A HUNDRED-YEAR WAR
The Architecture and History of Elliston Salvation Army Citadel

E lliston Salvation Army Citadel is a one-storey, gable-roofed structure dating to the turn of the twentieth century. It is located centrally in Elliston, Newfoundland and Labrador (NL) (fig. 1), near two other historic churches (fig. 2): Elliston Memorial United Church (formerly Methodist, a Municipal Heritage Site) and St. Mary’s Anglican Church (a Municipal Heritage Site and provincial Registered Heritage Structure). Although no longer used by the Army, it is believed to be the earliest intact Salvation Army building in NL. The Citadel is alternately referred to as the “Hall” or “Barracks.”

Despite its superficially modern fabric (fig. 3), the Elliston Citadel retains an identifiable Gothic Revival style (fig. 4). Telltale elements including bargeboard and lancet-arched windows—in the same language as Elliston’s other religious buildings—intentionally align the Citadel with the spiritual life of the community rather than the secular world of fishing stages or settlers’ homes. In contrast to a contemporary Christian trend toward denominational differentiation through church architecture, it demonstrates an effort by Elliston’s soldiers to fit in.

Elliston Salvation Army Citadel was designated a Registered Heritage Structure by the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador (HFNL) on May 6, 2016, and was subsequently selected for a pilot program of in-depth documentation. Architectural investigation was key, but equally important was uncovering the structure’s intangible values. The result was a collection of photos,
measurements, drawings, stories, historic documents, and, unexpectedly, original poetry. This report summarizes what we have learned so far.

ISLAND INVASION AND THE ELLISTON CAMPAIGN

The start of the Salvation Army in NL can be traced to Captain Emma Dawson and her husband, Charles W. Dawson. Captain Dawson was originally from Newfoundland and returned to the island with her husband for their honeymoon. Both active in the Salvation Army in Ontario, the pair thought their lively Army services would appeal to the local community and organized the first of several meetings in Victoria Hall, St. John’s, in 1885. Drawing on the success of the Dawsons’ meetings, Staff Captain Arthur Young arrived in St. John’s in 1886 and opened the first Salvation Army corps—a local organization, comparable to a parish in other denominations, that includes both members and their building. The Army established additional corps in Brigus, Carbonear, and Twillingate the same year, and the faith continued to spread rapidly throughout Newfoundland during the 1890s and early 1900s.¹

Elliston—or Bird Island Cove as it was known until 1887—was one of the Salvation Army’s earliest “outposts” in NL. A Captain F. Grey held the first service in the community in the spring of 1887.² Elliston was initially counted as part of the corps at Bonavista, the region’s largest community and commercial centre, and did not have officers of its own. The Elliston Corps was officially opened when Lieutenant Jennie Whealan and Cadet Minnie Adams were appointed on May 25, 1889.³ The Army’s first local convert was James Porter—one of a number of locals of the same name—known thereafter as “Soldier Jim.”⁴

From these early days the Salvation Army in Elliston went through a series of ebbs and flows in the size and fervor of its corps such that the community was described in 1933 as “an old battleground.”⁵ A scant eighteen Salvationists were recorded in 1891 and just twenty-five in 1901.⁶ The Army’s numbers more than doubled by 1911 to sixty-one members, and waned again to forty-six and fifty-one in 1921 and 1935 respectively.⁷ Over that period, the Army made up between four and eight percent of Elliston’s population.

Although R. Gordon Moyles writes that the Elliston Corps was “unofficered after 1940” and closed on December 28, 1944, activity in the community persisted.⁸ In 1946, a divisional officer and Corps officer visited the “Elliston Outpost,”⁹ and in 1947 there were reports of “continued indoor and open-air meetings.”¹⁰ The following year, a new flag was dedicated for the Corps and a Home League was “reorganized after a lapse of fifteen years” with thirty-five names on the company register.¹¹ Despite this activity, interviews revealed that the Citadel was shuttered for some time between the 1950s and 1970s.

