury, September 21, 1885.

Captains Phillips, Collins and Kimmerly¹¹³ and Cadet Larder, were in St. John's for eleven days before District Officer Young arrived.¹¹⁴ The four 'lasses' did not hold any Salvation Army services before the arrival of D.O. Young. They busied themselves finding a suitable venue for the Army's meetings and inquired about areas outside St. John's in search of other places to invade.¹¹⁵ A building was found on Springdale Street and the small band of Salvationists awaited the arrival of their leader.

D.O. Young arrived in St. John's on January 31, 1886 and found the building on Springdale Street closed to him and his supporters. The Salvation Army was quick to turn this, one of two significant events that took place on the Army's first official day in Newfoundland, into a publicity campaign. On February 1, The Mercury ran an article that read, "about three weeks ago a detachment of The Salvation Army arrived here, and we understand, rented a large building, on Springdale Street, for the purpose of holding their meetings in, but since renting it, the owner of the building thought fit to change his mind and would not carry out his agreement refusing to allow them the use of it."¹¹⁶ For The

¹¹³Both John O. Cooper Their Eyes Were on God and R. G. Moyles The Blood and Fire in Canada. A History of the Salvation Army in the Dominion, 1882-1926 list the invasion party as containing a Captain Kimball. Based on court reports of an attack on these four Salvationists, and an exert from The War Cry, Captain Kimball was in fact Captain Kimmerly. See The Evening Telegram, February 5, 1886, and The Evening Mercury, October 22, 1886, which contains an article first printed in The War Cry and signed by Captain Kimmerly and The Evening Mercury, December 9, 1886, contained an interview from The War Cry with Captain Kimmerly. Captain Kimmerly claimed to have been present in Newfoundland for nine months, given the delay between the interview and publishing The War Cry combined with the time needed for The Evening Mercury to read the interview and then print a copy would mean Captain Kimmerly was one of the four lasses sent to St. John's. In The Salvation Army's listing of corps openings and commanding officers a Captain Kimmerly is listed as leading the St. John's I corps in 1886 and a Captain Kimble is listed as the commanding officer for the Carbonar corps also in 1886. It is unclear if these are the same person or if only one was Captain Kimmerly, but there is no Captain Kimball listed. Considering that the list of corps and commanding officers was created a number of years after 1886, mistakes are possible in the translation of handwriting. List of Corps and Commanding Officers, Newfoundland Division, 260 and 225, Salvation Army Archives, Toronto.

¹¹⁴Cooper, Their Eyes Were on God, p. 5. The Canadian Advance Being a Record of the Progress of Work of the Salvation Army in the Dominion of Canada During the Year 1886, a Salvation Army publication reviewing the years events stated Young arrived in St. John's on January 31, 1886 with his lasses. Cooper's book, in combination with evidence from the newspapers has proven The Canadian Advance to be incorrect.

¹¹⁵The Evening Mercury, February 1, 1886.

¹¹⁶The Evening Mercury, February 1, 1886.

Salvation Army this was pure luck. They had not established themselves in Newfoundland and had very little money to use for publicity. An article dealing with the apparent religious persecution the Army faced was exactly what they needed.

The Salvation Army had long been in the business of generating publicity in a number of ways. Most of this came from clashes with authority or the community at large and the Army always portrayed itself, with pride, as a victim of discrimination.¹¹⁷ In St. John's they adopted the same tactic. The newspapers were quick to print the story about the Springdale Street owner refusing to honor his agreement with the Salvationists, but what the papers did not realize was the building was sold to the Army, who were to take possession on February 1, 1886. *The Mercury* ran an editor's note on February 2, stating, "the rumor that the agent for the building on Springdale Street, refused to let it to the Salvationists is incorrect. He has not only sold them the building, but in the goodness of his heart has given a donation towards their funds."¹¹⁸ The Salvationists had obtained the building, but since D.O. Young arrived in St. John's at the end of the month it was not yet Army property. The Salvation Army made no effort to clarify the situation since it made for good publicity. The Army received even more free advertisement when they held an outdoor meeting.

Unable to enter the Springdale Street building D.O. Young and his troops, in true Army fashion, held a march and outdoor meeting in a nearby field. This was The Salvation Army's first official move to establish itself in Newfoundland, resulting in opposition from the local community. An outdoor march was sure to attract attention. It was a long standing practice for Salvationists to march through the city streets making as much noise as possible

¹¹⁷For example *The Harbor Grace Standard* printed a letter from a Newfoundland Salvationist in Toronto attending a meeting with General Booth. The letter stated in part, "the Commissioner then announced a song from Bro. Jim Irwin, of Ottawa- now Sergeant Irwin. He has been in every prison from Ottawa to Niagara- in prison over 200 times." *The Harbor Grace Standard*, October 30, 1886. Presumably Sergeant Irwin was jailed while working for The Salvation Army and was not one of Canada's most bumbling criminals. Had Sergeant Irwin's arrests been the result of a life of crime or drunkenness he would have been heralded as a reformed drunk or criminal, but there was no mention of any previous life of crime, leading to the conclusion that his arrests were the result of working for The Salvation Army.

¹¹⁸*The Evening Mercury*, February 2, 1886.

in an effort to have people follow. Once a crowd gathered, the band of Salvationists would march to their final destination and hold a service. In St. John's the place chosen for the service was the Parade Ground.¹¹⁹ This area was close to Springdale Street and open, but it was also a predominantly Catholic area. Salvation Army marches almost always generated a negative response in a new community, but with the Army marching to a Catholic area opposition was almost guaranteed. It was common practice for The Salvation Army to hold marches and meetings in Catholic areas. Not only were the Salvationists assured of opposition, which in turn could be used to gain sympathy and support, Catholics were of particular concern for the Army in North America and Europe.¹²⁰ St. John's proved to be no different than other areas the Army had entered.

When the small band of Salvationists arrived at the Parade Ground a large crowd gathered and violence resulted. D.O. Young's report of the incident read, "it was a fearful fight, a howling mob, of infuriated semi-civilized, unfortunate women and men broke up the first open-air meeting. Women threatened and slapped in the face of our lasses, heaping on them epithets of the foulest calumny."¹²¹ The Salvation Army was forced to take refuge in a nearby house until the police could escort them from the area. Allowing for the Army's flair for the dramatic, there certainly was an attack on January 31, but it was nowhere near as violent as depicted in D.O. Young's report.

The Dawsons had not encountered any opposition during their five month stay in St. John's in part because all their meetings were indoors and they did not hold any marches. The lack of opposition can also be traced to the fact the Dawsons never acted independently of the YMCA, meaning they were not viewed as a threat by the local

¹¹⁹Moyles, The Blood and Fire in Canada, p. 80.

¹²⁰Norman H. Murdoch, Origins of the Salvation Army (Knoxville: 1994), pp. 80-82. In Liverpool, Murdoch found The Salvation Army held marches and outdoor meetings in Catholic areas despite police advice that violence could result. Norman H. Murdoch, "From Militancy to Social Mission: The Salvation Army and Street Disturbances in Liverpool, 1879-1887," in John Belchem, ed., Popular Politics, Riot and Labour: Essays in Liverpool History 1790-1940 (Liverpool: 1992), p. 163.

¹²¹Thomas B. Coombs, ed., The Canadian Advance, Being a Record of the Progress of Work of the Salvation Army in the Dominion of Canada During the Year 1886 (Toronto: 1886), p. 16.

religions. Once the Dawsons left St. John's and it became common knowledge The Salvation Army was planning to establish itself in Newfoundland, opposition mounted. The first example of resistance to the Army came from The Advocate which printed an inflammatory article a week before D.O. Young arrived. The article read in part:

We say that the Salvation Army is only a precursor of free-loveism and brothel institutions in the island of Newfoundland, and that voluptuous and degraded men only seek this as a hiding place for the temporary performance of their practices. For that the Salvation Army-ism could exist in Newfoundland in all its impunity and deformity for any length of time is entirely possible.

The article went on to say:

We maintain, from a careful study of the Salvation Army, both from its history in Europe and America, that it is calculated to foster a system of 'free-loveism' and forgetfulness of social ties, and a system of things which must inevitably result in our connection with the 'latter day saints'. We think we have not overstepped our duty as a public journalist, in language which may appear strong; but we feel convinced that we have only done our duty and that St. John's as a city is now free from 'brothels and bagnios', which will be maintained as strongly by the prohibition of the Salvation Army within our limits....¹²²

It is unclear if The Advocate confused The Salvation Army with the Mormons, who called themselves latter day saints and practiced polygamy, or was making reference to the type of behaviour Lynne Marks found in Ontario's Salvation Army meetings.¹²³ Given the fact that the article appeared a week before D.O. Young arrived there was plenty of time for people to discuss the editor's opinion. Those who could not read would have been aware that the Army was coming and The Advocate did not support them. The Advocate stirred a segment of the population, presumably Catholic, before the Army had officially set foot in Newfoundland, guaranteeing The Salvation Army would encounter opposition when it

¹²²The Terra Nova Advocate, January 23, 1886.

¹²³Lynne Marks wrote of Salvation Army meetings, "...at these meetings female officers kissed other women and hugged men in their efforts to bring them to salvation. ...it does appear likely that the late hours and emotionalism of Salvation Army meetings could provide both the atmosphere and the opportunity for sexual contact among many young people attending them." Lynne Marks, "The 'Hallelujah Lassies': Working-Class Women in the Salvation Army in English Canada, 1882-92," in Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde eds., Gender Conflicts, New Essays in Women's History (Toronto: 1992), p. 82.

entered St. John's.

After The Salvation Army's meeting at the Parade Ground, the Salvationists began to draw as much publicity from the incident as possible. The local newspapers ran a number of articles condemning the people involved in assaulting the Army. Although the articles dealt with the attack on The Salvation Army, their main concern was supporting the rights of any religious organization to hold a service. The Salvation Army was the platform from which the papers launched their moral attack on the people of St. John's.¹²⁴ An article in The Times and General Commercial Gazette illustrated what the papers were hoping to achieve. The article read in part, "in giving place to the above particulars of an uncalled for and disgraceful assault upon members of The Salvation Army on Sunday last, we would remind the assailants that this is a British colony, and their conduct towards these harmless people clearly demonstrates that they know little about fair play."¹²⁵ This article, making a disguised attack upon the Irish Catholics in St. John's, demonstrated what all the papers were attempting to achieve, a reformed society. The work of The Salvation Army did not concern the editors, it was the community's response to the Army that interested them. The Advocate, however, was busy fending off accusations that it was responsible for the attack on the Parade Ground.

After the attack The Evening Telegram published "Letter From 'A Catholic'" in which the author accused The Advocate of being responsible for creating the anti-Salvation Army sentiment that led to the assault.¹²⁶ The Advocate was unwilling to accept this charge and responded:

We have been accused through an anonymous scribbler in the Evening Telegram of Wednesday last, of being mainly instrumental in urging on the inconveniences attending the pious and holy exertions of the Salvation Army in their endeavor to bring our people to a 'state of grace'. We are sincerely sorry for 'this', for we would not wish to be

¹²⁴For example see, "SHAME, SHAME, SHAME!" in The Evening Telegram, February 2, 1886. "Religious Intolerance" and "Disgraceful Scene" in The Evening Mercury, February 4 and 5, 1886. Presumably these papers only supported the rights of Christian groups to hold services.

¹²⁵The Times and General Commercial Gazette, February 3, 1886.

¹²⁶"Letter from 'A Catholic'." The Evening Telegram, February 3, 1886.

the means, no matter how remotely, of preventing our people from availing themselves of the inducements held out to them by that respectable body. ... As far as the Salvation Army is concerned, we can afford, to a certain extent to be facetious, for the poor creatures are not a powerful factor for good or evil, in our community.¹²⁷

Although the editor was no longer condemning The Salvation Army, to deny partial responsibility for the incident at the Parade Ground was a little naive. It is unclear what the editor of The Advocate wanted the people of St. John's to do to prevent the Army from entering the city, but he painted such a picture of moral decay stemming from The Salvation Army that violence was almost inevitable. All this newspaper coverage served as a publicity campaign for the Salvationists, portraying them as the innocent victims of an uncalled-for assault. The assault, however, was not as dramatic as D.O. Young's report and the articles in the newspapers made it appear.

As a result of the attack on the Parade Ground charges were brought against a woman named Bridget Coady. The charges were not the result of complaints from The Salvation Army, but were pursued by a Mr. Walsh who had no connection to the Army.¹²⁸ It was Walsh who alleged Bridget Coady slapped Captain Kimmerly, but in court the Captain testified she was not slapped.¹²⁹ The Mercury reported:

The alleged assault took place in the Barrack's yard while the Army was on its way to hold a meeting in an adjoining field. From the evidence produced it seems that the case had been slightly exaggerated. Bridget did not slap the "Captain" in the face as previously stated, she merely gave her a slight push and tapped her gently on the side of the head, not however with the base intention of doing the fair Salvationist personal injury but just to spoil her bonnet as she did not consider it modeled after the latest Parisian 'style,' and anything old fashioned is the same to Bridget as a red rag is to a bull.¹³⁰

This sarcastic court report revealed the attack at the Parade Ground was not as violent as people had been led to believe. D.O. Young's report stated, "women threatened and

¹²⁷The Terra Nova Advocate, February 6, 1886.

¹²⁸The Terra Nova Advocate, February 11, 1886.

¹²⁹The Evening Telegram, February 5, 1886.

¹³⁰The Evening Mercury, February 5, 1886.

slapped on the face of our lasses, heaping on them epithets of the foulest calumny. For a time it seemed as though all would stand calmly by and see this devoted little band done to death by the sin-stricken crowd that it had come to rescue."¹³¹ One person was charged as a result of the assault on the Salvationists and D.O. Young's officer testified she was not slapped. If women did slap the Salvationists they were never charged and from court reports it does not appear D.O. Young and his troops had to fear being beaten to death. A report in The Mercury stated, "the man [D.O. Young] had just begun to open the service by prayer, when the mob around began to pelt him and the women with stones, sods and mud."¹³² There was no mention of the 'lasses' being slapped and as to the projectiles thrown at the Salvationists this was no different than in any other area where the Army encountered opposition. Had the people of St. John's wished to inflict bodily harm on D.O. Young and his troops they had better methods at their disposal. As Linda Little illustrated, Newfoundlanders were well practiced in the art of intimidation and this was another example.¹³³ Although Little's examples were from fifty years before The Salvation Army arrived in Newfoundland, there is little reason to suppose they forgot this ancient art. Despite D.O. Young's presence at the Parade Ground the story of his 'lasses' being attacked was not his, but Mr. Walsh's. Walsh, like the Protestant newspapers, attempted to use The Salvation Army to settle his own score with the Catholic population.

When reporting the court case neither The Telegram nor The Mercury mentioned the person responsible for charges being filed against Bridget Coady was Mr. Walsh, not The Salvation Army or the Constabulary. The Advocate on the other hand printed a story putting Mr. Walsh's motives and reputation into question. The article stated:

The plaintiff has since publicly stated that she was not beaten by the defendant, nor was there any attempt at violence, but notwithstanding, a man is found who deliberately and maliciously swore that he saw the girl Coady beat the plaintiff. This man, whose name is Walsh, was no doubt actuated by personal and vindictive feelings towards the girl

¹³¹Coombs, ed., The Canadian Advance, p. 16.

¹³²The Evening Mercury, February 1, 1886.

¹³³Linda Little, "Collective Action In Outport Newfoundland".

Coady, and as has been proven, did all in his power to obtain conviction of the girl.

