

FIRING UPON THE COUNTRYSIDE:
THE SALVATION ARMY IN SONOMA COUNTY, 1888-1906

by

Robert Gene Chase

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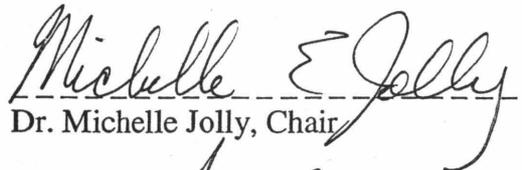
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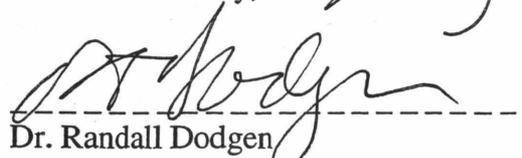
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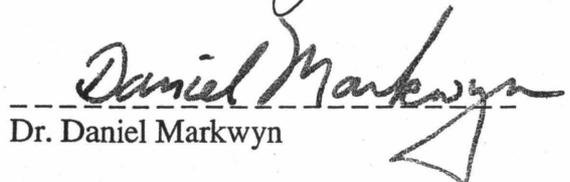
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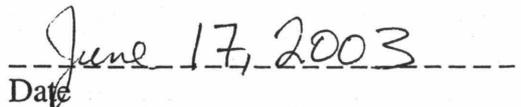
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ABSTRACT

Statement of Purpose:

The Salvation Army is a charitable religious organization that came to the United States in the late 19th century. Their work was aimed at assisting the poor in urban areas. As the organization grew, it expanded into rural areas where different social relations existed. The aim of this thesis is to examine the early period of the Salvation Army in Petaluma and Santa Rosa, California, discussing how the organization adapted to these new surroundings and gauging how successful they were in these attempts.

Procedure:

This thesis is based on research of primary and secondary sources. Newspapers and city documents provide the basis for this discussion. Primary sources from the Salvationists in Sonoma County are rare, coming only from reports submitted to the *War Cry*. Secondary sources, including histories of the Salvation Army, Sonoma County and 19th century America were used to provide a context for the experiences of the Salvation Army officers, volunteers and supporters.

Findings:

The first garrison opened in Petaluma by the Salvation Army in 1888 was a failure due to hostility from community members and an inability on the part of the Salvationists to conform to community expectations. The second garrison in Petaluma, opened in 1897, was successful due to a willingness on the part of the community and the Salvationists to cooperate with each other. A close proximity to other successful Salvation Army operations, including a corps in Santa Rosa, and the Cotati Wood Camp, aided the Petaluma corps in being accepted. After an initial period of hardship, due mostly to Santa Rosa's government, the corps opened in Santa Rosa in 1890 was extremely successful and was an important part of the city's religious community. The Cotati Wood Camp and the Lytton Springs Orphanage were an important aspect of the Salvation Army's social programs. Not only was it one of the first charitable organizations to move people from urban areas to rural settings, but it offered the surround communities, Petaluma, Santa Rosa and Healdsburg, proof of the Salvation Army's dedication to helping those in need, leading to greater support in those cities.

Conclusions:

While the programs of the Salvation Army were primarily geared towards larger urban settings, the organization could successfully establish corps and social programs in more rural settings. This success was often determined by the disposition of the community towards the Salvation Army's mission and the ability of the Salvationists to meet community expectations. The close proximity to the social programs at Cotati and Lytton Springs also seemed to aid acceptance by providing evidence of the organization's ability to bring meaningful aid to the underclass, cementing their position as a charitable and religious member of Sonoma County.

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Introduction

The Salvation Army is one of the most successful charitable organizations in the United States. Its beginnings, however, were not so promising. Originally the work of the Salvation Army was limited in the United States mostly to large urban areas such as New York, Chicago and San Francisco because these cities had large unemployed populations. Determined to lift the poor from depraved social conditions and help them become useful members of society, the Salvationists created programs to aid their work. From their introduction in 1880 until the early 1890's, the Salvation Army's work was limited mostly to street sermons, parades, and other religious meetings where people could come and hear the Salvationists speak. The Salvation Army believed that the first step for these people to improve their lot in life was with religion, and they actively sought converts. These early converts were important to the spread of the Salvation Army because they often provided testimony of their conversion at meetings. While the Salvationists wanted to aid the poor, their early efforts lacked social programs to help them because few officers and few resources limited the Salvationists' activities.

The Salvation Army also had to contend with strenuous opposition to their programs. Saloon and brothel owners claimed the Salvationists hurt business, religious leaders scoffed at them for their lack of sacraments and other religious decorum, and the poor themselves were not always pleased with the Salvationists intruding on their way of life. Middle class families were upset that their daughters were leaving to become Salvationists, and almost everyone was aghast at the Salvation Army's adoption of "low class" forms of entertainment,

such as vaudeville, marching and bands in their attempts to attract crowds.¹ The detractors were in many cases influential men and women, and the early years for the Salvation Army were very difficult.

The organization also refused to “distinguish between deserving and undeserving poor” which set it apart from other charitable efforts.² The “Social Gospel” movement was growing during this period, but “as a reform movement...was first and foremost an effort to reform the churches.”³ The Salvation Army was not concerned with the existing churches, but those individuals who were ignored by them, primarily the poor and unemployed. As well the Salvationists believed that a lack of “Christian evangelism” would doom the efforts of other charities.⁴ These differences were great enough that the Salvation Army existed alone during these early years.

While many of the Salvation Army’s foes were well entrenched, the Salvationists did have one thing on their side: time. The longer that the Salvationists could work in a community, the better chances they had of winning converts, finding men and women who would join as officers, and raising money. This was the Salvation Army’s greatest weapon, and it served them well as they continued their work.

After becoming accepted by the communities where the Salvation Army was working, the organization began to expand its programs by creating shelters for women and

¹ Lawrence W. Levine discusses the separation of high and low forms of entertainment and its cultural significance during the late 19th century in, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988).

² Daphne Spain, *How Women Saved the City* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 66.

³ Jacob H. Dorn, “Social Gospel,” in *The Oxford Companion to United States History*, ed. Paul S. Boyer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 725.

⁴ Spain, *How Women Saved the City*, 66.

initiating the Slum Brigade, a service to help poor and unemployed families. It was these programs, offering material assistance, that helped the Salvation Army attract supporters who were willing to donate money to their cause. While the early efforts were primarily aimed towards bringing religion to unemployed and poor, it was the expansion of aid programs for these same groups that garnered the Salvation Army the support and money necessary to expand its work. The Salvationists found greater success in providing for the body before the spirit, a reversal of their earlier policy.

While making this transition, large sums of money were needed, and the Salvationists employed various programs to ease the financial burden. Some of these programs, like Self-Denial Week, which encouraged Salvationists to give up frivolous items for a week and donate the saved money to the Salvation Army, targeted the organization's members. Other programs encouraged outsiders and supporters to make contributions. Some of these, like the Christmas Kettles, are still used by the organization today. Weekly meetings, weddings and social events also served as money-making opportunities for the Salvationists.

As the Salvation Army began to flourish in the cities, it introduced many other programs and services in addition to orphanages and women's shelters. These new programs were aimed at helping single poor and unemployed men. The Salvation Army created hotels where these men could acquire a cheap room and meal. The Salvationists also assisted these men in finding jobs, either by employing them at the hotels or finding them work in the city. The overall effort was to remove people from the horrible conditions of poverty and turn them into contributing members of their communities. These efforts, however, could only be taken so far. Cities had a finite number of resources that the Salvationists could tap before growth would stop. Supporters, those who agreed with the message of the Salvation Army

and usually made monetary donations, were limited in number. Even fewer individuals were willing to become officers in the Salvation Army.

To combat this problem, the Salvation Army sought to expand into rural towns and cities. Social relationships existed in these smaller communities that large urban areas lacked, and this posed a great challenge to the organization. Whereas the cities were large and diverse, these towns were more close-knit and like-minded. Urban areas were stratified with distinct class lines while smaller communities often lacked these visible divisions.

When the Salvation Army entered these communities it sought people who were willing to dedicate their lives to the organization and to create a base of supporters who would make financial donations to its work. The Salvationists also attempted to convert those they considered sinners and denounce the sins of alcohol and prostitution.

Unfortunately, the Salvationists were woefully unprepared for working in these communities and were forced either to leave or adapt. These towns were usually not appreciative of marching, singing and "open-air" meetings held by the Salvationists. Saloon and brothel owners in small towns opposed the Salvation Army because they ran fairly small businesses, and the loss of just a few customers could bring financial ruin. Parents opposed the idea of the Salvation Army invading their towns, fearing it would only entice their children to become Salvationists. Parents also feared losing control of their children's futures because Salvation Army doctrine dictated that Salvationists could only marry other members and that they could be stationed anywhere.

The Salvation Army encountered many of these difficulties when they tried to enter Sonoma County, California. The smaller communities were unprepared for the Salvationists and fought against them. Citizen opposition, unsupportive civic leaders, and the

Salvationists' determination often led to disastrous results. These early losses soon gave way to great prosperity for the Salvation Army as changes made by the local Salvationists, and shifting national agendas in the organization allowed it to overcome its detractors and become one of Sonoma County's largest charitable organizations.

In completing this thesis, I am indebted to those historians who have chronicled the history of the Salvation Army in the United States. Unfortunately this is a short list since the Salvation Army has become a focus point for study only in recent years. Some of these authors argue that the Salvation Army was an important addition to the urban setting during the late 19th century, and while contemporaries may have criticized its actions, the organization and its programs filled a void left by the more established churches.⁵ Most of these works focus on the Salvation Army's work in urban centers while ignoring or glancing over its presence in more rural areas. While a large gap exists in the history of the Salvation Army in rural America, each of these works has been important in understanding the motives of the Salvation Army, but provide limited information on its presence in rural areas

The most comprehensive study is Edward H. McKinley's, *Marching to Glory: The History of the Salvation Army in the United States, 1880-1992*.⁶ In this revised edition, McKinley has compiled a comprehensive history of the Salvation Army's presence in America. Highlighting the high and low points of the organization's history, the work purpose is to chronicle the Salvation Army's presence. Originally created for the Salvation

⁵ Lillian Taiz, *Hallelujah Lad and Lasses: Remaking the Salvation Army in America, 1880-1930*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 12.

Diane Winston, *Red-Hot and Righteous: The Urban Religion of The Salvation Army*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 3.

⁶ Edward H. McKinley, *Marching to Glory: The History of the Salvation in the United States, 1880-1992* 2nd Ed., (Grand Rapids, Michigan: The William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1995).

Army's centenary, the work is more of an institutional history than in-depth study of Salvation Army and its work.

In an earlier book, *Somebody's Brother: A History of The Salvation Army Men's Social Service Department, 1891-1985*, McKinley discusses the Men's Social Service Department and its importance to the Salvation Army nationwide.⁷ McKinley argues that while rescue homes and Slum Brigades provided help to women and needy families, the Salvation Army did not provide services to men during its early years. The Men's Social Service Division was created to fill this gap, providing assistance to poor and unemployed men who sought help. Immediately successful, the Salvation Army began to adopt men's programs nationwide and, as McKinley argues, created a new image of itself, not only as an evangelical mission, but also as a provider of needed social services.

Diane Winston in her work, *Red Hot and Righteous: The Urban Religion of the Salvation Army*, uses New York City as a backdrop to understand the Salvation Army's urban programs.⁸ Winston argues that by incorporating aspects of the prevailing commercial culture, the Salvationists quickly moved from "street corner evangelizing to establishing slum ministries and, within a decade, to setting up a citywide network of social services."⁹ Winston chronicles this transformation and illustrates how the Salvation Army became the immensely successful charitable religious organization it is today.

In *Hallelujah Lads and Lasses: Remaking the Salvation Army in America, 1880-1930*, Lillian Taiz argues that the Salvation Army was filled with strife and division during its early

⁷ Edward H. McKinley, *Somebody's Brother: A History of The Salvation Army Men's Social Service Department, 1891-1985*, (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1986).

⁸ Winston, *Red-Hot and Righteous*, 8.

⁹ Ibid.

years.¹⁰ The original recruits who became officers were men and women from working class backgrounds, but the second generation of Salvationists came from more respectable middle class families. Taiz argues that this new group of Salvationists caused the Salvation Army to greatly cut back its parades, marches, and other public activities, in favor of providing material aid to the poor through social services and programs. This new aim of the Salvation Army created greater support for its work and led to its eventual success.

While little work has been done on the rural programs of the Salvation Army, Clark C. Spence's *The Salvation Army Farm Colonies* does provide a look at some of their efforts.¹¹ Spence chronicles the short histories of the three farm colonies in the United States. Established in California, Colorado, and Ohio, each of the colonies faced different challenges and levels of success. Fort Romie in California was the only colony to succeed in settling families, while the others faded into history. Placing the colonies in the context of the Salvation Army's other projects and similar colonization programs, Spence illustrates that these programs were morally supported, but not monetarily. Spence concludes that a combination of little agricultural experience, lack of leadership, monetary support and bad luck all factored in the downfall of the farm colonies.

The Salvation Army in Sonoma County is also not an entirely new area of study. Gaye LeBaron briefly comments on the organization's work in her book, *Santa Rosa: A Nineteenth Century Town*.¹² LeBaron places the Salvationists in the context of other

¹⁰ Taiz, *Hallelujah Lad and Lasses*.

¹¹ Clark C. Spence, *The Salvation Army Farm Colonies*, (Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1985).

¹² Gaye LeBaron, Dee Blackman, Joann Mitchell, and Harvey Hansen, *Santa Rosa: A Nineteenth Century Town*, (Santa Rosa, California: Historia Ltd., 1985).

religious groups and churches in Santa Rosa, but she does not fully examine their role in the community.

In *A Century of Service: The Salvation Army in Sonoma County, 1889-1989*, Michelle Welch Kropp offers a deeper, but still incomplete discussion of the Salvation Army in Sonoma County.¹³ Kropp provides an institutional overview of the Salvation Army's presence in Sonoma County, but her work overlooks important questions such as why the Salvationists were there and why the community members responded so negatively. While her work provides a wealth of information, Kropp's narrative seems incomplete, not allowing for a full understanding of the Salvation Army's early years in Sonoma County.

Each of these works was instrumental in completing this thesis. Each author examined the Salvation Army in a different way and looked at separate aspects of the organization's work. These varying viewpoints allow for a fuller analysis of the Salvation Army and its programs, but mostly overlook the importance of organization's experiences in lightly populated areas like Sonoma County.

By examining the Salvation Army's programs in Sonoma County, I plan to illustrate that the corps' established in Petaluma and Santa Rosa served as not only an extension of the services provided in urban centers, but as a true attempt to reach out to rural communities. While this is a localized study of the Salvation Army's rural programs I hope that it is useful in understanding the aims of the organization in the United States.