Major Randy C. Hicks, who served as a Salvation Army Lieutenant in Elliston from 1978-1979, remembers only a couple of officers posted after him and recalls
that Bonavista again took Elliston under its wing in the mid-1980s. In 1986, The War Cry announced that “the Elliston Corps... ceased operations, and became an outpost of Bonavista Corps”—a final return after nearly one hundred years.12 Some of those interviewed remember Salvation Army activity in Elliston for a short time after 1986, although none recall an Army presence after 1989-1990. Llewelyn Tucker of Elliston says the few Salvationists left in Elliston in 2016 continue to head to Bonavista for Sunday services and have done so since the closure of the Citadel.

**EARLY DAYS AND THE FIRST CITADEL: 1887-1901**

Elliston’s earliest soldiers had no hall in which to worship. Officer Jennie Whealan reported after opening the Elliston Corps in 1889 that “having no building” they “held [their] meetings in the open air.”13 Doug Cole writes that the early Elliston Corps also made use of Bremner’s Store (formerly belonging to Bonavista merchant John Slade) and another store belonging to the Clouter family (later Edward Tilley).14 This is consistent with the Bonavista Corps, which met in the “Big Store” on Mockbeggar until their barracks was built (fig. 5).15

Describing the Army’s tendency to worship in unconventional spaces, Jefferson Dunton writes that “it was difficult for The Salvation Army to build a corps in every community in the area. Unlike other Christian denominations in Newfoundland, the Army did not concern itself with the venue for its services.”16 While it is true the Army met in seemingly any available space, and did not build with the permanence or ornament of contemporary Anglicans, Catholics, or Methodists, frequent reports on their facilities indicate that having a hall in which to worship—or a storefront for their faith—was a priority even for small corps.

There is evidence of one purpose-built Salvation Army structure prior to the current citadel. A report in June 1890 signed “the two P’s” stated: “[the Elliston Corps has] been trying to get their new barracks finished”17 and Lieutenant E. French reported in September that “they have worked among themselves, and have a new barracks almost completed.”18 Whatever the form of this early structure, it was short-lived; a 1901 report stated that the “Bird Island Cove braves, led by Captain [W.J.] Ford, are hindered by a very poor barracks.”19 Elliston’s first citadel would last just ten years.

**THE SECOND CITADEL: 1901-PRESENT**

Elliston has always been a Methodist stronghold, and between 1901 and 1902 the town was busy erecting its third Methodist church (fig. 6).20 While the Methodist community donated food and fuel to Army officers, winning members and raising money was not easy. On October 12, 1901, a request was published in The War Cry for Canada, Newfoundland and Bermuda, asking “readers who have any dollars to spare please send them” for the construction of a new barracks.21 Their plea was answered to some extent, for...
a month later they reported “some of our friends have replied and helped us with their money.”

With some support secured, the workforce for the Citadel project was drawn from local membership with a Captain W. Reader acting as architect and foreman. Reader also assumed the role of chief builder and was reported “working early and late building [the] new barracks... while most of the soldiers [were] fishing.” Soldiers such as George E. (or “Georgie”) Crewe—an expert carpenter, Salvation Army envoy, and life-long member of the Elliston Corps—would have been likely contributors to the construction effort, though George too was a fisherman. This grassroots approach to church construction is common among Christian denominations in small communities, and particularly the Salvation Army’s outport campaigns. Moyles writes:

The Salvation Army in Newfoundland is famous throughout the Salvation Army world for the example its people have set of practical religion. If they want a Citadel for their Corps, but it is impossible to raise the money to the extent necessary to pay for the building in the usual way, they set to work to build it themselves. If it is a school for their children or quarters for their Officers it is the same.

No Salvation Army church building was recorded in Elliston at the time of the 1901 census, although reports in The War Cry indicate construction began that year. The next report from Elliston, in June of 1902, stated: “Capt. W. Reader has built a new barracks for which he deserves great credit. The Captain is at home with the hammer and saw, and for devising windows is hard to beat.” This is likely the Salvation Army church building counted in the census of 1921 with a capacity of two hundred persons and the same structure currently under study.

