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HOOK, MILTON RAYMOND
THE AVONDALE SCHOOL AND ADVENTIST EDUCATIONAL
GOALS, 1894-1900.

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY, ED.D., 1978

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Andrews University
School of Graduate Studies

THE AVONDALE SCHOOL AND ADVENTIST
EDUCATIONAL GOALS, 1894-1900

A Dissertation
Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

by
Milton Raymond Hook
June 1978

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ABSTRACT

THE AVONDALE SCHOOL AND ADVENTIST
EDUCATIONAL GOALS, 1894-1900

by

Milton Raymond Hook

Chairperson: George H. Akers

ABSTRACT OF GRADUATE STUDENT RESEARCH

Dissertation

Andrews University

Department of Education

Title: THE AVONDALE SCHOOL AND ADVENTIST EDUCATIONAL GOALS,
1894-1900

Name of researcher: Milton Raymond Hook

Name and title of faculty adviser: George H. Akers, Ed.D.

Date completed: June 1978

Problem

The Avondale school in its initial era is regarded by some Seventh-day Adventists as the denomination's model school. At the time when the pioneers were establishing the school they spoke and wrote about their educational goals and methods in a variety of contexts. Since that time the denomination has published many of the statements on goals and methods and has continued to regard these as normative guidelines for the entire Seventh-day Adventist educational system. However, in their published form the educational goal statements retain little of their historical context. This fact leads to perplexities when attempts are made to analyze the development and

true nature of the educational goals. Furthermore, the relevance of the statements for a modern milieu are difficult to ascertain. The purpose of this study was to trace the history of the Avondale school (1894-1900) and thus provide a gestalt for an analysis of the fundamental educational goals enunciated by the pioneers.

Method

This study utilized the historical research method. The problem was approached by reading the letters, diaries, manuscripts, and periodical articles of individuals closely associated with the establishment of the Avondale school. Minutes of various committees were also examined. During the reading of these documents the historical, topical, and biographical details were noted and assessed for reliability. The most relevant and reliable details were selected and incorporated into the narrative. At times, less reliable material was discussed in the course of evaluating the historical evidence. Subsequently, an analysis of Avondale's educational goals was made with the historical context in mind.

Conclusions

The conclusions reached in this study are as follows:

1. Leading Seventh-day Adventist schools at the time, in addition to the St. Kilda school in Melbourne, were considered by key pioneers such as S. N. Haskell and E. G. White to be unsatisfactory. Therefore, the Avondale school was established because of real needs both in the Australasian constituency and throughout the entire denomination.

2. The pioneers regarded the establishment of the Avondale

school as an opportunity to treat its development as an experiment in order to improve and vindicate their educational ideas.

3. There were two basic goals associated with the Avondale school: the institution was established primarily for the conversion and character development of youth, and it was also regarded as a place where denominational workers could be suitably trained.

4. The individuals who oriented the direction of campus activities used deliberate methods to achieve the goals of the school. These methods included a rural location, Bible study and its integration into all subjects, local missionary activities, manual labor balanced with mental work, and a ban on time-consuming games for those training as denominational workers.

5. By 1900, after a few years of successful experimentation, pioneers such as E. G. White and W. C. White advocated that the Avondale school be regarded as the model school for the entire denomination.

6. The nature of Avondale's goals imply their increasing relevance for today. The rationale originally given for the methods used at Avondale imply their validity for determining methods for use in modern Seventh-day Adventist schools.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<u>Bible Echo</u>	<u>Bible Echo and Signs of the Times</u>
Caviness Interviews	Agnes Lewis Caviness, "The Founding of Avondale," Interviews with W. C. White, A. T. Robinson, and S. E. Peck, California
Doc. File	Document File
EGWRC-AU	Ellen G. White Research Center, Andrews University
EGWRC-DC	Ellen G. White Research Center, Washington, D.C.
Faculty Minutes	Minutes of the Avondale School Faculty
FMB Minutes	Minutes of the Foreign Mission Board
<u>Fundamentals</u>	<u>Fundamentals of Christian Education</u>
GC Archives	General Conference Archives, Washington, D.C.
<u>GC Bulletin</u>	<u>General Conference Bulletin</u>
Hare MS	[Metcalfa Hare], "History of Avondale School," in W. C. White Letters, August 10, 1895 [sic]
Heritage Room	Heritage Room, James White Library, Andrews University
<u>Instructor</u>	<u>Youth's Instructor</u>
MS(S)	Manuscript(s)
<u>Review</u>	<u>Advent Review and Sabbath Herald</u>
School Board Minutes	Minutes of the Avondale School Board
<u>SDA Encyclopedia</u>	<u>Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia</u>
<u>SDA Yearbook</u>	<u>Yearbook of the Seventh-day Adventist Denomination</u>
<u>Spec. Test. Ed.</u>	<u>Special Testimonies on Education</u>

Testimonies

Union Conf. Minutes

Testimonies for the Church

Minutes of the Australasian Union Conference Sessions

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INTRODUCTION

In 1885 a small group of Americans disembarked at Sydney, Australia, to establish a mission for the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Their initial activities were concentrated largely in colonial capitals such as Sydney, Melbourne, Hobart, and across the Tasman Sea in Auckland, New Zealand. At first Melbourne became their headquarters and it was there that a missionary training school began in August 1892, in two rented suburban houses. This was a temporary institution which served while a committee studied plans for a permanent location for the school. Their efforts culminated in 1894 with the purchase of some land of dubious farming potential situated at Cooranbong about eighty miles north of Sydney, New South Wales.

This rural estate was isolated from city and suburbia but accessible by train, boat, and buggy. The first official title of the permanent school was Avondale College but this was soon changed to the Avondale School for Christian Workers. The name was later changed again to the Australasian Missionary College and more recently it has reverted to Avondale College once more.

Since its establishment Avondale College has trained denominational missionaries, teachers, and ministers, together with students who have subsequently entered secular employment. Students have attended from all of the Australian states and New Zealand

together with small numbers of Pacific Islanders and international students from further afield.

Purpose of the Study

The pioneers of Avondale College naturally brought with them philosophies of life which occasioned educational goal statements, and these in turn suggested intended courses of action. One pioneer of special importance during the initial era (1894-1900) was Mrs. E. G. White, whose statements of educational goals are considered to be normative for the denomination. In view of the fact that she was closely associated with the establishment of Avondale and that the staff members generally endeavored to implement her goal statements, Avondale College in its initial era is regarded by some Seventh-day Adventists as the denomination's model school.

The question arises, What were the circumstances before and during the school's establishment that prompted the statements of educational practice? Furthermore, What elements of the school were based on temporary emergencies as distinct from those based on fundamental educational goals? Only by researching the development of the model in its historical setting is it possible to answer these questions.

The twofold purpose of this study is therefore to trace the early history of Avondale College and to analyze, in relation to the historical milieu, the statements of fundamental educational goals as specified by the founders.

Need for the Study

This study is viewed as serving three main needs. First, the study is conceived as one which will provide historical context for the goals stated by the pioneers of Avondale College during the period 1894-1900. A review of pertinent literature shows that previous collections of goal statements from the writings of E. G. White are largely divorced from their historical setting, and where studies do attempt a historical approach they sacrifice depth in favor of breadth. The result is various degrees of superficiality and incompleteness. This study, therefore, seeks to provide a detailed historical account of the years 1894-1900 at Avondale as context for research into the initial primary purposes of Avondale College.

Second, this study is viewed as one which might serve to clarify what should be the distinctive thrust of Seventh-day Adventist educational practice today. That is, it seeks to analyze the goal statements made in reference to Avondale College for priorities and distinctive qualities of lasting relevance and universality.

Finally, a third need for this study lies at the pragmatic level. There is a need to study solutions to practical problems attempted by the pioneers, for these solutions may suggest what to do, or what not to do, when attempting to resolve similar problems today. Insufficient finance for staffing, building, and maintenance was one major problem met by the pioneers. Other problems were curriculum relevance, the need to train church workers suitably, the necessity for good discipline, and the desire to foster in youth a will to exercise high moral standards. Such problems generally recur with each generation and an informed background of methods

used in the past is often helpful when searching for solutions to modern problems.

Definition of Terms

Local Conference. An administrative unit of the Seventh-day Adventist Church incorporating local churches. With respect to the Australian situation in the 1890s, a local conference was responsible first to the General Conference, but later to an intermediate administrative unit called a union conference.

Union Conference. An administrative unit of the Seventh-day Adventist Church incorporating local conferences. The Australasian Union Conference, encompassing the Australian and New Zealand Conferences, was the first of such units formed (1894).

General Conference. The central administrative unit of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, formed in 1863 at Battle Creek, Michigan, and maintained at that center for forty years before transferal to Washington, D.C. Until 1894 this unit was responsible for all mission activities of the denomination in Australia and New Zealand. Following the Australasian reorganization in 1894 General Conference mission activities for this area were channeled through the Australasian Union Conference.

Foreign Mission Board. An agency of the General Conference responsible for the appointments, transfers, recalls, and well-being of the denomination's overseas missionaries during the years 1889-1903.

Seventh-day Adventist Church. A worldwide Protestant body which grew out of the Millerite Movement, sometimes referred to as

the Advent Awakening. Among their principle doctrines are trinitarianism; sola scriptura; tithing; religious liberty; baptism by immersion; observance of the seventh-day Sabbath; and Christ's incarnation, resurrection, continuing ministry in heaven, and imminent return in person. They believe in man's inherent sinfulness, which is balanced with the optimism of renewal possibilities in which an individual's salvation from evil can be assured by acceptance of and continued faith in Christ. This optimism prompts the church not only to evangelize the masses directly but also to operate health-care, publishing, philanthropic, and educational institutions for the purpose of nurturing and training Christians.

Delimitations of the Study

The main topic of this study is limited to the history and educational goals of Avondale College during the years 1894-1900, which marks the period between the choice of the site and the time when the pioneer group had the school operating on a regular basis or had left the campus for appointments elsewhere.

This study does not discuss either the theological implications arising from the reported miracles connected with the establishment of Avondale College or the source of the pioneers' statements of educational goals. Such conclusions would demand an extensive separate study involving a theological introduction and context rather than a detailed historical narrative.

This dissertation is not concerned with detailed histories of the local area and the Seventh-day Adventist Church throughout Australia, or with biographies of the major personalities involved,

except as the details from these three areas contribute towards a comprehensive viewpoint of Avondale College during 1894-1900.

This study does not research Australian government files. Avondale College was operated in comparative isolation and entirely independent of the Australian public school system and was neither registered with nor officially inspected by secular educational authorities. Therefore, a search for primary source documents among the government files is considered to be an impractical assignment that might yield but a few incidentals of little consequence with reference to a proper understanding of the educational goals.

This research does not conclude with a comprehensive list of universal and cross-cultural methods mandatory for the implementation of Seventh-day Adventist educational goals. Rather, it merely notes some ideas on the basis of some gathered from the history of Avondale College (1894-1900), realizing that there may be equally viable methods for the achievement of the goals in a modern setting which were not attempted by the pioneers.

Basic Assumptions

This study assumes that:

1. The Seventh-day Adventist Church has not changed its educational foundations and that the educational goal statements of the period under study are therefore theoretically still acceptable within the framework of the denomination's school system.
2. The Avondale pioneers' concepts of the nature of man and the process for the betterment of the human race are admissible pre-suppositions.

Design of the Study

The study is composed of three main parts. The first part is contextual for the purpose of orienting the specific topic of Avondale College among relevant aspects of the Australian environment. It is divided into two chapters. The first chapter deals with the political, economic, and social milieu, together with the general educational situation throughout Australia in the nineteenth century. A brief synopsis of Cooranbong's history prior to 1894 is also included because much of the subject matter in the following chapters is centered in that local area. The second chapter is an outline of the development of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Australia from the 1860s to 1900.

The second part of the study is composed of four chapters dealing with the historical data itself during the years 1894 to 1900. The first chapter in this part discusses the choice of a suitable school site in 1894, while the second one deals with the years 1895 and 1896 in which the pioneers struggled to establish themselves on the estate. The third chapter is an account of the official opening year of 1897, in which the first large buildings were erected and substantial academic courses were offered. This section concludes with a fourth chapter which treats the expansion and consolidation that took place at Avondale between 1898 and 1900.

The third part of the study concentrates specifically on the educational goals that were stated throughout the initial years. This is divided into two chapters: the first one deals with the statements themselves in the context of the historical background, and the last chapter summarizes the data and offers conclusions.

Literature Review

It is the purpose of this review to note the work of previous historians and educators who attempted substantial contributions to the topic. These are reviewed in approximate chronological sequence. The publications discussed first were written by contemporaries of the Avondale pioneers but were included among the secondary sources because the authors merely made interpretations of the goals rather than initiated new ones.

The works of E. A. Sutherland were perhaps the first of significance. His publications reflected the influence of E. G. White on his thinking and practice. While E. G. White and others were establishing Avondale College Sutherland was attempting in America to duplicate processes for the attainment of the same educational goals. The thesis of his book Living Fountains or Broken Cisterns¹ was that the true principles of education can be traced from Judaism through Christianity and the Protestant Reformation and on down into American Republicanism. His book was a sustained plea for practical education. Reflecting the writings of E. G. White, he maintained that the Scriptures are the best textbook material and that training schools should be established out in the country where agriculture and other practical lines of study can best be conducted. His later book Studies in Christian Education² was a more refined presentation of his viewpoints but still carried the thrust for practical education. He

¹E. A. Sutherland, Living Fountains or Broken Cisterns (Battle Creek, Michigan: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1900).