This man Walsh, I understand, is not of the most lamb-like character. but on the contrary, is one who should be the last relied on in giving his evidence in a case like this. His partisan and sectarian feelings are pretty well known, and that he would stop at nothing where the injury of a Catholic was concerned, can be easily imagined.¹³⁴

The Mercury and The Telegram failed to mention Mr. Walsh because it was a glaring example of the sectarian hostility existing on the part of the Protestant community of St. John's. The two papers were condemning the Catholics for attacking The Salvation Army, a Protestant organization. To print an article demonstrating a Protestant had made up the most violent aspect of the assault would have defeated the purpose of chastising the Catholic population. Without realizing it The Salvation Army had become involved in the sectarian battles of St. John's on their very first day in Newfoundland. Catholics viewed the Army as a threat and attacked them both verbally and physically. The Protestant newspapers used the Army as a platform to attack the Catholic population. Mr. Walsh also saw an opportunity to strike at the Catholics. In the case of the Protestants it was not The Salvation Army that concerned them, the Army was a means to an end. Despite testimony to the contrary, D.O. Young reported his group of Salvationists were attacked, slapped and fearful for their lives. Since he was at the Parade Ground, Young would have been aware this was an exaggeration. Like all the other elements in this incident and its aftermath, The Salvation Army had its own agenda.

D.O. Young's report to Headquarters gave the impression that establishing The Salvation Army in Newfoundland was going to be a hard fight, but a noble one since there were a great number of sinners on the island. This was revealed by the fact that the 'lasses' were slapped, cursed and almost killed. The report illustrated D.O. Young's motives behind his exaggeration. D.O. Young wrote, "no need to rent a building, soon one was purchased and as soon as the 'blood and fire' flag was planted on its roof, and Calvary's Christ lifted up within, a wave of Salvation swept the place and sinners by hundreds

¹³⁴The Terra Nova Advocate, February 11, 1886.

flocked to His feet. Within two months 200 soldiers were marching in our ranks."¹³⁵ According to D.O. Young, when he first arrived in St. John's it appeared as though the Army did not have a hope of making a convert, but through hard work they had pacified the population, purchased a building and saved hundreds of sinners. This was truly a marvelous accomplishment for D.O. Young and his troops, but he failed to mention a few important details.

The Dawsons had been in St. John's for five months holding Salvation Army-style meetings before D.O. Young arrived. As a result of the Dawsons' work, there were a number of people interested in joining the Army. This was why the Dawsons had requested an official 'invasion' party be sent to Newfoundland.¹³⁶ When D.O. Young and his 'lasses' arrived in St. John's there already existed a group of supporters upon which to build, but D.O. Young failed to mention the work of the Dawsons at all. D.O. Young also failed to mention arrangements had already been made for the purchase of a building before he even arrived in St. John's. Unfortunately, it appears D.O. Young took credit for work that had taken place before he arrived on the island and he exaggerated the violence of the Army's opposition. The reason for D.O. Young's omissions and exaggerations probably stems from The Salvation Army's system of ranks. Promotions within the Army were based on merit. If D.O. Young, who was promoted to District Officer upon assuming command of the Newfoundland division, wished to maintain or improve his rank he needed the support of his superiors. The Newfoundland 'invasion' offered D.O. Young the opportunity to demonstrate he was a capable officer and deserving of a better posting.¹³⁷ All the parties involved had ulterior motives behind their reporting, but regardless of why it was reported, the incident at the Parade Ground and its aftermath acted as free publicity for The Salvation Army.

¹³⁵Coombs, ed., The Canadian Advance, p. 16.

¹³⁶Cooper, Their Eyes were on God, p. 4.

¹³⁷D.O. Young was Newfoundland's commander for only a few months, with Thomas Calhoun taking over command before the end of 1886. Moyles, The Blood and Fire in Canada, Appendix F, p. 282.

The press coverage the Army received aided in making people aware of their presence in St. John's and The Salvation Army quickly established itself in St. John's.¹³⁸ On February 22, 1886, The Telegram printed a letter about a Salvation Army meeting that read, "over eighty persons gave 'testimonies'" and "before the meeting closed there was a general 'shaking amongst the dry bones' and the question: 'Can those bones live?' was satisfactorily answered by twenty-seven persons - mostly young men and women - who were drawn to the 'penitent form' during the meeting."¹³⁹ This one meeting witnessed over eighty people give testimony and twenty-seven join The Salvation Army. This was an impressive rate of growth for an organization that had only officially been in St. John's for twenty-two days. If the Army had only held indoor meetings, generating little publicity through its weekly street marches and outdoor services, it is unlikely they would have enjoyed the same popularity. The article also mentioned most of those who went to the penitent form were young men and women. This was consistent with the Army's experience throughout North America. Those seeking change and excitement tended to be the young. These people were more inclined to break with family tradition and experiment with something new, in this case The Salvation Army. It was the Army's appeal to the youth of Newfoundland that became a point of contention for the other Churches, especially where young women were concerned. Another point of contention for the newspapers of St. John's was The Salvation Army's methods of attracting converts.

The Salvation Army did not enjoy the unconditional support of any newspaper in Newfoundland. All the papers had an agenda of their own and the Army only appeared when it served the papers' purpose. The Telegram and The Mercury had been sympathetic to the Salvationists, but the articles that appeared dealt with general religious prejudices as reflected in an attack on The Salvation Army. In February, The Mercury had printed an

¹³⁸Marches and outdoor meetings were used by The Salvation Army, but after the incident at the Parade Ground in St. John's, the Army limited its marches to once a week, on Sunday, with Police protection, thus reducing the effectiveness of the marches. Captain Arnold Brown, "Periods of the Army's History in Canada Retold," The War Cry, July 25, 1942.

¹³⁹The Evening Telegram, February 22, 1886.

article by Bishop Morehouse of Melbourne to familiarize the people of St. John's with the Army. The article had nothing but praise for the work of The Salvation Army.¹⁴⁰ Four months later, when it became apparent that the Army could challenge the other Protestant churches, The Mercury's attitude towards the Army wavered. In May, an article appeared praising the work of the Army throughout the world, but questioning its value in Newfoundland. The article read:

We are free to confess that in Great Britain the Salvation Army has done an immense amount of good, chiefly because their work was amongst a class of people having no religious training, and who were not, and for the most part never had been identified with any religious denomination. ... Newfoundland contains less material of this kind to work upon than any country of its size and population in the world. Newfoundlanders of all denominations- to their credit be it said- are a church-going people. It is probable that St. John's has not one hundred persons who are not habitual church-goers.¹⁴¹

Since Newfoundlanders were all church-goers the Army was being accused of stealing members from other congregations rather than saving those who were without a church, an impossibility according to The Mercury. The people that The Salvation Army stole were those who had little or no say in the politics of church affairs, the youth and disrespectable.

The Salvation Army was gaining support in St. John's, but it came from a segment of the population that did not have a great deal of control over the affairs of the island. The youth and the disrespectable were the Army's supporters. This combination proved very upsetting to the papers as they attempted to keep young people, especially young women, away from The Salvation Army. The author of The Mercury article listed above complained Army meetings meant, "that young men and women are away from their homes until an hour in the night which is unseemly and improper. Any engagements whether they be religious service or not, that causes the home duties to be habitually neglected, are vicious in their tendency."¹⁴² In this case concern is not what these young people were learning at

¹⁴⁰The Evening Mercury, February 8, 1886.

¹⁴¹The Evening Mercury, May 13, 1886.

¹⁴²The Evening Mercury, May 13, 1886.

the Army meetings, but the performance of their duties the next day. Although not explicit, the author's concern seems to be with domestic servants. Just as Marks discovered in Ontario, these women would be able to act according to their own wishes since family constraints were less than if they had remained at home.¹⁴³ Further evidence that the Army in St. John's held a great deal of appeal for the city's working women came from The Telegram. A rise of disease in the city prompted The Telegram to print a letter claiming the upper class could blame their increase in illness on the fact that their servants attended meetings at The Salvation Army barracks.¹⁴⁴ The barracks was perhaps a dirty place and the close contact between people from a number of social classes would mean that germs would spread easily. The fact that The Telegram could claim servants were responsible for the spread of diseases amongst their employers would indicate that at least some servants were attending Salvation Army meetings. All the articles that dealt with respectability and The Salvation Army appealed to parents to keep their children away from the barracks for reasons of respectability and because the Army would cause the youth to lose all sense of true religion.¹⁴⁵ If the person was a domestic servant, the employer was naturally expected to step in to ensure that she remained respectable. The fear of a loss of respectability was aimed at women more than men. Be it a reality or the editors perception, this indicated a concern for domestics who attended the Army meetings in St. John's. The editors' expressed a great deal of concern when The Salvation Army was physically attacked, but that concern was for any harm that could befall the 'poor defenseless women'.¹⁴⁶ Concern for the 'lasses' became concern for the young women of St. John's. Rarely did the papers worry themselves with the men who attended the Army's services. Although the men who went to The Salvation Army meetings were as guilty as the women of abandoning their

¹⁴³Marks, "The 'Hallelujah Lasses'," p. 89.

¹⁴⁴The Evening Telegram, December 16, 1889.

¹⁴⁵Also see The Terra Nova Advocate, May 19, 1886.

¹⁴⁶For articles dealing with attacks on the Army in St. John's during 1886 see The Evening Mercury, March 24, 1886 and May 4, 1886, also see The Evening Telegram, March 22, 1886, May 20, 1886, and October 4, 1886.

former church and becoming involved in an allegedly disreputable organization, their involvement in the public sphere was not an abnormality.

The working women in St. John's were considerably different than women in the outports. These women were wage earners, providing them with a great deal of freedom from their own families, yet dependent on another family, normally that of their employer. Free from the constraints of their own family, working women could attend such things as a Salvation Army service and, although their employer had a great deal of control over their domestic life, they could not control religious worship. The Salvation Army offered these women the ability to challenge both their families and employers without falling into a world of sin. But the Army's methods were always a point of contention with the newspapers and even if all the Salvationists in St. John's were male the papers would still have found the Army offensive.

Like The Mercury, as The Telegram learned more about the Army's methods they too began questioning the work of The Salvation Army. The Telegram did not express an opinion about the Army, its methods, or personnel until April 2, 1886, when an article appeared questioning the lasting effects of the Salvationist's methods. The article stated, "it does not seem reasonable that conversions made under the influence of drums, of cymbals, of fiddles, of doggerel hymns, offensive to every sense of propriety, subversive of reverence for sacred things, of shouts and incoherent appeals, of general sound and fury, can have any lasting basis."¹⁴⁷ The Salvation Army was beginning to lose what little support the papers had offered. The reason The Salvation Army was losing this support was the same reason they had gained it in the first place.

The Telegram and The Mercury supported the Army because it gave them the opportunity to criticize Catholics and the disreputable of society. By April of 1886 it

¹⁴⁷The Evening Telegram, April 2, 1886.

became clear Catholics were not the only people attacking the Salvationists.¹⁴⁸ It also became evident that those attracted to the Army were not the most respectable people of St. John's, at least according to the standards set by the newspapers. Moreover, The Salvation Army was stealing members from the other denominations. Regardless of the papers' views on the methods the Army used, The Salvation Army prospered and grew in Newfoundland, testifying to the effectiveness of its tactics. The Salvation Army may have been guilty of stealing members from the other churches, but if people chose to leave their denomination to join the Army it was because The Salvation Army offered them something that was lacking in their former church. What the editors did not understand was that the Army's meetings and marches were fun, which made them successful. Just as some people enjoyed harassing the Salvationists, Army members also enjoyed what they were doing. Unlike other churches, The Salvation Army encouraged and expected everyone to participate in their services. This could lead to some very unusual and interesting meetings as this report from Newfoundland illustrated:

The Adjutant assures me that he often sees in some corps the penitent form sprinkled with blood where the penitents throw themselves without reserve to plead for mercy. This old-fashioned repentance brings on the old-time religion, and oh! if the mental agonies of the penitent have been terrible, the joy also is unbounded. They jump, dance, clap their hands, skip, run, throw their heads about without reserve in the ecstasies (sic) of their new-found Salvation....¹⁴⁹

One could also walk down the street in parade style, beating a drum or tambourine, singing as loud as possible, without a care of being in tune or keeping the beat. During the late nineteenth century this practice alone was enough for some people to join The Salvation Army. The newspapers were gradually disassociating themselves from the Army, since it was becoming clear Salvationists were not as respectable as first believed. This

¹⁴⁸David G. Pitt, *Windows of Agates*, 2 (St. John's: 1990), pp. 106-107. When dealing with The Salvation Army's first few months in St. John's, Pitt wrote, "there is no way of knowing now to what extent the St. John's Methodists were directly involved in these goings-on, either as sympathetic camp-followers or as hostile opponents. An old gentleman...., a sometime Methodist recalled, going up to the Parade Grounds to 'fire rocks at the Salvationists.'"

¹⁴⁹*The War Cry*, May 26, 1888, p. 4.

disenchantment was completed when an article appeared in The War Cry condemning the city of St. John's.

On October 2, 1886, The War Cry published an article by Captain Kimmerly, which infuriated the local press. Unfortunately, the original does not exist, but The Mercury published a copy on October 22. The article stated:

Last Tuesday night one of our dear lasses was going home dressed in her uniform, was faced by a brutish mob of roughs three hundred strong, they got her threw her in a ditch and trampled on her, put her down two or three times this way until she was so badly bruised they had to get three policemen and she had to be carried to a house.¹⁵⁰

At the end of the article Captain Kimmerly also claimed to have seen women drinking in the bars of St. John's. This proved too much for the editor of The Mercury and his response condemned The Salvation Army and Captain Kimmerly. The editor wrote:

Her statements do not bear the slightest impress of truth. For instance she says that three hundred roughs trampled on one of the "dear lasses" and she still lived. Now every one must admit that it is a pretty tough lass who could survive 300 roughs engaged in the pleasant occupation of waltzing over her body. ... But now comes the gravest charge of all. "While passing by a hotel, says the Captain, and seeing women spending their money over the bar, it made our hearts bleed for them." We stamp the above as a deliberate falsehood. It is an impossibility to see any of our women going into a liquor store or hotel with the intention of drinking, and we boldly assert that in no place in the world is there less intemperance among women than in Newfoundland.¹⁵¹

The editor of The Mercury was outraged that a member of The Salvation Army would write such an article. This was viewed as a betrayal of St. John's and Newfoundland. The police and the press, with the exception of The Advocate, had offered the Army protection from attack. The Salvationists were allowed to function as their officers saw fit and unlike in the rest of North America and Europe The Salvation Army was allowed to hold marches and outdoor meetings without engaging in any legal battles.¹⁵² Blinded by their own agenda the

¹⁵⁰The Evening Mercury, October 22, 1886.

¹⁵¹The Evening Mercury, October 22, 1886.

¹⁵²Most charges filed against The Salvation Army were for causing a public disturbance with one of their marches. Marks, "The 'Hallelujah Lasses'," p. 98.

newspapers had failed to see The Salvation Army had an agenda of its own. The Army's The War Cry was distributed throughout Canada and Captain Kimmerly was attempting to demonstrate the bravery of Newfoundland's Salvationists. Exaggeration tended to be the rule when submitting reports to Headquarters or The War Cry, as illustrated by D.O. Young's earlier report in 1886. It is possible a female Salvationist was attacked on her way home one night, but as The Mercury pointed out, it is hard to believe three hundred people trampled on the women without causing serious harm or death and no charges were laid. This article ended the relatively friendly relationship between the newspapers and The Salvation Army, but the Army continued to prosper despite the lack of press support.

The editor of The Mercury found Captain Kimmerly's entire article offensive, but most galling was the depiction of the women of St. John's drinking in the local bars. This was a reflection of the editor's paternalist attitudes. When The Salvation Army was attacked at the Parade Ground on January 31, 1886, the newspapers concentrated their efforts on depicting the 'lasses' as helpless and in need of protection. The Salvationists were called 'poor defenseless women', or variations, in the reports dealing with this and all subsequent assaults. All reports dealing with an assault on The Salvation Army referred to an Army woman being attacked by a mob. The 'lasses' were referred to as women only when the term 'poor defenseless' preceded it; all other times girls was used, serving the same purpose as 'poor defenseless women'. The women of The Salvation Army were far from 'poor defenseless women'. The Army's 'lasses' were the vanguard of Salvationism throughout the world. Despite the knowledge that first contact with a community could lead to violence, women continued to act as the front-line soldiers for The Salvation Army. The four women who entered St. John's were no different than other Salvationists world wide. They had chosen to leave their friends and families and move to a foreign land to spread the word of God. Captains Phillips, Collins and Kimmerly, as well as Cadet Larder were not 'poor defenseless women', but strong, independent and willing to challenge a male-dominated world. These women did not need protection because they were women, but

because they were Salvationists, just as male Salvationists also needed protection. The newspapers presented them as helpless, which was more in keeping with the editors' view of society than reality. This paternalism was further reflected in the newspaper's treatment of women who attended Army meetings.