The Elliston Corps made good use of their new Citadel, for in 1937 a Lieutenant Russell reported that “Elliston is on the upgrade and the comrades are showing a keen interest in the work. The Hall has been remodeled, making a great improvement. The property has been fenced and plans are now being made for the painting of both Hall and Officers’ Quarters” (fig. 7). A porch was added to the western corner of the Citadel sometime in the 1950s. Lewellyn Tucker describes the interior as “a bit old fashioned, with beams running down, and then they had an old-fashioned stove with the pipes going up through the ceiling, and you go halfway up and they had a platform, ballet like, and up there you had drums and people on the other side singing, soldiers.”

Following the upgrades of 1937 and the porch addition of the 1950s, there was a third major renovation around 1984-1985. After reading HFNL’s blog posts on the Elliston project, Major Randy C. Hicks penned an original poem on July 24, 2016, describing his memories of the Citadel in the mid-1980s. Titled “The Barracks!,” he describes the structure as it was just before this work:

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Its form was really simple
A box up on a mound
It stood through weather’s worst fare
Just sitting on the ground!
A peaked roof with old shingles
Windows of single pane
White clapboard wrapped it snugly
Each fought against the rain!
One door to grant both entrance
And exit too of course
A day might bring a visit
Some sheep, some cows, a horse!
Inside was somewhat dingy
Bare bulbs, just eight or ten
Were hanging from black wiring
One thinks of way back when!

At that time both outside and in were clad in modern finishes, original doors were replaced, and a wood roof was re-covered in asphalt. William Faulkner helped with the renovations and recalls:

They did mainly work inside. They tore down some of the old walls and repaired the walls, they put new doors up, I think they did some shingles on the top, the roof top... There was a pot-bellied stove there, yes there was. Now when they did the renovations they, I believe they got rid of the stove and they put electric heaters in. Yeah they did. Again that was around 1984-85 as far as I can remember.

One can assume the ceiling was lowered and carpet was installed at the same time.

Although the Elliston Corps reportedly ceased operations in 1986, the date the Citadel closed is contested. William Faulkner, a former schoolteacher and caretaker of the Citadel, places the date of closure at 1989-1990. Several people who remember the church undergoing
renovations remarked on the fact that the Citadel was modernized in 1984-1985 and closed only shortly after. Some years following the Citadel’s closure, the building was sold to a private buyer and used for storage. Most recently it was sold to Tourism Elliston Inc., a Board of Directors-run organization that promotes Elliston as a tourism centre and plans festivals and events for the area.

THE CITADEL AND THE COMMUNITY

The Salvation Army never counted among its membership more than ten percent of Elliston’s population, yet it managed to touch much of the community. Even though corps membership peaked at just over sixty souls, a service could fill and overflow the Citadel estimated to hold two hundred. Murray describes the common practice in Elliston whereby Methodists, Anglicans, and Salvationists, especially young people, would attend several services of different denominations on a single Sunday. This practice was also discussed in an interview with Tucker, who said: “The church was, well it’s not that big, but it used to be filled to capacity and they’d be all outside the church standing up next to the fence after the United Church let out they would all come down. They would be all around the church outside but now you won’t find six.”