¹³ Michelle Welch Kropp, *A Century of Service 1889-1989: The Salvation Army in Sonoma County, California*, (Rohnert Park, California: Michelle Welch Kropp, 1989).

Chapter 2

Crossing the Atlantic: The Expansion of the Salvation Army in America

The Salvation Army is one of the world's best known charitable organizations, but its origins as a religious movement are largely unknown or overlooked. Started by William and Catherine Booth, the organization, originally called "The Christian Mission," sought to bring religion to those individuals that the Booths believed were ignored by the established churches, namely the poor underclass. By reaching out to the poor and the needy, the Booths took the first step towards the creation of an even larger undertaking, the Salvation Army.

Born in 1865, the Christian Mission sought to aid the inhabitants of the Whitechapel district of London, England. An outgrowth of the evangelical work of William and Catherine Booth, the organization worked among the prostitutes and poor residing in the neighborhood. The Booths' purpose was twofold: first to bring God to those who had been forgotten by the large established churches and second to assist these people in improving their lives, both morally and economically. Finding its work successful, the Christian Mission moved into other areas of London and then throughout England.

Seeking increased efficiency and organization for his program, William Booth called together a national congress in 1878 where he proposed that the organization adopt a new name, the Salvation Army, and a new organizational structure, based on the British military. Booth named himself General and adopted military terms both for positions in the organization and for its activities. Thus members would be known as officers and given military titles while stations in cities and towns would be called corps or barracks.¹ This terminology was applied to all aspects of the Salvation Army's practices, even everyday

¹ Lillian Taiz, *Hallelujah Lads and Lasses: Remaking the Salvation Army In America, 1880-1930*. (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 19-20.

activities like prayers. Booth also set out strict guidelines for the officers under his banner. In doing the work of the Salvation Army, the "Salvationists" were not to harass other churches, speak badly of other faiths, or purposely incite public agitation.² This would prove difficult as their usual activities, selling *The War Cry*, marching and preaching on the streets, and saving souls lost to prostitution and alcohol were often viewed as bothersome and annoying.³ Another aspect of the Salvation Army that was particularly difficult for many people to accept was the prominent role that women played in the organization. Catherine Booth advocated a women's right to preach, and her views were well incorporated in the Salvation Army.⁴ Her influence allowed women the right to hold any position in the Salvation Army, even General. Knowing it would be an uphill battle, Booth urged his Salvationists to "fight cautiously," expect persecution, and serve jail time when convicted of breaking laws.⁵ William Booth carefully guided the Salvation Army during these early years, wary of rapid growth beyond his control. Once the organization was well established in England, Booth decided to expand the Salvation Army to the European continent and other parts of the British Commonwealth, but European immigrants gave Americans their first glimpse of the Salvation Army.

Some of William Booth's followers were so enthusiastic about their work that when they immigrated to the United States, they attempted to establish similar programs. James

² William Booth, *Rules and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army*, (London: Headquarters of the Salvation Army, 1891), 231,232,261.

³ *The War Cry* was the weekly newspaper of the Salvation Army. It carried news on corps around the world as well as articles, songs, and other items that would aid the Salvationists in their activities.

⁴ Taiz, *Hallelujah Lads and Lasses*, 19.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 248, 260-261. The laws most often broken were ones created to limit the activities of the Salvation Army.

Jermy, a British immigrant was the first to bring Booth's ideas to the United States. In 1872 he settled in Cleveland, Ohio and soon created a program modeled on the Christian Mission. Jermy met with only limited success, and when he moved back to England a few years later, the work faltered and failed.⁶ Wanting to stymie this type of unofficial expansion, Booth kept the Salvation Army under close personal control, only naming trusted members, usually his children, to powerful positions in the organization. Thus when Eliza Shirley, a 17-year-old lieutenant, requested permission to move to the United States to join her father and open a branch in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Booth at first denied her request, believing she could be more useful in England. He eventually acceded to her pleas, agreed that she could use the name, the Salvation Army, in her work, and offered to send a set of officers to take over the work if it proved successful.⁷ By 1880, Eliza and her parents had managed to garner enough interest in their work that Booth felt it proper to introduce The Salvation Army officially to the United States.

In 1881, Booth sent George Scott Railton and a contingent of six female officers to declare war officially on the United States. Railton started in New York City, but soon found it exceedingly difficult to work there. Finding buildings large enough to hold meetings was difficult, and city officials were reluctant to allow the fledging organization to hold meetings on street corners. Railton threatened to move the Salvation Army out of New York if the city refused to help the organization, but the officials held their line. Faced with few options, Railton and his fellow officers left New York City and moved to Philadelphia where the

⁶ Edward H. McKinley, *Marching to Glory: The History of The Salvation Army in the United States, 1880-1980* 2nd Edition (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1980), 4.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

Shirleys had earlier laid the groundwork for the organization.⁸ With this inauspicious beginning, the Salvation Army formally introduced itself to the American public.

Despite this setback, the Salvation Army grew and slowly expanded into new communities. Unfortunately, this early period of the Salvation Army's history in the United States was marked by public distrust of its mission and methods, deep rifts in leadership between the American branch and headquarters in England, and a constantly shifting role for women in the organization. The first few years were extremely rough for the Salvationists, who spent most of their time preaching and looking for buildings to rent as meeting halls. Many people did not want to rent space to the Salvationists, and support was so thin that they really worked week to week, hoping to collect enough money to sustain their individual corps.⁹ When Railton returned to England in 1881 to take on other projects, the American officers lost a great leader and driving force. His replacement, Thomas Moore, would try to bring the Army a national presence, but instead only weakened its already delicate position.

One of the main problems facing the Salvation Army during its first years was its British heritage. Many Americans were wary of supporting a foreign institution to aid poor Americans and Booth was so distant from the American forces that they also felt slighted.¹⁰ In addition, each state had different laws concerning property owned by foreign citizens, so Moore became a naturalized citizen in order to claim the property as his for business purposes. At the same time, several of the corps in New Jersey began to consider incorporating as a way to keep the money they collected in their own hands instead of giving it to headquarters. Moore believed that the only way to solve the problem was to incorporate

⁸ Ibid., 19.

⁹ Ibid., 46-47.

¹⁰ Taiz, *Hallelujah Lads and Lasses*, 32-33.

the Salvation Army under New York state law. Booth adamantly opposed this because he wanted to keep the property and assets under his control. When Moore refused to listen to Booth and went forward with his plan to incorporate, Moore was forced out of the Army. Many of the Salvationists agreed with Moore and left to join his new organization.¹¹ Moore took the contested property in his name, leaving the Salvation Army with extremely little in the way of finances.

Attempting to recover from this blow, Booth sent Frank Smith, another of his trusted officers, to take control of the American territory. At this point Booth also placed the Pacific Coast Territory, founded separately in 1883, under the aegis of the American Territory, creating a unified national body. Booth also witnessed other changes to the Salvation Army in the United States. The official crest was altered to include an eagle, and American flags hung beside the Salvation Army's.¹² Booth was not pleased with these changes, as he feared patriotism among the ranks would lead to the destruction of the Salvation Army. He begrudgingly accepted the alterations only because they proved to be extremely popular with the American public. Frank Smith oversaw the beginning of these changes, but was shortly called back to England to take another position. The new commanding officers, Ballington and Maud Booth, William Booth's son and daughter-in-law, arrived in 1886, finished implementing these changes and adopted a new cause, the social programs of the Salvation Army.

¹¹ Ibid., 34. Moore's organization, the "Salvation Army of America" struggled for several years before being reunited with the original Salvation Army in 1889.

¹² Ibid., 35. Moore had registered the original crest and all other regalia when he incorporated the Salvation Army, necessitating the change to the crest. Americans, unexpectedly, found these changes to be patriotic, quickening the Salvation Army's acceptance in the United States.

Ballington and Maud Booth implemented two important aspects of the Salvation Army's work during their tenure. First, to facilitate fund-raising, they re-instituted the Auxiliary League, through which prominent citizens could support the work of the Salvation Army and not have to deal with the daily affairs of the organization. One of the Salvation Army's early programs, the Auxiliary League had floundered during the Moore affair. Maud Booth often spoke to women's groups and other social organizations to create support for this supplemental program. The program took off very quickly, and continued to prove successful under the Booths' leadership, gaining 6,000 members by 1896.¹³

Ballington and Maud Booth's second contribution was more controversial. Women had always been an important factor in the Salvation Army's work, thanks to Catherine Booth's activism in England. In the United States, however, the embattled organization had downplayed women's role during its early years. As it became more established, Maud Booth inaugurated her program for the "New Woman." This "woman warrior" was to be a leader and an important part of the Salvation Army's work. She was there in the street, helping women and children through the efforts of the "Slum Brigade" and opening corps across the nation.¹⁴ Maud Booth wrote columns in the *War Cry* speaking for female Salvationists, describing how they could handle the responsibilities of both family and work, and advocated that men should help in the homes as well.¹⁵ The woman warrior image of a

¹³ Ibid., 80.

¹⁴ The Slum Brigades was a program that required women to live in poor neighborhoods, assisting the residents and fighting the influences of alcohol.

¹⁵ Diane Winston, *Red-Hot and Righteous: The Urban Religion of the Salvation Army*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 84-85.

strong self-asserting female was not well received by many in American society because it clashed with societal expectations of women.¹⁶

Ballington and Maud were extremely successful leaders, but William Booth felt that his son and daughter-in-law were spending too much time campaigning and fundraising with the Auxiliary and not enough time actually leading the organization. William Booth also questioned their support of American patriotism among Salvationists.¹⁷ He called them back to England for reassignment, but they refused to go and in 1896 decided to leave the Salvation Army to create their own charitable organization, the Volunteers of America.¹⁸

Some wealthy backers and Salvationists followed Ballington and Maud, but the apparent rift in the organization was smoothed over by the introduction of the new territorial commanders, Frederick St. George de Lautour and Emma Booth-Tucker. Their tenure was marked by astounding growth in social programs of the Salvation Army and another shift in the role of women in the Salvation Army. The social welfare programs had been important to the Salvation Army's work but had not always been pushed to the forefront. Religious redemption had been the main force behind the organization's efforts, but the Salvationists found it easier to achieve this goal if they provided material assistance first. Frederick and Emma shared in this vision, and soon authorized the expansion of social welfare programs across the nation. Most notably, they organized the farm colonies to move people from cities to rural settings. Viewing urban settings as debilitating and difficult places to help the unemployed, the Salvation Army's created farm colonies where they could move families

¹⁶ Ibid., 81-82.

¹⁷ McKinley, *Marching to Glory*, 100-101.

¹⁸ Ibid., 102.

who needed a new start on life. Each of these, Fort Amity in Colorado, Fort Herrick in Ohio, and Fort Romie near Salinas, California, epitomized what the Salvation Army wanted to build across the nation. Unfortunately the colonies failed to meet the Salvation Army's expectations. Fort Romie was the only success as Fort Amity had problems with salinity in the soil and Fort Herrick was eventually turned in a "drying out home for inebriates".¹⁹ The Salvation Army eventually decided the Farm Colonies would not serve their intended purpose and expanded its social welfare programs in large cities instead.

Large cities were in great need of social services during this period as well. The depression of 1893 had destroyed the lives of many people. Businesses closed, jobs were lost and increasing numbers of individuals were in need of material assistance. The terrible times actually benefited the Salvation Army as it cared for more people and expanded their social programs to help them get back on their feet.

The greatest example of the expanded social programs was probably the employment ventures, which provided income and steady work for those who sought assistance. Men could chop wood at wood yards, make goods or sell them in large cities across the United States. These programs were geared mostly towards helping single men, as the organization already offered various forms of assistance to women and children. The ventures were adopted across the country, and some corps even experimented with them in rural places in an attempt to get men out of the cities. The programs created during 1890s and early 1900s helped solidify the Salvation Army's reputation as a charitable organization.

The Salvation Army's successes still did not help the organization come to any consensus on the role of women in its work. Maud Booth had advocated for "woman warriors," but her sister Emma Tucker-Booth personified the ideal of a softer female

¹⁹ Clark C. Spence, *The Salvation Army Farm Colonies*, (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1985), 75.

Salvationist. A mother of six, Emma argued that women should take a role in the Army's work as they were needed in Slum Brigades and other work projects, but she also urged that they not forget to tend to their homes and families. This new Salvationist was the "womanly woman," and she was more acceptable to American society than the woman warriors had been. "Unlike that aggressive, self-centered creature, the womanly woman embodied the domestic, feminine traits of wife, mother, and helpmate."²⁰ It was during this period as well, that Salvationist couples were placed in charge of corps around the country more often than single women. This change in the role of women led to greater public acceptance of their participation in the Salvation Army because they were seen tending to socially acceptable aims.

The tenure of Frederick and Emma was tragically cut short in 1903, when Emma, traveling home from the West Coast, died in a train wreck. Frederick, finding it difficult to care for his children and run the American Territory, left the post in 1904.²¹ Their replacement, Evangeline Booth, another of William Booth's children, received the appointment as territorial leader and carried on with the same line of programs and assistance that her sister and brother-in-law had until she was elected to the post of General of the Salvation Army in 1934.

Public distrust of the organization, disagreement between the leadership of the American branch and headquarters in England, and a constantly changing role for women in the organization marked the early period of the Salvation Army's history in the United States. Despite these difficulties, by the mid-1890's the Salvation Army had created a niche

²⁰ Winston, *Red-Hot and Righteous*, 111.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 121.

for itself as a successful urban charitable organization. Through continued efforts at aiding the poor and unemployed, the Salvation Army received support from Americans across the country, allowing them to expand their work and reach even greater numbers of those in need. While this overview highlights the concerns and efforts of the Salvation Army on a national scale, it was the work of individual Salvationists in communities across the United States that illustrates the hard work that was necessary to make the organization successful. The establishment of the Salvation Army in California illustrates the dedication and commitment of the Salvationists to accomplishing their goals.

The Salvation Army in California

In 1881, the San Francisco newspaper, *Alta California*, carried an article on the beginning work of the Salvation Army in New York and ended the piece by stating, "The work that is done by these amiable ruffians and their cohorts must be a good work, indeed. We do not know whether San Francisco shall ever rejoice in a Salvation Army, but we are quite sure that there is here some first-class material from which to manufacture Hosannahs."²² The author had no idea how quickly the Salvation Army would "open fire" upon San Francisco.

The Salvation Army would have expanded to California in time, but through fate or blind luck the organization appeared earlier than anyone could have expected. A group of gentlemen in Oakland, calling themselves the Pacific Coast Holiness Association, found a copy of the London *War Cry*, decided that the platform offered in the periodical was similar

²² "The Salvation Army," *Alta California* (San Francisco), 27 July 1881, p. 2.