²E. A. Sutherland, Studies in Christian Education (Madison College, Tennessee: The Rural Press, 1952).

synthesized his conclusions into twenty educational principles.¹ It was a characteristic of his writings that he neglected the historical context of Avondale College from which many of his E. G. White quotations were taken, preferring rather the historical model of Oberlin College, Ohio. This divorce of the educational goal statements from their original context and marriage to another model carries with it the danger of adulterated conclusions.

J. N. Loughborough belonged to the first generation of Seventh-day Adventists and was one of the earliest to show any interest in publishing histories of his church. In one of his books, The Great Second Advent Movement,² he makes brief references to events at Avondale College. He was apparently dependent on denominational bulletins and magazines for his information, having never visited Australia personally. His history was published soon after the events of the 1890s and it therefore lacked some perspective when dealing with that decade, and particularly with Avondale College.

The book Life Sketches of Ellen G. White³ contained the first serious attempt to publish something of the history of Avondale College combined with limited discussion of its goals. Apparently it was not the purpose of the authors to present either an exhaustive history or a comprehensive treatment of the educational goals but rather to tell in a popular style only something of E. G. White's

¹Ibid., pp. 141-47.

²J. N. Loughborough, The Great Second Advent Movement (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1905).

³C. C. Crisler et al., "Across the Pacific," in Life Sketches of Ellen G. White (Mountain View, California: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1915).

contribution to the establishment of Avondale College.

When F. C. Gilbert wrote Divine Predictions of Mrs. Ellen G. White Fulfilled¹ he drew heavily on Life Sketches of Ellen G. White for his information. Gilbert was neither an educator nor a historian and he made no attempt to examine critically the primary sources or to document his conclusions. With respect to the Avondale stories in the chapter "Divine Leading," he merely sifted the history for drama which he believed supported his viewpoint that E. G. White possessed prophetic powers. This left others the task of attempting some academic credence for his conclusions.

The dissertation of William Homer Teesdale, "Ellen G. White: Pioneer, Prophet,"² covered the entire lifetime of E. G. White. In his chapter "Pioneering in Australia," he selected incidents from her diaries and letters to illustrate her as a significant pioneer. He did so, of course, to the exclusion of other contemporary pioneers at Avondale and furthermore gave the mistaken impression that Avondale College was established immediately upon her arrival in Australia. However, his fresh insights demonstrated the value of these primary documents. He highlighted their potential for many more insights upon even closer investigation and in particular the degree of E. G. White's influence on Avondale.

¹F. C. Gilbert, Divine Predictions of Mrs. Ellen G. White Fulfilled (South Lancaster, Mass.: Good Tidings Press, 1922).

²William Homer Teesdale, "Ellen G. White: Pioneer, Prophet." (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, [1932]).

Arthur W. Spalding, in his book Captains of the Host,¹ appeared to be heavily dependent on what was already published in Life Sketches of Ellen G. White, but there is obviously much in his discussion on Avondale that was not documented and only in a general way can be guessed from his bibliography. Spalding's account was told in a popular style and he combined history with something of the educational goals but he omitted much of both aspects.

E. M. Cadwallader's research represented the most extensive and coherent contribution yet made, apart from Gilson's later attempt. His first work, Principles of Education in the Writings of Ellen G. White,² paid but scant attention to the historical background of more than nine thousand excerpts from E. G. White's writings on education. He categorized these under 208 separate headings and further crystallized them into twenty-eight "emphases" which were repetitious to some extent and deserved greater synthesis. The lack of historical context was remedied by his later publication, History of Seventh-day Adventist Education.³ The basic weakness of Cadwallader's history of Avondale College was his almost complete reliance on A. G. Daniells's recollections in The Abiding Gift of Prophecy and on secondary sources such as Life Sketches of Ellen G.

¹Arthur W. Spalding, Captains of the Host (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1949). Spalding's chapter 40, "Taught of God," appears again in Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1961), vol. 2, chapter 19, "The Church and School Movement."

²E. M. Cadwallader, Principles of Education in the Writings of Ellen G. White (Lincoln, Nebraska: Union College Press, [1949]).

³E. M. Cadwallader, History of Seventh-day Adventist Education, 3d ed. (Lincoln, Nebraska: Union College, 1958).

White and Gilbert's Divine Predictions of Mrs. Ellen G. White Fulfilled. There were isolated references from denominational magazines but his account perpetuated some errors made by previous writers that could have been avoided by the use of good primary sources.

Horace Shaw's dissertation, "The Speaking of Ellen G. White,"¹ admitted that it was not the specific intention to study E. G. White's goals of education but it gave a summary statement in these words: "The goal of education as seen by Ellen G. White is preparation for useful service and hence should be practical as well as cultural and academic. . . ."² For historical details Shaw drew approximately equal proportions from primary as well as secondary sources. He relied much on Life Sketches of Ellen G. White and the works of A. G. Daniells and Arthur W. Spalding. For the years 1894-1900 he unaccountably used only the years 1895 and 1899 among the volumes of the Advent Review and Sabbath Herald. Furthermore, he did not make a complete search through the E. G. White diaries and letters. For these reasons his record of E. G. White's speaking appointments at Avondale list only two or three addresses when, in actual fact, she spoke there on numerous occasions.

The most extensive secondary sources in the relevant literature proved to be the two works of W. J. Gilson. He presented the historical context first and then followed with discussions on the foundations of Seventh-day Adventist education drawn from Scripture

¹Horace J. Shaw, "The Speaking of Ellen G. White" (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1959).

²Ibid., p. 127.

and the writings of E. G. White. The title of Gilson's thesis, "The History of Seventh-day Adventist Education in Australia and New Zealand,"¹ announced a broad topic and consequently the depth of research was not thorough, particularly among the American archival material. Nevertheless, what he accomplished with predominantly Australian resources was a reliable effort, but he admitted that his discussion of the goals was limited. This lack was partially made up with the publication of his book God's Way in Education.² In this book he systematically analyzed Biblical history for principles of education. He carried on his analysis into post-Biblical times concluding with a brief history of Seventh-day Adventist education. From this study of Scripture and the writings of E. G. White he postulated twelve general aims of Christian education. However, in both his thesis and book Gilson did not clearly differentiate between aims, goals, principles, and philosophy of education. Furthermore, nowhere did he specifically outline the goals of Avondale College itself.

The assistance which Stephen Haskell and his wife gave in the establishment of Avondale was treated in Ella Robinson's book S. N. Haskell: Man of Action.³ Among her primary sources she used the letter collections of the Haskells and Whites together with Haskell's published articles in the Advent Review and Sabbath Herald

¹W. J. Gilson, "The History of Seventh-day Adventist Education in Australia and New Zealand" (M.Ed. thesis, University of Melbourne, Australia, [1961]).

²W. J. Gilson, God's Way in Education (Warburton, Victoria, Australia: Signs Publishing Company, [1968]).

³Ella M. Robinson, S. N. Haskell: Man of Action (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1967).

and thus compiled an account of the Haskell's two-year teaching experience and early influence in the Avondale community.

David James Lee made a voluminous compilation called Reprints on Christian Education by Church Leaders.¹ It included a selection of reprinted articles from seven different Seventh-day Adventist magazines extending back to 1862. Despite the awesome quantity of material included, it omitted articles from Signs of the Times, Youth's Instructor, and important Australian sources such as the Bible Echo and Signs of the Times and the Union Conference Record, in which E. G. White and church educators published their articles. The compilation illustrated the growing awareness that in order to study the statements on educational practice they need to be seen in the context of the entire article. In addition, some historical context needs to be given too, but this was not included with the reprints.

In a vein similar to E. A. Sutherland's works, Carl Anderson wrote Crisis in Seventh-day Adventist Education.² In this work he listed twenty-six principles he expected to find operative in true Christian education based on the statements of E. G. White. He believed modern Seventh-day Adventist educational practice had diverged from the "pattern" but was confident it would reform again. Anderson, in common with his predecessors who attempted a synthesis of E. G. White's statements by listing principles, engaged in some

¹David James Lee, Reprints on Christian Education by Church Leaders (Loma Linda, California: Lee's Educational Research Project, [1969]).

²Carl D. Anderson, Crisis in Seventh-day Adventist Education (Payson, Arizona: Leaves-of-Autumn Books, 1975).

repetition and offered a code of educational ethics of sorts which was mingled with some goals.

A. N. Nelson and R. G. Manalaysay in The Gist of Christian Education¹ arranged excerpts from E. G. White's statements on educational practice into twenty-one topics. From these excerpts summaries of concepts were made and the compilation concluded with a list of thirty-five "outstanding characteristics of a Christian school." Once again there was no clear outline of goals alone and the excerpts were divorced from any historical context.

C. Mervyn Maxwell's Tell It to the World² particularly stressed the goal of education as service to mankind. The chapter "Sixteen Years of Crisis" told the history of Avondale College largely with the use of denominational articles and A. G. Daniells' recollections.

An incisive study of Seventh-day Adventist education may be found in "Dynamic Education" written by Carsten Johnsen.³ There was no historical context given but instead a reasoned analysis offered with the conclusion that the distinctive theoretical trait of Seventh-day Adventist education remains as dynamic activity. "Man," he said, "must be redeemed from his paralyzing tendency of closing himself up

¹A. N. Nelson and R. G. Manalaysay, The Gist of Christian Education (Riverside, California: Loma Linda University, 1971).

²C. Mervyn Maxwell, Tell It to the World (Mountain View, California: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1976).

³Carsten Johnsen, "Dynamic Education," Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan, [1975].

in passive indolence;"¹ therefore, the essential goal of education is to make man constructively active.

In his book Adventist Education at the Crossroads,² Raymond Moore dwelt almost entirely on the educational goal expressed as balance achieved by following a work-study program. By laboring the term "work-study program" his readers may gain the impression that manual labor and the study of books is all that is involved in Adventist education. Social and spiritual dimensions are germane in the term and were alluded to in his discussion but needed greater emphasis for a comprehensive treatment of the topic.

¹Ibid., p. 1.

²Raymond S. Moore, Adventist Education at the Crossroads (Mountain View, California: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1976).

CHAPTER I

ASPECTS OF THE AUSTRALIAN MILIEU

The establishment of Avondale College was basically an experiment to demonstrate goals for the entire Seventh-day Adventist educational system. The pioneers who experimented at this institution did not begin with an elaborate theoretical system fully explained, but rather started with a few clear and simple goals in addition to some general concepts about methodology. The basic goals did not change significantly while the pioneers remained on the estate, for these were continually rehearsed as a recurring theme. Stated in close conjunction with the goal statements were various topical statements on methodology made in the form of either approbations or denunciations. These were usually reflections on elements of the experiment. A study of the statements on goals and methods in their historical context may serve to isolate the goals and thus highlight the priorities which the pioneers had in mind when initiating the experimental model.

The words and actions of the Avondale pioneers were often quite different from contemporary trends, but at other times they echoed prevailing conditions in the Australian environment. Many of their methods were sharply contrasted with popular practices of the time. They retired to the rural area when the trend was towards urban living. They promoted agriculture when the general population

showed a preference for small industries in the cities. They banned games on campus even though sport in Australia was one of the most popular pastimes and commanded a large proportion of the time in other schools. On the other hand, some actions of the Avondale pioneers reflected the circumstances of the decade. For example, their appeal for employees to work long hours at low wages was a simple reaction to the financial depression at its worst. Furthermore, their exodus to New South Wales and their preoccupation with the religious freedom issue were likewise in the spirit of the times.

A popular opinion in Australia during the 1890s was that the six, separate colonies should unite and form a federal government to preserve Australia for the Australians. In this potentially unfriendly scene the Avondale pioneers, mainly Americans, organized a campaign for the constitutional separation of church and state to guarantee religious freedom within the planned federation. At the same time they contended with low wages and strike elements among their employees on the estate which were typical of the trade union activities during that decade. The federation movement and trade unionism were therefore relevant environmental aspects during the establishment of Avondale.

The interacting climatic and economic conditions in the milieu also affected Avondale's development. The nature and extent of the depressed economy in the 1890s underscored the fact that the Avondale school was established at the very time when finance was the slimmest. Furthermore, the agricultural experiments were first tried under the worst drought conditions the district had experienced

for decades. Avondale was not entirely shielded from adverse weather and extreme poverty.

The Avondale pioneers reacted variously to other aspects of their environment. They joined the exodus from Victoria and were, at first, sympathetic to the idea of a communal-type village settlement similar to some in America and also promoted in Australia at the time. Despite the rapid contemporary drift towards urbanization they advocated the very opposite by repeatedly recommending country living. Their emphasis on religious education, while it did not exclude social work, was a distinct contrast to benevolent activities of the Salvation Army and other groups who entered Australia about the same time. Generally speaking, the Avondale pioneers revealed no consistent imitation of social vogue.