Within Newfoundland during the nineteenth century, the city of St. John's differed considerably from most of the island. Areas such as Harbour Grace, Carbonear and Twillingate were busy port towns but they did not rival the size and population of Newfoundland's capital. As a result, life outside of the city was considerably different. There was less money in circulation in the outports, less entertainment and fewer denominations in each area. Whereas St. John's possessed people from every denomination in Newfoundland, the outports rarely had more than three denominations at most. The men of outport Newfoundland were also migratory during the fishing and sealing seasons. This left the women with more freedom to act as they wished, without concern for how their husbands and/or fathers would react. These differences, combined with the nature of life in a fishing community, made outport Newfoundland one of The Salvation Army's most fertile recruiting areas in North America.

The small band of Salvationists that arrived in St. John's on January 31, 1886 overcame all the obstacles it faced and prospered as a result. By the end of 1886 The Salvation Army, with the combined help of new recruits from Newfoundland and officers transferred from Canada¹⁵³ had opened corps in four areas outside of St. John's, with Twillingate being the farthest north. The Army suffered opposition as it entered new areas of the island, but it ended quickly and the Army gained a large following in the outports of Newfoundland.

¹⁵³The Harbor Grace Standard, October 30, 1886.

*Chapter IV***The Salvation Army in the Outports**

While the newspapers were debating the value of The Salvation Army in Newfoundland and some of the inhabitants of St. John's were busying themselves attacking the Army's barracks, the Salvationists were taking their message to the outports. The Protestant outports of the North and North-East coasts were The Salvation Army's best recruiting ground. Life outside the island's capital was considerably different than within the city. It was in rural Newfoundland that the ill effects of the 'truck' system and the depression of the 1880's were strongest. Many of the communities were small, isolated fishing villages relying on the sea, in combination with the land, for their survival, and few merchants or ministers and priests resided outside of the larger towns such as Harbour Grace, Carbonear, and Twillingate. Although isolation allowed a degree of freedom from church control, the outports did not enjoy regular religious services.

The religious violence that occurred in Newfoundland was most often between Protestants and Catholics.¹⁵⁴ Political campaigns were sectarian battles pitting a Protestant candidate against a Catholic one. In the island's small outports this sectarian strife was less than in St. John's and the other large towns for the simple reason that there was rarely a large enough mix of Catholics and Protestants to warrant much hostility. Few Protestants in Catholic areas and few Catholics in Protestant areas meant clashes between the two were rare, but it also meant the minority religion was poorly serviced by their church, even within the Protestant ranks. Nineteenth-century Newfoundland consisted of three main denominations: the Church of England, the Methodist Church, and the Roman Catholic

¹⁵⁴See for example, J.K. Hiller, "Notes From Lecture On The Harbour Grace Affray- One Hundred Years Later," Presented to the Newfoundland Historical Society, 1983. Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland. The Harbour Grace Affray involved a group of Catholics and Protestants in a violent clash.

Church.¹⁵⁵ These three churches had a strong influence on all non-economic aspects in Newfoundland from politics to education.¹⁵⁶ Within St. John's, the church-controlled education system functioned well, each church had enough members to support a place of worship and none lacked the opportunity to attend a school in some cases only a Sunday school operated by their church. In the sparsely populated outports it was impossible for each denomination to build and maintain a school and in many cases the members of a minority denomination were so few that they were unable to maintain a church, forcing them to share what religious structure existed.

Many communities along the North and North-East coasts were Protestant, but within the Protestant ranks the Anglicans and Methodists were struggling to maintain their members and attract new converts.¹⁵⁷ Economics made it impossible for each denomination to establish a church and a school in every community, nor did they have the personnel to station a minister in each community even without a church. As a result, all the churches, including the Roman Catholic Church, utilized a circuit system.¹⁵⁸ The use of itinerant ministers and priests meant communities were without their religious leaders for long periods of time, especially during the winter months when travel was most difficult. This aspect of religious life in the outports made them a prime candidate for The Salvation Army. The Army did not employ itinerant ministers; officers were stationed within a community on a permanent basis. If for some reason an officer was not stationed in the area, soldiers were able to conduct Army meetings of their own. This was possible because the

¹⁵⁵Newfoundland also contained the Reformed Church of England, the Baptist Church, the Congregational Church and the Presbyterian Church, as well as a few other denominations in small pockets of the island. These denominations did enjoy some support and although each was significant in its own right they do not form part of this study.

¹⁵⁶Ian McDonald, "Too Each His Own", p. 16. It was not until 1996 that the Newfoundland government began proceedings to relieve the Churches of the responsibility of caring for the island's educational system.

¹⁵⁷See for example the Church of England publication *The Diocesan Magazine*, January 1899, in which a complaint was issued that the Methodists and Salvation Army were making inroads with the people of Tilt Cove and the Anglicans needed to send more ministers to the area in order to maintain a presence.

¹⁵⁸Naboth Winsor, *Hearts Strangely Warmed, A History of Methodism in Newfoundland, 1765-1925* (Gander: 1982), p. 41.

Salvationists did not administer the sacraments and therefore a trained, ordained minister was not required. The Army was also unconcerned with the type of building used for their meetings. In many areas The Salvation Army simply met in a member's home, therefore making a church unnecessary.¹⁵⁹ In the city of St. John's and the large towns along the coast the Army established barracks, but in the small outports the Salvationists did not feel the need to build a large home for themselves.¹⁶⁰ Such modesty allowed them to station officers in the outports at minimal expense. This proved to be a tremendous asset when The Salvation Army moved into the economically troubled outports.

The Salvation Army had encountered opposition from all levels of St. John's society. The newspapers, representing the attitudes of the city's upper class, were opposed to the Army's presence. The Salvationists were under physical attack throughout the year while they marched or held meetings in their barracks. Despite the hostility that existed The Salvation Army gained a strong following in St. John's and by the end of October 1886 Headquarters in Toronto had sent additional officers to Newfoundland.¹⁶¹ The Army in Newfoundland also began to promote its own officers and these Newfoundlanders, along with the new officers from Canada, began to spread the Army's message beyond the city.¹⁶² The first area outside of St. John's to have an official corps was Carbonear.

The Salvation Army corps in Carbonear opened on April 11, 1886 under the command of Captain Kimble.¹⁶³ Although a corps in Brigus is officially listed as opening on the same day, the officers assigned to that town found that renovations on their barracks were incomplete and as a result the officers actually went to Carbonear instead.¹⁶⁴ The

¹⁵⁹For an example from Little Bay see *The Twillingate Sun*, February 18, 1888.

¹⁶⁰*The Census of Newfoundland and Labrador*, 1891, although there are 24 corps on the island at the time there are only 12 church buildings listed with the term 'Other' under which The Salvation Army was listed.

¹⁶¹*The Harbor Grace Standard*, October 30, 1886.

¹⁶²In an effort to capitalize on its gains during the early years of The Salvation Army's existence officers were commissioned with little or no formal training and sent to 'invade' new areas. *The Twillingate Sun*, March 16, 1889.

¹⁶³Moyles, *The Blood and Fire in Canada*, p. 275.

¹⁶⁴*The Evening Mercury*, April 12, 1886.

Salvation Army had opened corps in these two towns just three months after the official 'invasion' of St. John's. The Army was hoping to capitalize on the novelty of its existence.

In order for an area to become a corps the Army had to first determine if there was enough support. This was accomplished by sending an 'invasion' party to the area, usually two people. These Salvationists were responsible for establishing the Army's presence in the town. The 'invasion' party did not receive any financial support from Headquarters, meaning survival depended on support from the local population. In some cases the Salvationists were unable to generate enough money to cover their salaries and were barely able to feed themselves.¹⁶⁵ If the 'invasion' party was unable to make any inroads in an area, it would find itself without a means of support and hence would be forced to leave. This was the way The Salvation Army conducted its field research elsewhere, but Newfoundland proved considerably different.

The Salvationists who first 'invaded' St. John's had traveled from Halifax, another port town. In Halifax, The Salvation Army enjoyed a great deal of success with the sailors and dock workers who frequented the port. The Army's barracks' convenient location on the waterfront allowed the Salvationists easy access to the docks, and the sailors and dock workers had easy access to the barracks.¹⁶⁶ In the city of St. John's the Army's barracks was located on Springdale Street just up from the docks. This was a prime location for an organization like The Salvation Army. From its location by the docks the Army had access to people from all over the island. St. John's was Newfoundland's largest and most important port. The city was home to most merchant firms and to the banks and sealing fleets. On any given day one could come into contact with people from almost every area of the island. The Salvationists were well aware of this and successfully drew people who were in the city from the outports to their meetings.¹⁶⁷ From its location in St. John's The

¹⁶⁵Marks, "The 'Hallelujah Lasses'," p. 92. In 1889, single male field officers made \$6 a week, single female field officers make \$5 a week, and a married male field officer made \$10 a week. Salaries could only be collected after all other expenses were paid.

¹⁶⁶Moyles, *The Blood and Fire*, pp. 74-75.

¹⁶⁷For example, see *The Evening Mercury*, September 18, 1886.

Salvation Army gained converts from around the island, who, upon their return home, continued to spread word of the Army often leading to the formation of a new corps.¹⁶⁸ These spontaneous moves by the people of Newfoundland, along with the fact that many of the officers who were sent to officially 'open fire' in a community were Newfoundlanders, reduced the amount of opposition encountered by The Salvation Army in the outports.

The success the Army enjoyed among the sailors who entered St. John's concerned the Church of England. In October 1895, an article in The Diocesan Magazine appeared about a new way the Anglican church in Catalina had developed to attract fishers who were docked in the port awaiting the start of the fishing season. The minister handed out cards on every ship in port and this was a great success since all the fishers needed was an invitation to make them attend church, the author claimed. The article concluded:

Catalina is not the only port of call on the coast either, and if this were done in every place, our fishermen, when away from home, would not so often be found at the S.A. Barracks instead of their own church. In the mean time, I can assure all visitors to Catalina by land or sea, a hearty welcome at S. Peter's on Sundays, Fridays and Saints' Days, and we are not a bit particular as to whether they have on their Sunday clothes or not.¹⁶⁹

The Salvation Army had a great deal of success with the fishing population, especially when the fishers were away from their homes during the fishing season. The article above hinted that the type of clothing a fisher had on board ship during the season was not his Sunday clothes and therefore many fishers did not attend church while in port. Although the author, Mr. John Antle, did not mind if people went to church in their work clothes, some members of the congregation would have been very offended, especially in St. John's where attitudes towards people from outside the city tended to be less than kind.¹⁷⁰ The Salvation Army, on the other hand, did not concern itself with the style of dress its audience wore. Its members were not the upper class of society like the members of the

¹⁶⁸Moyles, The Blood and Fire in Canada, p. 80.

¹⁶⁹The Diocesan Magazine, October 1895.

¹⁷⁰"Bayman Visits the Salvation Army Barracks," The Evening Mercury, September 18, 1886.

Church of England; The Salvation Army barracks was not a towering Cathedral filled with icons of Christ and the Virgin Mary, but like its members, was humble and inviting. People who found themselves in a town other than their own and with nothing but their work clothes were still welcome and made to feel comfortable in the Army barracks. This made The Salvation Army the church of choice for fishers as they traveled from port to port. This did not mean that upon their return home all fishers continued to attend Army meetings. Some certainly returned to their family church, but a number did become Salvationists.

Victor Bailey illustrated that part of the opposition The Salvation Army encountered in a new area was caused by the fact that they were an exogenous organization.¹⁷¹ Since the Army in St. John's was converting people who returned to their homes and acted in the name of The Salvation Army, the type of resistance described by Bailey was less evident. The Army's first contact with a community was often made without Headquarters' knowledge.¹⁷² As a result, when The Salvation Army sent an officer to the community, the hostility and resentment that often accompanied an 'invasion' throughout the rest of North America and England did not occur. This spontaneous action on the part of the fishers meant The Salvation Army had a small group of supporters before it entered an area. This, in combination with the fact that the Army was quick to populate its ranks with Newfoundlanders, transformed The Salvation Army from a foreign institution into an indigenous one.¹⁷³ The Army was not without its opponents, but its base in St. John's and the inclusion of a number of Newfoundlanders in the officer ranks led to a rapid spread up the North-East coast.

The year 1886 had been a prosperous one for the Army with the establishment of corps in St. John's, Brigus, Bonavista, Carbonear, and Twillingate, as well as additional

¹⁷¹Bailey, "Salvation Army Riots," p. 235.

¹⁷²John E. Carew, "The Salvation Army in Newfoundland and Labrador," in Gerald Benson ed., *Out of Our Hearts, Churches of Newfoundland and Labrador* (St. John's: 1992), p. 128.

¹⁷³Moyles, *The Blood and Fire in Canada*, p. 80.

work in Greenspond, Catalina, and Trinity.¹⁷⁴ The areas the Army moved into between 1886 and 1891 were either well populated towns, meaning the Salvationists had a good chance of making converts based on the amount of people they encountered, or if the population was small there was a high percentage of Protestants, and in most cases Methodists, enhancing The Salvation Army's chances of success.¹⁷⁵ The Salvation Army did open four corps on the South Coast in the Burin Peninsula, a predominantly Catholic area, but they were restricted to the large areas of Grand Bank and Fortune, as well as the Protestant dominated towns of Burin, and Garnish.¹⁷⁶ Although the Army made some inroads in the South coast, it was along the North and North-East coasts of the island that the Army was successful.

The coastal areas north of St. John's were predominantly Protestant and The Salvation Army moved into these areas in the hope of making converts. The Protestant press and some religious leaders opposed the work of The Salvation Army because they had the most to lose if the Army was successful. As illustrated in chapter one the similarities between Methodism and The Salvation Army meant more Methodists than any other denomination were inclined to join The Salvation Army. With few doctrinal differences disgruntled Methodists were offered the chance to join a denomination that resembled the old energetic Methodism of John Wesley. As the Army spread into the Protestant dominated areas of the North and North-East coasts, the Methodists, and to a lesser extent the Anglicans, slowly lost some of their members to the Salvationists. In some areas this caused a violent reaction on the part of the community, but the greatest opposition to the Army came in the form of verbal assaults in the newspapers and religious publications.

¹⁷⁴The Twillingate Sun, December 25, 1886.

¹⁷⁵See Appendix A.

¹⁷⁶Grand Bank's population was 1038 in 1884 and Fortune had a population of 786 for the same year. Although Burin's population was only 295 in 1884, Protestants consisted of 86.7 percent of the population with 248 Methodists. Garnish, in 1891, had a population of 357, with 100 percent of these being Protestant. Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1884, 1891. The Census for 1884, 1891 or 1901 was used according to which was closest to the year the corps was opened.