"Hosannah" is the term used by the article author to refer to people converted to the Salvation Army.

to their own, and adopted "The Salvation Army" as the new title of their organization in the summer of 1882.²³ They continued their programs, but found San Francisco a difficult place to work. Once active followers began leaving the group, and by the summer of 1883 the original forty were down to thirteen. George Newton, the leader of the small group, offered the leadership of their organization to William Booth to keep it from closing. Booth, believing the time was right, consented and sent Alfred Wells to take command of the Pacific Coast.²⁴

To Booth this could only have seemed a swift coup. By assimilating the PCHA, he both expanded the domain of his organization and stemmed what he feared most, the nationalistic tendencies of overseas officers. Booth created the Pacific Coast Territory as a separate territory, having it report directly to the International Headquarters in England and not the American Headquarters in New York.²⁵ Booth strongly opposed creating a national identity for the organization in the United States because he feared it would encourage it to break away from his control. He only consented to creating an all-encompassing American branch after Frank Smith took over as Commander of the American Territory in 1884.²⁶ Beginning in Oakland, the Salvation Army now began to spread its work across California.

The title of Pacific Coast Territory was really a misnomer since the Salvation Army rarely ventured outside of the Bay Area during its early years. Mostly because the organization lacked the necessary personnel and finances, the corps were mostly located in

²³ Edward H. McKinley, *Marching to Glory: The History of The Salvation Army in the United States, 1880-1992*, 2d ed. (Cambridge: Williams B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1995), 25.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 26-27.

²⁵ Taiz, *Hallelujah Lads and Lasses*, 189.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 37.

large urban centers, such as San Francisco, Oakland and San Jose. They created a *War Cry* of their own, which appeared weekly. As they continued their work, converts turned into officers, and the ranks began to swell. Many of these early members went on to become nationally recognized heroes in the Salvation Army. One of these notable members was Joseph Garabed, an Armenian man who joined and served as a doorman for one of the San Francisco corps before becoming an officer. Garabed later adopted the name Joe the Turk and became possibly the most well known American Salvationist.²⁷ Marching from town to town and eventually undertaking nationwide tours, Joe the Turk challenged city laws that banned the Salvation Army from carrying out its activities. After being arrested in these situations, he would appear before a judge and get the unfavorable law overturned or at least bring sympathetic attention to the Salvation Army by spending a few nights in jail.

While Garabed became a nationally recognized figure in the organization, most soldiers were not individually recognized. They came from different backgrounds and joined the Salvation Army for different reasons. As Lillian Taiz noted, “the Salvation Army drew most of its membership from the working class,” but “the group also attracted much smaller numbers of middle class men and women.”²⁸

Life was also difficult for as the organization offered little security. Soldiers were often sent far distances to serve in new corps. Men and women were routinely moved from corps to corps, and even coast to coast. As soldiers were sent to California and converts were made, the ranks of officers and supporters began to swell and the Salvationists began to spread their message across the state.

²⁷ McKinley, *Marching to Glory*, 28.

²⁸ Taiz, *Hallelujah Lads and Lasses*, 6.

Since the Salvationists were predominantly centered in the Bay Area, they often chose large nearby communities as their first targets for expansion. San Jose and San Francisco were approached by the Salvationists as early posts, but the Salvationists had larger goals for California. As the Salvation Army began to spread throughout the state, the Salvationists developed a series of programs to help reach out to smaller communities.

These more rural areas were important to the cause of the Salvation Army because they housed future financial supporters, converts and officers. These towns often had different societal structures than the large cities, so the Salvationists used traveling programs to test these areas to see if they were sympathetic to the Salvation Army's work.

One of their more ingenious ways of spreading their message was aboard their ship, *Theodora*. This "small cruiser" made its maiden voyage up the Sacramento River in 1893.²⁹ The Salvationists stopped in cities such as Sacramento, Colusa, and Meridian, and having established agents in "nearly every small town on the Sacramento river" deemed the trip a success.³⁰ While it is difficult to gauge how successful these river trips were in the long run, it is important to note that the Salvationists were inventive in trying to spread their work across California.

To spread their message to areas inaccessible by water, the Salvationists created the Cavalry Cavalcade. This program, introduced in 1892 by Major Kyle, was designed as a summer effort and entailed long tours of the countryside. The goal was to, "visit towns not occupied by the Army, and thus not only reach people's souls and remove prejudice, but

²⁹ Captain McFee, "The Army Cruiser "Theodora" and her First Trip," *The Conqueror* (New York), December 1893, p. 466.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 468.

pave the way for opening these places.”³¹ “Opening a place” was the term used for establishing a barracks or corps, which was the main goal. Some areas, however, remained too sparsely populated to have corps, and the “Outriders” were the Army’s solution to this problem. This program called for two or more officers to evangelize a “tract of country of 100 miles in circumference” about once a week, holding meetings in several locations.³² Intent on spreading their work across California, the Salvationists persisted in finding ways of reaching all parts of the state.

Their most direct route in reaching out to a community was to “fire upon” it, moving in swiftly and setting up a corps in the hopes of quickly winning over the citizens. As the base of operations for the Salvation Army was now in San Francisco, outlying Bay Area towns were first taken under siege. It was this type of expansion that first brought the Salvation Army to Petaluma in 1888.³³

³¹ Major Kyle, “Pacific Coast,” *The Conqueror*, June 1892, p. 154.

³² “Lessons From California,” *All The World*, October 1897, p. 458.

³³ *Salvation Army Commanding Officer List: Petaluma* The list notes that the garrison was opened sometime early in 1888.

Chapter 3

First Impressions: The Salvation Army in Petaluma

As the Salvation Army advanced upon Northern California, the first places “fired upon” were the small towns and cities surrounding San Francisco Bay. These areas were more feasible for the organization to work in as they required fewer resources and could communicate with headquarters more easily than rural areas. When the Salvation Army decided to expand north to Sonoma County, the territorial leaders looked no further than Petaluma, California.

A small city on the Petaluma River approximately 40 miles north of San Francisco, Petaluma was primarily known as a port for exporting local agricultural goods down to the Bay Area cities. Settled mostly by Northeastern merchant families, the town did not have the strong manufacturing base that Lillian Taiz points to as a key to success for the Salvation Army.¹ It was however the most modernized town in Sonoma County. While Santa Rosa may have been the County seat, Petaluma was the first to establish a public high school, electric street lights, and regular telephone service.² Petaluma also became the “Egg Basket of the World” after Lyman Byce introduced his egg incubators in the 1870’s, furthering its role as the county’s commercial center.³ The Salvationists probably chose Petaluma as their starting point in the county because it was the economic center for the region. It had a population of approximately 3,600, offered the most urban traits of any community in the

¹ Lillian Taiz, *Hallelujah Lads and Lasses: Remaking the Salvation Army in America, 1880-1930*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 23.

² Gaye LeBaron, Dee Blackman, Joann Mitchell and Harvey Hansen, *Santa Rosa: A Nineteenth Century Town*, (Santa Rosa: Historia Ltd., 1985), 126, 133, 168.

³ *Ibid.*, 74.

region, and it was the easiest to access, thanks to the navigable Petaluma River.⁴ It was here that the Salvation Army would make its first mark on Sonoma County.

In Petaluma, the Salvationists hoped to accomplish three goals. They knew that with a smaller population they could not carry out the same work as their brethren in the larger cities. Their goal in smaller communities like Petaluma was to find prospective officers, financial supporters and converts. In the process, they would also preach on the sins of alcohol and prostitution as they did elsewhere. Moreover, the Salvationists hoped to recruit female officers since historically many hailed from small towns like Petaluma.⁵

Through their sales of the *War Cry* and the collection of donations at meetings, the Salvationists raised money to support their local corps and sent extra earnings to headquarters. Fundraising was important, but their daily activities formed the crux of the Salvationists' work. In Petaluma, the Salvationists held a variety of programs for the public, including parades, singing, street corner meetings, and religious meetings. Their religious meetings and activities were designed to attract attention in the hopes of making converts and removing the sins of debauchery and liquor in the community. Many in the community however, were not pleased with these plans. In particular shop owners, tavern proprietors and owners of brothels found the Salvation Army's activities bad for business. Moreover, the men who frequented those establishments would have been angered by the Salvationists' attempts to disrupt their habits while city leaders and newspaper editors found the Salvation

⁴ *California Blue Book, or State Roster, 1891*, (Sacramento: State of California, 1891), 77. The 1890 census listed Petaluma's population at 3,652.

⁵ Diane Winston, *Red-Hot and Righteous: The Urban Religion of the Salvation Army*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 80.

Army to be a public nuisance. Finally, some individuals joined in the opposition for no other reason than to cause trouble.⁶

Faced with this opposition, the Salvationists tried stand their ground and fight to keep their small foothold in Sonoma County. Their efforts, though, were occasionally overenthusiastic and broke the guidelines set out for them by William Booth. The Salvationists' decision to disregard these guidelines would greatly hamper their efforts in Petaluma and exacerbated some of their serious problems.

No records survive from the Petaluma Salvationists themselves, but their reports to San Francisco Headquarters often appeared in the Pacific Coast Edition of the *War Cry*. Their first recorded report noted that they were doing well in the city and that "Petaluma people are very kind to the Army and they believe that it is doing a good work."⁷ This initial period may have been successful for the Salvationists as they were new to the community, but the community that welcomed them soon grew wary of the Salvationists and their practices and eventually tried to drive them from town.

Petalumans quickly took offense to the Salvation Army presence, asserting foremost that they did not need it. The *Petaluma Courier* provided the first local report of Salvation Army activities, noting that their female captain "had taken her departure for some place more wicked than Petaluma, presumably Santa Rosa."⁸ The statement shows that the newspaper's editors did not believe the town needed salvation. The belief that the

⁶ This is not to say that all of Petaluma was opposed to the Salvation Army. Churches and church leaders seemed ambivalent to the organizations presence, and there were citizens who openly supported the Salvationists.

⁷ Lieutenant C. Oates, "From the Front: Petaluma," *The War Cry: Pacific Coast Edition*, (San Francisco) 1 May 1888, p. 6.

⁸ "Courierlets," *Petaluma Courier*, 18 July 1888, p. 3.

Salvationists were not needed grew in Petaluma, and the following months illustrate the increased tensions between the Salvationists and the community.

The first glimpse of this divisiveness can be seen in a report from August when the Salvationists stated that Petalumans avoided buying the *War Cry*.⁹ This would have been of great concern to the Salvationists as they needed income from paper sales to continue their work. Their report just a month later displayed increased bitterness on the part of the Petalumans and motives for their negative reaction. The citizens not only refused to buy the *War Cry*, but now berated the Salvationists when they tried to sell it door-to-door. The Salvationists stated that the citizens called them beggars and too lazy to work while the saloon owners protested that their preaching was hurting "good honest business."¹⁰ These remarks were probably in response to the Salvationists' agenda of temperance and aid to prostitutes, in addition to their other goals. So far the Salvationists had been unsuccessful with two of their objectives. They could not sell the *War Cry* to sustain themselves, and they were clashing with citizens over their advocacy of temperance. This situation continued to intensify until the end of October, when a series of riotous nights severely damaged the position of the Salvation Army in Petaluma.

On the evening of October 28, 1888, while the Salvation Army was marching in Petaluma, the group was unexpectedly attacked with a "fusilade of rotten eggs, tomatoes, potatoes and bombs," sending the Salvationists to their barracks for cover.¹¹ The next day was no better for the Army as "contrary to expectations, [the Salvation Army] again appeared

⁹ Lieut. Clark, "From the Front: Petaluma," *The War Cry: Pacific Coast Edition*, 15 August 1888, p. 6.

¹⁰ Captain Stephenson and Cadet Hansen, "From the Front: Petaluma," *The War Cry: Pacific Coast Edition*, 15 September 1888, p. 6.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

on Main street...and was immediately surrounded by hundreds of men and boys, and pelted with rotten eggs and tomatoes."¹² The local police became involved, allowing only "soldiers" into the barracks, but merchants were already preparing for the next night by setting out boxes of rotten eggs.¹³

The Salvationists may have been shocked by the attack, but the community was well prepared to continue the fight. While the citizens' anger towards this bunch of "unemployed beggars" was the basis of the furor, the *Daily Republican* stated that the spark was that "they have been the cause of one young girl of this city running away and one married woman becoming insane and having to be sent to Napa."¹⁴ These women had probably been approached by the Salvationists in an attempt to convert them or to offer them the opportunity to become officers in the organization. The Army was offering these women the chance at careers and lives outside of Petaluma that normally would have been unattainable. This apparently angered many in the community, who took to the streets in protest.

In "Petaluma's Disgrace," the *Petaluma Courier* provided a brief description of the previous day's activities and, like the *Daily Republican*, blamed the whole affair on "a statement that the Salvationists had endeavored to entice young girls from their homes in this city (in one case succeeding) and that they had broken up one or two families."¹⁵ The paper deplored the actions of both sides:

We are not making the Army's fight, for their music is anything but pleasing to the ear, and their methods of worship are not according to our notions, but

¹² "The Petaluma War," *Daily Republican*, 30 October 1888, p. 1.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ "The Salvation Army: Its Members Receive Rough Treatment at Petaluma," *Daily Republican* (Santa Rosa, California) 29 October 1888, p. 1.

¹⁵ "Petaluma's Disgrace," *The Petaluma Courier*, 31 October 1888, p. 3.

we must deprecate mob law and violence to rid our streets of their presence. According to our laws they have a perfect right to parade the streets and worship God as they see fit, and it is the duty of the police to protect them while so doing... The effect of such a demonstration as that of last night is demoralizing and disgraceful in the extreme and reflects no credit on our police force, whose duty it was to have suppressed it.¹⁶

The article finished with a suggestion that the authorities should look into creating a special law that would ban parading without a permit like many Eastern cities.¹⁷ The paper editor disapproved of the Salvation Army, but appealing to democratic notions, felt that getting rid of them through legal means would be a much wiser route.

The battle continued despite the *Courier's* call for an end to the disgraceful behavior. The citizenry kept verbally harassing the Salvationists as they paraded, but the fusillade had ended as the police marshal was now marching with them.¹⁸ The *Petaluma Weekly Argus* claimed that "this nonsense has gone far enough, now let it be stopped before it leads to serious trouble and the disgrace of our town."¹⁹ It is unclear when the hostilities ended, but a few days later the *Argus* gave notice that "The member of the Salvation Army who was hit with a stone sometime since in this city, has lost one of his eyes, and the other is so badly inflamed that it is feared he will be totally blind."²⁰ The assault had ended, but the Salvationists' version of the events was not recorded until November 15.