The sharpest contrasts appeared in the educational scene. Country boarding schools were tried and recommended in Australia's early history, but then lost favor. In the nineteenth century Australian schools were located on small acreages. The various denominations concentrated mainly on the education of only their young men. Harsh discipline was practiced, a rigid secular and classical curriculum was offered with negligible practical training and a strong sports program. There was inadequate teacher training, and everyone was clamoring for government aid for their schools. In contrast, Avondale was established on a large acreage as a coeducational, country boarding school with comparatively sober discipline. Its curriculum was Biblically oriented, nonclassical, devoid of sports, and balanced with a practical work program. They began early to train their own teachers and made no claims for government

financial aid. This unusual venture was set in the unlikely village of Cooranbong where former convicts and Irish immigrants had all but lost hope in the face of hard times and unpromising soil.

In many respects, therefore, the Avondale pioneers set their own distinct goals and acted independently of Australian trends, especially those in the social and educational areas. The reason for this phenomenon most likely lay in the fact that the goals of the Avondale school were religious by nature and did not parallel the popular inclinations of an increasingly secular society. However, there were some elements of the milieu which were inescapable and the Avondale pioneers found themselves affected mainly by aspects of the economic and political circumstances.

Political Movements¹

European explorers and whalers made spasmodic contact with Terra Australis and its primitive people but it was not until 1788 that Captain Phillip, acting on behalf of the British Crown, established the first permanent settlement on the eastern coast at Port Jackson, later named Sydney.

¹The discussion in this section is mainly based on the following: E. A. Benians, A. P. Newton, and J. Holland Rose, gen. eds., The Cambridge History of the British Empire, 8 vols. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1933), vol. 7, part 1: Australia, advisor Ernest Scott, pp. 25-63, 364-463; Charles Manning H. Clark, A Short History of Australia (New York: Mentor Books, 1963), pp. 153-81; Gordon Greenwood, ed., Australia: A Social and Political History (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1955), pp. 153-73; Milton F. Krause, "The Seventh-day Adventist Church in Australia, 1855-1900" (M.A. Honors thesis, University of Sydney, 1968), pp. 37-68, 126-29, 236-58; Vance Palmer, The Legend of the Nineties (Melbourne: University Press, 1954), pp. 86-149; James Thomas Sutcliffe, A History of Trade Unionism in Australia (Melbourne: Macmillan Company, 1967), pp. 99-105, 149-55.

The initial move was to provide an isolated penal colony for violators of British law because they could no longer be transported to America since the War of Independence. However, as free settlers moved simultaneously into the Port Jackson area, and British jails continued to be overcrowded, efforts were made to seek additional penal sites further afield. One such notorious colony was established at Hobart, Tasmania, in 1804. In addition, Irish convicts dug coal in chain gangs at Newcastle from 1802 until 1823, when the settlement was moved further north to Port Macquarie. Not until 1840 did new consignments of convicts cease to arrive at Sydney, and as late as 1870 a few were still held in custody.

Until 1825 the entire eastern section of the continent, including Van Diemen's Land (later named Tasmania) was known as the colony of New South Wales, but in that year Van Diemen's Land was officially instituted as a separate colony. The settlement in the southeast at Port Phillip (later named Melbourne) separated from New South Wales in 1851, and in the north Queensland was established with a separate government in 1859. On the west coast the penal colony of Western Australia began in 1829. South Australia was pioneered as a separate colony in 1836. These six colonies were administered by governors responsible ultimately to the British Crown.

As early as 1846 problems of a practical nature, such as the need of uniform mail services and import dues, prompted the suggestion that a central governing body be set up. It was a long route to colonial unity. Throughout the gold-rush decades and years of supremacy for the land-rich pastoralists a desire for a central government gained increasing momentum. The 1890s saw positive steps

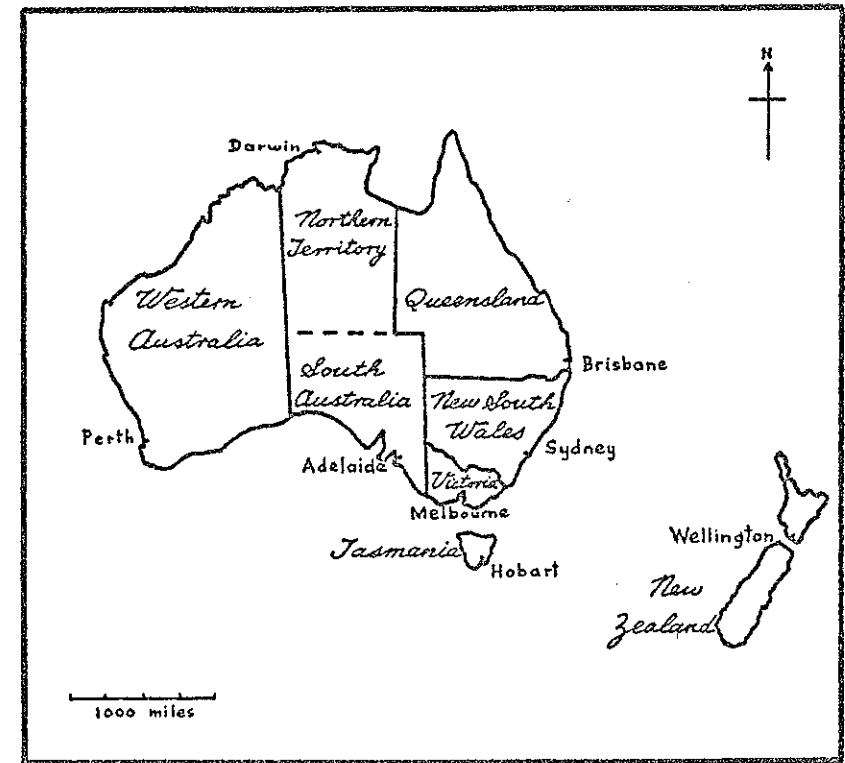


Fig. 1. The Australasian colonies and capital cities

taken which climaxed in the formation of the Federal Commonwealth of Australia.

There were pressing reasons for federation. Many argued for a uniform, intercolonial, free-trade policy that would supersede the system of customs tariffs. There was need for uniform legislation on social, industrial, and communication problems. A poignant example of the latter was the convergence of the Victorian and New South Wales railway lines at Albury in 1883, both having different gauges because of the initial policies of these two separate colonies. Also

in 1883, Queensland annexed New Guinea in the face of German intrusion, but without prior permission of the British parliament. The British were miffed and promptly disavowed the annexation. Britain's evident reluctance to plan for protection against German and French designs in the Pacific impressed the colonies of the need for unified self-help. Furthermore, Caucasians, still cherishing the legend that "down under" was an isolated utopia, hoped for continent-wide legislation to forbid the entrance of Asians flooding the labor market. The need for fiscal unity also encouraged bankers especially to hope for a better financial situation with federation. The poorer classes in particular desired a one-man-one-vote policy as an alternative to a franchise based on property ownership. Again, a central government gave promise of more effective arbitration between employers and employees. One final important factor was the increasing proportion of colonial-born people. By 1891, 75 percent of the population was classed as colonial born. These people had no real or sentimental attachment to Europe like their immigrant parents. They had learned to live in the rigorous environment from childhood and were proud of their individuality. Poets like Henry Lawson and "Banjo" Paterson immortalized the romance and laconic humor of the outback. The Bulletin, Australia's own newspaper, appealed to the colonial born with its nationalistic and republican overtures and was regarded as the "Bushman's Bible." This assortment of factors which became increasingly prominent finally climaxed in the 1890s with positive steps towards federation.

Henry Parkes had made a number of attempts to set government machinery in motion to draft a constitution. Eventually the Federal

Council of Australasia was established to meet, debate, and forge such a document. The first meetings were relatively unproductive and it was not until the March 1891 National Convention under the leadership of Parkes that effective steps were taken to discuss fundamental issues. As models they used the American, Swiss, and Canadian constitutions. A draft constitution was adopted and submitted to the individual colonial parliaments but there it languished as the immediate problems of financial depression were fought.

At the 1893 meeting a more democratic procedure was voted. Rather than the Convention handing down a draft constitution for discussion in the parliaments it was decided that each colony should elect representatives to frame a constitution and then submit the combined effort to referendum in each colony. This idea proved popular but implementation was slow. On March 4, 1897, the election of representatives took place and resulted in the choice of federation supporters.

Of special interest to this study was the sustained agitation in these years for a religious clause to be inserted into the proposed constitution. Cardinal Moran, representing the declining Roman Catholic 25 percent of the population, was one representative publicly advocating such a clause. In addition, early in 1894 the Protestant lobby had formed the Christian Electors Associations for the purpose of obtaining a clause to acknowledge the country's religious nature and belief in God. In the face of this agitation there was a strong counter move by Seventh-day Adventists who, though numerically small, conducted a widespread campaign to gather signatures for a petition against a religious clause. Krause said two

important factors were in their favor. One was the fact that "many Australians preferred to establish themselves as sleeping partners of religion incorporated, with limited liability" and regard Sunday as "a day of amusement and rest from hard work, but not for churchgoing." Religion, they felt, belonged to the European scene from which they sought independence and isolation. For this reason politicians were less and less dependent on the vote of the churchgoer. A second factor favoring Seventh-day Adventists was, ironically, the increasing agitation for the enforcement of Sunday observance. With fewer pews filled at Sunday services prelates agitated for enforcement and lamented in the press the lack of religious fervor. A 1677 Act of Charles II, which still remained law, was brought to convict some Seventh-day Adventists of Sunday desecration, and public opinion was outraged in favor of the accused. In view of the enormity of the situation and the fact that a religious clause in the constitution might enable further religious intolerance, Seventh-day Adventists believed a petition from the people was in order. Generally speaking, they favored federation but supported a complete separation of church and state interests, though rarely becoming involved in political matters.

When the elected representatives met in Adelaide from March 22 to April 23, 1897, to draft a constitution, they were presented with opposing petitions regarding a religious clause. They adopted a draft constitution which included a clause favoring the separation of church and state interests. This draft was then discussed in the separate parliaments. A second convention was held in Sydney during September 1897 to discuss amendments. This discussion was continued

in a Melbourne convention early in 1898 at which the draft constitution was finally adopted. It was at this convention that the religious clause received final discussion. H. B. Higgins favored the separation of church and state interests. Sir Joseph Abbott, of New South Wales, fought against the petition that Seventh-day Adventists had previously presented. Edmund Barton optimistically argued that the Australian population was so tolerant that the whole matter of a religious clause was irrelevant. Mr. Wise objected to this and referred to 38,000 Victorian signatures gathered by Seventh-day Adventists as evidence that a large segment of the population thought, on the contrary, that the inclusion of a religious clause was highly undesirable. When the vote was taken twenty-five were in favor of a clause prohibiting religious legislation and sixteen were against the clause. Clause 116 therefore read:

The Commonwealth shall not make any law for establishing any religious observance, or for prohibiting the free exercise of any religion, and no religious test shall be required as a qualification for any office or public trust under the Commonwealth.¹

In June 1898 the entire proposed constitution was submitted to referendum but it failed to receive the required minimum number of votes in New South Wales. Amendments were made in January 1899 and submitted to a second referendum. All except Western Australia voted in favor, but it was thought that because the main states had voted to adopt it then a delegation should go ahead and request royal assent. This assent was granted on July 9, 1900, and Western Australia scrambled to be included at the last minute. By exacting some favorable promises from the other representatives, one being

¹Krause, p. 254.

that the proposed Federal government would build a Trans-Australian railway across the desert to Western Australia, the constitution was submitted to the West Australians again and passed on July 31, 1900. On August 17, 1900, Queen Victoria signed the act which established the Federal Commonwealth of Australia, effective as of January 1, 1901.

This act established a Federal Parliament of two houses--a Senate, and a House of Representatives--with powers and responsibilities to legislate in matters such as postal and telegraphic services, national defense, international affairs, customs dues, coinage and fiscal policies, fisheries, a high court of appeal, taxation, and the federal railway to Western Australia. The individual states retained powers to govern public lands, mining, education, health, charities, and state railways, roads, and government. Only three minor amendments were made to the constitution after 1901 and the substance voted at the end of the nineteenth century remains essentially the same today.

Contemporary with the federation movement was the beginning of amalgamation and militancy of trade unions, and an understanding of their activities is important within the context of the 1890s.

Unions at first were primarily concerned with protecting their individual trades against the constant threat of cheaper and unskilled labor. Much of this union activity was on a local level and in Australia it was not until the driving energy of William Spence began to be applied that some intercolonial organization began to emerge in the trade union movement. He combined the mining unions into the Amalgamated Miner's Association between 1882 and

1893, and with similar strategy formed the Amalgamated Shearer's Union in 1886.

The socialist William Lane, in July 1899, achieved the amalgamation of all unions in Queensland under the umbrella of the Australian Labor Federation. This organization experienced success in outback Queensland by coercion, attack, and burning the huts of nonunion laborers--derogatively labeled "scab-workers." The Queensland Pastoralists Association of station owners wanted the right to hire the cheaper nonunion workers so the shearers in the Australian Labor Federation called a strike in the 1890 season and forced the station owners to employ only members of the Shearer's Union. The Australian Labor Federation also helped in the success of the 1889 London dock laborers' strike with a contribution of \$150,000.¹ These events naturally cost businessmen money in lost trade. They contributed towards the suspicion on the London money market that investments in Australia were endangered and as the markets hardened it worked against the interest of all parties.