The Methodist church was having membership difficulties in the outports of nineteenth-century Newfoundland. The Methodist Missionary Society was meant to spread the work of the Methodist church through the smaller communities of the island. The Society was successful in raising the number of members in the Methodist church, but in some areas it experienced difficulty. Rarely were the Missionaries along the North and North-East coasts willing to admit they were having trouble.¹⁷⁷ These men were attempting to justify their existence in the outports of the island and maintain their position. Had the Missionaries sent reports to headquarters stating the work was not having an effect, they would have run the risk of losing their jobs. This meant a missionary rarely sent a report placing himself in a negative light, but on occasion a report appeared informing church leaders the local population was not responding to the Mission. For example, Reverend R.W. Freeman reported that in Trinity "we have, by the help of God, endeavored faithfully to do the work of a Methodist minister. Still we have not been permitted to share in the joy of the reaper. The entire number of those who professed faith in Christ at Cuchold's Cove last spring, have returned to the World."¹⁷⁸ Reverend Freeman was experiencing membership problems as only 44.8 percent of Cuchold's Cove were Methodist in 1884, but he did not offer an explanation for why the people were Methodists one spring and not the next.¹⁷⁹ This was different than the report filed by Reverend A. Hill from Exploits. Reverend Hill wrote, "in more than twenty places we have preached the Gospel on this mission, and not without many tokens of the Master's presence and blessing. The great drawback seems to be the unsettled state of our people, their going to Labrador in the summer and into the Bay in the winter. This greatly interferes with the members meeting in class, and consequently with their religious experience."¹⁸⁰ Neither mission was having a

¹⁷⁷Sixtieth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, 1883-1884 (Toronto: 1885).

¹⁷⁸Sixtieth Annual Report of the Missionary Society, 1883-1884, p. iv.

¹⁷⁹Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1884.

¹⁸⁰Sixtieth Annual Report of the Missionary Society, 1883-1884, p. iv.

great deal of success, but Reverend Hill was unwilling to accept responsibility for the failure. The lifestyle of the Newfoundlanders meant he was unable to bring them into the fold since they were rarely in the Exploits area. Reverend Hill did not make any suggestions, but it was clear from his report that the Mission needed to change its methods to fit the lifestyle of the fishers. Those ministers who were honest in their reporting of the situation of their mission demonstrated that the Methodist Church perceived it was having membership problems even before The Salvation Army launched its challenge for converts. The problem was not a matter of converting the people to Methodism, but having them attend church and class meetings.

Reverend George P. Storey reported in 1884 that in Catalina "the spiritual state of this mission is anything but satisfactory. Considering that the Gospel has been faithfully preached for years, and the people exalted to heaven by privileges, it is lamentable that so few are concerned about their soul's salvation."¹⁸¹ Just as Rev. Freeman in Trinity and Rev. Hill in Exploits, Rev. Storey was reporting that the people in his mission's area were not acting as good Methodists. All three towns where the Ministers were stationed were predominately Methodist, with 100 percent of Exploits' population listing themselves as Methodists in 1884.¹⁸² These ministers were not concerned with the number of people who declared themselves as Methodists when the census taker arrived, but with the number of people who attended Sunday service. Considering the reluctance a minister would have to report the true state of his mission, it is reasonable to think that some of the Methodist churches in Newfoundland's outports were lacking active members during the early 1880's, leaving these people prime targets for The Salvation Army. This contradicts the article from The Mercury mentioned in chapter three. The article had praised the work of The Salvation Army throughout the world with the unchurched, but it went on to state, "Newfoundland contains less material of this kind to work upon than any country of its size and population in the world. Newfoundlanders of all denominations- to their credit be it

¹⁸¹ Sixtieth Annual Report of the Missionary Society, 1883-1884, p. lv.

¹⁸² Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1884.

said- are a church-going people."¹⁸³ From the reports of missionaries, it is clear that most Newfoundlanders were church goers, but not all and the myth that all Newfoundlanders attended church cost the Methodists members when The Salvation Army moved into the outposts.

The Methodists were also vulnerable to the Army because they were unprepared for the effect The Salvation Army would have in Newfoundland. Methodist church leaders did not view the Army as a threat, especially not in rural Newfoundland. Where it was thought the Methodists could lose members to the Salvationists was in the city, not a predominantly rural area like Newfoundland. Articles appeared occasionally in the Methodist publication The Christian Guardian that dealt with the issue of The Salvation Army. In 1882, an article appeared illustrating the Methodist Church's confusion over supporting the work of the Army. The article about the Salvationists stated, "we have made frequent reference, more or less favorable, to this organization and our readers somewhat familiar with it and its methods. It is difficult to decide what to condemn and what to approve in dealing with a religious movement that has made itself felt for good in the community."¹⁸⁴ The Christian Guardian was having difficulty deciding what to do about The Salvation Army since the message of the Salvationists was similar to the Methodists, but the methods used to spread that message put the value of The Salvation Army into question. While the periodical was debating the value of the Army, so too were the ministers. The Christian Guardian article continued, "a number of the leading Wesleyan ministers have publicly endorsed the movement and the President, Rev. Dr. Osborne, is reported to have spent a day, not taking any active part however, at one of their all day services. This endorsement is not regarded favorably in some quarters and has caused considerable comment."¹⁸⁵ The debate amongst Methodist leaders left many unsure how to deal with The Salvation Army.

One of the ties that made the Methodists sympathetic to The Salvation Army was the

¹⁸³The Evening Mercury, May 13, 1886.

¹⁸⁴The Christian Guardian, February 1, 1882.

¹⁸⁵The Christian Guardian, February 1, 1882.

constant perception that the persecution early Methodists faced at the hands of the Church of England could also befall the Army at the hands of the Methodist church. It was difficult to justify opposing The Salvation Army while at the same time condemning the Church of England for opposing the Methodist church after Wesley's death. The resemblance between the methods used by early Methodists and the Salvationists were strong and had the Methodist church publicly condemned the Army based on these methods, they would have been condemning their own past. The Army was also viewed as dealing with the poorer classes of society that the Methodist church was unable to reach. The Christian Guardian published an article that addressed all of these elements. The article stated:

In a recent sermon, Canon Farrar gave expression to his views of the Salvation Army. He referred to the development of the emotional element, and kindred extravagances in the Primitive Christian Church. With a good deal in the methods and doings of the Salvationists Cannon Farrar does not sympathize, yet he candidly testifies to the good they have done, and wishes them success in their mission to the degraded classes.¹⁸⁶

The Methodist leaders were unclear about their attitudes towards The Salvation Army. On the one hand the leaders were aware the Army was having success with the poor and unchurched in urban areas, but the methods employed were viewed by many, especially the middle class, as vulgar. Yet it was not the methods of the Army that caused the greatest concern for the Methodists, it was the fact that the Army was able to take young Methodists from their church and set them to work in the name of Salvationism.

The Salvation Army was attracting a number of young Methodists. The Methodist Church had instilled a strong commitment to doing public good, especially among the poor, in these young people. The Methodist leadership, however, was unwilling to assign much responsibility to its youth. In the search to fulfill their craving to perform good works in the name of God, many turned to the Army, which was willing to put all soldiers to work. The lack of a firm position about the Salvationists, similarities between the two religions and the loss of youth prompted a letter to The Christian Guardian. The letter stated:

¹⁸⁶The Christian Guardian, August 2, 1882.

As regards the attitude of other Churches towards this extraordinary organization I do not wish to say anything, but I think it is well worth while to ask, what position should we as Methodists adopt in regard to it. It cannot, I think, be gainsayed that the whole genius of the thing is Methodist. ... And in respect to the good results which have followed their efforts there can be no doubt. I saw the proofs myself. The drunkard, the profane, the vicious have been reclaimed. Sinners, whom other Churches have failed to reach, have been sought out and recovered; ... There are hundreds of young men and women throughout Methodism abundantly able for this work. It is a work which can only be done as an adjunct to our present ordinary methods, and it is a work which we as a Church could do far more effectively, and without descending to the extravagancies with which it is now accompanied.¹⁸⁷

This article demonstrated the struggle that the Methodist Church faced in dealing with the Army. The Salvationists were stealing young Methodists and putting them to work, while the Methodists were unwilling to give these people the type of authority they wanted. Methodists also admired the fact that the Army was making inroads with the unchurched, something that they could not oppose and so the Methodists were largely supportive of the work The Salvation Army was doing, at least until the Methodist Church found an effective way of doing it themselves.

The Methodists, however, thought of The Salvation Army as an urban religion, in need of a poor unchurched working class. In the case of Newfoundland the misconception was that this element, viewed as basic to The Salvation Army's success, did not exist and therefore the Methodists had little to fear from the Army. This proved to be a costly mistake. Newfoundland's Methodist Church leaders quickly learned that the methods and message of the Salvationists had some appeal in Newfoundland and soon both the Methodist Church and the Church of England were busy trying to stop the Army from stealing their members.

Without any guidance from the leadership of their church, Methodist ministers were left to react to the Salvationists in their own way. Much of the Methodist leadership supported the work of the Army and aided it in any way possible. The same was true in

¹⁸⁷The Christian Guardian, August 20, 1882.

Newfoundland. The Dawsons held the first Salvation Army-style meeting in the Methodist church of Portugal Cove. In St. John's the Army used the Victoria Hall for their meetings when the barracks was too small, and throughout the island the Salvationists were allowed access to the Orange Hall in areas where one existed.¹⁸⁸ These were secular organizations of Protestants that aided The Salvation Army in its spread throughout Newfoundland. The actions of the island's Protestant leadership were the product of the national and international leadership which did not have a plan of action with regards to The Salvation Army. In the case of Newfoundland the threat appeared to be minimal due to misrepresentations in ministers' reports and newspaper articles on the Army that presented it as an urban denomination of the unchurched which led to the belief that Newfoundland's Methodist leaders had nothing to fear. Although The Salvation Army did not appear to be designed for success in Newfoundland, it did establish themselves in the outports particularly through the aid of the Protestant Churches.

In March 1885, just prior to the Dawsons' arrival in Newfoundland, The Christian Guardian printed an article from The Methodist Times that made the usual accusation about The Salvation Army's methods. The Army was vulgar, it stole youth from other churches, and it did not administer the sacraments, but with the exception of the latter. The Salvation Army and the Methodist church were similar in their doctrines.¹⁸⁹ At the end of the article The Christian Guardian's editor wrote, "taking this answer as a text, the editor of the Methodist Times writes an able article strongly urging a union between the Methodists and the Army. He maintains that there is neither ecclesiastical nor doctrinal difficulty in the way. That the Army would be helped and not hindered in its work, and that such a connection would be a great mutual benefit."¹⁹⁰ Helping The Salvation Army in its work was of benefit for some Methodist churches in North America, but in Newfoundland it proved to be a detriment.

¹⁸⁸See The Evening Telegram, January 7, 1891 and The War Cry, May 23, 1893.

¹⁸⁹The Christian Guardian, March 4, 1885.

¹⁹⁰The Christian Guardian, March 4, 1885.

Shortly after the Army opened its corps in St. John's it became obvious that it was to become a permanent part of the island's religious structure and the newspapers and religious leaders began to deal with the problem that this posed. Though the Protestant papers originally supported The Salvation Army as a way of attacking the Catholics, concern shifted to the vulgarity and public disturbance caused by the Salvationist's outdoor marches and the loss of youth to The Salvation Army, especially young women. The Salvation Army enjoyed a great deal of support from women throughout Newfoundland. The women of the outports were part of the public sphere on a regular basis through the fisheries which gave them the strength to challenge the wishes of their husbands and fathers. In combination with the responsibility that women had within the family economy of outport Newfoundland, work in the fishery meant that many of the men were away from home for long periods of time. The effect was two-fold; not only were women able to act according to their own wishes, but they were often the majority of the population in the outports. One Salvation Army meeting in Bay Roberts, reported in The War Cry, was almost entirely composed of women.¹⁹¹

The Salvation Army offered women the opportunity to assert some individuality that they may not have had before and avoid acting in a way that could reflect very poorly on them. The Army also enjoyed a great deal of success among the women of the outports because they were home and the men were not. If the men had not gone to Labrador to fish or to the ice on sealing voyages, the Army would have had meetings with large numbers of both men and women. Since the men of the North and North-East coasts were away from home for months at a time the impression that the newspapers and religious leaders had of The Salvation Army was that it lured women into the organization. In both St. John's and the outports the complaints were the same; young women were being drawn into The Salvation Army and losing all knowledge of respectability in life and religion.

The Salvation Army's success in recruiting young women into its ranks caused concern within the other religious communities. Concern was greatest for those young

¹⁹¹The War Cry, September 5, 1887.

women who traveled to St. John's or the other large towns of the island. These women were free from the control of their family and local minister and as a result they were likely candidates to stray from the fold. An article in Diocesan Magazine illustrated this concern. Under the title, "Responsibility of a Mistress to the Church", an outport Anglican Clergyman wrote:

Many Church mistresses in St. John's are zealously engaged in promoting the welfare of some branch of missionary enterprise. Such, I hope, will not be offended when I suggest that some among them are gathering money 'to put it into a bag with holes' in other words, are defeating their own object as well as increasing their responsibility to the Church. The question at once arises, 'How?' The answer is short but emphatic. Your mission funds place missionaries in the Outports, their work includes the preparation of young girls for Confirmation and Holy Communion. In course of time the girls migrate to St. John's, enter into service, and from that time are lost to the Church. A St. John's lady said to me, 'Numbers of church girls from the Outports drift into Methodism and the Salvation Army, with no one to look after them'.¹⁹²

As young women moved from the outports into the city they found themselves free from the control of their family and their family church. To join a denomination like Methodism or The Salvation Army was a way of asserting that new found freedom and individuality. The clergy hoped that they could appeal to those who hired servants in St. John's to act as a parent and see that the young people from the outports remained with the Church of England.

The Salvation Army's success with young women was evident in various newspaper articles. These women were offered leadership roles within the Army and given the opportunity to act independently of their family. The Army was also an exciting and energetic organization. For servants there was little time to engage in recreational activities and meet people, as Lynne S. Marks found in Ontario.¹⁹³ The Salvation Army offered young women the opportunity to meet other people in a social setting with a degree of freedom that would not be found in an Anglican or Methodist Social. In the outports,

¹⁹²"Responsibility of a Mistress to the Church," Diocesan Magazine, February 1892.

¹⁹³Marks, "The 'Hallelujah Lasses'," p. 90.

women also had a degree of freedom. They were an important part of the fishery and exercised authority over the onshore duties. The men of the North and North-East coasts often left their houses in search of work, leaving the women free to act under their own authority. As a result of these factors it appeared to the religious leaders that The Salvation Army was attracting a disproportionate number of women to its meetings. The island's religious leadership did not realize that the lifestyle of Newfoundland's outports led to this misconception. While the women were home attending Salvation Army meetings, the men were doing the same while in port.

The conception that The Salvation Army appealed to women more than men was a result of the lifestyle in Newfoundland's outports, but men were as involved in the Army as women. As men traveled from port to port they were offered the opportunity to attend places of worship other than their own. Although it was possible to take part in different religious services at home, the large towns and St. John's offered the visitor a number of denominations to choose from on a regular basis. Some men from the outports regularly took advantage of this opportunity as evident by a letter to The Mercury from a 'Bayman'. The letter stated, "... I have traveled the different bays perhaps as much as any man in this country, I have attended places of worship of every denomination..."¹⁹⁴ With a limited amount of leisure time while in port these men would have wanted to make the most of their opportunity. Attending a religious service with the same denomination that one attended at home did not offer a great deal of entertainment. While in the large ports and St. John's especially, one could choose from a variety of church services that, if nothing else, provided the observer with a new experience. In the case of The Salvation Army, the people were offered much more than a regular church service.

Salvationists' meetings were entertaining and those from the outports who traveled to St. John's were able to enjoy themselves and fulfill their religious obligations at the same time. One of the drawing points that the Army had when trying to bring men into its meetings were the female preachers that led many of the meetings. A letter from a man in

¹⁹⁴"Bayman Visits the Salvation Army Barracks," The Evening Mercury, September 18, 1886.

St. John's appeared in The Telegram and stated, "a few nights ago I went into the Salvation Army's barracks for the purpose of hearing the female preacher...."¹⁹⁵ In the town of Tilt Cove the Army sent two women to start the Salvationist's work in the area. The Army opened a corps in Tilt Cove on June 18, 1888 because these two women were able to draw good crowds of men.¹⁹⁶ Like other parts of the world where The Salvation Army was popular, female preachers were able to draw men into the meetings. While women were at home they were free to join The Salvation Army which was usually found in the larger towns around the North and North-East coasts and the men were attending Army meetings while in the different ports of the island. The men not only went to the Army barracks to look at women and enjoy themselves, but the fishers were able to wear their work clothes to the religious services without fear of being belittled by their economic superiors. All these elements combined to make The Salvation Army popular with the people of Newfoundland's outports, but there was still a number of acts of intimidation directed at the outport Salvationists.