The Salvationists put a more positive spin on the affair, reporting that,

A plot was arranged to drive the S.A. out of town. The devil's agents made a contribution of one dollar each for the hoodlums to buy eggs and fire-

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ "Riotous Conduct," *Petaluma Weekly Argus*, 3 November 1888, p. 3.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Untitled, *Petaluma Weekly Argus*, 10 November 1888, p. 3.

crackers. At 7:30 P.M. all on the march playing "Room for Jesus." The devil blew his horn and made his first attack on us from a Saloon door with a shower of eggs... We returned to and had a good meeting. The next night two Christian ladies volunteered to march with us, going down Main street singing, "Glory is His name." Showers of eggs, tomatoes, and rocks followed. Our drum head was smashed and Captain Tonkins' mouth hurt. Home once more we had a lively meeting... the official came to see us (five of them) and asked us to stay in until Nov. 6. We consented and they promised protection.²¹

While the Salvationists were obviously displeased with the attacks, but they saw it more as a trial by fire. The Salvationists expected a "trial by fire," a period of undetermined length of hostility and anger, when entering communities. New communities were usually unfamiliar with the Salvation Army's beliefs and practices, and often responded with anger. Petaluma reacted so quickly and with such ferocity that the Salvationists were forced into a corner. The injuries to the unnamed Salvationist and Captain Tonkins probably instilled fears of greater reprisal among the Salvationists, but they did not leave. The Salvationists believed that it would take time to win over the town and took pleasure in the fact that some people were on their side, aiding them in their time of need. While they enjoyed these small victories, further difficulties lay ahead for the Salvationists as the city politicians were about to become more involved with the Salvation Army's activities.

Taking the advice that the *Petaluma Courier* offered, the Board of Trustees of Petaluma, in December of 1888, drafted Ordinance 56, which appeared to put an end to the Salvation Army's lively activities. Ordinance 56 was made up of four sections: the first two detailed the criminal offenses it was designed to stop, and the second two stated the punishment. Section One stated that it was now "unlawful for any organized body of persons to march in procession through the public streets of the City of Petaluma, without having first

²¹ Captain Tonkins, Lieut. Deninger and Cadet Turnbull, "From the Front: Petaluma," *The War Cry: Pacific Coast Edition*, 15 November 1888, p. 6.

obtained a permit from the President of the Board of Trustees of said city, or the City Marshall," while Section Two noted that streets and sidewalks could not be blocked by groups without a permit.²²

Some community members immediately assumed the ordinance had been created to keep the Salvationists off the streets and put an end to their activities.

The *Petaluma Courier* summed up the argument nicely when it remarked,

This ordinance is aimed at the suppression of the Salvation Army parades which have caused so much disgraceful disturbance and mob violence in the city during the past month. The idea is that 'the army' will apply for a permit and will be refused on the ground that its parades tend to disturb the public peace.²³

The article continued with excerpts from a conversation with the chief officer of the Salvation Army about the new ordinance in which he commented,

We shall at once apply for a permit, and if refused, we shall continue to parade as usual. It is the Lord's will that we should go into the highways and byways, and though we do not desire trouble with the authorities, we will fill your jails before we will turn back from our work.²⁴

Despite the possibility of no parades and an end to the corps, the Salvationists decided to stay on and see what would come. Luckily for the Salvationists the intentions of the Board of Trustees were far different than the expectations of *Courier* and the community.

The Board of Trustees decided that the best way to end the hostilities was to stop the protestors and not the Salvationists. On December 15, the *War Cry* carried a story on the passing of Ordinance 56 and had positive things to say about it. The article noted that the Salvationists indeed submitted an application for a permit and that they had received one

²² "Ordinance 56," *The Petaluma Courier*, 21 November 1888, p. 2.

²³ "Sturdy Salvationists," *The Petaluma Courier*, 21, November 1888, p. 2.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

with assurances from the President of Trustees that the ordinance “was not passed to stop the army from parading, but to check the hoodlums from disturbing them.”²⁵ While the protestors and newspapers were hoping for a way to stop the Salvationists, the trustees were more interested in putting an end to rioting; if the Salvationists ever became uncontrollable, the city always held the right to revoke their permit. The Salvation Army was now free to carry on their activities. This was the Salvationists first large victory in Petaluma, but it came at a price. They were allowed to continue marching only because of the Board’s decision. They had still not yet won over the citizens.

The following year was extremely quiet for the Salvationists. The local papers rarely mentioned them until the end of 1889, and the *War Cry* did not feature news on them until January of 1890. This calm ended in December of 1889 when the Salvation Army again made front page news.

The quiet year, and indeed the Salvation Army’s existence in Petaluma, depended on the good graces of the Board of Trustees. They had gone against public opinion in allowing the Salvationists to march, but they too had limits to what they could stand. The Board of Trustees had allowed the Salvationists to parade free of persecution, but the inclusion of a bass drum in the festivities was apparently too much. On December 14, 1889, the City Marshal informed the Salvationists that drums were not allowed while parading because it violated city ordinance 56.²⁶ The Salvationists stopped their drumming, and the next day went to read the ordinance that they had supposedly broken. After checking Ordinance 56 and seeing that there was no mention of drums in the statute, they decided to use the drum

²⁵ “Legal Conflicts: Ordinance No. 56,” *The War Cry: Pacific Coast Edition*, 15 December 1888, p. 4.

²⁶ “Petaluma,” *The War Cry: Pacific Coast Edition*, 11 January 1890, p. 3.

when they marched again. The next day they received an official notice from George F. Allen, the Board President who had given them their permit the year before, stating that if they did not cease using the drum while marching their permit would be revoked.²⁷

Regardless of the notice, their next march featured the disputed bass drum, and on December 17, the city notified the Salvation Army that their permit to parade had been revoked. The Salvationists, in return, notified the Marshal that they would continue to march with the drum, "submit to arrest and fight the ordinance in court."²⁸ That evening they began parading with their drum, and following what the Salvationists describe as a rough arrest, Captain Rees and Lieutenant Jasper were charged with breaking Ordinance 56: parading without a permit. The next day the two men were brought before the Recorder's Court of Petaluma and faced two counts, violation of Ordinance 56 and, to their surprise, resisting arrest.²⁹ They were found guilty and sentenced either to pay a \$40.00 fine or to spend 20 days in the city prison. Following standard Salvation Army practice, the two Salvationists choose jail time, but finding the condition of the cells to be unbearable, they decided to submit a writ of habeas corpus and ask to be released on bail.³⁰ The weather was particularly fierce, but some friends of the Salvationists made their way to Santa Rosa to deliver the writ to Superior Court Judge Pressley. Pressley consented to hear the writ and released Rees and

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ "Habeas Corpus: An Episode of the Petaluma Trouble," *The War Cry: Pacific Coast Edition*, 11 January 1890, p. 3.

Jasper on bail.³¹ They were free for the moment, but now they had to argue not their innocence but the illegality of Ordinance 56.

This case was extremely important for both sides. A finding for the city would effectively end the Salvation Army's work in Petaluma and any other town in Sonoma County that wished to keep them out. A finding for the Salvationists could strengthen their position. On January 25, 1890, the *Sonoma Democrat* demonstrated the case's importance by carrying Judge Pressley's decision on the front page. In his opinion, which the *Democrat* printed in full, Pressley struck down the first section of Ordinance 56 stating that,

The laws of this State give people the right to use public highways for all lawful purposes. The public have an easement in such ways. This right may be exercised by any of the public, and at any time; the only restriction being that it must be done in such manner as not to interfere unreasonably with the exercise of the same right by others. Even a temporary obstruction, one which prevents for a limited period of time the passage of others is not always an unlawful or unreasonable use...

Here we have an ordinance making it unlawful for any organized body of persons to march through the public streets of Petaluma, without having first obtained permission from the President of the Board of Trustees of said city, or the City Marshal.

It matters not, under the ordinance, what may be the purposes of the persons so marching, whether they obstruct the streets to the inconvenience of others, or whether they proceed in the most orderly manner; whether they carry flags, torches, or transparencies; whether they are accompanied by a band of music; whether they sing, shout, hoot, or proceed in solemn silence; the offense is marching in procession. A funeral procession; organized by an undertaker, a disorderly band, a military parade, and a political demonstration are all equally forbidden...

I am of the opinion that the City Board has no authority to pass an ordinance forbidding acts attempted to be made unlawful by the first section, and making those acts *alone* a misdemeanor.³²

³¹ Ibid.

³² "The Salvation Army Case," *Sonoma Democrat*, 25 January 1890, p. 1.

Judge Pressley concluded by stating that he was not setting precedent with this case since the Supreme Courts of Michigan and Kansas had both struck down similar laws.³³ Pressley's decision called attention to the fact that the Board of Trustees had overstepped its bounds when they created the ordinance. The Trustees had no power to ban indiscriminately all types of procession without their express approval. Pressley's judgment overturned the first section of Ordinance 56 and gave the Salvation Army its second victory in the town.

The Salvationists had defeated the Petaluma authorities. With the court case over, they could now attempt to resume their normal activities. The *Daily Republican* even noted that the Salvation Army contemplated a huge parade to celebrate their victory over the ordinance.³⁴ Yet, the victory was short-lived. Just a few months later, two Salvationists were convicted for "obstructing the sidewalk," violating section two of Ordinance 56.³⁵ The tenuous relationship between the Salvationists and people of Petaluma never healed after the riots of 1888, and even though there was relative peace the following year, the court case over Ordinance 56 illustrates how divisive the Salvation Army's efforts were in Petaluma. After the subsequent arrest in May, the Salvationists saw that there was little hope of successfully working in Petaluma, and in September of 1890, believing their resources could be put to better use elsewhere, the Salvation Army closed the Petaluma garrison.

The Salvation Army found in Petaluma a community that was largely opposed to their message and their presence. Trying to raise money, save souls, and find future officers, the Salvationists incurred the wrath of the citizenry and were ultimately driven from town for

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ "Local Intelligence: Numerous Notes Collected From Many Sources," *Daily Republican*, 27 January 1890, p. 4.

³⁵ "Local Brevities," *Sonoma Democrat* 17 May 1890, p. 3.

their efforts. The Salvationists tried hard to accomplish these goals, but exerted such force in pushing their agenda that they overstepped the rules and regulations set down for them by William Booth, and in the process alienated the citizens. Booth had prepared his soldiers to expect persecution and to “fight cautiously,” but had warned them against bringing negative attention to themselves.³⁶ Booth cautioned that co-operation with the police and local government was important as they would provide protection. He added that when riots took place the officers were to “comply with the requests of the authorities and discontinue whatever practice that is agitating.”³⁷ The actions of the Salvationists in Petaluma flew in the face of these directives. When the riots took place in 1888, the Salvationists continued to march in the streets, against the will of the community, and only agreed to stop after several days. The disagreement over the bass drum also illustrates the unwillingness of the Salvationists to work with the community. While the Salvationists were overzealous in their attempts to work in Petaluma, other factors also played a role in their demise.

The ways in which the Salvationists attempted to carry out their message, marching and singing, were not accepted by many citizens in Petaluma. Marching through the streets of Petaluma, singing loudly as they made their way, the Salvationists used methods that worked very well in large urban centers like New York and San Francisco, but were not adaptable to smaller towns. The *Petaluma Courier* even described the Salvationists’ music as unappealing.³⁸ Band music might attract the attention of the poor and unemployed in large cities, but it was wholly unsuited for small towns like Petaluma. By forcing this type of

³⁶ William Booth, *Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army*, (London: Headquarters of the Salvation Army, 1891), 248-249, 261.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 260, 263.

³⁸ “Petaluma’s Disgrace,” *The Petaluma Courier*, 31 October 1888, p. 3.

street evangelical mission upon Petaluma, the Salvationists only further distanced themselves from the community.

When the Salvationists left Petaluma in 1890, their efforts could be called a failure. They had spent two unsuccessful years in Petaluma and had very little to show for all their work. The citizens of Petaluma were not interested in becoming financial supporters of the organization, few people wanted to be saved by the Salvation Army and the community in general was opposed to the Salvationists' attempts at luring their daughters into serving as Salvation Army officers. Their methods were not supported because the community did not appreciate marching and singing, and the Salvationists themselves pushed so hard to get their way in Petaluma that they alienated the town. All of their efforts antagonized the citizens of Petaluma and in the end, the only option left for the Salvationists was to close the barracks and leave.

The efforts of the Salvation Army in Petaluma ended in a defeat for the organization, but the Salvationists were determined to establish a permanent corps in Sonoma County. Seeing that their efforts in Petaluma were for naught, the Salvationists opened a corps in Santa Rosa early in 1890, hoping that a fresh start in a new town would produce better results.

Chapter 4

Building Support: The Salvation Army in Santa Rosa

Petaluma had not been the welcoming town the Salvationists had hoped when they ventured into Sonoma County. The community had not been receptive, and the city officials made it so difficult for them to carry out their activities that the Salvationists left town after only two years. The experience, though, was not a complete loss. Santa Rosa, a town fifteen miles north, offered the Salvation Army another opportunity to grasp a foothold in the county. The Santa Rosa corps, opened just a few months before Petaluma closed, would experience similar forms of harassment, but also enjoy great success.

When the Salvation Army first came to Sonoma County in 1888, Santa Rosa and Petaluma could not have been more different. The citizens of Petaluma disliked Santa Rosa because it was the county seat and housed a vocal community of confederate sympathizers while the people of Santa Rosa disliked Petaluma because its modernization and wealth made the title of County Seat seem unfitting for their more rural town. By the time the Salvationists decided to establish a corps in Santa Rosa in 1890, however, the city had developed more modern characteristics. With a population of 5,042, the city was connected by railways to the Bay Area, and was as modern as Petaluma, although it lacked regular telephone service until 1902.¹

Santa Rosa had also become the center of education in the county. By 1890, it housed two colleges, Pacific Methodist College and Christian College run by the Disciples of

¹ *California Blue Book, or State Roster, 1891* (Sacramento: State of California, 1891), 77. The 1890 census listed Santa Rosa's population at 5,042.

Gaye LeBaron, Dee Blackman, Joann Mitchell, and Harvey Hansen, *Santa Rosa: A Nineteenth Century Town* (Santa Rosa, California: Historia Ltd., 1985), 133.

Christ.² The presence of the schools highlights the importance of religion in Santa Rosa during this period. Methodists, Baptists, Roman Catholics, Disciples of Christ, Episcopalians and members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints all preceded the introduction of the Salvation Army to Santa Rosa.³ The city was also home to a Christian Church, a Seventh Day Adventist Church and a Holiness Church.⁴ Santa Rosa had also already seen the spectacle of religious excitement and histrionics as Thomas Lake Harris and his Brotherhood of the New Life resided near Santa Rosa at Fountaingrove.⁵ Santa Rosans had experience with different denominations and religious communities, but they were still not prepared for the Salvation Army.