Salvation Army services and meetings were full of both people and music. In a folktale collected in 1967, Harry Chaulk of Elliston describes a man being drawn to a Salvation Army service by the “songs and testimonies” emanating from the Citadel. There were an organ, a bass drum, a snare drum, and tambourines which were played to accompany singing (fig. 8). Major Hicks played trumpet and accordion during his year at the Citadel and recalls:

I was a musician or I am musician and I say that loosely. I know some basics and so when I got there, there was an old pump organ in the hall which was unusual because the Salvation Army wasn’t known for organs, pianos, and those things at that time. Now it’s anything and everything. There was one elderly lady who, if she was there, could play some basic things but not well, and the old organ didn’t help much. I had some basics in accordion playing and I also played trumpet so my first exercise there or my first engagement musically was to play my cornet while folks sang the hymns. Of course in the Salvation Army much of the singing is dependent on the person leading the singing and you can’t sing and play a trumpet obviously, so I broke out the accordion that my mom had given me that Christmas before, which again was a tool that many Salvation Army officers had. I was not good at it but I figured I’d do what I could and so I developed a half decent sound for a while but the...
problem with it, of course, was my rudimen-
tary understanding of it remained, I
didn't advance in my ability but I just sort
of honed the skill as much as I could for
the time being and the folks thought I was
wonderful.38

Tucker loved the sound and excitement
of the Salvation meetings when he was
growing up:

I used to love it then because it was, well
not like now, now it's quiet, but then they
would be up jumping around and smacking
their hands and singing. We used to go and
enjoy it, every bit of it. But it's a little bit
different now than then. It doesn't have to
be but people are quieter. Them old-fash-
ioned days were good because you would
get up, everybody would get up and give
a testimony, you know it takes seven to
ten, ten thirty at night sitting in one place
like that but it was good. Never see it no
more. I don't think you would be able to
stay awake for an hour down there. Times
have all changed. An hour is long enough
now. But if you are enjoying it, time goes
quick anyway.39

On Sundays, the Salvation Army would
have a morning service at eleven in the
morning, an evening service at seven,
and Sunday School at two in the after-
noon.40 As Tucker remembers: “First they
used to have to open it up and then they
had the morning meeting, then they had
preaching, and then after that they had
an old-fashioned prayer meeting with a
pastor and coffee after, so you would go
in at seven, probably get out ten, half
past ten.”41

The Salvation Army held weddings,
funerals, and christenings as well as spe-
cial outdoor or open-air services. These
open air-services took place on Easter
Sunday and on the first of July. Tucker
remembers marching around the com-

munity on Easter Sunday: “Oh yes Easter
Sundays in the mornings, seven o'clock
I think, we used to march around the
place. Right around playing the band
and singing and that. They used to do
all that stuff.”42

Inside, attendees would sit on two rows
of wooden benches with an aisle down
the centre leading to the chancel. In his
poem, Major Hicks notes:43

Benchs to seat four people
Each one was painted gray
Comfort was not their purpose
Sitting one fought to stay!
Set up in just two sections
Divided by one aisle
A congregation gathered
Oft greeting with a smile!

There were also a number of wooden
chairs which were placed on the chan-
cel and used for Sunday school. Some of
these wooden chairs and benches are still
stored in the Citadel.

THE CITADEL TODAY

From July 12 to 15, 2016, a team of three
HFNL staff members—Terra Barrett,
Michael Philpott, and Li Xingpei—
were in Elliston investigating the
Salvation Army Citadel. The itinerary
consisted of roughly one day of on-site
recording and a series of three inter-
views with past users of the building:
William Faulkner, Theodore Martin, and
Llewellyn Tucker. A telephone interview
was conducted on August 11, 2016, with
Major Randy C. Hicks. Field recording
was completed using the standards of
the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) as a guide. These interviews, field notes, and photographs form the basis of this report.

Elliston Salvation Army Citadel is built in a simplified or carpenter’s Gothic Revival style exemplified by arched windows, a steep gable roof, and decorative bargeboard (figs. 9-10). The gable-roof form contrasts with the style of citadel popular in the mid-1900s—often featuring twin turrets and large pediments or false fronts (fig. 11)—but is consistent with contemporary Salvation Army and public structures elsewhere in the province, as well as early Army buildings in other regions.44 The Point Leamington barracks (fig. 12), built by Ensign Wiltshire and opened in 1910, was a similarly gable-roofed structure with three side windows and gable-end ornamentation, but with details more akin to the Tudor Revival style.45 The St. Anthony barracks (fig. 13), photographed in 1911-1913, had nearly identical massing and decoration to Point Leamington’s, suggesting that either plans or builders were shared across the region.46 Tudor Revival was a style employed by the Salvation Army in several regions at the time, making Gothic Revival an unusual choice for Elliston and suggesting an effort to adopt the community’s existing faith-signifying style.