The religious leadership voiced its opposition to The Salvation Army through the newspapers and their own publications and the papers themselves also carried editorials that questioned the value of the Army in Newfoundland. Complaints were issued surrounding the fact that the Salvationists were poorly trained in bible studies and were not as qualified as the ministers they displaced when the Army moved into a community.¹⁹⁷ It was believed that the education of the youth would suffer as a result, but these types of complaints were issued by the upper class of Newfoundland society, not the people in the outports. The elite seemed concerned over the spiritual well-being of the people on the island, yet those who joined the Army did not seem to feel their religious lives were suffering. It was with pride and gloating that The Twillingate Sun printed an article about Captain Grey who had

¹⁹⁵Letter from 'An Old Soldier,' The Evening Telegram, May 20, 1886.

¹⁹⁶The Twillingate Sun, February 18, 1888.

¹⁹⁷The Twillingate Sun, March 17, 1888.

become disillusioned with The Salvation Army and quit.¹⁹⁸ The article stated that, "after two years experience in the Army, she is fully convinced that its mode of doing the Lord's work is neither profitable nor in harmony with the Lord's Word. ... Strong evidence, we think, (is it not?) against the Army?"¹⁹⁹ Articles did not appear in the papers that highlighted the people who stayed in the Army. Stories were printed about Army banquets and marches, but little commentary accompanied these reports.²⁰⁰ In a number of the communities where the Army established itself it encountered opposition from the local population as well as the press.

Attacks on the Army ranged from physical intimidation to ridiculous pettiness, both of which are illustrated by a letter from Little Bay printed in The Twillingate Sun. After mentioning the regular attacks on The Salvation Army's barracks in the town the letter stated:

... but nothing seemed to arrest more attention than the summoning of seven or eight boys before our worthy Stipendiary Magistrate for the calling of ill names and the throwing of stones at a poor mans (sic) house (near by the Salvation barracks.) ... We say and stand upon our footing that the Captain of the Salvation Army is alone responsible for the conduct of the individuals who caused the trouble here, and had he taken the proper steps this trouble and expense would have been saved beside the glass in the Barrack (sic) windows.²⁰¹

The author of this letter appears to have been less concerned with justice and the law than with attacking The Salvation Army. It would be hard to imagine the author writing such a letter if the church in question was anything other than The Salvation Army. This was the type of pettiness that the Salvationists faced in the outports.²⁰² The written assaults were far easier for a person to withstand in comparison to the physical violence that the

¹⁹⁸"Left the Army." The Twillingate Sun, May 5, 1888.

¹⁹⁹"Left the Army." The Twillingate Sun, May 5, 1888.

²⁰⁰For example see, The Evening Telegram, January 7, 1891, January 28, 1891.

²⁰¹The Twillingate Sun, May 3, 1890.

²⁰²In Bonavista a man yelled 'Fire' into the crowded Barracks causing panic and confusion. The Twillingate Sun, January 22, 1887.

Salvationists faced in St. John's. Little in the way of physical attacks occurred in the outports and all the opposition found in the newspapers concerned St. John's and the larger towns, not the small outports. It was in the small Protestant outports that The Salvation Army found its greatest support.

Entertainment in the outports, especially the small towns, was at a premium. The Salvation Army offered people something new and exciting while at the same time something morally upstanding. People could attend a meeting or take part in a march while playing the same music that they played while having a party in their home. The Salvationists often took popular tunes and reworked them into church tunes. In the outports this would include the folk tunes that were popular at the time. Considering that most people had to be clear headed in the morning the Army meeting was a perfect opportunity to socialize with others in a party atmosphere while insuring that one would not suffer any ill effects in the morning. This added another dimension to the appeal of The Salvation Army in the outports of Newfoundland. The Salvation Army was not a success in every town that it entered. There were a number of areas along the North and North-East coast where the Army made little or no progress. The areas where the Salvationists did succeed were small communities dominated by Protestants.²⁰³

²⁰³Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1884, 1891, 1901.

Chapter V
Why The Salvation Army Succeeded

During the late nineteenth century The Salvation Army had been attacked in the press and on the streets of many communities in Newfoundland. It had endured opposition from the established denominations of the island and had been accused of offenses ranging from vulgarizing religion to stealing members from other congregations, specifically from the Methodist Church. In fact The Salvation Army was vulgar by most nineteenth-century religious conventions and it did steal members from other churches. Though the Army took people from other denominations throughout North America, in Newfoundland most of the communities were sparsely populated and in these small communities it was easy to observe any change in religious allegiance. Hence, the fact that the Army stole its members from other churches was more evident than in any other part of North America. In these small communities The Salvation Army enjoyed the support that formed the backbone of the Army's growth in Newfoundland.

The opposition The Salvation Army encountered in Newfoundland was primarily in the large towns and their newspapers. Little opposition and no physical attacks were reported in any small communities where the Army was present. The other churches had greater presence and hence a greater awareness of The Salvation Army in the large towns than in the small villages, but the Methodists and Anglicans were well aware that The Salvation Army was indeed stealing their members throughout the island. The opposition was focused in the well-populated towns because The Salvation Army established its corps in these towns and worked from this base to spread to smaller areas. These small communities were often without a resident member of the clergy and this allowed townspeople a greater freedom for religious experimentation.²⁰⁴

By the end of 1891, the first census after The Salvation Army's entrance into

²⁰⁴This chapter focuses on Newfoundland's outposts to the exclusion of St. John's. All references exclude St. John's unless specifically cited otherwise. For the purpose of this paper, the term clergy is used to identify both priests and ministers.

Newfoundland, there were twenty-four Army corps throughout the island, with two in St. John's.²⁰⁵ Of the towns with corps outside St. John's, four had a population over 3000, two were over 2000, four over 1000, two over 700, and ten were under 500, with two of the latter below 80 people.²⁰⁶ During its first two years, 1886 and 1887, The Salvation Army established ten corps, including St. John's, all of which had a population over 1000 people in 1884.²⁰⁷ This represented the systematic movement of the Salvationists. Its greatest support was in the small villages, but the Army, like the other churches, did not have the ability to establish a corps in each place where they had supporters. Instead the Army moved into the largest community in the area and established a corps with the hopes of being able to open corps in smaller areas as its support grew. In the large outports The Salvation Army came into contact with people from a number of communities. Some of these people returned home and continued to work for The Salvation Army.

Between 1888 and 1891, The Salvation Army opened fourteen corps, including a second in St. John's. Of these only two towns, not including St. John's, had a population in excess of 800 people. Harbour Grace had 7054 and Tilt Cove had 1004 people.²⁰⁸ By 1891 The Salvation Army had successfully established itself in all the major communities of the North and North-East coasts. It was within these areas that the Army encountered opposition, both physical and verbal. These larger towns tended to consist of a number of different denominations with permanent members of the clergy and merchant/traders who had the time and ability to oppose the Army. The areas where The Salvation Army opened its corps were not the places where they enjoyed the greatest support, but when combined with the small outlying communities these corps laid claim to a significant number of members.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁵Moyles, *The Blood and Fire*, Appendix E, pp. 275-279. Moyles did not list the Bonavista corps that was opened in 1886.

²⁰⁶*Census of Newfoundland and Labrador*, 1884, 1891.

²⁰⁷*Census of Newfoundland and Labrador*, 1884.

²⁰⁸*Census of Newfoundland and Labrador*, 1884, 1891.

²⁰⁹See below.

By the end of 1887, The Salvation Army had opened corps all along the North, North-East, and South coasts providing the Army with the ability to spread to other communities.²¹⁰ The Salvationists were successful in spreading to the smaller areas of the island by 1891. In this year The Salvation Army had at least one member in eighty-four communities, including St. John's, and represented more than 20 percent of the population in ten areas. Of these ten communities, three had a population of less than 50, three were less than 100, and two were less than 200 people.²¹¹ Only two towns where the Army made up at least 20 percent of the population had more than 400 people living in the community in 1891.²¹² The Salvationists did not compose 20 percent of the population in any area where the population was more than 1000 people.

Of the ten communities with at least 20 percent Salvationists only one, Fortune in the Burin District, listed a member of the clergy as resident in 1884.²¹³ The Salvation Army was not taking Newfoundland by storm. They were only present in 7.4 percent of the island's 1126 communities in 1891.²¹⁴ During the years 1886 to 1891, the Army was successful in small villages with a population less than 200 people, where there was either no or few clergy or merchant/traders present.²¹⁵ In the five years of its existence on the island the Army had managed to attract a large number of supporters in the small outposts.

Those areas in Newfoundland where The Salvation Army claimed at least 20 percent of the population by 1891 had a number of common traits.²¹⁶ Of the ten communities, three did not exist at the time of the 1884 census, leaving seven to use as examples. Of these seven, six were listed as being 100 percent Protestant, with Fortune

²¹⁰See chapter four.

²¹¹Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1891.

²¹²Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1891.

²¹³Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1884.

²¹⁴Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1891.

²¹⁵Possible reasons why The Salvation Army was unable to convert at least 20 percent of the population in every area resembling these ten towns is dealt with in the conclusion.

²¹⁶See Appendix B for list of towns with at least 20 percent Salvation Army in 1891.

being 99.74 percent Protestant, specifically Methodist. There were two communities with over 90 percent Church of England, one with 100 percent Methodism, two listed as over 98 percent Methodist and the other two were over 70 percent Methodist with less than 30 percent Church of England. Of these seven communities, Catholics were only present in one area, Fortune, with only two Catholics living in the town in 1884. Of these seven communities only Fortune listed people with an occupation other than that of fishing.²¹⁷ These areas represented the type of community where The Salvation Army was successful until 1901. With the exception of Fortune, they were all small villages, almost exclusively Protestant with either the Methodist Church or the Church of England accounting for at least 70 percent of the population. All the villages were dependent upon the fishery for their livelihood and they were without a permanent member of the clergy and few, if any, merchant/traders. Though the Army was similar to the Methodist Church, its appeal was not limited to Methodists. In both Seal Cove in Fortune Bay and Flower's Island, the Church of England claimed 98.7 percent and 91.1 percent of the population respectively in 1884.²¹⁸ By 1891 The Salvation Army made up 99 percent of the population in Seal Cove and 46 percent in Flower's Island.²¹⁹ Though The Salvation Army had greater success in areas with a large percentage of Methodists, it did enjoy some success in communities where Anglicans were the majority.

The Army was also able to gain at least 50 members in seven other towns by 1891. These towns all had a population over 350 people with three over 1000 people, two over 3000, and one over 7000 people in 1884. In these seven towns, six list a total of nineteen members of the clergy as resident in 1884.²²⁰ They also combined for a total of seventy-

²¹⁷Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1884. Even in Fortune the majority of the inhabitants were listed as fishers.

²¹⁸Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1884.

²¹⁹Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1891.

²²⁰Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1884. In the Twillingate District, Little Bay Mines had three members of the clergy, Twillingate had three and Moreton's Harbor listed one. In the Harbor Grace District there were seven members of the clergy and one Bishop in Harbor Grace. In the Carbonear District, Carbonear had three members of the clergy and in the Burin District, Grand Bank had one.

one merchant/traders in six of the seven towns.²²¹ Though fishing was not the only occupation in these towns it was the largest. The Salvation Army was unable to gain at least 20 percent of the population in these towns, however, the populations were large enough that the Salvationists found some people who were willing to join. During the period 1886 to 1891 the Army enjoyed its greatest success in the District of Twillingate

A Salvation Army corps had been opened in Twillingate on Christmas Day 1886. This corps proved to be one of the most successful Army corps on the island next to St. John's. As a result of locating a corps in Twillingate, the Army was able to spread to the smaller communities of the North coast. Twillingate acted as a centre of commerce for the North coast. Although not as large as St. John's, Twillingate was a major port of call for the people of the area. With a great deal of traffic traveling through the town each day, the Army was able to make contact with the people of the North coast on a regular basis. Much like the corps in St. John's which was ultimately responsible for the opening of all the corps in 1886, the corps in Twillingate was responsible for the opening of the corps in the north. The officers and soldiers in Twillingate spread the word of The Salvation Army to all the fishers who would listen and upon their return home some continued to praise the work of the Army. As a result of the corps in Twillingate, four other North coast corps were opened in Western Head, Little Bay, Moreton's Harbor and Tilt Cove, by 1891.²²² These five corps were responsible for making the District of Twillingate the most popular area for The Salvation Army in Newfoundland.²²³ Within the Twillingate District, Salvationists accounted for at least 20 percent of the population in seven communities and another three

²²¹Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1891.

²²²See Appendix A.

²²³The Salvation Army's popularity was judged by the number of towns in a district where the Army constituted over 20 percent of the population or 50 members. Although some of the corps in large towns and St. John's had more Salvationists than the small corps, these small corps drew support from a number of towns. Given the difference in population between the large towns and the small ones, attracting more than fifty people was difficult or in some cases impossible in the small outports and gaining over 20 percent of the population in the large towns was also difficult. This makes using 20 percent or 50 members a fair way to judge the success of The Salvation Army.

towns had 50 or more Salvationists, for a total of ten communities with Salvationists making up at least 20 percent or 50 people within the population. The Burin District also had more than one area where The Salvation Army claimed at least 20 percent or 50 people in 1891, namely one village with at least 20 percent Salvationist and another with 50 or more Salvationists. In the Harbor Grace District there were two areas with 50 or more Salvationists.²²⁴ The Twillingate District was by far the most popular area for The Salvation Army in Newfoundland. Between 1891 and 1901, The Salvation Army spread to other communities on the island, but it continued to enjoy most of its support in areas similar to those where it gained at least 20 percent of the population by 1891.

In 1891, The Salvation Army claimed members in eighty-four communities in Newfoundland, including St. John's. By 1901, the Army had members in 222 communities on the island, an increase of 138. In these new Army areas, Salvationists accounted for at least 20 percent of the population in fifty-one areas and 50 or more people in eight additional towns. During this ten year period The Salvation Army was able to increase its number of followers, but towns where The Salvation Army was at least 20 percent of the population had less than 750 people with all but one having a population below 350 in 1901.²²⁵

In the new communities where The Salvation Army gained at least 20 percent of the population between 1891 and 1901, forty-two villages (81 percent) had a population below 200 people, and twenty-three of those (44 percent) had a population of less than 50 people in 1901. In the eight towns where the Army claimed at least 50 people, all eight had a population over 460, with two over 500, three over 900, one over 2000 and one over 3000 people in 1901.²²⁶ The Salvation Army had significantly increased its representation in Newfoundland during the ten year period 1891 to 1901. During this time they had opened

²²⁴Census of Newfoundland and Labrador. 1891.

²²⁵Census of Newfoundland and Labrador. 1901.

²²⁶Census of Newfoundland and Labrador. 1901.

thirty-one corps including a third corps in St. John's.²²⁷ Having established corps in the large towns on the island before 1891, the Army concentrated its efforts on building corps in the smaller communities. These corps were situated in towns that were not Army strongholds themselves, but when combined with the surrounding area, the corps were well attended. Since the support for The Salvation Army was in the small villages, the Army established corps in a central location, allowing its members outside of town easy access to their corps. For example, in 1887 a corps was opened in Bird Island Cove, now known as Elliston, yet there were only eighteen Salvationists living in the town in 1891.²²⁸ Because it was a small village with a population of less than 200 people that provided the main support for the Army, it was difficult for The Salvation Army to build a corps in every community in the area. Although the Salvationists tried to build corps in locations that were central to their supporters, the establishment of a corps was not required to insure Salvationists had access to religious worship. Unlike the other Christian denominations in Newfoundland, the Army did not concern itself with the venue for its services. Army meetings could take place indoors or out and an officer was not needed to lead these services. As a result, if Salvationists could not travel to the nearest corps they could hold their own meeting.