The peak for overseas investment in Australia had been reached in 1889. Then, with continued falling wool prices, London loans hard to obtain, banks apprehensively calling up advances, and

¹Internal evidence in the primary sources from this era indicates that when money amounts in pounds are given the dollar equivalents are obtained by a multiplication of five. For example, the £900 purchase price for Brettville is elsewhere given as \$4,500. (Compare W. C. White to A. J. Read, June 13, 1894, EGWRC-DC, with E. C. White to C. H. Jones, May 9, 1894, Letter 40, 1894, EGWRC-AU). Another example is the £1,000 loan from A. E. Wessels given elsewhere as \$5,000. (Compare W. C. White to the Foreign Mission Board, February 20, 1895, EGWRC-DC with W. C. White, "Summary Report from Australia," *Review*, August 13, 1895, p. 512). For consistent and approximate equivalents this same multiplication procedure is adopted throughout this study.

the labor market full of men discharged from public works projects, only a spark was needed to ignite the whole precarious structure.

This was provided when one of the smallest groups, the Marine Officers Association, struck against the shipowners in Melbourne during August 1890. Plenty of nonunion labor together with militia protection was made available, but then in sympathy the Newcastle coal miners refused to supply ships having nonunion crews. Likewise, in August the Wharf Laborers Union refused to handle wool shorn by nonunion labor. Tempers exploded in a fierce melee on September 19 at Circular Quay, Sydney, and government officers read the Riot Act, which was followed by a mounted police charge into the strikers. It is estimated that fifty thousand workers, including seamen, miners, shearers, and dock laborers, stopped for periods of two weeks to two months and the overall effect was to paralyze the entire eastern seaboard. Supplies of union funds were soon exhausted and gradually the workers were forced to accept contracts on the same terms that they had refused before the strikes.

Realizing that unionism was then on the defensive the Queensland Pastoralists Association mounted a counteroffensive. With falling wool prices and investment payments to be made they had to gain the maximum profit they could extract from the workers. In the new season's contracts with the shearers the pastoralists insisted that workers provide their own tools, and tar all cuts made on the sheep during shearing, and they reserved the right to put off a union member or refuse back wages if the workers left before the season was over. As a result, ten thousand shearers in outback Queensland struck in January and February 1891 by gathering in camps at railway heads,

refusing to work, and burning a few pastoralists' fences and fields. They concluded that when the burrs began getting into the sheep's wool then the station owners would be forced to hire them. Instead, the pastoralists hired nonunion labor and the government again provided militia to guard the new workers. A few of the unionists were arrested on charges of conspiracy and one union executive was imprisoned for three years. The remaining strikers fled the rail-head camps as the militia arrived, and the strike petered out.

In October 1891 the miners at Moonta, South Australia, struck in disapproval of the contract system, but the mine owners won out. In 1892 there was an extensive strike in the mines at Broken Hill, New South Wales, over the wage rate. Employers hired nonunion labor and fighting broke out at the picket lines. Police with fixed bayonets were called in; they arrested seven executives of the miner's union and imprisoned six of them for periods of two to three years.

Throughout these turmoils the government, the press, and the established churches revealed themselves as favoring the employers. Repeated union defeats so discouraged the movement that very few new unions were formed between the years 1890 and 1894. One leader, William Lane, was so disenchanted with the Australian situation that he organized the New Australia Settlement Association and sailed off to Paraguay in July 1893 with a large group of supporters and ideas to settle eight hundred families there in four years.

Owing to the general depression at this time unionists could command very little leverage. Unemployment was so widespread that men were prepared to work at reduced wages in order to survive. Lamely, the unions consented to allow their members to work alongside

nonunionists and accept whatever wage was offered.

On the other hand, some colonial governments endeavored to remedy the employees' dilemma. In 1894 South Australia passed an Act to establish a Board of Conciliation to enable constructive dialogue between capital and labor. Victoria, in 1896, set up a Wages Board to establish wage rates, and hours and conditions of work. From approximately 1896 wages began to increase, not necessarily because of union agitation or government legislation but because of a steady overall fiscal recovery.

In the decade of the 1890s Australian unionism learned that it needed a unified national organization and parliamentary representation. Sutcliffe summarized unionism in these words:

The unions, whose membership had reached a low ebb in 1895, gradually recovered their position in the following years, but were by no means strong enough, either numerically or financially, to engage in serious struggles such as had characterized the years between 1886 and 1896. . . .

While the unions were weak, they were quietly but effectively building up their industrial and political organization, which later succeeded in securing substantial increases in the number of direct representatives of Labor in the Parliaments of the colonies. With the beginning of the twentieth century they had recovered the position they occupied ten years earlier, and were more efficient as a result of the lessons learnt in defeats suffered during these years.¹

Economic Conditions²

Histories of the Australian 1890s were often preoccupied with

¹Sutcliffe, pp. 154, 155.

²The discussion in this section is mainly based on the following: Alan Barnard, The Australian Wool Market, 1840-1900 (Melbourne: University Press, 1958), pp. 10-13, 193-230; Benians et al., pp. 367-86; Noel G. Butlin, Investment in Australian Economic Development, 1861-1900 (Cambridge: University Press, 1964), pp. 9-62, 325-35; Greenwood, pp. 162-72.

two central topics--the federation movement and the depression. The former was a relatively simple progression of events, whereas the latter was a complex picture of interacting economic, social, and geographical factors. The legend that Australia was sufficiently isolated to provide a utopia held good during the 1870s and 1880s, but Australia was heavily dependent on export markets and foreign investments; therefore, world trends affected her economy. The 1890s exploded the myth that Australia was a utopia insulated by virtue of its isolation and productivity.

Granted, there was cause for heady optimism prior to 1890. The invention of the stump-jump plough revolutionized the clearing and cultivation of land in the 1870s and made it possible for large acreages to be utilized quickly. Tin mines were opened at Mt. Bischoff, Tasmania, in 1871. A mountain of gold and copper was discovered at Mt. Morgan, Queensland, and opened in 1882. Broken Hill, out in the desert of New South Wales, was pioneered in 1883, and by 1890 had a population of twenty thousand people mining silver, lead, and zinc. The Chaffey brothers, in 1886, opened up their Murray River irrigation project, and lead and zinc mining began at Mt. Zeehan, Tasmania, in 1888. A succession of good seasons were experienced from the early 1870s and in the outback water conservation methods were improved with wells and dams. Fencing and stockyards also increased the farming yields.

The most rapidly expanding commodity was wool. By 1890 approximately 500 million pounds of wool was being exported per annum; this was about half of Australia's exports. Barnard said,

At least until the mid-eighties the absolute profitability of wool production in Australia was sufficiently great, and the optimism of the trade sufficiently well maintained, to induce a continual expansion of output and a high number of new entrants into the industry despite the price movements. Though the attractiveness of the industry as an avenue of investment may have been falling, it retained its superiority over all other colonial activities until the nineties, mainly because of the increasingly capitalized and highly productive nature of wool production.¹

British investors in the 1880s had an abundance of surplus funds due to the end of the main phase of communications investments in India, a break in the New Zealand boom, South American defaults, and the Canadian railway scandals of the 1870s. Consequently, London banks between 1881 and 1890 invested \$835 million in Australian public and private loans. Butlin emphasized this when he said:

From 1874 until 1890, British funds flowed in a rising tide into the Australian colonies which quickly became a leading field of British investment and, in fact, may have secured in the early 'eighties' almost half of the total net outflow of British long-term investment.²

Up until 1889 heavy investments in wool production and mining continued despite falling prices. Wool prices declined after the all-time peak of 1871 to 1873, but this was offset by increased flocks, and improved farming and marketing methods. Mineral prices had also plummeted. For example, copper sold for \$470 per ton in 1873 but only \$175 per ton in 1889. However, fresh discoveries and mines giving heavier yields offset to some extent the drop in prices. There was, of course, in the production of all commodities, a point at which profits ceased to be possible and losses were incurred. Butlin analyzed the situation in these words:

¹Barnard, p. 205.

²Butlin, p. 335.

From most points of view the year 1889 appears to be critical. Certainly from that date, most current indicators of economic activity suggest the onset of a severe depression. Moreover, the exceptional real peak of 1891 appears to have been due to time-lag effects. . . .¹

About 1881 Australian banks began to grant large loans providing city land was lodged as security. Speculative buying of city land, therefore, especially Melbourne's minuscule 410 acres, kept up a frenzied pace in the late 1880s until it became unreasonable. Land estate agents competed with the banks in daring investments and loans. In 1889 the London money market tightened and on December 20 the Premier Permanent Building Association in Melbourne failed and land prices began to drop. In July and August 1890 there was a financial crash in Argentina and many British investments were lost. Barings of London failed in November causing William Westgarth and Company, Melbourne, to collapse also. A rapid withdrawal of investments in Australia in an atmosphere of distrust of Australian business policies and capital versus labor disputes, and continued falling prices for exports all contributed to the onset of depression as the fabric of colonial credit collapsed.

Between July 1891 and August 1892 twenty-one land and finance companies in Melbourne, and twenty more in Sydney, failed. Bank failures followed in a chain reaction. Their failure actually began in 1891 with the liquidation of the Bank of Van Diemen's Land. The Mercantile Bank of Victoria suspended payment in March 1892, and the Federal Bank (Victoria) was liquidated in January 1893. This caused depositors with the Commercial Bank (Victoria) to hurriedly

¹Ibid., p. 9.

withdraw their deposits until the bank finally had to close on April 5, 1893. Twelve more banks closed during April and May, the worst period being when the Victorian Premier unwisely declared a five-day bank holiday. This caused a panic among depositors who thronged Collins Street, Melbourne, only to be met with locked doors at the banks. All Victorian banks except one reopened later with "frozen" or impounded deposits but faith in Melbourne as the business center of Australia was not readily regained.

A Victorian railway scandal at the same time detracted further from Melbourne's image. By 1891 Victoria possessed an extensive railway system under Commissioner Richard Speight's leadership, much of it having been built in the boom years. As in all states, in the long run this contributed to opening up new areas for cultivation but immediate returns were slow. The Victorian railways showed a deficit in March 1891, and the Melbourne Age blamed Speight's extravagance. In February 1892, Speight and two other executives were suspended and Speight sued David Syme, the Melbourne Age correspondent, for libel. For three years the case was processed and Speight was finally awarded one farthing in damages.

Gold discoveries in Western Australia during 1892 and 1893 did not help Melbourne either. When stories of easy money in the West reached Melbourne, with news that gold nuggets were found on the surface, men risked all to seek their fortune. The gold rush, railway scandals, bank and land agents' failures all contributed to an exodus of seventy-five thousand from Victoria between the years 1895 and 1900, most of them going to Western Australia. After the financial crisis seventeen thousand homes were left empty in Melbourne,

whereas Sydney's population did not decline.

The demands of the banks on their pastoral investments, together with falling wool prices, caused station owners to overstock, and desperate sheep pulled the salt bush cover out by the roots. This, together with a mounting influx of rabbits, almost destroyed grazing properties in western Queensland and New South Wales. A succession of droughts in the 1890s, the worst being in 1896, brought complete disaster to any property west of the Darling River. One overseer during this time reported to his absentee employer:

We eat, drink, and sleep well, and play quoits, sheep being all dead. We have nothing else to do, and would rather not meet you in Sydney, till the rain comes. . . .¹

The sheep population reached an all-time high in 1892. Average annual totals for the period 1890 to 1894 read 101,505,000 compared with 83,109,000 for the period 1895 to 1899. The level of pastoral investments continued to fall until 1897. An upward swing in the economy began in 1895 and continued slowly into the twentieth century. The depression and recovery were reflected in the wage rates. By the end of the decade the weekly wage rate had risen somewhat from depressed conditions (see table 1).

Dry seasons did not abate until 1903, but because of improved marine refrigeration many Queensland and New South Wales pastoralists were able to obtain better prices for exported beef and mutton than they could for wool. Victoria concentrated on butter exports and Tasmania exported apples. In addition, wheat production improved as

¹Barnard, p. 12.

TABLE I
AVERAGE WAGES

	1894	1896	1899
Carpenters	\$2.37	\$2.00	\$2.25
Bricklayers	2.37	2.25	2.40
Painters	2.00	1.75	1.75
Farm laborers*	3.13	3.13	3.37
Housemaids*	2.50	2.50	2.87
General servants (female)*	2.87	2.87	2.75
Cooks (female)*	3.50	3.50	5.00

SOURCE: Milton F. Krause, "The Seventh-day Adventist Church in Australia, 1885-1900" (M.A. Honors thesis, University of Sydney, 1968), p. 176.

NOTE: Average wages for occupations marked with an asterisk are tabulated as a weekly rate, and board and lodging was in addition to the amounts shown. Average wages for occupations without an asterisk are daily rates without board and lodging.

William Farrar experimented to obtain a rust resistant variety, so that by 1900 there were over 1.5 million acres of wheat in New South Wales alone, and eighteen thousand miles of rabbit-proof fencing had been erected throughout Australia. Rising world wheat prices encouraged these activities. Western Australian gold production also helped significantly to lift the gross product. Over \$5 million worth of West Australian gold was extracted in 1896 and the annual total rose rapidly to over \$30 million by 1900. Understandably, in 1896 and 1897, Western Australia was the only Australian state to attract London loans.