The Elliston Salvation Army Citadel has ten lancet-arched Gothic windows (fig. 14), eight single-hung (three in each side wall and two currently covered in the south-western gable end), and two fixed (currently covered in the north-eastern gable end). Muntins are arranged in a square diamond pattern and sashes are accented by ogee-shaped horns. Llewellyn Tucker remembers coloured glass in the hall, but panes currently visible are clear. The Citadel’s windows contrast with the intersecting Gothic
muntins of nearby Elliston Memorial United (Methodist) Church (fig. 6), but are similar to the diamond-lighted windows of St. Mary’s Anglican Church (fig. 15). It is possible Reader was inspired by St. Mary’s, a fixture in the community at the time of construction, whereas the Methodist church was not finished when the Citadel project began.

No original doors remain in the Citadel. We know that doors were replaced in the 1980s, but possibly not for the first time. A small hall’s entrance, as in Point Leamington or St. Anthony, was more typically in its gable-end and it is possible Reader began with this arrangement. The windows in the north-eastern façade of the Elliston Citadel are certainly spaced far enough to accommodate an entrance, there is a small stone platform in the middle of that elevation, and we know the porch was a later addition. In the absence of further evidence, however, this kind of change may only be verified with destructive investigation.

The Citadel’s cladding is now almost entirely covered by modern hardboard siding, though original wood clapboard and trim is visible at the base of some exterior walls indicating that earlier material has not been removed. Surviving wood bargeboard is a simple pattern of alternating triangles and partial ellipses (fig. 16). Fascia boards are chamfered on top and bottom to create a soft edge, and trim under the gable overhang once curved at the peak, again softening the angle, although this detail is now covered or removed. Surviving trim is ochre red in colour.

The roof of the Elliston Citadel is a steep-pitched gable. Visible structure reveals a simple arrangement of six columns supporting rafters at mid-height, with beams tying columns to the wall-plate. The roof structure is sheathed by planks running longitudinally. A brick chimney once protruded from the ridge roughly six metres from the western end to exhaust a pot-bellied stove below it. Later, a different stove was located in the far western end with a corresponding chimney opening, but neither stove nor chimney remains.

The Citadel is a one-room structure plus porch, arranged with an elevated chancel to the east and ground-level hall to the west (fig. 17). The ceiling once extended upward to a height of 4.88 metres and revealed part of the roof structure, though a lower ceiling is now installed (fig. 18). The upper ceiling is flat and decorated by whitewashed planks in geometric patterns, much like the ceiling of nearby Band of Hope Loyal Orange Lodge #1402.

The raised chancel bay is slightly larger than the others and, where Salvation Army services often involved music, the band would have been located on this platform. There were no permanent pews in the Citadel, at least by the mid-1900s, so movable benches were provided for the congregation. Major Hicks describes in his poem the “mercy seat,” an important spiritual and physical symbol for the Army, as “An altar some might say / One of the gray benches turned / To face the other way.” There is a small built-in bench at the lectern which might also have served this purpose. Major Hicks further describes the interior in an interview: “It was a very basic wooden structure, no indoor plumbing—no outdoor plumbing for that matter...
The electrical was very old and basic, light bulbs eight or ten of them were hanging from the ceiling in sockets—no cover, nothing fancy. The benches were plain simple benches.47

Even if only partly accessible, the Citadel appears to have a wood post and beam foundation which has been shored at different times by additional posts and mortared and unmortared stone piers. Beams are full-round longers, arranged with a central beam and sills running the length of the structure. Less substantial joists are laid across them and notched to fit. The foundation is skirted with vertical boards interrupted in some places by piers.