The fifty-one new towns where The Salvation Army claimed at least 20 percent of the population in 1901 exhibited the same traits as those where the Army composed at least 20 percent in 1891. Of the fifty-one new Army communities, eighteen did not exist during the 1891 census, leaving thirty-three for comparison. In all but one of these thirty-three communities Protestants accounted for over 80 percent of the population in 1891. In the case of Rantem, 62 percent of the population was Protestant. Of the thirty-two communities that were over 80 percent Protestant, Protestants accounted for 100 percent in twenty-five. Though all of the areas where the Salvationists made up at least 20 percent of the population

²²⁷Moyles, *Blood and Fire*, Appendix E, pp. 279-281.

²²⁸Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1891.

were dominated by Protestants, the Methodists tended to be the largest denomination.²²⁹

In the thirty-three new Army communities of 1901, Methodists had accounted for over 50 percent of the population in twenty-one of them during the 1891 census, with six areas claiming to be 100 percent Methodist. The Church of England accounted for over 50 percent of the population in only nine of the thirty-three communities in 1891. Of these nine areas, two were 100 percent Anglican, one was over 90 percent Church of England and the remainder were less than 70 percent.²³⁰ Just as in the years 1886 to 1891. The Salvation Army continued to enjoy its greatest support in places that were dominated by Protestants, especially the Methodist Church. Some members of the Church of England did join the Army, but The Salvation Army drew most of its converts from the Methodist Church.

The thirty-three Army communities of 1901 had more traits in common with the Army communities of 1891. Within the thirty-three areas, only two, in the district of Trinity had members of the clergy listed in the 1891 census. Most of these communities were fishing villages in 1891, just like the areas where the Army was successful during the period 1886 to 1891. Of the thirty-three communities nine listed fishing as the only occupation of the inhabitants and the majority of the population in seventeen other areas were fishers. Of all the areas where the Army gained at least 20 percent of the population between 1891 and 1901, twenty-six were fishing communities compared to seven where the majority of the inhabitants were employed in something other than fishing. In the thirty-three new Army communities, only six had merchants/traders resident in 1891 for a total of thirteen.²³¹ The Salvation Army was also able to attract 50 or more people to its ranks in a number of towns.

There were eight new towns where The Salvation Army was able to claim 50 or more members, but not 20 percent of the population in 1901. These towns shared a number of common traits with those towns where the Army claimed 50 or more members in 1891.

²²⁹Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1891.

²³⁰Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1891.

²³¹Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1891.

As with the towns where Salvationists numbered at least 50 people in 1891, the eight towns where this occurred by 1901 were well-populated. One of these eight towns did not exist in 1891, of the other seven, one had a population under 400, one under 500, one under 800, two over 1000, one over 2000 and one town had a population over 3000.²³² Within these seven towns the total percentage of Protestants was over 70 percent, one town was 100 percent Protestant, three were over 95 percent, one over 90 percent, one over 85 percent, and one town was over 70 percent Protestant. The Anglicans claimed over 95 percent of the population in one town as did the Methodists. The Anglicans accounted for over 50 percent of the population in four towns, while the Methodists were over 50 percent in one town.²³³ In the towns where the Army managed 50 or more people, but not 20 percent of the population, the population was large and neither the Church of England nor the Methodist Church dominated more than one town each. These towns differed from the areas where the Salvationists accounted for at least 20 percent.

In 1891 seven towns existed where the Army claimed at least 50 members, six towns listed a total of fifteen members of the clergy, as well as forty-one merchant/traders present in five of these towns. None of these towns were exclusively fishing villages, although fishing was the major occupation in five towns. The towns where the Army was able to gain at least 50 people in 1901 were well populated Protestant areas with both clergy and merchant/traders living in town. The size of the towns meant that The Salvation Army was able to find some people who were interested in joining its ranks, but the presence of the clergy and merchant/traders on a permanent basis appears to have inhibited the growth of The Salvation Army.

During the ten year period from 1891 to 1901, The Salvation Army continued to enjoy its greatest support in the district of Twillingate. Salvationists made up at least 20 percent of the population in thirty new Army communities and at least 50 people in another five. Between 1891 and 1901, The Salvation Army had gained a total of thirty-five new

²³²Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1891.

²³³Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1891.

communities in the District of Twillingate where it either claimed at least 20 percent of the population or 50 people.²³⁴ The Bonavista District was a distant second with thirteen areas where the Army claimed at least 20 percent of the population or 50 or more people.²³⁵ The Twillingate District exhibited all the traits that made the Army successful.

Of the thirty-five communities in the Twillingate District where the Army claimed at least 20 percent of the population or 50 members, eleven did not exist in 1891. Of the twenty-four that did exist in 1891, The Salvation Army claimed at least 20 percent of the population in twenty areas and 50 or more members in the four others. In nineteen of the communities where The Salvation Army was at least 20 percent, there were no members of the clergy listed in the 1891 census and only two towns listed merchant/traders, for a total of three. Within these communities fishing was the only occupation in seven and the major occupation in eleven. These communities were also sparsely populated. Protestant dominated areas. Only one had a population over 400 people, two were above 100, six had over 70 people and eleven had a population below 50, with seven of these eleven areas having a population below 30 people in 1891.²³⁶ In the four towns that existed in 1891 where the Army was able to claim 50 or more members in 1901, all four had members of the clergy and merchants/traders for a total of six and thirty-three respectively. All four towns were well populated with the major occupation being fishing. All four towns had a population over 300, one was over 3500, one over 1000, one over 5000 and the fourth was over 300.²³⁷ Both the areas where the Salvationists claimed at least 20 percent of the population and those where they had 50 or more members fit the pattern of The Salvation Army's success throughout the island. The Salvation Army enjoyed its greatest success in small fishing villages that were free from the constraints of the clergy and the merchant/trader class. In the District of Twillingate the Army continued to find fertile

²³⁴Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1901.

²³⁵Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1901.

²³⁶Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1901.

²³⁷Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1901.

ground for its work. The Twillingate District consisted of a number of small, isolated Protestant villages making religious visitation difficult for the clergy. These areas were also deprived of the entertainment that a large town had to offer. These factors, coupled with the fact that the distance between the district and St. John's meant that the city's influence was minimal,²³⁸ led to the Army's success in the Twillingate District.

The Army communities, those where the Salvationists accounted for at least 20 percent of the population, were sparsely populated fishing villages with few, if any, members of the clergy or merchants/traders living in the area. These villages were dominated by Protestants, with the majority being Methodist areas. All of these factors combined to make The Salvation Army a success. This was demonstrated by the towns where the Army was able to claim at least 50 members, but never made up more than 20 percent of the population. Between 1886 and 1901, the Army was able to make a number of converts in the well populated towns of Newfoundland. These towns had populations that were above 700 people and the majority were Protestants. The size of the population meant that the Army would be able to make a few converts, but the conditions did not exist for the Salvationists to convert more than 20 percent of the population. These towns were the homes of merchants and traders who were able to exercise a great deal of influence within their community and did not attend the meetings at the Army barracks.

By 1901, The Salvation Army was well established in Newfoundland. According to the census of 1901 the Army claimed at least 20 percent of the population in sixty communities on the island. Within these sixty areas, Salvationists accounted for at least 40 percent of the population in twenty-eight communities. Billy's Point in the Fortune Bay District had a population of twenty-two people and was the only village in 1901 that was 100 percent Salvationist. There were no members of the clergy or any merchants/traders and the only occupation listed for the people of Billy's Point was fishing.²³⁹ Though

²³⁸The town of Twillingate had its own newspaper, *The Twillingate Sun*, in which to express opinions concerning the district rather than rely on the newspapers in St. John's or Harbour Grace.

²³⁹Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1901.

unable to obtain more details on the areas where the Army claimed more than 40 percent of the population, information about the Army corps of Greenspond was available.

The Salvation Army established a corps in the town of Greenspond in 1887 and the Soldier's Roll for the period 1889 to 1899 was deposited with The Salvation Army Archives in Toronto.²⁴⁰ An entry was made in the Soldier's Roll when a person decided to officially join The Salvation Army as a Soldier.²⁴¹ Therefore the Soldier's Roll does not provide information about how many people attended meetings at a corps as it only recorded the names of people who joined the Army and not those people who may have attended meetings every week, but did not officially join The Salvation Army. A soldier's name was removed from the roll when he/she died, left The Salvation Army, was promoted, or was transferred either to another corps as a soldier or to work for the Army elsewhere. The date when a person joined the Army and when he/she left, as well as why he/she left, were recorded along with the name. Due to The Salvation Army's reluctance to allow the names of their soldiers to be printed, I was unable to track those soldiers who were promoted or transferred. Acknowledging the problems with using the Soldier's Roll, it still provided a picture of who joined The Salvation Army in Greenspond and how long they remained with the Army.

The population of Greenspond was 1358 in 1884 with ninety-seven percent being Protestant. The Church of England commanded 54.9 percent of the population while 41.3 percent were Methodists. Greenspond was a fishing community with a few offices and shops, merchant/traders, and two members of the clergy. As illustrated above, this was not the type of community where The Salvation Army had its greatest success, but Greenspond had a population above 1000 and it was dominated by Protestants which meant the Army could make a few converts based on the size of the town. By 1891, four years after opening the corps, only seventeen people, or 1.3 percent of the population, claimed to be members of the Army. This does not represent the number of people that belonged to the

²⁴⁰I was unable to find any similar documents for other corps.

²⁴¹A person had to attend services for at least a month before their name was entered on the Soldier's Roll.

corps in Greenspond. There were Salvationists living outside of the town who would have belonged to the Greenspond corps.²⁴² By 1901, the Army's fortunes in Greenspond had improved as Salvationists numbered ninety-four, 7 percent of the population.²⁴³ This could simply be the result of Salvationists marrying non-Salvationists who were converted, Salvationists having children or immigration to Greenspond.

Between 1889 and 1899, 127 people joined the Greenspond corps, fifty-nine were male and sixty-eight were female. Of these 127, forty-five died, five worked for The Salvation Army in another town, twenty-one were transferred to a different corps and fifty-six [44 percent] left the Army altogether.²⁴⁴ Some people were Salvationists for only a few years, some died while soldiers, and others continued as members of The Salvation Army but I was unable to track their movements. In the case of those people who left the Army while members of the Greenspond corps an accurate picture of the amount of time they spent in The Salvation Army is possible.

In the Greenspond corps, 'backsliders', the term given to those who left The Salvation Army after returning to a life of 'sin', accounted for fifty-six of the 127 people on the Soldier's Roll. Of the fifty-six 'backsliders', twenty-nine [52 percent] were male, while twenty-seven [48 percent] were female. Male 'backsliders' made up 49 percent of all male soldiers and female 'backsliders' accounted for 40 percent of all women on the Soldier's Roll. These fifty-six 'backsliders' were in the Army for a total of 278 years, with the males accounting for 166 years and the females accounting for 112. This averaged to 5.7 years for men and 4.1 years for women.²⁴⁵ The men in the Greenspond corps remained in the

²⁴²Though I do not know for certain who belonged to the corps in Greenspond and who did not there were Salvationists in the small towns outside of Greenspond, 2 in Shambler's Cove and 12 in Wesleyville. Others may have traveled from as far as Gambo. Without access to the corps membership lists I can't know where everyone in the corps lived. *Census of Newfoundland and Labrador*, 1891.

²⁴³Again this corps membership would have been larger than 94 people in 1901. Salvationists were listed as living in a number of communities around Greenspond, 19 in Shambler's Cove, 16 in Brookfield, 46 in Wesleyville, 22 in Musgrave Town, and 9 in Newtown. *Census of Newfoundland and Labrador*, 1901.

²⁴⁴*Soldier's Roll, Greenspond, 1889-1899*. Salvation Army Archives, Toronto.

²⁴⁵*Soldier's Roll, Greenspond, 1889-1899*. Salvation Army Archives, Toronto.

Army longer than the women before they decided to leave, but the difference was not large. Of those who remained with The Salvation Army but left the Greenspond corps, fourteen were women and twelve were men, only a difference of two people.²⁴⁶

Between 1889 and 1899, the Greenspond corps had one hundred and twenty-seven people pass through the corps as members. Of these people there was little difference between the number of women and men who joined the corps and how long they remained members. Although the male 'backsliders' were soldiers for 1.6 years longer than women, nine more women became soldiers than men and fewer women became 'backsliders'. Though the corps of Greenspond was not representative of all the corps in nineteenth-century Newfoundland, it provided an indication of the appeal The Salvation Army had in the outports. The Army was not appealing to women over men, as there were only nine more women in the Greenspond corps over a ten year period. Those who became 'backsliders' remained with the Army on average for 4.9 years, but two 'backsliders' were soldiers for twenty-two years each, as well as others who ranged from seven to fifteen years as soldiers.²⁴⁷ A further seventy-one soldiers were removed from the Roll, although they did not leave the Army.

The Salvation Army's greatest appeal was in sparsely populated fishing villages that were dominated by Protestants, predominately Methodists. These villages either had no members of the clergy living in the area or very few. There were also few, if any, members of the merchant/trader class living in areas where The Salvation Army was popular. The appeal of the Army was to men and women of all ages as illustrated by the fact that The Salvation Army accounted for more than 50 percent of the population in nineteen villages in 1901. In thirteen of these villages the percentage of people age twenty-five or less was below the percentage of Salvationists, meaning people older than twenty-five had to join.²⁴⁸ The study of the Greenspond corps demonstrated that a number of the people in

²⁴⁶*Soldier's Roll, Greenspond, 1889-1899*. Salvation Army Archives, Toronto.

²⁴⁷*Soldier's Roll, Greenspond, 1889-1899*. Salvation Army Archives, Toronto.

²⁴⁸See Appendix B.

Newfoundland were only in The Salvation Army for four to five years, however, many joined the Army and remained in the ranks for their entire lives. It was the small outposts that formed the backbone of The Salvation Army in Newfoundland. Without the support of the people living in communities that had populations of less than 200 people, the Army would not have gained many followers in Newfoundland.

Chapter VI
Conclusion

By 1901, The Salvation Army claimed 6594 members, or 3 percent of Newfoundland's population. Though not a large percentage, it made the Army the fourth largest denomination behind the Roman Catholics [34.4%], the Church of England [33%], and the Methodists [27.8%].²⁴⁹ During the ten year period of 1891 to 1901, the number of Salvationists had increased by 4502 [215 percent], with the establishment of thirty-five new corps.²⁵⁰ The Salvation Army was unable to pose a serious threat to the three major denominations in Newfoundland and it was limited mostly to the North-East coast. Despite these limitations, the island proved to be one of the best recruiting grounds for The Salvation Army in North America.

The revivals of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were successful because they took place during times when society was in a state of flux, meaning there was minimal social control being exercised by the authorities, be those elected officials, clergy, or members of the economic elite. This lack of social control was accompanied by economic changes that placed many in a precarious situation. During these unstable times people were more inclined to join a revival mission. As people's economic situation solidified itself, they returned to their former church. For many members of the nineteenth-century working class, stability was difficult to achieve. Due to their economic position in society, the working class were more inclined to stay with a revival mission. During the late nineteenth century The Salvation Army took advantage of this situation and became the church of choice for many poor working-class people. The small villages of Newfoundland exhibited the same traits of poor urban areas. There was little official social control: with ministers and priests traveling on circuits they were rarely in an outpost long enough to exercise a great deal of authority. Merchant/traders and other business leaders did not live in the small

²⁴⁹Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1901.

²⁵⁰Moyles, *The Blood and Fire*, Appendix E, pp. 279-281.

outports and therefore could not assert their authority. Families were free to act as they wished, away from the watchful eye of the island's elite. Being dependent on a primary resource meant that one's economic life was precarious, when combined with Newfoundland's credit system, the fishers in the outports had little time or ability to concern themselves with much more than survival.