In summary, it can be stated that the years of Australian economic depression were brought on by a variety of factors such as

financial failures in other countries, falling wool prices, a series of droughts, increasing rabbit population, unwise loan policies, over speculation in city properties, collapse of land agencies and banks, heavy investments in outback stations, and labor disputes. In the latter half of the 1890s conditions began to improve due to rising wool and wheat prices, improved wheat varieties, increased gold production, and the utilization of marine refrigeration for exports which overcame geographical isolation.

Social Trends¹

Australian society changed from the initial penal settlements to one dominated by wealthy and influential landowners widely scattered in the pastoral areas. This development was then followed by an early shift to urbanization before the end of the nineteenth century.

Population figures showed that between 1861 and 1891 the rate of population growth was 3.5 percent per annum and approximately 40 percent of this was due to British emmigration to Australia. This growth continued at the rate of 3 percent per annum until 1901, which was faster than any other western country.

By 1890 the population of Australia was approximately three million. During the 1880s there was a great deal of urban growth in New South Wales, but the rate of growth for the city of Sydney continued to lag behind Melbourne. However, in 1892, Sydney's

¹The discussion in this section is mainly based on the following: Butlin, pp. 6-27, 182-268; Keith Clouten, Reid's Mistake (Sydney: Halstead Press, 1967), pp. 15-78, 118; Krause, pp. 44-64, 118.

population exceeded that of Melbourne and continued to grow steadily while Melbourne's figures became stationary. This trend was also seen in population figures which incorporated the entire six colonies (see table 2), New South Wales maintaining the lead at the end of the century. This was due to a more favorable climate, more arable land, a higher birth rate, and, as already mentioned, a large scale exodus from Victoria to other colonies in the 1890s.

TABLE 2
COLONIAL POPULATION

	1881	1901
New South Wales	777,025	1,354,846
Victoria	873,965	1,201,070
Queensland	221,849	498,129
South Australia	285,971	363,157
Western Australia	30,156	184,124
Tasmania	117,770	172,475
Total	2,306,736	3,773,801

SOURCE: Charles Manning H. Clark, A Short History of Australia (New York: Mentor Books, 1963), pp. 154, 155.

Australian colonials tended to exclude all other races from their society. The aborigines, on whom they had imposed, faded further into the desert. In 1825 the Sydney Gazette had estimated the aborigine population between three and four million, but vulnerability for extinction lay in their primitive weapons, lack of large domesticated animals for mobility, and lack of cohesiveness among their small insular tribes. For example, in 1828 the entire

Awabakal tribe at Newcastle numbered about sixty-four. This tribe's existence remained peaceful until the 1830s when free settlers used firearms to deter stealing and attack, and escaped convicts enticed their women. By the 1860s few aborigines remained in the district, having retreated to more isolated regions. This was the typical pattern as the white settler encroached in a gradual takeover. In 1862 the New South Wales Aborigines Board reported 6,542 aborigines in New South Wales but it was later reported in 1898 that numbers had dropped to only 3,230.

From the colonial's view point the greater problem had been the avalanche of Asian males into the country during the gold rush days. In 1858 there were thirty-three thousand Chinese on the Victorian goldfields alone but not until thirty years later, with the Chinese Restriction Bill, did the Victorian government refuse to admit any more. The legality of this bill was tested with dubious results in the case of Toy vs. Musgrove. Federation, however, brought more extensive legislation in the form of the 1901 Immigration Restriction Act, which demanded an education test from every applicant, and the 1901 Pacific Islands Laborers Act, which brought an official end to foreign labor on Queensland sugar-cane crops.

The tendency towards urbanization was another dominant characteristic of the Australian social structure. Henry George visited Australia in 1889 promoting the idea of communal village settlements near schools, but despite colonial enthusiasts such as Catherine Spence and John Farrall who continued to promote the idea, other factors kept Australians in the urban areas. Butlin calculated that

By 1891 two-thirds of the Australian population lived in cities and towns, a fraction matched by the U.S. only by 1920 and by Canada not until 1950. . . . The process of urbanization is the central feature of Australian history, overshadowing rural economic development and creating a fundamental contrast with the economic development of other 'new' countries.¹

There were real reasons for this feature. Large estates, usually given over to grazing, required comparatively small labor needs except in the shearing season. Furthermore, the birth rates were higher in the cities and the net inflow of people was greater from rural areas to the towns as the second generation took city jobs. Industries, too, located in urban areas. Most important was the trend to sell more of the wool clip at Australian ports rather than in London. Again, the primitive communications and uncertain water supplies discouraged all but the adventurous to settle under rigorous conditions. The extension of railways was given preference to development of good roads, and even though the railways opened up new country areas they also fostered the tendency for a larger number of towns to grow up at railway centers. Small industries grew in these towns as well as the capital cities, and by 1891 three-quarters of the population were wage earners dependent on the business owners. The financial depression badly affected this large group.

Home building practices reflected a spirit of independence. Private owners generally built their own homes by utilizing Australian colonial materials. Regarding this, Butlin said:

In both N.S.W. and Victoria, the trend was towards brick and stone materials, though not overwhelmingly so; in N.S.W., where brick and stone were more important, this type of dwelling increased from 33% of the 1861 total to 42% in 1901.²

¹Butlin, p. 6.

²Ibid., p. 221.

On estates away from the cities the local trees were converted to crude pit-sawn timber or hauled to primitive sawmills, and rough bricks were baked from local clays. Signs of wealth in both city and outback homes were seen in marble mantels, decorative internal wood paneling, and exterior cast-iron filigree.

The variety of religious denominations represented in Australia reflected similar conditions in Britain. The Church of England (Episcopal) had been the official colonial church of New South Wales and had even attempted evangelization of the aborigines in conjunction with the London Missionary Society. One example was the unfruitful mission settlement operated from 1825 to 1841 on the northern shore of Lake Macquarie; by the time gospel translations were made into the local dialect the aborigines themselves had dispersed.

Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Congregationalists were also represented in the colonies. In the 1890s approximately 25 percent of the population was Roman Catholic but the percentage was dropping due to the arrival of fewer Irish immigrants. Perhaps the most phenomenal denomination in the colonies was the Salvation Army. They had arrived in 1880 and within three years could number thirty-four thousand attending their services. Their amazing reception may be accounted for by their appeal to the evangelistically inclined in other churches which were, in the main, losing their zeal, but more so because the times were emphasizing social work for the poor. This type of work in which the Salvation Army specialized kept them mainly in the cities and among the poorer class. Another group which had success in the cities was the Young Men's Christian

Association, which opened a large Sydney building in 1885 at a cost of \$195,000.

The social structure of the colonies was therefore of such a nature that new religious denominations were welcome, but dark skins were regarded as a danger by the colonial born. Furthermore, three-quarters of the population was both Protestant and poor wage earners, though these two conditions were not necessarily always found together.

Education¹

From the early colonial days the government demonstrated some concern for the education of its citizens. Generally the teachers were literate convicts or soldiers paid from a meager Society for the Propagation of the Gospel fund, and at the end of each year the students were marched to Government House for examinations by a Queen's representative.

There were early idealistic moves to grant one-seventh of all the land in New South Wales for church and educational purposes but this proposal was bitterly opposed by many in the colony and constituted the beginning of a lengthy struggle between rival claims of church and state in education matters. The contention appeared to be

¹The discussion in this section is mainly based on the following: Albert Gordon Austin, Australian Education, 1788-1900: Church, State and Public Education in Colonial Australia (Melbourne: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, 1961), pp. 5-62, 114-257; G. Harvey Nicholson and D. H. Alexander, eds., First Hundred Years: Scotch College Melbourne, 1851-1951 (Melbourne: Brown, Prior, Anderson, 1952), pp. 1-65; Watson Steel and Charles Sloman, The History of All Saints' College, Bathurst, 1873-1934 (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1936), pp. 12-57.

pointless because there was not much difference between early government and denominational schools, for very little religious instruction was given in either system. In addition to religious instruction conditions generally were likewise substandard. By 1850 few schools had any books at all, there was excessive corporal punishment, most teachers were untrained and often poor examples of personal conduct, and to compound the problem, parents themselves preferred to have the children work so much that the average length of attendance was only two years and less than half of the children even attended at all. The population was so scattered that one educator, G. W. Rusden, recommended that

The formation of large Boarding or Industrial Schools is the only mode by which the National Board can place the benefits of education within the reach of a numerous and increasing class, viz. hired servants, who, dispersed throughout the bush, have children in deplorable need of instruction.¹

This was not a novel suggestion, for in that very year, 1848, such a school began on Learmonth's estate in Victoria, and four years earlier William Macarthur had established one on his property in New South Wales. But the National Board of Education thought it too expensive to institute a vast system of boarding schools,

. . . so they did nothing and neglected the opportunity to create an efficient and stable system of rural education in place of the makeshift arrangement of rural schools, provisional schools, part-time schools, subsidized schools and itinerant teachers which they eventually found necessary. At the same time they lost an opportunity to establish a realistic system of agricultural education. . . .²

¹G. W. Rusden, Miscellaneous Letters Received by the Board of National Education, October 27, 1848, Mitchell Library of New South Wales, quoted in Austin, p. 60.

²Ibid., p. 62.

In the second half of the nineteenth century an increasing secularization of government sponsored education became apparent and the various denominations who wished to maintain or increase the level of religious education were left to develop independently.

The condemnation of liberalism by Pope Pius IX in the 1864 Syllabus of Errors made it obvious that the Roman Catholic educators could not agree to a secularization of education in which religion was not woven into the entire fabric of the curriculum. They insisted on the right to state aid for their schools but also insisted on maintaining church control of staffing, curriculum, and standards. This position prompted numerous clashes between government and church authorities.

The Protestant groups likewise insisted on state funds to operate their schools because all these colonial groups, except the Church of England, were so thinly dispersed they could barely support their church buildings let alone their schools. The drain on government funds led Rusden to say:

By emptying the public exchequer into the lap of every greedy sectarian, a falling revenue must eventually be the result; no large expenditure can safely be entrusted to the reckless dissipation of conflicting interests.¹

In the separate colonies therefore, the ensuing years witnessed government legislation which strengthened state control of education and at the same time allowed the various denominations to continue to operate separate schools as they were able. Government financial aid to denominational schools was eventually abolished in

¹"Report of the Select Committee on Education, 1852, Votes and Proceedings," Victorian Legislative Council, quoted in Austin, p. 125.

the separate colonies at different times, e.g., Victoria (1872), New South Wales (1880), and Western Australia (1895).

Government elementary education by the end of the century was free, compulsory, and secular. The facts that it was compulsory and many were too poor to pay for it necessitated also that it be free. However, opposition from the farmers to its compulsory nature was so strong that no colony really had an effective compulsory system until the twentieth century. Factory owners in urban centers where child labor was employed opposed the compulsion clauses, and bogus private schools were set up so that children could mark their attendance on the way to work. These, however, were the exception, for by the 1890s 80 percent of the children went to government schools and the remainder were listed as attending private and denominational schools. In the same decade nearly 100 percent literacy was attained in the colonies.

The increasing secularization of government education may be seen, for instance, in New South Wales, where the 1866 Public Schools Act stated that "each day not less than one hour should be set apart" for religious education. In the 1880 Public Instruction Act this phrase was tempered to read, "not more than one hour should be set apart" for religious instruction. This religious instruction was nondenominational and hence general in nature.

Due to an increasing restriction of government funds flowing to denominational schools, the number of these institutions grew less and less. However, the larger ones in the urban areas continued to fare reasonably well financially by existing on tuition funds and

private grants, although numbers dipped temporarily during the depression years.

One example of such an institution was Scotch College in Melbourne, Victoria. The Free Presbyterian Church operated this boys' school in a two-story brick building on a two-acre city allotment. No agricultural or technical education was given but, instead, a strictly classical education in English, Latin, Greek, history, mathematics, geography, and music was offered. A military cadet training corps was a prominent feature of the school and sports, such as cricket and football, were vigorously engaged in. Discipline took unusual turns at times. On one occasion a boy was discovered who had cut his desk and poured ink into the marks, and another student's diary related that

. . . after prayers this morning Morrison, the Principal, called Robinson down, and after calling him all the names he could think of said he would not flog him as he thought that being spoken to, publicly, was more stinging than a flogging would be.¹

Another example of a denominational school which continued to struggle on without government funding was All Saints' College in Bathurst, New South Wales. This Church of England boys' school was operated in a two-story stone building on ten acres of urban land and offered the typical classical curriculum with the addition of cadet corps training and a strong sports program. There was no agricultural training despite the fact that most of the boys were sons of pastoralists hoping to eventually operate their fathers' lands. A carpentry class was conducted intermittently. However, the

¹Skene Diary, about 1863, Scotch College, Melbourne, quoted in Austin, p. 17.

deplorable lack of practical knowledge offered may be illustrated with the incident of a boy under punishment who was sent to a teacher's grape vines to bag unripe grapes so birds would not eat them as they ripened, but an hour later returned with a wheelbarrow load of the grapes all cut and bagged.

Teachers in the 1890s had generally received a classical education themselves but without much training in teaching methods. Their college education was gained overseas or in denominational schools. The colonial governments provided no secondary education or adequate program for training teachers. Late in the century some, mostly teenage girls, were apprenticed to a principal for five years and then, armed with a license, went out to operate their own little bush schools, as Austin said, "immature, ill-educated," and "untrained." "It was, in fact," he continued, "not until the end of the century that any colony awoke to the fraud which the educationists had been practising upon the Australian public."