In Santa Rosa, the Salvationists wanted to accomplish the goals that had eluded them in Petaluma. They sought to recruit new members who might serve as officers, locate supporters who would help fund their work, and evangelize those in need of spiritual guidance. With these goals in mind, the Salvation Army fired upon Santa Rosa.

In February of 1890, the *Sonoma Democrat* announced the Salvation Army's impending appearance with a one sentence note, "The Salvation Army is talking of building

² Ibid., 172, 173.

³ Ibid., 156-165.

⁴ *Gorman's Santa Rosa Directory For 1887: containing the names of Residents of Santa Rosa, to which is added the names of resident landowners in Sonoma County, with the number of acres and postoffice address*, (Santa Rosa: Thomas Gorman, 1887), 23.

Petaluma only housed ten churches in 1895 compared to Santa Rosa's twelve by 1890.

N.W. Scudder, ed., *Scudder's Petaluma City Directory for 1895 vol. 1*, (Petaluma: N.W. Scudder, 1895), 47-48.

⁵ Harvey J. Hansen and Jeanne Thurlow Miller, *Wild Oats in Eden: Sonoma County in the 19th Century*, (Santa Rosa, California: Harvey J. Hansen and Jeanne Thurlow Miller, 1962), 104.

Thomas Lake Harris was the leader of the Brotherhood of New Life. He had moved the group from New York to Santa Rosa, but questions about their activities and practices hounded them. A female newspaper reporter had been investigating the Brotherhood of New Life, and printed her expose in *The Chronicle*. At the time the Salvationists moved into town, Harris was still dealing with her accusations of adultery and fraud.

a church and establishing a permanent headquarters here.”⁶ The citizens of Santa Rosa already knew about the Salvation Army, but had not yet fully experienced it. The local papers had printed articles on their work in Petaluma, and in 1889 the Charioteers, one of the Salvation Army’s traveling summer programs, visited for an open-air meeting.⁷ Camp meetings had been popular in town since 1851, so this activity would have appealed to the people’s religious sensibilities.⁸ These small glimpses of the Salvation Army, however, would not prepare the community for the organization’s everyday work. When the Salvationists came to Santa Rosa, looking to escape the hardships in Petaluma, they found another skeptical community.

The Salvationists experienced many forms of harassment in Santa Rosa, and most were similar to those in Petaluma. While Santa Rosa was never the scene of riots or violent actions against the Salvation Army, the Salvationists still had problems with the civil authorities, newspapers and angry citizens. The city leaders were mostly interested in stopping the processions and activities, but the newspapers were concerned with the social aspects of the Salvation Army’s work. Troublemakers and hoodlums tried to disrupt Salvation Army meetings, while most people did not seem opposed to the Salvation Army’s presence. On March 17, 1890, the *Sonoma Democrat* ran two articles on the Salvationists and their most recent run-ins with the local police. Titled, “He Moved Them” and “Will Have To Move,” the articles described City Marshall Charles’ policy of arresting the Salvationists

⁶ “Local Brevities,” *Sonoma Democrat*, 22 February 1890, p. 3.

⁷ LeBaron, *Santa Rosa*, 162.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 156.

when they blocked sidewalks.⁹ The Salvation Army also caused problems with the city government when one of their parades interrupted a City Council meeting,

While in the midst of reading the minutes, the Salvation Army marched along Hinton avenue and created such a din that Clerk Jordan's voice could not be heard. The reading was not resumed until after the Army had moved to the next block.¹⁰

While most of their early confrontations dealt with the local authorities, the Salvationists also faced a few troublesome citizens. For example, as officials complained about obstructed sidewalks, one citizen decided to harass the Salvationists during one of their meetings,

Captain Jasper had a hoodlum arrested for raising a disturbance in the S.A. barrack at Santa Rosa. A jury of twelve men was impaneled, and after two Christians who were discovered to be among the number were excused, the remaining ten tried the case and acquitted the culprit.¹¹

The problem was exacerbated when the "hoodlum" struck back,

The hoodlum had the captain arrested the next night on a charge of assault, and employed a lawyer to help prosecute him. The outcome of the matter was that the captain was fined \$10, with the alternative of ten days' imprisonment.¹²

Captain Jasper chose the jail time for his sentence, but in the end made it worthwhile by converting three of the other inmates.¹³ This instance may have had a positive ending, but it shows that the Salvationists were at odds with the city authorities as well as a few citizens.

⁹ "He Moved Them," "Will Have Them Arrested," *Sonoma Democrat*, 17 May 1890, p. 1.

¹⁰ "The City Council: A Variety of Business Transacted Tuesday Evening," *Sonoma Democrat*, 17 May 1890, p. 3.

¹¹ "Odds and Ends: Jasper Jailed," *The War Cry: Pacific Coast Edition*, 22 March 1890, p. 3.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

The disappearance of Mrs. Annie Fish highlights this and also illustrates some of reasons the Salvationists were disliked in Santa Rosa.

The newspaper editors in Santa Rosa were concerned with the social implications of the Salvation Army in their community and informed the public of their opinions through the *Sonoma Democrat*. The Salvationists seemed to be enticing women to join the organization, upsetting the social relations of the community. The paper reflected this concern when it reported on the disappearance of Annie Fish. On March 26, 1892, the paper carried a story titled "A Mysterious Disappearance."

The mysterious disappearance of Mrs. Annie Fish, who has not been seen or heard from for nine days...a week ago Saturday Mrs. Fish joined the Salvation Army and was baptised by immersion in the creek below this city. Since that time no traces of her have been found. The most natural fear is that she had become demented through religious fervor and drowned herself in the creek.¹⁴

The article noted that Mrs. Fish's room had not been occupied for several days and emphasized that she and her husband were living separately at the time of the disappearance. In what might seem a peculiar leap of logic, it concluded that she might have decided to attend "the Salvation Army School of Instruction without saying any thing to her friends or associates, expecting to return in a few weeks and surprise them with the extent of the spiritual inspiration and evangelical finish there acquired."¹⁵

The tale of Annie Fish tells us far more about the editor's attitude towards the Salvation Army than about the facts, as the author apparently manufactured the Salvation Army connection. A week later, a follow up article simply stated that "Mrs. Annie Fish, whose mysterious disappearance caused somewhat of a sensation, has been found. Her

¹⁴ "A Mysterious Disappearance," *Sonoma Democrat*, 26 March 1892, p. 1.

¹⁵ Ibid.

Brother-in-Law, E.P. Wright, received a letter from the absent lady Friday, stating that she was in [San] Francisco on business.”¹⁶ This “sensation” seems to have been created by the way the paper covered the story rather than by the facts. By noting that Mrs. Fish lived separately from her husband, the paper illustrated that she flaunted social decorum, and her supposed ties to the Salvation Army were an attempt to make the organization look worse. The editors of the *Sonoma Democrat* held the opinion that the Salvation Army was still subverting women or attracting the socially unacceptable ones and spread this to the public as truth.

Luckily for the Salvationists, this was one difficulty that they would not have to revisit. While the *Sonoma Democrat* may have been dismayed at the role of women in the Salvation Army, the issue did not lead to mass protests in Santa Rosa. In fact, women had been joining the organization since it had first appeared in town.¹⁷ Santa Rosa would see many women serve in its corps, but their presence would never spark violence as it did in Petaluma. While the role of women would not create trouble for the Salvationists in Santa Rosa, they still had to contend with other problems.

This early period in Santa Rosa was difficult for the Salvation Army as both the city officials and the newspapers were unhappy with their presence. Whereas in Petaluma the Salvationists had forced themselves upon the town, this time the Salvation Army reached out to the community. Hoping that participation, instead of agitation, would lead to acceptance, the Salvationists tried to take part in community activities. As a result, the Salvationists

¹⁶ “The Lost Found,” *Sonoma Democrat*, 2 April 1892, p. 1.

¹⁷ “Salvation Army’s New Citadel is Dedicated,” *Press Democrat*, 30 August 1903, p. 5.

marched in the 4th of July Parade of 1893.¹⁸ Their efforts paid off as the *Sonoma Democrat* not only noticed their participation, but praised them as a “local hit.”¹⁹

While the Salvationists slowly found favor with the citizens, the city officials still to keep the Salvationists off the streets. Seeking ways to limit the Salvation Army’s activities the City Council had asked the City Attorney to find a solution. Much to the Council’s dismay, City Attorney Cowan informed them that little could be done. Shortly after the 4th of July parade, he informed them that,

No city has been able to draw up an ordinance regulating the alleged nuisance [of the Salvation Army] which could be made to stick, and there were serious doubts as to anyone’s being able to draft a suitable ordinance. However it might be got at by passing an ordinance making it a misdemeanor to frighten horses or teams on the street.²⁰

The Council members decided to not take action on the issue, which boded well for them. Only a few months later the California State Supreme Court decided against a city ordinance from San Jose designed to regulate Salvation Army activities, which ended the issue.²¹

Unable to convince the city leaders of their good intentions, the Salvationists continued to reach out to the community. Luckily, changes made at the national level assisted the Salvationists in becoming more acceptable to Santa Rosa’s citizens. Ballington and Maud Booth, the national commanders, had begun to emphasize social activities over street evangelizing. While church meetings were still important, they were held in meeting

¹⁸ “The Great Day: How It Was Observed in this City-The Squedunks and Fireworks,” *Sonoma Democrat*, 8 July 1893, p. 5.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

“City Council: The Matter of Establishing a Paid Fire Department,” *Sonoma Democrat*, 8 July 1893, p. 6.

²¹ “Pacific Coast Division,” *The Conqueror*, September 1893, 361.

halls and were less disruptive to the community. The Salvation Army aimed its programs towards public outreach and inclusion, increasing support of the organization.

By making strides in reaching the community, and with city officials incapable of stopping them, the Salvationists began to prosper in Santa Rosa. By April of 1894, the *Sonoma Democrat*, which had badgered the Salvationists for years, only had high praise for the organization,

The local Salvation Army is augmenting its forces daily and its turnout in the evening proves nearly as attractive as a country brass band at a picnic. No one can doubt the army's thorough earnestness, or question the good which it is accomplishing.²²

The backing of the *Sonoma Democrat* was extremely important to the Salvation Army's success as the paper served as a barometer of social attitudes. This support grew as the Salvationists continued to aid people in Santa Rosa. For example, in 1896, the Salvationists raised money to provide a coffin and funeral services for a woman who had passed away alone, causing the *Sonoma Democrat* to remark that, "In that organization today there is found more humanity, more charity more sweetness of life than in many churches."²³ The Salvationists, now accepted by the community and the press, began to expand their activities over the next few years, further increasing the goodwill and participation of Santa Rosa's citizens. Adopting one of the organizations urban programs, the Salvationists put on a Christmas dinner in 1896 for 200 people and "in addition to the eatables about thirty families who were in a destitute condition have been supplied with clothing, shoes, and bedding."²⁴

²² "Local and Other News," *Sonoma Democrat*, 28 April 1894, p. 5.

²³ "Touching Incident," *Sonoma Democrat*, 14 March 1896, p. 1.

²⁴ "Salvation Army Dinner: Two Hundred Poor People Treated to Turkey Christmas Day," *Sonoma Democrat*, 2 January 1897, p. 7.

This example also highlights the fact that Santa Rosa had an underclass that could benefit from the Salvation Army's presence. Petaluma had lacked an underclass of any size, so the citizens were unable to see the value of work that the Salvation Army did for poor and unemployed. In fact, Santa Rosa may not have had a large underclass when the Salvationists first arrived. The social services in Santa Rosa were probably not begun until the effects of the depression of 1893 became apparent. The depression forced people nationwide into towns and cities as "20 percent of the workforce stood jobless by 1894."²⁵ This surely had an effect on Santa Rosa as the urban center for the region, and the Salvationists used it to their advantage. The Salvation Army's charitable work among the lower classes in Santa Rosa became an important aspect of its programs and brought even more attention to its cause. Territorial Leaders in San Francisco soon noticed the Santa Rosa corps' high standing in the community and increased interaction between Santa Rosa and the Bay Area.

As the corps became more prominent in the Pacific Coast Division, Santa Rosa was included in more programs. An example of this new standing among the Bay Area corps was a visit by the Bicycle Brigade in 1898. Mostly used for Bay Area excursions, the Bicycle Brigade was another of the Army's inventions to attract attention and to garner support. Participants traveled by bicycle from town to town and preached, hoping that their mode of transportation would garner enough attention to gather a crowd. Traveling by ferry, the Salvationists landed in San Rafael and began their ride north passing through Petaluma on their way to Santa Rosa to join in some meetings. The Bicycle Brigade held three meetings,

²⁵ Steven J. Diner, *A Very Different Age: Americans of the Progressive Era*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998), 20.

all of which the participants deemed successes, before they had to return to the San Francisco.²⁶

While activities like this included Santa Rosa as a stop among a network of Salvation Army corps, the Salvationists in Santa Rosa still conducted separate local programs. In April of 1897, for example, they hosted a well attended double wedding, featuring a mother and daughter as the brides.²⁷ The Salvation Army often used weddings as fund-raisers by charging admission or asking for a donation to attend, so the festivities were usually organized to draw large crowds.²⁸ The Salvation Army also used their "Self-Denial Week" to collect extra funds by asking members to spend less during the period.²⁹ The Self-Denial Week of 1899 in Santa Rosa was especially interesting as the *Press Democrat* called on local supporters to join in the effort.

It is proposed that sympathizers of the army's work during this week should voluntarily deny themselves some little comfort or luxury, or even of things that can hardly be called either, that they may give the amount saved to the self denial fund. In this way it is claimed everyone will have a chance to help, even such as are regular supporters of other churches or institutions.³⁰

Yearly events, such as the Self-Denial Week, brought extra attention to the Salvationists and were great fundraising drives. The citizens treated these special activities with some fanfare, but it was the Salvationists' everyday work that sustained their ties to the community.

²⁶ Typist, H.Q. "Mrs. Colonel Evans and the Bicycle Brigade," *The War Cry: Pacific Coast Edition*, 4 June 1898, p. 8-9.

²⁷ "Double Wedding: Unique Ceremony by Salvation Army Officers," *Sonoma Democrat*, 24 April 1897, p. 1.

²⁸ Lillian Taiz, *Hallelujah Lads and Lasses: Remaking the Salvation Army in America, 1880-1930*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 87.

²⁹ Self-Denial Week took place once a year in the spring. Salvationists were encouraged to give up at least one luxury during the week and donate the money saved to the Salvation Army.

³⁰ "Self Denial Week For The Salvation Army," *Santa Rosa Press Democrat*, 11 March 1899, p. 2.