CULTURAL LANDSCAPE
OF THE CITADEL

Elliston Salvation Army Citadel is located in the “south side” of Elliston at the intersection of Cole’s Road and Henry Street, roughly fifty-five metres from Elliston Memorial United Church and one hundred and thirty-five metres from St. Mary’s Anglican Church (fig. 2). It is situated on the side of a hill overlooking Trinity Bay, not far from what is believed to be the site of the community’s first church. As Major Hicks remembers, “the Citadel sat there sort of up on the top, not a hill altogether, but again you could ascend down the lane to other neighbours.”48 It is oriented with the chancel end—or liturgical east—to the north-east.

Although no longer standing, there was once a small Officers’ Quarters about thirty metres and a half from the Citadel. These Quarters were where lieutenants and captains lived when they served the Elliston congregation.49 Major Hicks remembers living in the Quarters while he preached in the Salvation Army in 1978-1979: “I lived in a little house next to [the Salvation Army Citadel] that no longer exists. It had been an old two-storey house that was cut down to just one storey. I remember one of my Anglican priest friends saying, ‘Randy lived in a little dollhouse in Elliston.’ It was really tiny.”50

According to Murray, the house-turned-Quarters belonged to Isaiah Cole until it was sold to the Army sometime around 1950.51 An even earlier Quarters occupied a “small, cottage-roofed house” further up the hill, on the upper side of Trick’um Road. This structure, believed to be Samuel “Sammy” Crew’s homestead, served as Officers’ Quarters until it was bought by Harold and Hilda Hill in 1941.52

In addition to the lost Officers’ Quarters, there were a series of fences of different styles and configurations around both the Citadel and the Quarters. Photos depict a picket fence in the 1950s and a paling fence in the 1960s. There was no fence around the Citadel during Major Hicks’s time, although he made some repairs to the fence surrounding the Quarters.

LESSONS LEARNED

The Citadel’s life and current form tell the story of the Elliston Corps over its century of struggle. Erected at a time when Salvation Army membership peaked in Elliston, its builders made a hall large enough to accommodate more souls than they would ever count as members—an indication of their early optimism. Architect W. Reader employed a simple form common to outport citadels,
but sophisticated details seemingly unique to Elliston (fig. 19). That Army structures elsewhere tended toward the Tudor suggests his Gothic Revival design grew out of the local community’s association between religion and the style. Christians of other denominations that flocked to the Citadel after their own services must have found it non-threatening if not familiar.

If the Citadel underwent any significant change, it was in its active early years, but its basic form does not seem to have. The Elliston Citadel, then, may tell more by what it lacks. Communities with less Salvation Army support often remained outposts, never to have halls of their own. Communities of greater uptake saw their buildings “improved” (either expanded or replaced) and original fabric lost. The Citadel’s surviving form is representative of the Elliston Corps—passionate enough to build and maintain a hall, but never large enough to grow out of it. The result is a unique Salvation Army structure and a rare example of the faith’s early infrastructure in NL.

Going forward, HFNL will develop this approach to documentation and increase its use of these research tools—interviews, outreach, and in-the-field investigation. We have learned how the Citadel could be restored, and, when concrete information was not available, we have learned where to look. Documenting the Elliston Salvation Army Citadel was a valuable exercise in fieldwork, research, and the integration of architectural and intangible histories. We hope this project can serve as a starting point for the study of Salvation Army architecture in other communities, and that this approach will improve our understanding of Newfoundland and Labrador’s heritage as a whole.