Some improvements to the system began in December 1898, when Alfred Deakin of the Victorian parliament deplored the lack of technical education and Theodore Fink was designated the leader of a Royal Commission to investigate Victorian technical education. Fink, in his first two reports of 1899, used the opportunity to criticize Victorian general education also. This precipitated a stirring among parliamentarians in other colonies as they became suspicious of their own educational systems and began to make investigations. However, it was not until the early twentieth century that widespread official inquiries were mounted and any productive benefits were gained from improvements.

Therefore, by the end of the century, colonial government education was still primitive at the elementary school level and the government had failed to develop a secondary school system, offering only an apprenticeship of dubious quality in elementary teaching. Government education was free and secular, having virtually all traces of sectarian religious instruction dropped from it. Governments had ceased to grant financial aid to denominational schools but left them free to operate entirely independent of government control and inspection. Because elementary education was compulsory, individual families had the choice of either free secular education or the payment of tuition for education at a denominational school. In the 1890s one in every five children was sent to denominational schools. These, of course, generally came from middle and upper class families. Once they completed their elementary education they generally had opportunity for a denominational secondary education in a city central boarding school. A few journeyed overseas, invariably to British colleges and universities. Others entered the colonial universities or civil service. Whether they stayed in the colonies or went overseas their education was generally obtained in the classical European curriculum, and by the end of the century almost nothing at all was attempted in practical subjects by either government or denominational educators. These conditions were much better than the Australian educational opportunities of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. However, in the 1890s there remained considerable room for improvement at all levels and in all colonies.

Cooranbong Village¹

Any visitor to Cooranbong, New South Wales, in the early 1890s would hardly guess its colorful history, for although it was a languid relic, it had once been the main town on the western shore of Lake Macquarie.

Lieutenant Percy Simpson, veteran of the Napoleonic Wars and later commander of a convict agricultural station near Sydney, New South Wales, was the first settler in the district. In 1826 he and his wife were granted four thousand acres on the south bank of Dora Creek. He broke ground in preparation for wheat and corn by harnessing a team of convicts to a plough, and in addition to his cultivated section ran approximately seven hundred head of cattle in the fenceless forest.

On the north bank of Dora Creek Patrick F. Campbell was granted fifteen hundred acres, but he neither lived on the property nor improved it, and finally sold it to William Brett in 1852 for \$1,667.

Simpson's cattle on the south bank wandered away or were plundered by aborigines and his venture was a failure. At least two former convicts remained on the property after their term of detention. One, Moses Carroll, was later appointed area constable and his greatest claim to fame was his capture of the bushranger, James Morissey, in 1835. The other former convict, Joseph Frost, with his

¹The discussion in this section is mainly based on the following: Clouten, pp. 37-66, 128-37, 209-64; H. M. Lansdown, "Cooranbong: A Study in Local History" (Research paper, University of New England, Australia, 1960), pp. 31-47.

wife Eliza, lived there on a forty-acre farm until their deaths near the end of the century.

Only about six families in slab huts were living in the vicinity in 1860, but the 1861 New South Wales Land Act enabled subdivision of the large land grants, so many Irish Roman Catholic immigrants flocked to the district to buy small lots on the Simpson estate. A small wooden church was built in which a school also was conducted, and a liquor shop, store, and post office were erected shortly afterwards. As the population of small farmers and timber getters increased the township grew to about fifty homes together with many others in the surrounding district. A Church of England church, two more general stores, two hotels, a police station and court house, a permanent sandstone post and telegraph office, and boat building sheds were all constructed in the boom times of the 1870s and 1880s. In addition, a provisional public school was built in 1879 for approximately eighty district children, but the following year the Sisters of St. Joseph opened a school in their new two-story convent so approximately two-thirds of the children transferred to this school. The public school then operated intermittently only when substantial enrollments were assured.

Most of the activity at Cooranbong revolved around timber getting. Hardwood logs were pit sawn in the forest or hauled by bullock teams to the four sawmills in the district. Wheel spokes, shingles, house framing, and railway crossties were then loaded onto barges and taken downstream to Lake Maquarie and Newcastle.

The building of the Sydney-to-Newcastle rail link in the late 1880s provided employment and timber needs to boom level but was a

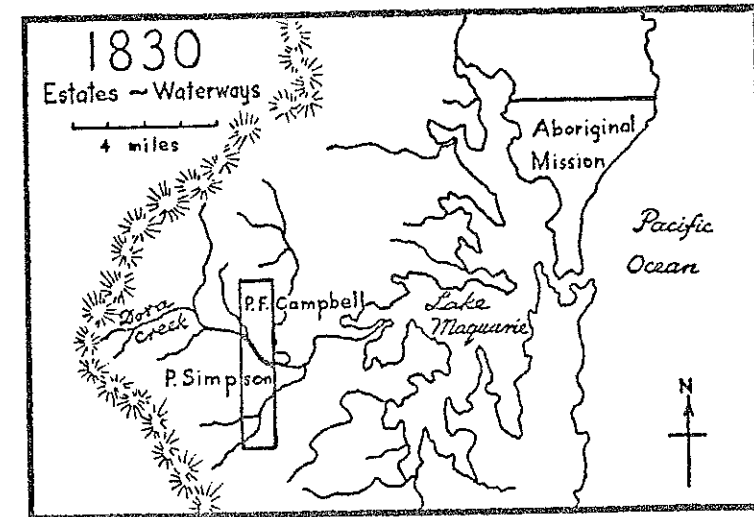


Fig. 2. Lake Maquarie district in 1830. Cooranbong developed in the northwest corner of Simpson's grant.

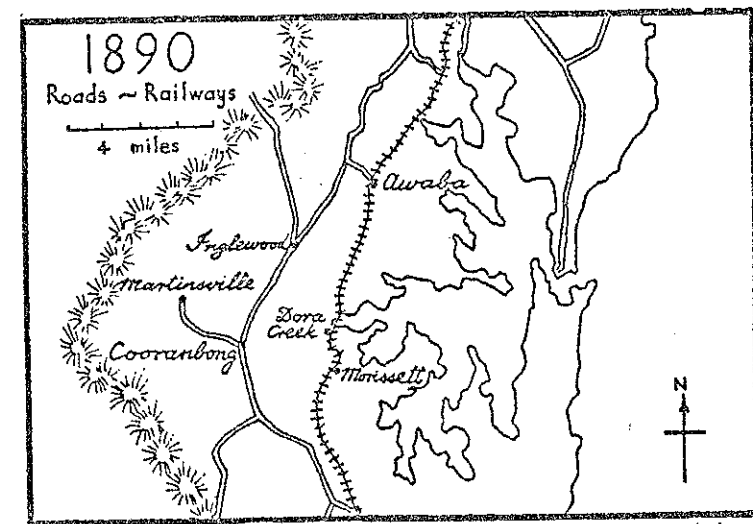


Fig. 3. Lake Maquarie district in 1890. The railway ran close to the lake, thus bypassing Cooranbong.

short-lived blessing to those in Cooranbong. From Sydney, the railway line, costing \$100,000 per mile, was extended north to the Hawkesbury River through difficult mountainous country and at the same time the line from Newcastle was extended south to meet it, but, contrary to local expectations, it bypassed Cooranbong by about three miles. When the Hawkesbury River bridge was completed in 1889, a direct Sydney-to-Newcastle rail link was achieved and small towns like Morissett and Dora Creek sprang up all along the route while Cooranbong virtually ceased to exist.

After 1889 Cooranbong was no longer a nexus for bullock wagon traffic on the forest tracks from Sydney to Newcastle or a shipping dock for timber. From then on industry found it more profitable to transport timber by rail. Thomas Healey, who had converted his store into a hotel in 1886, closed down after the railway was completed. The Sisters of St. Joseph had already abandoned their convent in 1887. When the depression struck in the early 1890s the sawmills began to close down as demand for building materials rapidly tapered off, and Cooranbong's estimated population of seven hundred at its peak in 1884 fell to about two hundred by 1891. What remained of the township was a sleepy reminder of boom days.

* * * * *

The promise of federation and religious toleration must have given some assurance to the Avondale pioneers that their experimental school was located in a favorable land. The pressures exerted by religious persecution, anti-American sentiments, and elements akin to contemporary trade unionism were all met and resolved during the initial years of the Avondale school. Financial depression was

perhaps the greatest single factor in the Australian milieu which affected the progress of the institution, and its presence was clearly evident in the local district. The pioneers, however, remained largely independent of social patterns in the 1890s, and their educational experiment was in sharp contrast to the typical Australian school.

CHAPTER II

SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS IN AUSTRALASIA

During the 1890s the Seventh-day Adventist membership in Australasia rose to over 2,250; these people were dispersed throughout all the colonies. Some of the principal characters involved in the Avondale story had arrived before 1890 and were therefore well acquainted with the church membership and Australian trends and conditions. The Avondale school was neither the first nor the only enterprise established in the nineteenth century by these missionaries. On the contrary, public tent evangelism, the formation of churches and youth societies, the printing of literature, and the opening of health-care homes were all part of the activities they initiated. A temporary training school also operated from 1892 to 1894 at St. Kilda, Melbourne, prior to the establishment of the Avondale school. A correlation appears between the church membership totals and the vicissitudes of both the St. Kilda and Avondale schools.

Alexander Dickson

The first official group of Seventh-day Adventist missionaries arrived in Australia in 1885, but there was one unofficial attempt to evangelize about twenty years earlier. During the interval between these attempts some of the church leaders agitated for denominational work in Australia and others even expressed their

willingness to go there, but plans did not eventuate until Australia's boom years were almost over. Evangelization was therefore postponed and not attempted until the hard times of the 1890s.

Alexander Dickson, who had accepted Seventh-day Adventist teachings from a fellow missionary, Hannah More, while they were both in West Africa, made an unofficial beginning to evangelize Australia. It is not certain when Dickson returned from Africa, but considering Miss More's history it could hardly be dated much before 1865.¹ About this time, then, he arrived back in his hometown of Melbourne and experienced some initial success persuading others of his convictions, but it is doubtful if any of his converts remained true until the time when the official group of American missionaries arrived in 1885.

In the meantime, Dickson himself sailed to America and his work became known by some Adventist leaders, including a close friend of the James White family, J. O. Corliss,² probably sometime during the years 1868 to 1875. While in California in April of 1874, James

¹Stephen Haskell, "The Australian Mission," in Historical Sketches of the Foreign Missions of the Seventh-day Adventists, compiled by the publishers (Basle, Switzerland: Imprimerie Polyglotte, 1886), pp. 93, 94; SDA Encyclopedia, s.v. "Hannah More."

²Corliss (1845-1923) fought in the Civil War and in 1868 became a Seventh-day Adventist and chaplain of the health institute, Battle Creek, Michigan. He was an evangelist in America before pioneering Australia in 1885 to 1887 where he did editorial work also. Returning to America he continued editorial work, specializing also in religious liberty problems. This specialty proved helpful when he was again in Australia from 1893 to 1896, engaging in the current debate on the proposed Federal constitution. SDA Encyclopedia, s.v. "John Orr Corliss."

and Ellen White¹ began agitation among fellow church members to evangelize new areas, including Australia, but their urging did not find ready response.² They had cause for optimism however by reports from New Zealand that some there were reading the church paper, the Review and Herald, during 1874.³

Furthermore, the probability that Dickson was in America about 1874 is strong. He was a man willing to spend his time and considerable money for the cause and therefore tried to persuade the church to publish tracts for his use in Australia, but he was refused this request.⁴ Stephen Haskell,⁵ when speaking of the early 1870s, said Dickson definitely came to America. The cryptic words, "Man

¹James White (1821-1881) and Ellen Gould Harmon (1827-1915) were born in Maine and experienced the revivals in the days of William Miller. Married in 1846, they continued in advent evangelism, and together with others were largely instrumental in uniting into a cohesive group what became known in 1860 as the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Headquartered in Battle Creek, Michigan, the church's publishing, health, educational, and evangelistic outreach spread throughout America and eventually extended overseas. After James White's death Ellen White went as a missionary to Europe (1885 to 1887) and to Australia (1891 to 1900). There were four sons from their marriage, two of whom survived to adulthood. These two were Edson White, evangelist among the Southern Blacks, and William White. SDA Encyclopedia, s.v. "Ellen Gould (Harmon) White," "James Springer White."

²E. G. White, MS 1, 1874, EGWRC-AU.

³"Light in New Zealand," Review, January 1, 1875, p. 6.

⁴Milton F. Krause, "The Seventh-day Adventist Church in Australia, 1885-1900" (M.A. Honors thesis, University of Sydney, 1968), p. 73.

⁵Haskell (1833-1922) was ordained a Seventh-day Adventist minister in 1870 and thereafter engaged in evangelism, teaching, administration, writing and traveling on behalf of his church. He helped pioneer work in England, the Far East, Africa, New Zealand, and Australia, spending 1885 to 1887 and 1896 to 1899 in the two latter countries. His first wife, Mary Howe, died in 1894 and while in Australia in 1897 he married Hetty Hurd. There were no children from

here from Australia," and again, "A gentleman here from Australia,"¹ written in an 1875 diary of a Review and Herald typesetter, gave support to the possibility that Dickson was in Battle Creek, Michigan, at least by 1875, soon after agitation had started on behalf of an Australian mission.