The Salvation Army offered Junior corps for children, brass bands, and other group activities, so they could include as many community members as possible. They continued to hold several religious meetings each week, but they also used outreach work to help those in need of spiritual assistance. By 1901, they were holding meetings at the jail and regularly reported converts.³¹ They also hosted community-wide events such as ice cream socials and musicals, and they even hosted Joe the Turk for a weekend in 1902.³² While they continued to make strides in the city and were pleased with their progress, the Salvationists had still greater plans for Santa Rosa.

Few corps outside of large urban areas actually owned their meeting hall. Most corps rented rooms or halls to use as a meeting place. Usually the cost of buying a building and renovating it for their needs or buying vacant land and constructing a suitable structure was too high, but when a corps had grown large enough, the Salvation Army would build a permanent hall. Community support was crucial in this because, without the citizens' financial support and charitable spirit, any venture of this magnitude would have been impossible. The Salvationists' various efforts at fund-raising and building community support illustrate the local corps belief that Santa Rosa could support such a project.

The Salvationists must have believed that Santa Rosa offered the right balance of support and spirit because in September of 1901 they began to speak of the need for a larger hall.³³ During this period, the Salvationists often mentioned the inadequacies of their current facilities, but they made no serious efforts to construct a building. The very success of their

³¹ "Pacific Coast News," *The War Cry: National Edition*, 3 August 1901, p. 7.

³² "Untitled," *The War Cry: National Edition*, 5 July 1902, p. 14.

³³ "News from the Field," *The War Cry: National Edition*, 21 September 1901, p. 10.

work highlighted the need for a new meeting hall as the *War Cry* noted in an article praising the success of the Santa Rosa corps,

The building in which the meetings are held is far too small and is uncomfortably crowded...Ensign and Mrs. McKenzie, the officers in charge, are doing their best to get a hold of a suitable site for an Army barracks here, and we predict success in this direction in the near future, as they have good prospects.³⁴

As the Salvationists continued to work towards building a hall, community support continued as the local papers provided updates on their progress. On January 16, 1903 the *Santa Rosa Press Democrat* carried a short article on the new building and even included a drawing of the structure's design. The paper noted, "It will be a two-story building, and will be modern and neat in appearance."³⁵ The article also mentioned that "Ensign McKenzie is working with renewed vigor to accomplish the opening debt free. So far he has been very successful with his work."³⁶

Local fundraising was a key component of building the new hall, and the Salvationists had inventive ways of collecting money. As noted earlier, weddings were successful fund-raisers, and in May of 1903, Santa Rosa witnessed another such event,

Tonight the "Hallelujah Wedding" under the Salvation Army auspices will take place tonight at Ridgway Hall...and it promises to be a spectacular and interesting event...It is expected that the wedding will be largely attended. An admission fee of twenty-five cents will be charged and the proceeds will be devoted to the building fund of the new barracks."³⁷

³⁴ "Notable Corps: No. X - Santa Rosa, California," *The War Cry: National Edition*, 30 August 1902, p. 7.

³⁵ "To Build New Hall: Work on the Salvation Army Headquarters Will Soon Begin," *Santa Rosa Press Democrat*, 16 January 1903, p. 8.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ "Will Wed Tonight," *Santa Rosa Press Democrat*, 16 May 1903, p. 3.

Continuing its support of the Salvation Army, the *Press Democrat* attempted to encourage participation by appealing to the community, "To those who have never seen a 'Hallelujah Wedding,' the one tonight should be an attraction worth of attention."³⁸ The wedding was a huge success for the Salvationists and led into a weekend of festivities as the construction of the new citadel began the next day.

On May 17, 1903, the day after the wedding, the cornerstone of the hall was laid.

The day was full of activities and the *Press Democrat* claimed,

It was a great day for the Army in Santa Rosa, probably one of the greatest had by that organization this side of San Francisco bay... When there was no service going on in the hall there was plenty of band music and oratory on the streets and the public were kept well aware that the Army was in town.³⁹

The national edition of the *War Cry* also provided commentary, assuring readers nationwide that "Glorious results were the outcome, and the memory of the series of meetings held during Saturday and Sunday will live for a long time to come in the minds and hearts of those who were privileged to be present."⁴⁰ The construction of the citadel not only benefited from the festivities, but was a part of them as well, garnering the Salvation Army even more support and attention.

Construction of the building took four months as the Salvation Army hosted the dedication of their new Citadel at the end of August.⁴¹ The dedication was a well attended affair, drawing Salvation Army leaders from San Francisco and local community leaders. A

³⁸ Ibid. "Hallelujah Wedding" was the term used by the Editor to describe the wedding.

³⁹ "Lay Corner Stone," *The Press Democrat*, 19 May 1903, p. 6.

⁴⁰ Major Fynn, "Colonel French Visits Santa Rosa," *The War Cry: National Edition*, 4 July 1903, p. 5.

⁴¹ The new building was situated downtown between the Eagle and Grand Hotels on Main Street near the Court House.

[Map] *Santa Rosa, California, December 1904*, (New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1905), 29.

parade from the train station to the hall commenced the activities and was followed by meetings at 5:30 and 8:00 while the building was open for the public to inspect. Again, the Salvationists used the building to draw attention in addition to the festivities. The Salvationists always relied on the charity of others, and the opening of the hall illustrated this when the corps asked for furniture for the new hall,

The second floor is occupied by the officers' quarters, and as such things are needed it has been suggested that the generous people might donate some articles of furniture for the fitting up of the rooms. Bedding and linen are the articles most needed.⁴²

The citizenry enjoyed the festivities, and many influential members of the community, notably the Mayor and several church leaders, even took part in the celebration.⁴³ The national edition of the *War Cry* praised the local Salvationists and their success in regard to the structure and the financing of the project. The second floor contained the living quarters and offices, while the first floor housed an "auditorium, seating 400-500, and a Junior room."⁴⁴ The fund-raising efforts of the Santa Rosa corps were successful as it was reported that, "The building is well located, and has cost us something like \$8,000, \$5,000 of which has already been realized in cash or in work, thus leaving a mortgage of \$3,000 to be paid by the corps in weekly installments as rent."⁴⁵ The generosity of the Salvation Army's supporters allowed the Salvationists to accomplish their goal of constructing the Citadel in only four months, with over half the debt paid off before the building was finished.

⁴² "The Army Citadel," *The Press Democrat*, 29 August 1903, p. 7.

⁴³ "Salvation Army's New Citadel is Dedicated," *Press Democrat*, 30 August 1903, p. 5.

⁴⁴ "Santa Rosa Dedicates Its New Hall," *The War Cry: National Edition*, 3 October 1903, p. 10. Junior room refers to a room used by the Junior corps for children.

⁴⁵ Colonel French, "Passing Events," *The War Cry: National Edition*, 17 October 1903, p. 10. The overseeing Territorial leadership covered the costs not raised by the local corps, which they then had to pay back.

Adjutant McKenzie led the Santa Rosa corps through the construction of the hall with great success. Unfortunately, his tenure did not last much longer. The make-up of corps often changed, and Salvationists could be sent anywhere at any time. Santa Rosa alone saw 49 different commanding officers between 1889-1906, and in accordance with this general pattern, the Salvationists were forced to part with Adjutant McKenzie in January 1904. The *Press Democrat* praised him,

Mainly through Mr. McKenzie's indefatigable efforts the neat brick citadel on Main street was erected and other improvements were made. By his untiring devotion his efforts have been blessed with much success and it is with genuine regret he says fare well.⁴⁶

Adjutant McKenzie may have moved on, but the Salvationists left behind continued to prosper and expand their services to the needy.

Just a week after McKenzie left, the Santa Rosa corps was again praised by the *Press Democrat*, which stated that it did good work and that "yearly conversions have averaged 125."⁴⁷ The Salvationists ended the year with another successful Christmas program: "meals for 160 persons were sent out, clothing was given to poor families, and a tree, with its load of good things, brought joy to about 150 children."⁴⁸

By January of 1905, the Santa Rosa corps had added hospital visits to its ever expanding list of programs and traveled to communities as far away as Cloverdale and Ukiah to hold meetings.⁴⁹ Later in the year, the corps continued to reach out to segments of Santa Rosa's community by holding special meetings for the Chinese. While the Chinese

⁴⁶ "M'kenzie Is To Leave This City," *The Press Democrat*, 12 January 1904, p. 3.

⁴⁷ "Santa Rosa As a City of Churches: All the Principle Religious Dominations are Represented Here," *Santa Rosa Press Democrat*, 17 January 1904, p. 4.

⁴⁸ Bessie Johnson, "Buds from Santa Rosa," *The War Cry: National Edition*, 11 February 1905, p. 10.

⁴⁹ Captain and Mrs. Abraham, "A Budget of News," *The War Cry: National Edition*, 7 January 1905, p. 2.

represented a small portion of the population, the Salvationists held meetings in Chinatown on Sundays, noting, "Brother Fong speaks to the Chinese in their own tongue and we speak and sing. They seem to appreciate it all and help in the offerings."⁵⁰ When Captain Frank Watt visited Santa Rosa, he noted their success among the Chinese community in addition to all of their other programs.⁵¹ As 1905 came to a close, the Santa Rosa corps held another Christmas program, giving out,

about 50 baskets of Christmas cheer, accompanied by a Christmas note of cheer and a Christmas War Cry...December 28th we had our grand Christmas demonstration and tree...Brother Pines made a fine Santa Claus and distributed gifts, candy, etc., to all the children.⁵²

The Salvation Army continued to aid the poor and needy and had even expanded their services to include the Chinese community in Santa Rosa, but the Salvationists would soon face one of their most difficult challenges yet, an earthquake.

On April 18, 1906, an earthquake devastated much of the San Francisco Bay Area from Healdsburg to San Jose. Some communities, such as Petaluma, barely felt the effects of the earthquake, but most cities were not so lucky. San Francisco is the most well known victim of the calamity because of the fires that ravaged the city after the quake, but Santa Rosa was also severely damaged by it. The epicenter was actually located closer to Santa Rosa than to San Francisco, and the damage sustained there was a result of the earthquake and not its after effects. Downtown Santa Rosa was nearly leveled by the quake; most of the buildings were damaged, leaving little unscathed. The courthouse was destroyed, and most

⁵⁰ "Untitled," *The War Cry: National Edition*, 30 September 1905, p. 5.

⁵¹ Frank Watts, "Facts from the Central California Division," *The War Cry: National Edition*, 7 October 1905, p. 4.

⁵² Bessie Johnson, "Western War Notes," *The War Cry: National Edition*, 10 February 1906, p. 5.

other structures were flattened or left unsafe for entry. One of the buildings lost in the devastation was the Salvation Army's Citadel.

The earthquake caught the entire community by surprise, including the Salvationists, who barely managed to escape their falling Citadel.

Ensign and Mrs. Jensen had a thrilling experience, escaping from the collapsing structure. They were awakened by the swaying of the building, rushed to the door, but found it fast. However, succeeded in bursting it open and ran to the rear, where the building had settled enough to allow them to jump to ground from [an] upstairs window. Remembering there was another woman in [the] building, Ensign, at peril of his life, rushed back amidst falling brick and crashing timbers, and after great effort rescued her. Afterwards they succeeded in saving most of their personal effects and furniture.⁵³

Once out of the building, the Salvationists began to assist others in need. Mrs. Jensen helped with the relief workers, while Ensign Jensen assisted in finding people trapped in the buildings.⁵⁴ While the Salvationists survived the earthquake without personal injury, the loss of the Citadel was devastating. They salvaged what they could from the building and found temporary housing like the rest of the community. The story of their escape from the falling structure was so amazing that the *War Cry* carried it again a month later, but the spectacle of their experience did not make their loss any less terrible.⁵⁵ The Salvationists had lost their home, office, and meeting hall all in one day.

Forced to continue on, the Salvationists acquired a large tent to use for services, and once their lot was cleared of debris, they moved the tent there.⁵⁶ Needing a permanent

⁵³ Colonel French, "Other Stricken Cities," *The War Cry: National Edition*, 12 May 1906, p. 9.

⁵⁴ Frank Watt, "Echo of the Frightful Visitation at Santa Rosa," *The War Cry: National Edition*, 16 June 1906, p. 2.

"Western War Notes," *The War Cry: National Edition*, 23, June 1906, p. 4.

⁵⁵ "Facts from Central California Division: Earthquake Rumbings," *The War Cry: National Edition*, 26 May 1906, p. 5.

⁵⁶ "The Salvation Army," *The Press Democrat*, 31 May 1906, p. 1.

replacement, the Salvationists decided to rebuild the Citadel. The cost of the first building had been high and had taken several years to collect, so the Salvation Army started their new campaign in June with an article in the *War Cry*. Staff-Captain Frank Watt gave a brief overview of what had transpired after the earthquake and ended with a plea for assistance, "We are praying that some kind friends will come to our help with the necessary money to aid us in erecting our hall again."⁵⁷ The cost of the project would be significantly less this time because the Salvation Army already owned the land, but the corps still had to raise the money for the construction costs. Luckily for the Santa Rosa corps, the Territorial leadership was extremely helpful during this time. Not only did they provide \$1,000 of the needed \$2,500 for the construction of a new one-story building, but they sent Adjutant McKenzie back to Santa Rosa to oversee the project and raise the balance needed to cover costs.⁵⁸ The Salvationists began the working towards this goal in earnest, and on August 12, 1906, the corps again laid the cornerstone of their hall. A day of celebration marked the occasion with various meetings and music.⁵⁹ *The War Cry* carried news of the event as well, proclaiming that this was a "red letter day in the history of this corps."⁶⁰

With the construction of the Citadel commenced, the Salvationists worked tirelessly towards their goal. They finishing the building in late October and held a series of meetings and ceremonies to celebrate the dedication, starting November 3. The meeting on that date

⁵⁷ Frank Watt, "Echo of the Frightful Visitation at Santa Rosa," *The War Cry: National Edition*, 16 June 1906, p. 2.

⁵⁸ Colonel French, "Passing Events on the Pacific Coast," *The War Cry: National Edition*, 21 July 1906, p. 2.

⁵⁹ "Mayor to Lay Corner Stone," *The Press Democrat*, 12 August 1906, p. 2.