The truck system was entrenched in Newfoundland because of the absence of any viable alternatives. This served to impoverish many of the fishers who relied on the merchant's credit in order to engage in the fishery and survive the winter. The fishers were forced to struggle to meet their subsistence needs making them unsure of their ability to survive the next year. With the depression of the 1880's life on the island became difficult for everyone, but the fishers suffered the most as they had little or no savings to utilize in times of economic trouble. Life was difficult for the fishers before the depression, but during the late nineteenth century the struggle for survival became an even harder battle. This aided in the acceptance of The Salvation Army by the people of outport Newfoundland. The evangelical methods of the Army offered Newfoundlanders a powerful religious message which, for people unable to control their physical world, seemed to offer something tangible in their spiritual life while offering an alternative to the consumption of alcohol.

During the Industrial Revolution the newly-formed working class found little time to engage in recreational activities, including Sunday worship. One activity that some found the time and money for was drinking alcohol. This allowed people to forget the dreary life they were forced to live. The energy and excitement of the Army's meetings allowed people to enjoy themselves and think about the afterlife awaiting them. In Newfoundland, the fishers also found little time for recreation and the Army offered them a way to enjoy themselves while at the same time fulfilling their religious obligations with people of their own class.

The Salvation Army appealed to the working class because it broke down the class

barriers within its ranks. In the economic and social world the poor were forced to bow to the rich. The working class had little opportunity to change this situation through economic channels. Even within their churches the working class were forced literally to take a back seat to their economic superiors. In churches with pew rents the poor were forced to sit in the free seats at the back. In those churches that did not have pew rents the working class was made to feel alienated because of their appearance or social position. In Newfoundland, the attitudes towards the fishers as they traveled to the various ports were the same as those workers experienced elsewhere. People from the outports were not treated as equals by the people of St. John's.²⁵¹ In The Salvation Army, people from the outports found a church that did not judge them based on their economic situation and gave them the opportunity to become leaders within the religious community.

The Salvation Army offered people a community of support to help them make the transition from their old life to a new one, yet it also appealed to people on an individual basis. Once people joined the Army, they rarely found themselves alone. Those who were sent to 'open fire' in a new community were accompanied by at least one other person.²⁵² In the meetings, soldiers listened to others give testimony about their former lives and how they were saved. These meetings assured the soldiers that they were part of a community with others who faced the same daily struggles. Within this community the individual had an opportunity to demonstrate his or her skills and abilities. In the Army's system of ranks, promotion was based on merit, dedication, and hard work. This allowed the individual to gain importance and prestige outside of the economic world. In Newfoundland, as elsewhere, the military system proved appealing.

Along with The Salvation Army's system of ranks, which distinguished a person within the Army, uniforms distinguished Salvationists from the rest of society. The appeal of uniforms in Newfoundland was demonstrated by an article printed in The War Cry in 1892. The article, from District Officer Read, Commander of the Newfoundland Division

²⁵¹"Bayman Visits the Salvation Army Barracks." The Evening Mercury, September 18, 1886.

²⁵²Marks, "The 'Hallelujah Lasses'," p. 91.

stated, "when will the uniform be in?' is another question oft put, and as oft answered negatively with sorrow. We do wish that uniform (sic) would hurry over from the Old Country, so that these dear soldiers could be rigged out."²⁵³ The uniform allowed the Salvationists to distinguish themselves from others and demonstrate that they were part of a religious community. Newfoundland's Salvationists were mostly poor fishers, yet they used what little money they had to purchase their uniforms, a further indication of the appeal The Salvation Army's uniforms had in Newfoundland. The Salvationists in St. John's and the large outports were repeatedly confronted by their lack of power. In the large communities, merchant/traders, bankers, and members of the clergy were resident year round and served to remind the poor that they were unable to alter their social position through economic channels. The uniforms of The Salvation Army, worn by all Salvationists regardless of rank, served as a public display of acceptance within a community and social importance. In the small villages there was little to distinguish one's individuality. The uniforms offered the Salvationists an identity apart from their family and the fishery. Salvation Army members were able to reject one community without the risk of finding themselves abandoned to face life's struggles alone.

The Army offered a form of non-violent social protest for those dissatisfied with the structure of their society. In Newfoundland, the conventional churches dominated almost all non-economic aspects of life. In the small villages, the clergy were rarely present, as they were forced to travel a circuit. In St. John's and the large towns, the clergy were present on a permanent basis. In the small communities this situation could cause a great deal of hostility, as it represented favoritism towards the people in the large communities. The Salvation Army stationed officers in every corps and in the areas that were without an officer, soldiers were able to hold their own meetings. The permanent presence of the Army in a community allowed it to serve as a form of protest against the circuit system employed by the other churches and the dominance of St. John's and the large outports. It also meant that those who would have remained with their church had a member of the clergy been

²⁵³The War Cry, December 10, 1892.

present joined the Army for the simple reason that the Army was present in their community.²⁵⁴ The permanent presence of The Salvation Army meant it was available to perform the administrative functions of other churches when their clergy were not in the area. The Salvation Army was used to register the births of people from different denominations in the community.²⁵⁵

Religion had long been used by Newfoundlanders as a way to define themselves. Both the Harbor Grace Affray and the suicide of John Moxley were acts in which religion defined all the parties involved. These two incidents were violent acts, one involving an attack on the living, the other an attack on the dead. The Army offered people the opportunity to be part of a group that was sworn to non-violence and did not participate in Newfoundland's sectarian attacks. All the violence that involved The Salvation Army was caused by people attacking the Army without fear of retaliation. Although Salvationists were defined as peaceful, that did not stop the attacks on the Army.

Elements of Newfoundland society were opposed to The Salvation Army, but the Army empowered its members and gave them the strength to overcome this opposition. Within the religious world, Salvationists quickly learned to defend themselves against verbal and physical assault. Through the Army's meetings people learned to articulate their ideas in front of an audience, making them more confident and better public speakers. The Army also offered the youth of Newfoundland the ability to take a leadership position within a religious organization, something they were denied in the other churches. The Army gave its members responsibilities and skills that the other churches were unwilling to offer. The Army's soldiers and officers were willing to take these new skills and

²⁵⁴In the community of Marystown a church was built, but none of the denominations were willing to take possession of it. As a result the people of the town declared that they would all join the first denomination to move into the church. The Salvation Army took possession of the building and the entire population of Marystown joined the Army. Moyles, *The Blood and Fire*, p. 293, footnote 7. This occurred after 1901.

²⁵⁵Between 1890 and 1893 there were five births registered by The Salvation Army for people listing themselves as Methodists. *Salvation Army Register of Births, 1892-1925*. Newfoundland and Labrador Provincial Archives. Though the register was listed as covering the period 1892 to 1925, it contained births registered in 1890.

responsibility to any area of the world, no matter how small the population, if there was a chance that a convert could be found.

The Salvationists who spread the Army's message during the nineteenth century resembled the old time Methodist leaders. The Army's soldiers and officers were of humble roots and did not attempt to distance themselves from their background. They spoke of their former lives every time they testified in Army meetings. The Army's leaders, like the Methodists of old, could be identified as part of the lower classes and offered people the opportunity to deal with religious leaders who did not view themselves as socially superior to the congregation. In Newfoundland, the Salvationists who took the Army to the outposts were often fishers themselves, of equal social standing to those they hoped to convert. The humble lives of The Salvation Army's soldiers and officers in Newfoundland served to remind people of the time when the Methodist ministers were also poorly educated, humble people. This resemblance to John Wesley's Methodism aided the Army as it moved into the Methodist areas along the North and North-East coasts.

The clergy and the newspapers worked to present Newfoundlanders as church-oriented people, who all attended one religious institution or another. This reflected what Newfoundland's religious leadership wanted, but it was not a reality. The Methodist Church was experiencing membership difficulty before The Salvation Army arrived and the Methodist Missionary Society was working to solve the problem, with limited success. Although people declared themselves as part of the Methodist Church during the 1884 census, the reports from the Missionary Society illustrated that some were not attending church on a regular basis. Few missionaries were willing to admit to this fact and as a result the Methodist leadership was unprepared for the challenge that the Army posed. The effect the Army had on the Methodist population was illustrated by a report in The Diocesan Magazine. The article reported that in the area of Great Catalina and Little Catalina, "the Roman Catholics number about 538 and the Wesleyans 809. Many of the last named, however, are now further distinguished by belonging to the so-called Salvation Army."²⁵⁶

²⁵⁶The Diocesan Magazine, September 1889.

In the struggle for the unchurched in Newfoundland, The Salvation Army was able to take advantage of the Protestant churches' failure to develop a clear agenda for dealing with them. The Army did not appear to be a danger to the Church of England or the Methodists since those that joined the ranks tended to be people the other Protestant churches were unable to reach. The people the Army appealed to were poor urban dwellers struggling to survive. In Newfoundland, the Protestants had little to fear since The Salvation Army was an urban denomination, not a rural one. Since most of the island was made up of small fishing communities the Army would not fare well according to the leadership of the Methodist and Anglican Churches. This myth, in combination with the thought that all Newfoundlanders attended church, left the Protestant communities, specifically the Methodist rural areas, prime targets for The Salvation Army.

During its first days on the island The Salvation Army enjoyed the support of the Protestant leadership in St. John's, which helped them establish the Army. Though the attitudes of the Protestant leadership changed a few months after The Salvation Army arrived in Newfoundland, there were enough Salvationists on the island that it would have been impossible to make them leave. The Dawsons had worked under the YMCA. The Mercury and The Telegram had printed articles in favour of the Army, and the Salvationists drew favourable attention to themselves. The Army used the Springdale Street building incident and the attack at the Parade Ground as publicity campaigns that announced its arrival in Newfoundland. The papers were quick to print the stories in an effort to discredit the Catholic population, providing The Salvation Army with much needed advertisement. Outside of St. John's the Salvationists were allowed access to Protestant churches and buildings as it moved along the coast of Newfoundland. Through the newspapers and the rental of buildings, the Protestants in Newfoundland aided The Salvation Army in its bid to become a part of the island's religious community.

The Army presented further reason to join its religious community by recruiting and promoting Newfoundlanders. The Salvation Army was quick to promote people and send

them into the outports to convert others. The ability of the Army to promote and send its converts to 'open fire' in a new town without much, if any, formal training, allowed The Salvation Army in Newfoundland quickly to change from a foreign-dominated institution to an indigenous one. As people from the outports traveled through the large ports such as St. John's, Carbonear, Harbour Grace, or Twillingate, they encountered the Salvationists. Upon their return home, some continued to hold religious meetings similar to those in an Army barracks. This eventually led to a request for an officer to travel to the town: the officers were usually Newfoundlanders. This was the Army's method of spreading through the South, North and North-East coasts, Newfoundlanders spreading the news of The Salvation Army to other Newfoundlanders. As a result the Army did not experience a great deal of hostility when it entered the outports. The Salvation Army had adapted itself into an indigenous institution that was accepted in the outports.

People joined The Salvation Army for different reasons of course, and within Newfoundland, those reasons altered based on the size of one's community. The city of St. John's was the home of Newfoundland's most influential people, as well as the seat of government. Those who lived in St. John's, regardless of class, had a negative view of the people in the outports and, as is often the case with prejudices, the people in the outports had an equally negative view of St. John's. The city enjoyed all the advantages the late nineteenth century had to offer, while in the small outports most were struggling to survive. Attitudes towards society differed between the people living in the city of St. John's and those living in the outports. These attitudes were also different within the outports, with the large outports and the small ones viewing the world from somewhat different perspectives. These attitudes were reflected in the reaction to The Salvation Army. In the city of St. John's the people were able to enjoy a revival service put on by the YMCA. These services were usually conducted by ministers from the Church of England or the Methodist Church, making them safe and respectable for the people of St. John's. There was little to fear in the sermon of a 'respected' Protestant minister, no reason to think the message would cause a

person to stray. These revival services attracted a number of people of all classes in St. John's. The Salvation Army held revival meetings at every opportunity, but the upper class did not attend. The St. John's barracks was where one would find servants, the youth, the poor, and the 'Baymen' who were in port. The same was true in the large outports as well. The Army barracks was not the place where the island's elite would worship. As a result, The Salvation Army gained the reputation of being a church for the poor and disreputable in St. John's and in the large outports, which was in keeping with the type of people the Salvationists appealed to throughout the world. In the small outports, however, The Salvation Army became a respected religious institution.

The small outports responded differently to The Salvation Army than the people in St. John's and the large towns. The newspapers did not print any articles dealing with an attack upon a Salvationist in the small outports of the island. Though there may have been some attacks, the papers were either unaware of or chose not to report them. There were no articles in the papers from people in the outports that complained about the work of the Salvationists. All the complaints that were printed in the papers were from people living in the large towns and the city, not the small outports. The Army enjoyed its greatest success in the sparsely populated areas of the island because in these areas there were no class barriers and the Salvationists appealed to both sexes and all ages. In the small outports the Army was for the whole community. Both young and old could be found at an Army meeting. As the fishers traveled through different ports, they found that The Salvation Army was willing to accept them no matter what their appearance or social position.

By 1891, the Salvationists had opened corps in all the major ports in the North and North-East coasts, as well as corps on the South coast and in and around St. John's. These ports served as economic centres for the island, resulting in a great deal of human traffic. In these ports the Salvationists came into contact with people from all over the island. This allowed The Salvation Army to spread its message using a limited number of resources. As people returned to their homes, some continued to praise the work of the Army and

eventually soldiers and officers were sent to a town to make converts. This spontaneous spread of The Salvation Army by the fishers made the task of 'opening fire' easier on the officers and soldiers in Newfoundland and insured that there would be support in a community when the Army entered. The Salvation Army was able to draw people to its meetings because it offered a unique religious experience.

Women officers and soldiers had long been a strong drawing point for The Salvation Army. The sight of a young woman preaching on a street corner was sure to draw attention from both men and women. Female members of the Army also led or took an active role in the meetings, standing at the front of the room giving testimony and preaching. This aspect appealed to a number of men who attended The Salvation Army meetings just to see the female officers and meet other women who were in attendance. For those men who were away from home during the fishing or sealing season there were few places they could go with the hopes of meeting women. A woman who frequented the local bars and hotels was not the type of person that many men were hoping to meet and few women went to such establishments. A Social put on by the local church offered an opportunity for men to meet women and of course women to meet men. The Salvation Army held its meetings every day with an atmosphere similar to that of a Social. The meeting provided a relaxed atmosphere in which a couple, within the context of a religious meeting, could socialize. For those who lived in the small outports, meeting new people was difficult. A trip to the Army barracks while in port offered these people the opportunity to socialize with others from different parts of the island. The 'free and easy' atmosphere of the Army meetings combined with the use of female officers drew men into the barracks who might otherwise have spent their free time in the local taverns. In communities where female servants were employed, they attended Salvation Army meetings to meet others as well. Servants had a limited amount of free time and that time had to be spent in a respectable manner if they wished to keep their jobs. An Army meeting offered a religious and therefore a more respectable activity than the tavern. Once in the meeting, people

discovered that the Army was able to deliver a religious message as well as entertainment.

Isolated areas of Newfoundland did not offer a great deal of entertainment to occupy the fishers' limited free time. The one activity people some were able to find time for was religious worship. With the arrival of The Salvation Army in the outports of Newfoundland, people were presented with the opportunity to fulfill their religious obligations while enjoying themselves. Meetings were open and unstructured, filled with dancing, singing, and the free expression of one's salvation, as long as it remained within the bounds of accepted morality. Salvationists also engaged in marches which enabled them to play various musical instruments and sing hymns set to popular tunes. In all, the Army was entertaining for both the participant and the observer. In areas where there was little excitement The Salvation Army offered a change of pace. The Army and its members were also humble and the barracks were inviting for those traveling through the port with only their work clothes to wear. In St. John's and the large outports, the 'Baymen' were the victims of discrimination that made many feel alienated. The Salvation Army offered these people a place to go that was free from discrimination based on social or economic status. In the barracks, people could feel at ease and be themselves without fear of recrimination. The social and entertainment aspects of the Army were used to spread their religious message.