Whether or not he was in California at the time the Whites began to agitate for mission work in Australia is uncertain, but it remains plausible. Haskell lamented in a recollection that while James White's and Ellen White's agitation was contemporary with Dickson's willingness to sacrifice for the cause, nothing eventuated at that time to capitalize on the circumstances even though Haskell and Corliss offered to go to Australia. Finally, Dickson became discouraged and drifted out of the church.²

Official Pioneer Mission Efforts

Haskell and others did not let their concern for Australia die. Delegates at the General Conference, November 1884, voted to immediately open up a mission in Australia and appointed Haskell to lead the project. On May 10, 1885, a group of seven adults with four children set out from San Francisco aboard the Australia and arrived in Sydney on June 6. Those in the group were Haskell; Corliss, his either marriage. SDA Encyclopedia, s.v. "Stephen N. Haskell."

¹G. W. Amadon Diary, May 28, 1875, and May 29, 1875, Heritage Room.

²GC Bulletin, 1901, pp. 232, 233; Haskell, in Historical Sketches, p. 94; Krause, p. 72.

wife, and two children; M. C. Israel,¹ his wife, and two children; Henry Scott, who was a printer; and William Arnold, who sold denominational literature. Haskell and Corliss remained in Sydney to reconnoiter for a few days, and the remainder continued on by boat to Melbourne. They probably preferred this city because of the possibility of arousing some of Dickson's former contacts or simply because Victoria was the most populous state and the business center of Australia. There were also three thousand other Americans in Victoria in 1885, who had settled there after the gold rush days of the 1850s, and this may have been one factor that weighed heavily in the decision to center mission activities in Melbourne.²

The first Sabbath School class in Australia took place on July 4, 1885. A week later Corliss preached his first public discourse in Australia in suburban Richmond. These activities, together with house-to-house visitation and the distribution of books, were instrumental in attracting J. H. Stockton,³ his two children, and others of middle class society.⁴

Hall rental fees were exorbitant in Melbourne's land investment craze, so the men decided to buy a forty by sixty-two foot tent

¹Israel (1834-1921) was ordained a Seventh-day Adventist minister in 1878 and until his retirement in 1905 engaged in evangelism, spending eleven years in Australasia. SDA Encyclopedia, s.v. "Mendel Crocker Israel."

²Haskell, in Historical Sketches, p. 94; Krause, pp. 80-84; SDA Encyclopedia, s.v. "Commonwealth of Australia."

³Stockton (1855-1896) engaged in canvassing until shortly before his premature death. "Notes," Gleaner, July 1896, p. 8; SDA Encyclopedia, s.v. "Commonwealth of Australia"; J. H. Stockton obituary, Bible Echo, July 27, 1896, p. 232.

⁴Haskell, in Historical Sketches, pp. 95-97; Krause, p. 157.

for evangelism. This was first pitched during September in North Fitzroy, Melbourne, and regular public meetings began on October 25, 1885. Once these meetings were running, Haskell went across to New Zealand for about two months and found the Hare families in Auckland and Kaeo responsive to his message. Haskell returned to Melbourne and the evangelists transferred the tent to four other sites before May 1886. These tent meetings aroused anti-American feelings among other churchmen, but their hostility worked in favor of the missionaries for it fostered curiosity and many came to listen.¹ On January 10, 1886, the first Seventh-day Adventist church in the Southern Hemisphere was organized in North Fitzroy (see appendix A), and Corliss was so encouraged that he wrote to E. G. White, after her husband's death, expressing the wish that she would come to Australia for a time and help establish the cause there. In the same month, Corliss and Haskell began publishing a monthly called the Bible Echo and Signs of the Times.²

On February 23, 1886, Haskell sailed for America again and stopped over in New Zealand with the Hare family to baptize some and organize the group into a church.³

Corliss began public meetings in the gold-mining city of Ballarat, Victoria, on June 20, 1886, where he capitalized on interest aroused by denominational literature sent from Melbourne. He

¹Haskell, in Historical Sketches, p. 94-104; Krause, p. 135-37; SDA Encyclopedia, s.v. "Commonwealth of Australia."

²Krause, p. 97; SDA Encyclopedia, s.v. "Commonwealth of Australia."

³S. N. Haskell, "From Australia to America," Review, May 11, 1886, p. 297.

formed a small church group in Ballarat and then moved on to Adelaide, South Australia, where he organized another church before the end of 1886. Progress in their mission efforts was so encouraging that the 1886 General Conference Session received a petition from eighty-three members in Australia asking for Haskell, E. G. White, and her son William C. White,¹ then Foreign Secretary of the General Conference, to come and consolidate the work. Instead, early in 1887, W. L. H. Baker,² W. D. Curtis,³ and Byron Belden⁴ went to Australia in response to the petition. Belden helped in the printing work, while Baker and Curtis engaged in public evangelism throughout Victoria.⁵

¹William C. White (1854-1937), third son of James and Ellen White, administered denominational publishing and educational work for many years before going to Australia. His first wife died prematurely of tuberculosis in 1890 leaving him with two young daughters. He married Ethel May Lacey in 1895 in Tasmania and returned to America in 1900 to continue as manager of his mother's publishing interests. SDA Encyclopedia, s.v. "William Clarence White."

²Baker (1858-1933) was an Iowan missionary to Australia from 1887 to 1921 serving as preacher, administrator, and Bible teacher. SDA Encyclopedia, s.v. "William Lemuel Henry Baker."

³Curtis (1851-1907) helped as a pioneer missionary to Australasia from 1887 to 1892 and returned to America to work as an educational administrator. SDA Encyclopedia, s.v. "Will D. Curtis."

⁴Belden (1861-1895) was brother to Frank Belden, the hymn-writer. He worked in the Echo Publishing Company, Melbourne, and then transferred to Sydney where he was just beginning in evangelism when he died suddenly of a lung hemorrhage. His wife, Sarah, returned to America in 1896. Byron Belden obituary, Review, January 14, 1896, p. 31; Miscellaneous notes, Review, November 10, 1896, p. 724.

⁵Krause, pp. 101, 104; SDA Encyclopedia, s.v. "Commonwealth of Australia."

During 1888, Israel and Baker preached at Sandy Bay, Hobart, and formed the first church in Tasmania as a result of their efforts. In North Fitzroy, Melbourne, the denomination's Echo Publishing Company erected a three-story brick building to expand their operations. In September the leadership organized the Australian Conference with G. C. Tenney as president.¹ This conference comprised the states of Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania. Church officials formed the New Zealand Conference the following year.²

Therefore, after about five years of effort, a substantial and organized constituency gradually grew until it numbered approximately five hundred throughout Australasia.

American Influences on Seventh-day Adventist Education

In order to provide colonial workers for the Australasian mission, a temporary training school was opened at St. Kilda in Melbourne. This school was not the first one which Seventh-day Adventists opened. Some of the individuals connected with its establishment had been associated with similar enterprises in America.

The educational system of the denomination began with various short-lived home schools in America during the 1850s and 1860s. When Goodloe Bell, an Oberlin-trained teacher, joined the denomination he began operating a "select school" in 1868 at Battle Creek, Michigan,

¹Tenney (1847-1921) engaged in evangelism before leaving America in 1887. In Australia he served in editorial and administrative work until 1893 and again from 1897 to 1903. SDA Encyclopedia, s.v. "Commonwealth of Australia," "George Cidus Tenney."

²SDA Encyclopedia, s.v. "Australasian Division."

and his teaching methods received acclaim from the church members. Bell's success aroused the enthusiasm of his church leaders also. By 1872 the denomination had adopted his small school, and continued support from the church together with a steady growth in the school's enrollment were instrumental in establishing what became known as Battle Creek College.¹ This institution served for many years as the main training school in the denomination, and many of its graduates served the church in the Australasian and other overseas missions in addition to the American homeland.

The need for a diversified educational system arose in the 1880s. Sidney Brownsberger left Michigan and went to California in 1881 to lead out in Healdsburg Academy--known soon after as Healdsburg College--which served the church constituency on the west coast. In 1882, Bell, whose viewpoint differed from some other teachers at Battle Creek College, pioneered South Lancaster Academy in Massachusetts, assisted by Haskell and others.²

The Seventh-day Adventist educational system proliferated during the years 1882 to 1894. G. W. Colcord operated Milton Academy in Oregon from 1887 to 1892, and then pioneered Graysville Academy in Tennessee. The denomination opened Union College in Lincoln, Nebraska, in 1891, and the following year E. A. Sutherland led in the establishment of Walla Walla College in the state of Washington. In 1894 C. B. Hughes pioneered Keene Industrial Academy in Texas. Other

¹Emmett K. Vande Vere, The Wisdom Seekers (Nashville, Tennessee: Southern Publishing Association, 1972), pp. 11-26.

²E. M. Cadwallader, History of Seventh-day Adventist Education, 3d ed. (Lincoln, Nebraska: Union College, 1958), pp. 55-73; Vande Vere, pp. 46, 47.

schools of minor magnitude were instituted under the auspices of the denomination, including the training school at St. Kilda in Melbourne, Australia.¹

E. G. White was one of the principal exponents of the denomination's educational concepts during these years of development. Her educational concepts appeared in Testimonies for the Church and Selections from the Testimonies Concerning the Subject of Education, in addition to many articles in denominational periodicals. Before the 1890s she expressed some specific educational priorities, but not all of the leading individuals in the church were willing to accept her advice. Apparently, however, the impact of these and later writings grew to be significant, because the membership in general eventually regarded them as normative. Therefore, by means of her writings, E. G. White indirectly influenced the orientation of the Seventh-day Adventist school system as individual teachers and administrators accepted her ideas.²

Due to domicile changes and frequent appointments away from Battle Creek, E. G. White, with few exceptions, did not directly influence the development of the denomination's schools. She and her son, W. C. White, briefly influenced Healdsburg Academy during its initial months, and she periodically gave advice with respect to Battle Creek College during its formative years.³ However, the

¹Cadwallader, pp. 209-69; Arthur W. Spalding, Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1961-1962), 2:127.

²Vande Vere, pp. 23-25.

³Cadwallader, p. 81; SDA Encyclopedia, s.v. "Ellen Gould White."



Fig 4. E. G. White

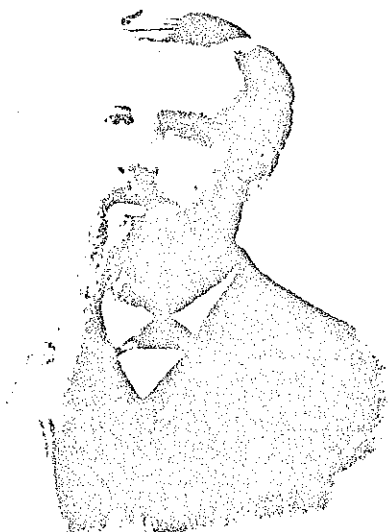


Fig 5. W. C. White

impact of her educational ideas in the 1870s was not as discernable as it was later on, particularly in the late 1890s and onwards. Keene Industrial Academy, Oakwood and Madison Colleges, endeavored to build around her concepts.¹ Battle Creek College, however, even as late as the 1890s, "revealed little of Mrs. White's philosophy of Christian education."² Some prominent shortcomings at Battle Creek College, in her opinion, were a city locale, a scant regard for manual labor, and an emphasis on classical education. Not until very late in the 1890s were attempts made to reform and implement some of her ideas at Battle Creek College.³

During 1889 and 1890 Haskell had visited Australia again during the course of a world tour on behalf of church work. When he and Corliss attended the 1891 General Conference, they brought with them more appeals for the Whites to work in Australia and for a training school for Christian workers to be established there. The General Conference Committee on Education decided to operate an English Bible School for twelve to sixteen weeks, expecting that this would constitute the first step toward a permanent school for children of all ages. On the other hand, the General Conference turned down the appeal for the Whites to go to Australia. Nonetheless, the Foreign Mission Board asked them soon after to go in that same autumn.⁴ This they agreed to do, but before they left they attended

¹Cadwallader, pp. 101, 119, 176.

²Vande Vere, p. 59.

³Ibid., pp. 72-77.

⁴Krause, pp. 102, 108; SDA Encyclopedia, s.v. "Stephen N. Haskell."

a significant church teachers' convention at Harbor Springs, Michigan, in late July and early August. Many of the approximately ninety denominational educators who attended determined thereafter to implement the educational guidelines of E. G. White as presented by her and others during the course of the meetings.¹

On November 12, 1891, the Whites left San Francisco for Australia accompanied by assistants Marian Davis,² May Walling,³ Emily Campbell,⁴ and Fannie Bolton,⁵ who was a late replacement for

¹Miscellaneous notes, Review, July 21, 1891, p. 464; Miscellaneous notes, Review, August 4, 1891, p. 496.

²Marian Davis (1847-1904) was a proofreader in the Review and Herald printing office before working and traveling with E. G. White for over twenty years. SDA Encyclopedia, s.v. "Marian Davis."

³May Walling was an editorial assistant until her father sued E. G. White on charges of alienating the affection of his daughter from himself, so in 1894 Miss Walling hastily returned to testify in America. The unsuccessful suit involved E. G. White in court costs amounting to \$3,000. E. G. White to W. Harper, March 7, 1895, Letter 31b, 1895, EGWRC-AU; W. C. White to W. W. Prescott, September 3, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

⁴Emily Campbell had returned to America by August 1895. E. G. White to J. H. Kellogg, August 29, 1895, Letter 44, 1895, EGWRC-AU.