⁶⁰ Bessie Johnson, "Corner-Stone of Citadel Laid at Santa Rosa, Cal.," *The War Cry: National Edition*, 22 September 1906, p. 6.

was led by the Pacific Division leader, Colonel George French, and featured music by San Francisco's Salvation Army Band, accompanied by local musicians.⁶¹ *The Press Democrat* concluded on November 6 that the events had been successful and again praised Adjutant McKenzie for his hard work and dedication in rebuilding the Citadel.⁶² *The War Cry* covered the events as well, remarking that,

Great credit is certainly due to Adjutant McKenzie and his aides, as well as the corps, in having in so short a time after the destruction of the old one secured such a splendid structure. The Adjutant himself, assisted by Captain Vineyard, has done the bulk of the work on the same. The place is a credit to the city and to The Salvation Army.⁶³

The remarks could have not been a more fitting end to the year for the Salvationists. The year began with high expectations for their programs in the city, but the earthquake not only derailed their hopes, but forced them to regroup after the loss of the Citadel. Community support stayed strong and the Corps was soon back on its feet, constructing a new hall. The new Citadel completed in November was not only a testament to the determination of the Salvationists, but the goodwill and charity that the organization had established between itself, the citizens, and the city leaders. Through its many years in Santa Rosa, the Salvation Army established long lasting ties to the community that would aid the organization as it continued its work for the years to come.

These ties allowed the Salvation Army to undertake projects that would have seemed impossible to the first Salvationists in the county. This growth occurred not just in Santa Rosa, but the county at large. The first major undertaking outside of Santa Rosa was to fire

⁶¹ "Are To Dedicate Their Citadel," *The Press Democrat*, 3 November 1906, p. 3.

⁶² "The Flag Waves Over Citadel," *The Press Democrat*, 6 November 1906, p. 2.

⁶³ R. Dubbin, "Opening of Re-Constructed Hall at Santa Rosa," *The War Cry: National Edition*, 8 December 1906, p. 2.

upon Petaluma again. When the Salvation Army returned to Petaluma in 1897, they were not entering a new landscape. The two difficult years in Petaluma were still fresh in their memory, but after running a successful barracks in Santa Rosa, the Salvationists decided it was time to try again. Initial tensions between the citizens and the Salvationists dissipated as *The Petaluma Weekly Courier* noted, "The Salvationists have captured Petaluma, and the city has most graciously surrendered to the red-shirted warriors and bonneted-lassies."⁶⁴ In a shift from 1888 reports, the article praised the once-despised band and described the Salvation Army as orderly:

Good order was preserved at the meeting, and the citizens express great satisfaction at this, as they are unanimous in desiring the protection of this band of earnest workers who are laboring so nobly in behalf of Christianity, and whose methods, although probably not exactly orthodox, are actuated by a motive that is sincere.⁶⁵

Old hostilities were not forgotten, but had been apparently forgiven as the Salvationists stated that the "City Fathers are favorable to moderate demonstration," and that the citizens "shouldered their share of the blame" for the fight years before.⁶⁶ The Salvationists shared in the blame with them and now had another outpost in Sonoma County.

Determined to continue their work in Petaluma, the Salvationists slowly began to make friends and converts within the city. Petaluma even witnessed the marriage of a Salvation Army officer to a local woman, spurring the *War Cry* to comment, "The lady isn't a Salvationist, but a Christian, and now that she has had good sense to marry a Salvationist,

⁶⁴ "The Salvationists," *The Petaluma Daily Courier*, 7 July 1897, p. 1.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ "The Re-Opening of Petaluma," *The War Cry: Pacific Coast Edition*, 17 July 1897, p. 4.

we are believing for her to become a proper soldier, too.”⁶⁷ Most of Petaluma’s citizens had moved past their opposition to the Salvation Army and apparently now welcomed it into their community.

Despite the progress the Salvationists were making in Petaluma, some people were still opposed them. The Salvationists always reported that they were doing God’s work and that “souls” had been saved, but occasionally described Petaluma as a difficult station. One report, from Aug. 23, 1902, stated that,

The Salvation Army is still plodding away in Petaluma. Steadily, if not so fast as could be wished. Judging from the opposition the devil makes here, our work is not very pleasing to his Satanic Majesty.⁶⁸

These notes illustrate that while the Salvation Army may have been initially well-received, some in the community still had misgivings about the Salvationists. These few opponents, however, were silenced as the Salvation Army kept growing. By 1904 the Petaluma corps could boast “regular company meetings and a Band of Love.”⁶⁹ This was how the work would continue for the Salvation Army in Petaluma. Overshadowed by the Salvation Army’s ever increasing presence in Santa Rosa and the surrounding area, the Petaluma branch lived a successful, but relatively quiet existence.

More important than their reintroduction to Petaluma, the prominence of the Santa Rosa corps attracted the attention of the Salvation Army leaders in San Francisco. Becoming one of the most important local corps, Santa Rosa was included in many Bay Area excursions

⁶⁷ “Petaluma,” *The War Cry: Pacific Coast Edition*, 18 March 1899, p. 11.

⁶⁸ Lieut. Cork, “Corps News,” *The War Cry*, 23 August 1902, p. 7.

⁶⁹ “Pacific Coast Provincial News: Central California Division,” *The War Cry*, 5 November 1904, p. 2.

and became a base for other social programs. The strong support in Santa Rosa allowed the Salvation Army to create some of their urban-to-rural social schemes in the area. Their goal was to move the unemployed out of urban centers like San Francisco, and find employment for away from the debilitating effects of alcohol. Territorial leaders often looked to Sonoma County as a good place to establish these programs. For example, in March and April of 1897 the Salvation Army considered establishing a farm colony near Santa Rosa, but eventually chose a site near Salinas.⁷⁰ Instead they established the Cotati Wood Camp, south of Santa Rosa, as a temporary employment venture for San Francisco's unemployed. The relocation of the Beulah Orphanage to Lytton Springs, near Healdsburg in 1904, was the final project established in Sonoma County during this period. These efforts to use Sonoma County as a base for social programs illustrate that Santa Rosa had become a regional center for the Salvation Army.

In Santa Rosa, the Salvation Army accomplished what it had hoped for when it entered Petaluma in 1888. The Salvationists converted souls, found citizens willing to assist their work, and became members of the community. The Salvationists had a rough start, similar to their experience in Petaluma, but they struggled through long enough to convince the citizens to change their initial assumptions. In Petaluma, the Salvationists had faced opposition from city leaders, newspapers and the public, but in Santa Rosa the city leaders were unable to stop them, the citizens did not rise in protest, and the newspapers were won over by the generosity of the Salvationists in caring for the needy. Furthermore, the depression of 1893 aided the Salvationists by creating an underclass that needed the

⁷⁰ "Salvation Army Colony: Will Probably Be Established Near Santa Rosa," *Sonoma Democrat*, 20 March 1897, p. 6.

Salinas became the site for Fort Romie, a Salvation Army Farm Colony, after Claus Spreckels offered the organization a generous deal.

Salvation Army's services. The Salvationists also sought to cooperate with the community by carrying out a variety of programs and including the public during the construction of both Citadels. The high level of support created by this allowed the Salvation Army to re-invade Petaluma with moderate success and establish other programs in the county. The Salvationists had firmly established themselves in Sonoma County.

Chapter 5

Invading the Countryside: The Salvation Army's Social Programs in Sonoma County

In Santa Rosa, the Salvation Army had found a community that not only accepted, but supported its role as a charitable organization. This support base allowed the Salvationists to expand their efforts as they worked with a variety of people in Santa Rosa, traveled to surrounding communities to hold meetings, and even re-invaded Petaluma, a town that had forced them out several years before. Despite a difficult start, the Salvation Army had, by 1897, remade itself in Sonoma County. The Pacific Coast Territory leaders witnessed this transformation and were greatly pleased with the growth. These administrators wanted to experiment with rural work programs, and Sonoma County seemed like the ideal location.

These new social programs expanded on the Salvation Army's urban employment projects. These programs were designed to put unemployed men to work, either by making goods for sale, actively selling the merchandise, or providing labor. Some men worked at woodyards, chopping lumber to be sold in the city while others engaged in various activities.

In San Francisco,

men were employed in unravelling [sic] old ship's cables and unused rope donated by the Claus Spreckels Sugar Company and then in weaving the component strands into door mats...men were collecting old corks from restaurants, saloons and the city dump to be chopped up and stuffed into ship-fenders and life-preserving pillows; and leftover crumbs were made into upholstery stuffing. Then came "rope dusters" made out of frayed rope...hammocks, salmon nets and "patent wringers."¹

¹ Edward H. McKinley, *Somebody's Brother: A History of The Salvation Army Men's Social Service Department, 1891-1985*, (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1986), 24.

In addition to providing employment, the Salvation Army ran various "Workingman's Hotels" where a man could pay or work for an inexpensive room and meal.² The Salvationists thought it important for men to work, so hotels seldom provided free services. All these programs existed only in urban centers because rural communities lacked large numbers of impoverished citizens. Rural supporters might have read about these social programs in the *War Cry*, but may not have truly appreciated the importance of this work.

The Salvation Army prided itself on the work the organization did in urban areas, but this was not the sole location of their efforts. Moving into smaller towns and rural communities offered the opportunity to reach greater numbers of would-be supporters and members, but the Salvationists were also interested in moving unemployed people into the countryside. This portion of the Salvation Army's programs can be called its "back to the land" movement, in which it wanted to relocate impoverished people to rural land programs, such as the Farm Colonies in Colorado, Ohio, and near Salinas, California. The idea behind this program was to remove people from the debilitating effects of city life and to help them become self-supporting citizens. Under the national leadership of Frederick and Emma Booth-Tucker, these programs took root across the country.

In Northern California, these rural experiments with social work were primarily the work of Wallace Winchell, a Salvationist from Chicago who took over the Pacific Coast Social Division in 1897. Upon arrival, Winchell and his wife immediately began making improvements to the urban programs in San Francisco. The Bay Area already housed the "Rescue Home at Beulah Children's Home, Women's Shelter, Life Boat Shelter and Golden

² Ibid., 12.

Gate Farm for discharged prisoners," but Winchell had many more programs in mind.³ His agenda included a,

Free Labor Bureau, a Wood Yard and Window and Step Cleaning Company, a Night School, a Library and Reading Room, a Dispensary for all poor people, a Barber Shop and Bath Room, a Restaurant and Lunch Room.⁴

Winchell set these programs in motion and then turned to more rural areas in an attempt to expand the Social Divisions programs. In particular, he looked north to Sonoma County as an ideal place to establish some new employment ventures.

Sonoma County would eventually house two establishments, the Cotati Wood Camp and the Lytton Springs Orphanage. Both are important examples of the Salvation Army's experiments in removing people from the debilitating effects of the cities, so that they could be saved. The creation of the Wood Camp roughly coincided with the reopening of Petaluma in 1897 while the orphanage was relocated to Lytton Springs from Oakland in 1904. These institutions prove just how much the Salvation Army had grown in Sonoma County since its early days in Petaluma.

Winchell began social work programs in Sonoma County soon after his arrival in California. The depression of 1893 had increased the number of individuals seeking aid, so the Salvation Army was trying to help for more individuals every month. Finding work for San Francisco's unemployed men was important, but the urban poor were usually untrained laborers, often making certain employment ventures impossible as Winchell soon found out. In March of 1897, he began making plans to send some unemployed men to work in the

³ "Social Development San Francisco Wards," *The War Cry: National Edition*, 6 March 1897, p. 8.

⁴ *Ibid.*

Major Winchell was so effective and determined that by the end of May 1897, the Salvation Army had created a Free Labor Bureau, a Wood Yard, a Library, and a Barbershop in San Francisco, over half of his agenda. Major W. W. Winchell, "Social Work in California," *The War Cry: National Edition*, 29 May 1897, p. 4.

“timber regions of Sonoma county” even though the difficult terrain made the prospects seem unlikely.⁵ The timber regions were hilly and heavily wooded, accessible only by skilled lumbermen. Given the dim prospects of this scheme, Winchell also advocated creating a farm colony near Santa Rosa comprised of “2000 acres of as fine agricultural land as there is in the State.”⁶ The site for the farm colony was rejected by the Salvation Army in favor of establishing one near Soledad, thanks to a generous offer of land from Claus Spreckels.⁷ The prospects looked dim for creating a social project as the farm colony was never realized and men were not sent to work in the timber region, but Major Winchell was not yet prepared to give up on establishing a work program in Sonoma County.

Unable to establish a wood cutting program in the timber region of the county, Winchell founded one instead in Cotati. Just a small town, Cotati was originally part of a Mexican Rancho owned by Thomas Page. When he died, the land passed to his six sons, who managed the property for several years before subdividing it into town and farm lots. Parts of the property were wooded, and the Salvationists were able to strike a deal with the Pages to clear the land.⁸ Officially started on March 17, 1897, the venture would only last three months, but provides an interesting example of what the Salvationists hoped to accomplish. The deal afforded them a building to use for housing and office space, as well

⁵ “Salvation Army Colony,” *The Sonoma Democrat*, 20 March 1897, p. 6.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ “Claus Spreckels Will Help Out,” *San Francisco Daily Morning Call*, 27 March 1897, p. 7. Spreckels offered the Salvation Army a generous deal on land near Soledad, California and promised to purchase all the sugar beets grown by the farmers.

⁸ [Map] *Rancho Cotati, Sonoma County, CAL: The Property Of and For Sale By the Cotati Company*, San Francisco: Crocker Company, 1897.

This real estate map shows that the wooded region of the Page property where the Salvationists worked is near the current location of Highway 101 through present-day Cotati, CA.

as forty acres for agricultural use and the “use of a team” when needed.⁹ The contract between the parties called for the Salvationists to “clear a lot of hill land of timber” and employed approximately 30 men at any given time.¹⁰ As with the corps in Petaluma and Santa Rosa, community support was important to the success of the venture. The Salvationists used the *Press Democrat* to ask for contributions “of seed of any kind” for use in their garden, while they also received sheep, hogs, food, and clothing from the surrounding communities.¹¹ The donations from the surrounding communities helped launch the wood camp, but the daily affairs of the project show how difficult it was to run.

Even in relatively easy terrain, the Salvationists had difficulties creating a wood camp. Most of the workers from San Francisco simply did not have the basic skills they needed to be successful, and only a few exhibited any promise:

August Adamson, a Russian-Finn, is a character in his way and a ship-carpenter. A jolly man he is. The manner in which he climbed a tree and sawed one of the great oak limbs off, was a caution to see.¹²

Unfortunately not all of the workers possessed the skills that August exhibited. In fact, the *War Cry* summed it up best in its feature article on the wood camp,

The men who find employment at the Wood Camp are from widely different quarters. In one respect they are all alike - unemployed and poor; otherwise they differ. Many work well. Some won't work; others can't; don't know how.¹³

⁹ “Rancho del Cotati,” *The War Cry: Pacific Coast Edition*, 15 May 1897, p. 2.

¹⁰ “A Practical Charity,” *Santa Rosa Press Democrat*, 24, April 1897, p. 1.

¹¹ “Rancho del Cotati,” *The War Cry*, p. 2.
 “A Practical Charity,” *Press Democrat*, p. 1.

¹² “Rancho del Cotati.”