APPENDIX

The Barracks!
Randy C. Hicks
July 24, 2016
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A box up on a mound
It stood through weather’s worst fare
Just sitting on the ground!
A peaked roof with old shingles
Windows of single pane
White clapboard wrapped it snugly
Each fought against the rain!
One door to grant both entrance
And exit too of course
A day might bring a visit
Some sheep, some cows, a horse!
Inside was somewhat dingy
Bare bulbs, just eight or ten
Were hanging from black wiring
One thinks of way back when!
Benches to seat four people
Each one was painted gray
Comfort was not their purpose
Sitting one fought to stay!
Set up in just two sections
Divided by one aisle
A congregation gathered
Oft greeting with a smile!
And somewhere near the center
There sat a jolly friend
When seasons brought cold weather
On it they could depend!
Pot-bellied stove ‘twas known as
With flue stretched way up high
Connected to the chimney
Through which the smoke did fly!
The Sergeant-major stoked it
With wood and shoveled coal
To outlast the young preacher
His designated goal!
Up front a tiny pulpit
On small platform was raised
A bass drum in the corner
With snare, our God was praised!
One can’t forget the organ
Next to it stood the flag
Better days had passed them by
As now they both did sag!
Finally the mercy seat
An altar some might say
One of the gray benches turned
To face the other way!
Men and women, boys and girls
This mourner’s bench did use
The promise of the Gospel—
The Lord would none refuse!
The rafters oft were ringing
Glorious sounds of praise
Did echo down twisted lanes
Back in those good old days!
The place was called the Barracks
Where Sally-Anns did pray
Sing songs, give testimonies,
Preach Christ—Life, Truth, and Way!
A sadness overwhelms me
As through nostalgic eyes
I long to see the old saints
Who then seemed O so wise!
To hear their simple stories
Watch as the tears did fall
With passion cry to Jesus
As on Him they did call!
Their lives had not been easy
Sometimes life was unkind
Yet in that piece of heaven
They never seemed to mind!
I stood there reminiscing
A young Lieutenant’s start
Amazed by all the mem’ries
In this old Major’s heart!
As now a rusted padlock
You’ll find upon the door
The once proud little building
Will share the Faith no more!

NOTES
1. For a detailed history of the Salvation Army in Newfoundland and Labrador, see Moyles, R. Gordon, 1997, The Salvation Army in Newfoundland: Its History and Essence, St. John’s, NL, The Salvation Army Canada and Bermuda.

14. A “store” in Newfoundland and Labrador is traditionally an outbuilding in which supplies, gear, or dried cod are stored, rather than a strictly commercial establishment. Cole : 82.
25. “Fish Plentiful at Elliston....” Western Star, July 11, 1950, p. 7. George was apparently also a bricklayer, stonemason, and cooper. He is described by Murray as one of “the pillars of the Salvation Army in Elliston.” Murray, Hilda Chaulk, 2000, Of Boats on the Collar: How It Was in One Newfoundland Fishing Community, St. John’s, NL, Flanker, p. 115.
27. Census of Newfoundland and Labrador 1901, tables II and III, 1903, St. John’s, NL, J.W. Withers, p. 100
29. Census of Newfoundland and Labrador 1921, table III, 1923, St. John’s, NL, p. 164.
32. For more information on the Heritage Foundation’s ICH (intangible cultural heritage) blog, visit [www.ichblog.ca].
34. Faulkner, William, 2016, interview by Terra Barrett, Michael Philpott, and Li Xingpei, Bonavista, NL, July 15.
35. Murray notes that although “non-Salvationist families helped the Army materially by donations of food and fuel to the ‘officer,’ only a few became ‘soldiers,’ i.e., adherents of the Army.” Murray, Hilda Chaulk, 2010, More Than Fifty Per Cent: Woman’s Life in a Newfoundland Outport 1900-1950, St. John’s, NL, Flanker Press Ltd., p. 11.
36. Tucker, interview.
37. While this tale tells us a bit about how the Salvation Army was perceived, its subject matter is not unique to Elliston or the Citadel. Halpert, Herbert, Martin J. Lovelace, and J.D.A. Widdowson, 1996, Folktales of Newfoundland: The Resilience of Oral Tradition, vol. 1, New York, Garland Publishing, p. 914.
38. Hicks, Randy, 2016, telephone interview by Terra Barrett, August 11.
39. Tucker, interview.