Few Catholics were interested in hearing The Salvation Army's message. Norman Murdoch's Origins of the Salvation Army argued that The Salvation Army developed its Social Service Wing after it failed to make any headway with the Catholic population in London's East End.²⁵⁷ Though a failure in its birth place, the Army was able to spread outside of London to the Protestant dominated areas of north England. General Booth was not content to allow the Catholics to remain outside of his organization and the Social Service Wing was created in an effort to broaden the appeal of the Army. While General Booth was still struggling to convert Catholics through his revival meetings in England, the Salvationists in Newfoundland were also unable to convert many of the island's Catholics.

²⁵⁷See Murdoch, Origins of the Salvation Army.

The Salvationists spread north of St. John's to the Protestant strongholds of the North and North-East coasts. Though the Army opened five corps that were neither close to St. John's nor along the North or North-East coasts, these five corps were in Protestant dominated towns or well populated areas. The Army did not open a single corps in a Catholic dominated town. If the Army did attempt an 'invasion' of a Catholic community, the Catholic leadership was able to insure that their members did not attend The Salvation Army meetings. In 1886, the editor of The Advocate printed an article that dealt with the disrespectful nature of The Salvation Army. The article concluded by stating "we understand that several gentlemen have decided to watch these proceedings [Army meetings], and ascertain the names of Roman Catholics, if any, who attend these performances, and hand the names along for publication. We hope to hear no more of the matter as far as our people are concerned."²⁵⁸ The editor was uncertain whether or not Catholics were in fact attending meetings at the barracks before his article was published. If Catholics were attending the Army's meetings, The Advocate's threat to publish their names and soil their reputations within the Catholic community seemed to have worked. The Advocate did not print a single Catholic's name who had attended an Army meeting, nor did the editor launch any further complaints about Catholics attending the barracks. The editor may have been making an idle threat and Catholics did attend the meetings at the Army's barracks, but from the evidence available few, if any, Catholics joined The Salvation Army and the Army did not actively try to recruit them.

The entertainment value of The Salvation Army was not the only reason the people in the small outports had for joining. During the late nineteenth century, Newfoundland experienced a depression that led to the bank crash of 1892. The fishers in the outports were the hardest hit by the island's economic trouble. Credit became difficult to receive as the merchants only extended it to those deemed to have a good credit rating. Those who could not get credit were left to struggle to meet their own subsistence needs since few had any substantial savings for such an emergency. The truck system had made life difficult and

²⁵⁸The Terra Nova Advocate, August 14, 1886.

the depression of the 1880's made things even harder for the people in outport Newfoundland. The poor economic state of many made them prime targets for The Salvation Army's methods and message. The Army allowed these people to forget about their current lives and focus on the one that awaited them. This message combined with the Army's 'free and easy' style proved attractive to some Newfoundlanders.

The Salvation Army enjoyed its greatest success in the small outports of Newfoundland. By the end of 1901, there were Army corps in towns as small as Jackson's Cove with a population of 106 and in the city of St. John's with a population of 30,601.²⁵⁹ The dispersal of the Army corps between small and large communities allowed the Army to stay in contact with all of its members. The Army's major support was in the small outports and the Salvationists established corps either in these areas when possible or in a central location that allowed people in the outlying communities access to their corps. As a result of their location the Army gained and maintained the support of the small outports of the North and North-East coasts, without which the Army's survival in Newfoundland would have been difficult.

Though The Salvation Army was successful in small Protestant fishing villages, it was not able to attract a strong following in every area of outport Newfoundland that exhibited the traits found in chapter five. This thesis is about what happened to the Salvationists in Newfoundland and why The Salvation Army was, and still is, so successful on the island. Economic and social factors have been cited in an effort to understand this basic question and while these factors were important to the Army's success, they were often not enough to make people leave their church. Few Catholics joined The Salvation Army in Newfoundland or throughout the world; the doctrinal differences were too great, to name but one factor. It is within the doctrine of a religion that the personal element is found. Economic and social factors do not play a role if one does not believe in what is being preached. For people who were taught their entire lives that they needed the sacraments in order to enter Heaven, to believe otherwise was a terrible

²⁵⁹Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1901.

risk. The Salvation Army had removed the sacraments from its services in 1883 and despite all the economic and social factors listed above, for many the risk inherent in joining the new denomination was too great. Joining a religious organization is ultimately a personal choice. Not only does it require faith in God, but also a belief that your church's doctrines are in keeping with God's word. External elements may have led to The Salvation Army's popularity during the years 1885 to 1901, but as the 'Backsliders' from the Greenspond corps indicated, external factors are not enough to insure one's loyalty to a denomination. In the Greenspond corps 'Backsliders' were members for only four to five years, indicating that the Army seemed to fulfill their short-term needs, but it was ultimately unable to satisfy their spiritual needs.

Today's Salvation Army is considerably different than it was in the nineteenth century. Though meetings in Newfoundland's outports still rival the energy and excitement of old, this is the exception. The Army has toned down its evangelical message and become 'respectable'. Its reputation has changed from that of an evangelical religion to a social institution. Still Newfoundland has continued to be a Salvation Army stronghold. In 1991, 40 percent of all Salvationists in Canada lived on the island for a total of 44,490 members, while Ontario, with a considerably larger population, had only 38,820 members of The Salvation Army.²⁶⁰ The work that was begun by the Dawsons in 1885 and built upon by D.O. Young and his troops blossomed into a powerful religious organization on the island of Newfoundland.

²⁶⁰Statistics Canada, *Religions in Canada, The Nation, 1991 Census*, pp. 8-16.

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Appendix A
Corps Opened 1886-1891
Population and Denominational Breakdown

Year Corps Opened by Area	Population (Census Year)	Denominational Breakdown at the time the Salvation Army Opened its Corps		
		Methodist	Anglican	Catholic
<u>1886</u>				
St. John's	31142 (1884)	12.26%	20.3%	62.3%
Brigus	2365 (1884)	44.2%	20.3%	29.2%
Carbonear	3756 (1884)	36.3%	16.7%	46.6%
Bonavista	3463 (1884)	55.0%	37.0%	7.9%
Twillingate	3694 (1884)	67.0%	30.0%	0.7%
<u>1887</u>				
Bird Island Cove (Now Elliston)	455 (1891)	13.6%	81.3%	0.66%
Bay Roberts	2763 (1884)	20.0%	64.0%	15.8%
Greenspond	1358 (1884)	41.3%	54.8%	2.9%
Grand Bank	1038 (1884)	97.7%	1.6%	0.57%
Catalina	1685 (1884)	32.7%	49.9%	17.3%
<u>1888</u>				
Hant's Harbor	752 (1884)	96.4%	3.2%	0.4%
Little Bay Island	389 (1884)	96.9%	1.5%	0.0%

Appendix A Continued

Year Corps Opened by Area	Population (Census Year)	Methodist	Anglican	Catholic
<u>1886</u>				
Gooseberry Island	350 (1884)	4.2%	80.2%	15.5%
Seal Cove	79 (1884)	1.2%	98.7%	0.0%
Burin	295 (1884)	84.0%	2.7%	13.2%
Harbor Grace	7054 (1884)	18.2%	39.4%	39.5%
Fortune	786 (1884)	99.7%	0.0%	0.25%
Western Head	67 (1884)	98.5%	1.5%	0.0%
<u>1890</u>				
Morton's Harbor	500 (1891)	65.8%	21.4%	0.2%
<u>1891</u>				
New Chelsea (Formerly Seal Cove, Trinity Bay)	268 (1891)	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Pilley's Island	411 (1891)	37.2%	14.6%	27.2%
Tilt Cove	1004 (1891)	40.0%	28.2%	30.0%
Garnish	357 (1891)	29.4%	48.4%	0.0%

Appendix B

Areas the Salvation Army at least
20 percent in 1891 and 1901, with Denominational Breakdown

1884 Denominational Breakdown of Areas
the Salvation Army at least 20 Percent in 1891

Area	Population	Methodist	Anglican	Catholic
Seal Cove, Fortune Bay	79	1.2%	98.7%	0.0%
Flower's Island	79	8.9%	91.1%	0.0%
Fortune	786	99.74%	0.0%	0.25%
Jackson's Cove	99	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Western Harbour/Head	67	98.5%	1.5%	0.0%
Whale's Gulch	102	71.5%	28.6%	0.0%
Big Chance Harbour	33	72.72%	27.27%	0.0%

1891 Denominational Breakdown of Areas
the Salvation Army at least 20 Percent in 1891

Area	Population	Methodist	Anglican	Salvation Army	Catholic
Seal Cove, Fortune Bay	101	0.0%	0.9%	99.1%	0.0%
Flower's Island	63	6.3%	47.6%	46.0%	0.0%
Fortune	809	71.7%	1.6%	26.6%	0.0%
Bear Cove	29	10.3%	0.0%	89.6%	0.0%
Jackson's Cove	89	66.3%	0.0%	33.7%	0.0%
Pelley's Island	411	37.2%	14.6%	20.6%	27.2%

Appendix B Continued

Area	Population	Methodist	Anglican	Salvation Army	Catholic
Pearces Harbour	21	71.4%	4.7%	23.8%	0.0%
Western Harbour/Head	57	33.0%	0.0%	77.0%	0.0%
Whale's Gulch	142	35.9%	2.8%	61.2%	0.0%
Big Chance Harbour	20	0.0%	35.0%	65.0%	0.0%

1891 Denominational Breakdown of Areas

the Salvation Army at least 20 Percent and Not Listed Above

Area	Population	Methodist	Anglican	Salvation Army	Catholic
Triton Harbour	179	98.8%	0.0%	0.5%	0.0%
Little Ward's Harbour	79	92.4%	5.0%	0.0%	2.5%
Wild Bright	60	86.0%	0.0%	13.3%	0.0%
Nick's Nose Cove	20	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
S.W. Arm	78	42.3%	41.0%	3.8%	12.8%
Sop's Arm	28	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Green Island Cove	32	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Black Island Cove	75	53.3%	28.0%	0.0%	18.7%
Sanson's Island	74	85.1%	14.8%	0.0%	0.0%
Comfort Cove	88	78.4%	5.7%	15.9%	0.0%
Salt Pond	27	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Little Chance Harbour	21	81.0%	0.0%	19.0%	0.0%
Cottle's Island	47	63.8%	36.2%	0.0%	0.0%

Appendix B Continued

Area	Population	Methodist	Anglican	Salvation Army	Catholic
Beaver Cove	39	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Hant's Harbour	693	87.0%	0.7%	11.8%	0.4%
Dildo	375	0.5%	73.0%	2.9%	0.0%
Little Ridge	18	44.4%	55.5%	0.0%	0.0%
Rantern	24	0.0%	62.5%	0.0%	37.5%
Russell's Cove	253	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Trout River	163	27.0%	68.1%	0.0%	1.2%
Arnold's Cove	96	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Garnish	357	29.4%	48.5%	0.0%	0.0%
Doting Cove	284	98.9%	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%
Dog Bay	70	87.2%	12.8%	0.0%	0.0%
Charlottetown	67	89.5%	10.4%	0.0%	0.0%
Dark Cove	30	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Middle Brook	93	0.0%	92.5%	0.0%	7.5%
Loo Cove	107	74.8%	24.3%	0.9%	0.5%
Gooseberry Island	382	30.6%	40.3%	15.9%	13.0%
Bloomfield	195	56.9%	42.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Hare Bay	26	53.8%	46.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Shoal Bay	17	29.4%	70.6%	0.0%	0.0%
New Harbour	40	47.5%	52.5%	0.0%	0.0%

Appendix B Continued

1901 Denominational Breakdown of Areas

The Salvation Army at least 20 Percent in 1901

Area	Population	Methodist	Anglican	Salvation Army	Catholic
Seal Cove, Fortune Bay	116	0.0%	3.5%	96.5%	0.0%
Flower's Island	60	11.6%	8.3%	80.0%	0.0%
Fortune	937	74.8%	0.2%	24.9%	0.0%
Bear Cove	39	33.33%	0.0%	66.66%	0.0%
Pelley's Island	699	43.7%	12.1%	30.0%	13.6%
Pearces Harbour	29	69.0%	0.0%	31.0%	0.0%
Western Harbour/Head	64	29.7%	0.0%	70.3%	0.0%
Whale's Gulch	63	6.3%	0.0%	93.65%	0.0%
Big Chance Harbour	90	22.2%	14.4%	63.0%	0.0%
Triton Harbour	173	47.0%	0.0%	53.0%	0.0%
Little Ward's Harbour	173	57.8%	2.9%	34.6%	4.6%
Wild Bight	53	77.3%	0.0%	22.6%	0.0%
Nick's Nose Cove	43	48.8%	0.0%	51.1%	0.0%
S.W. Arm	198	51.5%	10.1%	36.3%	2.0%
Sop's Arm	43	23.2%	4.7%	72.0%	0.0%
Card's Harbour	45	71.1%	4.4%	24.0%	0.0%
Moore's Harbour	8	50.0%	0.0%	50.0%	0.0%
Green Island Cove	25	48.0%	0.0%	52.0%	0.0%
Black Island Tickle	52	28.8%	5.7%	46.0%	19.2%

Appendix B Continued

Area	Population	Methodist	Anglican	Salvation Army	Catholic
Samson's Island	70	35.7%	21.4%	42.8%	0.0%
Comfort Cove	84	52.3%	4.8%	42.8%	0.0%
New Harbour, Twillingate	56	64.3%	0.0%	35.7%	0.0%
Cambelton	204	52.4%	3.4%	43.6%	0.0%
Michael's Harbour	35	42.8%	28.5%	28.5%	0.0%
Salt Pond	43	72.0%	0.0%	27.9%	0.0%
Mason's Cove	26	42.3%	15.3%	42.3%	0.0%
Morton's Cove	4	50.0%	0.0%	50.0%	0.0%
Little Chance Harbour	2	46.0%	0.0%	53.8%	0.0%
Cottle's Island	75	50.7%	8.0%	41.0%	0.0%
Sarn's Cove	27	33.33%	0.0%	66.66%	0.0%
Trumpet Cove	10	30.0%	0.0%	70.0%	0.0%
Beaver Cove	47	57.5%	0.0%	42.5%	0.0%
Caplin Cove	42	78.6%	0.0%	21.4%	0.0%
Hant's Harbour	727	66.7%	0.7%	32.0%	0.4%
Dildo	425	15.5%	51.5%	32.9%	0.0%
Little Ridge	25	0.0%	80.0%	20.0%	0.0%
Rantem	24	0.0%	39.3%	32.0%	28.6%
Russell's Cove	10	30.0%	0.0%	70.0%	0.0%
Clareville	229	50.0%	11.35%	35.8%	2.6%
Trout River	229	14.8%	44.5%	40.6%	0.0%
Stanleyville	48	14.6%	41.7%	39.5%	0.0%

Appendix B Continued

Area	Population	Methodist	Anglican	Salvation Army	Catholic
Rocky Harbour	189	5.3%	70.9%	23.8%	0.0%
Moncton	99	5.0%	0.0%	94.9%	0.0%
Arnold's Cove	111	0.0%	77.4%	22.5%	0.0%
Billy's Point	22	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Garnish	465	39.0%	40.6%	20.2%	0.0%
Carey Cove	21	76.2%	0.0%	23.6%	0.0%
Doting Cove	372	77.7%	0.0%	22.3%	0.0%
Dog Bay	15	66.66%	0.0%	33.33%	0.0%
Pat's Cove	29	52.0%	0.0%	48.0%	0.0%
Charlottetown	67	56.9%	1.6%	41.4%	0.0%
Derry Harbour	41	65.9%	4.9%	29.0%	0.0%
Dark Cove	171	12.3%	62.6%	21.6%	3.0%
Middle Brook	215	1.4%	73.0%	23.2%	2.3%
Loo Cove	137	51.0%	11.7%	37.2%	0.0%
Gooseberry Island	389	25.0%	32.6%	32.6%	9.3%
Bloomfield	203	50.0%	27.6%	20.6%	0.0%
Harc Bay	52	5.4%	7.7%	76.9%	0.0%
Shoal Bay	66	1.5%	66.66%	31.8%	0.0%
New Harbour	68	17.6%	39.7%	42.6%	0.0%