¹³ *Ibid.*

This can be seen in the “case of two men who made one cord cost \$8, including damage to tools,” which took them a week to chop.¹⁴ These men may not have possessed great skill, but they came to the camp in an attempt to pull themselves out of poverty. For their effort, the men received “board and lodging and receive \$1.75 a cord for \$3 wood, and \$2.25 a cord for \$3.50 wood.”¹⁵ While meager, this camp was an attempt to give these men a start, not sustain them.

When the camp closed on June 15, 1897, the experiment was in some measures a success. In total, 63 men worked at the camp during its short tenure, 18 of whom found permanent employment during that time. The others probably moved back to San Francisco. They chopped down a total of 261.25 cords of wood, which sold for \$683.75. The Salvation Army paid out \$357.19 of that amount in wages for the men and gave the remaining \$326.56 to the Page Family as part of the contract.¹⁶ The Salvation Army made no money on the venture, but had created a new base of support in Cotati as the Salvationists continued to have meetings in Cotati after the Wood Camp closed.¹⁷ The Cotati Wood Camp was an inventive way of creating employment for the urban poor, if only on a short term basis. The results, however, impressed the territorial leaders, and in January of 1898, they created another Wood Camp at which they employed a similar number of individuals.¹⁸

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ “The Salvation Army: Social Department Pacific Coast Chief Division: Wood Camp for Unemployed, Cotati, Sonoma County, Cal.,” *The War Cry: Pacific Coast Edition*, 3 July 1897, p. 5.

¹⁷ “God Working at the Wood Camp,” *The War Cry: Pacific Coast Edition*, 17 July 1897, p. 10. The subsequent meetings were held by officers from the Santa Rosa corps, but there is no indication of how long they continued to hold meetings in Cotati.

¹⁸ “From the Wood Camp,” *The War Cry: Pacific Coast Edition*, 26 February 1898, p. 5. The article does not provide a location for the Wood Camp, and no other information could be found pertaining to the longevity or success of the project.

The Cotati Wood Camp is an interesting example of the Salvation Army's social work because it does not fit with the general scheme of their operations. The Wood Camp was not located in an urban area, but in a country environment between two small cities. It also did not make any income for the Salvation Army whereas urban work programs and hotels paid for themselves. The Wood Camp only covered the cost of the workers and the contractual obligation to the Page Family while the organization had to cover the wages of officers stationed there as well as any other incidental costs that came up. Donations from the surrounding communities helped to offset these costs, but the project cost the Salvation Army money. The Salvation Army nevertheless continued with the program the following year due to the willingness of Major Wallace to experiment with new types of programs to help the unemployed. The Army had been trying to develop programs that would get poor people out of urban centers, such as the farm colonies, and Wallace extended that philosophy to the work schemes. His idea worked so well that the wood camp received national attention through the *War Cry*, which called it a success and hoped for more to be opened.¹⁹ The Cotati Wood Camp was successful in some small measures, but its existence contributed something much greater. Sonoma County had proven to be a good place for the Salvation Army to create social programs.

The Cotati Wood Camp was the first social program that the Salvation Army introduced to Sonoma County, but it was not the last. The success of the corps in Santa Rosa and Petaluma, as well as the brief life of the Wood Camp, illustrates the importance of Sonoma County to the Salvation Army's rural work. By 1900, Salvation Army activities in the county were well attended and supported by local citizens, and they often received

¹⁹ Major W. W. Winchell, "Social Work in California," *The War Cry: National Edition*, 5 June 1897, p. 4.

attention in both Salvation Army literature and the local press. The importance of Sonoma County soon became even more apparent when in 1904 the Golden Gate Orphanage was relocated to Lytton Springs.

In October of 1904, the Salvation Army purchased the Lytton Springs health resort for \$52,000, and immediately the *Press Democrat* began to speculate about the uses to which the Salvationists might put the property.²⁰ The resort totaled approximately 600 acres, half of which were arable, so many believed the Salvationists would soon be opening another Farm Colony along the lines of Fort Romie near Soledad.²¹ The *Press Democrat* laid out a full proposal, which it attributed to Commander Booth Tucker,

It is understood to be Commander Tucker's plan to subdivide most of this land into small fruit farms and place families on them...In addition to this there is a liklihood [sic] that the large hotel at Lytton will be converted into a sanatorium, with rates reasonable enough to allow the working classes to patronize it and obtain the benefits of the mineral waters.²²

The paper also mentioned that the Salvationists might consider relocating the Golden Gate Orphanage in Beulah to the property.²³

The mystery ended when the Salvation Army announced it would indeed be shifting the orphanage from Beulah to Lytton Springs. The Lytton Springs Orphanage was actually the combination of two programs, the orphanage in Beulah, California and the Cherry Tree Orphanage in Colorado.²⁴

²⁰ *Portfolio of Santa Rosa and Vacinity*, (Santa Rosa, California: H.A. Derms, 1909), 83.

²¹ "Lytton Springs Sold," *The Press Democrat*, 7 October 1904, p. 1.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ "Pacific Coast News," *The War Cry: National Edition*, 5 November 1904, p. 2.

By October 27, 1904, the orphanage housed 25 children and the captains were waiting for another 25 to arrive soon.²⁵ Expecting to house approximately 100 children, the Commanders designed programs to teach the children how to live in a rural setting: "The boys will be taught farming and useful trades and the girls will be instructed in household duties."²⁶ This curriculum fit with the Salvation Army's intentions of preparing these children for life outside the city.

This emphasis was still apparent several years later when another Salvationist commented on the education of the children at the orphanage,

The Army was doing something to help not only to brighten the lives of these orphan children but laying foundations for useful lives and future prosperity – temporal and spiritual. The boys are learning how to face life, being prepared by a good, systematic, practical industrial training, and the same can be said of the girls from a domestic point of view. Besides this, practical spiritual advice and help is given daily, and every encouragement rendered so that these boys and girls may grow up in the fear of the Lord.²⁷

The education of these children is interesting in that while they were brought up in the fold of the Salvation Army, they were not prepared for life as officers. Boys were taught the skills necessary to find jobs while the girls were taught domestic duties. This reflected the Army's developing stance of conforming to societal norms and expectations. Supporters might have been troubled if they saw the orphanage as a factory for Salvationists, but by providing these young people with an education and helping to develop skills for life as adults, the orphanage was a welcomed institution.

²⁵ "Lytton Springs," *Healdsburg Tribune*, 27 October 1904, p. 2.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Major Fynn, "Lieut.-Colonel Miles and Major Fynn on the Road," *The War Cry: National Edition*, 11 August 1906, p. 2.

The Orphanage grew, and the captains in charge could soon boast that the farm was taking off well with a “herd of about thirty cows, also eight horses, and nearly 1,000 chickens,” a number they soon hoped to expand to 10,000.²⁸ By the end of its first year, the Orphanage was home to eighty children.²⁹ The program continued with unfettered success, but the earthquake of 1906 greatly damaged the establishment.

The home sustained much structural damage, but the captains never ceased to care for the children. The earthquake created havoc, but as the captains noted, the children handled the affair quite well,

Our large number of orphans here, though scared, were very brave. All the mortar fell from the walls and the glass was smashed, but in two hours after the shock all the debris had been cleared away, everything was made clean, and going on as if nothing had happened.³⁰

The children may have withstood the quake, but unfortunately the same could not be said about the building. The damages to the building were estimated at \$1,000 and needing to be repaired quickly, so the Salvation Army asked for donations through the *War Cry*.³¹ The orphanage received aid in both money and labor. One of the commissioners repaired the boiler and the farm’s seeder while visiting, but much more was needed to complete the repairs.³² In August, a visiting officer noted that the repairs “will cost us quite a large sum in addition to what we had already appropriated for the same,” but stated that the 92 children

²⁸ “Western Territorial Secretary’s Notes,” *The War Cry: National Edition*, 12 August 1905, p. 2.

²⁹ “Facts from the Central California Division,” *The War Cry: National Edition*, 7 October 1905, p. 4.

³⁰ “Western Territorial Secretary’s Notes: The Devastation in San Francisco,” *The War Cry: National Edition*, 19 May 1906, p. 3.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² “Western Territorial Secretary’s Notes,” *The War Cry: National Edition*, 26 May 1906, p. 2.
George Kilbey, “The Pacific Coast Disaster,” *The War Cry: National edition*, 30 June 1906, p. 5.

were in good shape and that the farm was doing well with its hay harvest, stock and 2,000 chickens.³³

With the repairs soon completed, the Golden Gate Orphanage continued to care for the children put in its charge, but it also made a name for itself as a first class poultry producer. By 1909, the orphanage still had not reached its goal of 10,000 chickens, only having between 2,000-2,500, but the Hotel St. Francis in San Francisco now depended on the Orphanage as the only producer of eggs used in the hotel's kitchen.³⁴ A year later, Mr. Cooke, a chicken rancher from Hawaii came to California to find "new and sturdier strains" of chicken stock to add to his ranch and chose the Orphanage as his supplier, ordering chickens, turkeys and geese.³⁵ The Salvationists had added yet another successful operation to their list of programs in Sonoma County.

As a farm, chicken ranch, and home for children, the Golden Gate Orphanage is notable for the work that it was able to complete in such short time. Purchased at the end of 1904, the facility immediately began looking after children from the Bay Area. Children were brought in from Colorado and a portion of the property was turned into a farm. The Captains were able to withstand the effects of an earthquake through the assistance of outsiders and territorial leaders, and the Orphanage was able to continue its work unfettered by major difficulties. By the end of this period the Orphanage had also become known as a quality breeder of chickens, sending stock overseas and providing eggs to the elite visitors of

³³ "Western Territorial Secretary's Notes," *The War Cry: National Edition*, 4 August 1906, p. 2.

³⁴ H.A. Derms, "Portfolio of Santa Rosa and Vicinity," Santa Rosa: H.A. Derms, 1909), 84.

³⁵ "Poultry for the Hawaiian Islands," *Healdsburg Tribune*, 24 August 1910, p. 1.

San Francisco. The Salvationists had done well, indeed, with their property at Lytton Springs.

These two projects highlight the importance of Sonoma County to the Salvation Army. When the organization first came to Sonoma County, it was looking for recruits and financial support. What the Salvationists found were rural communities that were not in tune with the organization's efforts and beliefs. These local citizens viewed the Salvationists as invaders and resisted their attempts at settling into the towns. Over time, these people witnessed the work that the Salvationists did and grew to appreciate their presence. At the same time, the Salvation Army was looking for rural areas to experiment with new programs, and Sonoma County was well suited to handle them. The county was mostly rural, and its citizens heavily supported the Salvation Army's efforts. When the Cotati Wood Camp was created, it received generous donations from the surrounding communities. The Lytton Springs Orphanage garnered community aid after the earthquake, and local newspapers often praised both programs. The Salvation Army knew that without a vast amount of support and aid from local citizens, neither of these projects would have been successful. Sonoma County had become an important base of support for the Salvation Army, something those first Salvationists in Petaluma would have never imagined.

Conclusion

When the earthquake of 1906 struck, the Salvation Army was an integral part of several of Sonoma County's communities. From its presence in Petaluma and Santa Rosa to its work in the countryside, the Salvation Army was expanding its role in the area. The quick rebuilding of the Citadel and the repairs made to the Lytton Springs Orphanage after the earthquake further illustrate the communities' acceptance and support of the Salvationists. This success could not have been more than a faint hope for the Salvationists who made the first foray into Sonoma County.

The Salvation Army's first corps in Petaluma in 1888 was a failure as the community disagreed with the Salvationists' mission and message. The citizens saw the Salvationists as beggars trying to peddle their *War Cry*, causing commotion in the streets, and drawing local daughters and wives into their grasp. City leaders, business owners, their patrons and the newspapers were so incensed with the Salvationists' behavior that they resorted to mob violence to force them off the streets. Petaluma's Board of Trustees, finding the community's actions worse than the Salvationists, passed an ordinance that allowed the Salvation Army to continue its activities, only to turn that statute against the Salvationists a year later. A court battle resulted from this encounter, leading to the Salvation Army's greatest victory in Sonoma County. The Salvationists soon found the victory to be a hollow one though, as they were continually harassed and left the city after only two years of work. The riots, court cases, and tension were too much for the Salvationists, and in 1890 they left for Santa Rosa, hoping that a new town would provide the opportunity to start over.

When the Salvationists moved to Santa Rosa, they hoped to find the success that had eluded them in Petaluma. They found, instead, a community that was in many ways as

skeptical as the one they had just left. This distrust slowly turned to support as circumstances changed during the Salvationists' tenure, most notably the shift from evangelism to social services. By slowly building a support base and with the city leaders unable to stop them, the Salvationists began to prosper in Santa Rosa. As this support grew, the Salvation Army expanded its aid programs, working with those in jail, the hospital, and marginalized portions of the community, such as the Chinese. Support was so strong in Santa Rosa that the organization branched out from its base, holding meetings in various towns and reestablishing a corps in Petaluma in 1897. The Salvationists even built a meeting hall in Santa Rosa, a rare occurrence for the organization in such a small community. With all of the progress that was being made in Sonoma County, the Salvationists' success began to draw the attention of national leaders.

Those most impressed with their success were the territorial leaders in San Francisco. In 1897, the year that the Salvationists reinvaded Petaluma, Wallace Winchell was looking to experiment with work programs in rural areas, in an attempt to move the unemployed away from what the Salvationists deemed the debilitating effects of city life. The wide support base that existed in Sonoma County made the area highly attractive for these programs. Eventually establishing the Cotati Wood Camp near Santa Rosa in 1897 and relocating the Golden Gate Orphanage from Beulah, California, to Lytton Springs in 1904, the Salvation Army appreciated the support they received for its efforts. The orphanage was supported and prospered during this period, with the captain in charge caring for the children, while also running a highly successful egg farm. While the success of the short-lived Cotati Wood Camp can be debated, it was heavily supported during its inception. This support base would continue to grow as the Salvation Army continued its work in Sonoma County.

From its auspicious start in Petaluma to its blooming near the end of the century, the Salvation Army strove to incorporate itself into the communities of Sonoma County. Finally overcoming the obstacles that had hindered its progress through hard work and determination, the Salvation Army met with great prosperity in the county.

While the Cotati Wood Camp may have faded into the past, the property at Lytton Springs still serves the Salvation Army, not as an orphanage, but as an Adult Rehabilitation Center. The Citadel in Santa Rosa has been replaced by a Bank of America, but the organization's senior citizen housing complex looks over the city today. The Salvation Army's secondhand stores are located in several of Sonoma County's communities, Christmas Kettle volunteers can be seen every Christmas, and the Divisional Headquarters are even located in Petaluma, a city that had originally spurned the organization. From its first corps in Petaluma to its presence today, the Salvation Army has left an indelible mark on Sonoma County.

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