⁵Fannie Bolton worked as an editorial assistant for E. G. White in Melbourne until in 1894 it was disclosed she was questioning whether her name ought not to appear on materials published under E. G. White's name. Her employment was terminated, but in 1895 she visited E. G. White's home to recuperate her prostrated health and became involved in a friendship with W. C. White's secretary, Mr. Caldwell, whose wife and children were in America. With pangs of sorrow for Miss Bolton, E. G. White retained her in her household until Miss Bolton returned to America in April 1896. E. G. White to W. C. White, February 6, 1894, Letter 88, 1894; E. G. White to W. F. Caldwell, September 6, 1895, Letter 17, 1895; E. G. White Diary, MS 62, 1896; E. G. White Diary, MS 63, 1896; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, August 2, 1896, Letter 154, 1896, EGWRC-AU.

Sara McEnterfer.¹ George B. Starr² and his wife, who were selected to teach in the proposed school in Australia, left earlier and worked in the Hawaiian Islands until united with the Whites' group en route. Arthur G. Daniells welcomed them all when they arrived in Sydney on December 8, 1891. Daniells³ was briefly helping David Steed⁴ in public meetings in Sydney pioneered by Steed the previous year. After a week in Sydney the new group of missionaries traveled by train to Melbourne and settled in. There at the year-end meetings of the Australian Conference they agreed to implement the General

¹Sara McEnterfer (1854-1936) traveled as an aide with E. G. White to Europe in 1885 to 1887 and, after recovering from sickness, eventually joined her in Australia in October 1895. She remained an aide throughout the remainder of E. G. White's life, then continued to work and live in California until her own death, hastened by a fall and broken hip in similar manner to E. G. White's death. Sara McEnterfer obituary, Record, April 6, 1936, p. 8; Miscellaneous notes, Review, September 15, 1891, p. 576; SDA Encyclopedia, s.v. "Sara McEnterfer"; E. G. White to J. E. White, October 17, 1895, Letter 93a, 1895.

²Starr (1854-1944) became a Christian about 1874 and worked with Dwight L. Moody in Chicago. He accepted the Seventh-day Adventist faith in 1876 and was ordained three years later. In 1883 he married Nellie Sisley and continued to work in evangelism and teaching until his transfer to Australia. For eighteen years he worked in Australia as teacher, evangelist, administrator, and chaplain, then continued with similar work upon his return to America. SDA Encyclopedia, s.v. "George Burt Starr."

³Daniells (1858-1935), born in Iowa, lost his father in the Civil War and later became a Seventh-day Adventist, entering the ministry in 1878. His work in Australasia began in 1886 as a pioneer missionary to New Zealand and extended until 1900, during which time he served as an evangelist and administrator. Upon his return to America he served a record term as General Conference president from 1901 to 1922. SDA Encyclopedia, s.v. "Arthur Grosvenor Daniells."

⁴Steed was an unlicensed minister at the time but later became one of the earliest of the Australasian colonials to be ordained. Krause, p. 87; SDA Encyclopedia, s.v. "Commonwealth of Australia."

Conference decision to operate a Bible school, and the New Zealand Conference reaffirmed this decision at their meeting in April 1892.¹

A place for the school was still not chosen by early June,² but soon after that, conference officials hired two adjoining houses in St. Kilda not far from the center of Melbourne, and L. J. Rousseau³ and his wife arrived in early August to lead out in the school. Rousseau had gained experience as principal of the Kansas Conference School. On August 24, 1892, the school opened with an all-American faculty of six, and about twenty-five senior students, who continued until the end of the term in mid-December. Unmarried students boarded in the home and worked one hour each day at house-keeping duties. An English course was offered in reading, writing, grammar, rhetoric, mathematics, bookkeeping, geography, and Bible studies. The school also offered an advanced Biblical course which included, in addition to the English course subjects, some methods of evangelistic labor and church history. The Australian Conference

¹C. C. Crisler et al., "Across the Pacific," in Life Sketches of Ellen G. White (Mountain View, California: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1915), pp. 332-35.

²A. G. Daniells to O. A. Olsen, June 9, 1892, Presidential Incoming Letters, GC Archives.

³Rousseau (1857-1898) was born in Iowa, but from boyhood his home was in Kansas. In 1886 he and his wife Emma were married and he ordained. After further study they went in 1891 as teachers to the St. Kilda school, Melbourne, and later helped to pioneer Avondale College. Neither of them enjoyed robust health and they returned to America in 1896 especially on account of Emma's health. While doing medical studies at Battle Creek, Michigan, he suffered a ruptured lung in 1898 and died. C. B. Hughes [sic] to H. Bree, June 17, 1896; E. L. Rousseau to W. C. and M. White, September 30, 1898; L. J. Rousseau to W. C. White, December 2, 1896, EGWRC-DC; G. C. Tenney, "A Devoted Worker Fallen," Review, September 6, 1898, p. 580.

committee expressed the view that the object of the school was to "train every faculty, physical, mental, and moral." They recommended that those who aspired to be booksellers, evangelists, or Bible workers for the denomination should attend one or more terms to prepare themselves for gospel work.¹ The plans of the committee "did not envisage working within a national system of education," Krause wrote, "consequently no mention is to be found of any attempt to link with the public examination system in Australia before the turn of the century."²

Late in 1892 E. G. White urged the formation of youth societies, and Daniells organized the first one in the Adelaide church early the next year.³ Throughout much of 1892 E. G. White was greatly hindered in her work by sickness and did not recover until she spent six weeks in the drier climate of Adelaide during October and November. She and W. C. White spent most of 1893 in New Zealand doing evangelism.⁴ Throughout this year the school in Melbourne continued to operate. The school committee hired a third house in July 1893, when the enrollment peaked at fifty-six. At the same time, however, plans were materializing to secure a permanent rural

¹Australian Conference Committee, S.D. Adventist School for Australasia, 1892 (Melbourne: n.p. 1892), Presidential Incoming Letters, GC Archives; Crisler et al., p. 336.

²Krause, p. 110.

³SDA Encyclopedia, s.v. "Commonwealth of Australia," "Young People's Missionary Volunteer Department."

⁴Crisler et al., pp. 338-43.

site.¹ After search parties found a more suitable site the St. Kilda school closed in September 1894, having experienced mixed success.

Mission Progress

The first Australian camp meeting took place January 15 to 25, 1894, in suburban Middle Brighton, Melbourne, with over five hundred people living in tents on the encampment. This stirred a wide interest among the general public. These meetings also greatly encouraged Seventh-day Adventists.² Important developments took place there, including the formation of the first union conference in the denomination. This Australasian Union Conference included the territory encompassed by the Australian and New Zealand Conferences. Delegates elected W. C. White president, with Daniells as vice-president and Rousseau as secretary. The first camp meeting proved such a success that they became a regular feature throughout the colonies and were directly instrumental in the formation of church groups.³

Due to the increasing number of churches and members, particularly in Victoria and New South Wales, the Australian Conference territory was subdivided in 1895 with Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania being called the Central Australian Conference under the leadership of Daniells, and New South Wales being instituted as a separate conference under the leadership of W. C. White. This meant

¹SDA Encyclopedia, s.v. "Avondale College"; W. C. White to A. T. Robinson, July 11, 1893, EGWRC-DC.

²Crisler et al., pp. 346-48.

³SDA Encyclopedia, s.v. "Commonwealth of Australia."

that for the years 1895 to 1897 W. C. White was president of the New South Wales Conference until 1896 and the Australasian Union Conference throughout the entire period. During this time he also led out in the establishment of a permanent school at Cooranbong, New South Wales, and was absent for ten months of 1897, while in America.¹

The church constituency in South Australia eventually grew into a separate conference in 1899. In the same year Queensland ceased to be a mission territory of the General Conference and became a separate conference under the umbrella of the Australasian Union Conference. Tasmania and Western Australia became separate conferences in 1901 and 1902 respectively.²

Medical missionary work began in hydropathic treatment rooms at Ashfield, a suburb of Sydney, in 1896, but the hired house changed ownership shortly after the venture started which precipitated the necessity to begin afresh in the neighboring suburb of Summer Hill. Similar treatment rooms opened in Adelaide and Newcastle before the end of the century. At the same time the union conference purchased property in Wahroonga on which the Sydney Sanitarium opened in 1903.³ The selling of health foods was initially associated with the treatment rooms and before long some of these foods were manufactured in the colonies. For this purpose the Sanitarium Health Food Company

¹SDA Encyclopedia, s.v. "William Clarence White"; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, October 23, 1897, Letter 148, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

²SDA Encyclopedia, s.v. "Commonwealth of Australia."

³A. G. Daniells to E. G. White, April 23, 1899; A. T. Robinson to W. C. White, November 6, 1900, EGWRC-DC; E. G. White to J. Gotzian, November 1, 1899, Letter 190, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

was registered in 1898 and began operation first in Melbourne and later extended elsewhere.¹

Membership Statistics

The General Conference administrators in America received mission statistical reports and these were periodically published for the worldwide membership.

Australasian Seventh-day Adventist membership totals kept for the years prior to 1900 (see fig. 6) were at times estimates only. Recording methods were apparently not uniform, and furthermore totals were not always self-explanatory. With these qualifications in mind the graph demonstrates the trend which the totals indicated.

The official membership figure on October 1, 1886, was 126 baptized members in Australia and New Zealand.² Earlier that year when Haskell left the colonies he reported an estimated 175 but it was not clear whether he meant baptized members or simply those attending worship services.³ It is uncertain whether the next total obtained, i.e., 269 in 1887, represented a half yearly, September 30, year end, or even March 31, 1888 total.⁴ Official totals for 1888

¹SDA Encyclopedia, s.v. "Commonwealth of Australia."

²SDA Yearbook, 1887, foldout between pp. 50-51.

³Haskell, in Historical Sketches, p. 108.

⁴SDA Yearbook, 1888, p. 53.

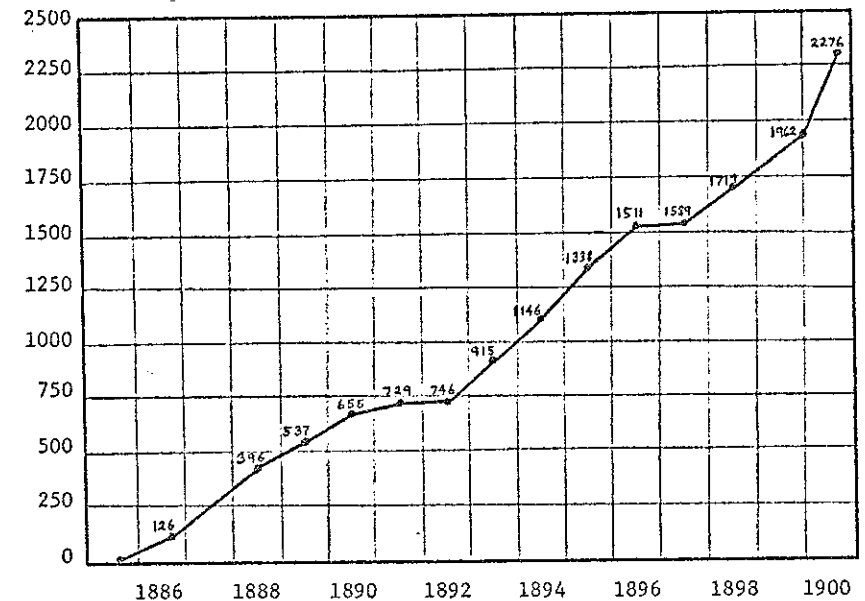


Fig. 6. Approximate Seventh-day Adventist membership totals in Australasia.

to 1898 clearly applied to June 30 of each year.¹ However, in a late report to the 1895 General Conference W. C. White reported a total of 1,084 members, which was lower than the June 30, 1894, official total of 1,146.² Perhaps White based his total on inadequate sources, because apparently there was no uniformity in the reporting system. The union conference later that year made a plea

¹SDA Yearbook, 1889, p. 67; SDA Yearbook, 1890, p. 59; SDA Yearbook, 1891, p. 92; SDA Yearbook, 1892, p. 79; SDA Yearbook, 1893, p. 78; SDA Yearbook, 1894, p. 65; GC Bulletin, 1895, pp. 294, 576; GC Bulletin, 1897, pp. 123, 153; GC Bulletin, 1898, p. 241.

²GC Bulletin, 1895, p. 294; W. C. White "District Number Seven," GC Bulletin, 1895, pp. 512, 513.

for all churches and conferences to adopt a uniform system.¹ The 1899 figure was a year-end total, and the 1900 figure was for the quarter ending September 30.² However, it is uncertain whether the 1892 to 1900 totals included the small memberships of the Queensland and West Australian missions. These may appear in the totals listed under "Foreign" in the official General Conference statistical reports. Figure 6 must therefore be interpreted with these qualifications in mind and used to show estimates and general trends only.

Nevertheless, plateaus apparently occurred in 1891 to 1892 and again in 1896 to 1897. To blame this on the financial depression would not account for the recovery during 1893 to 1895 when the depression was still deepening. Then again, to attribute the 1893 to 1895 recovery to the work of the White family would not explain the plateau of 1896 to 1897 when they were still present. A significant influx of members immediately prior to the opening of the schools did not take place, therefore membership growth did not influence the opening of the schools. Rather, the reverse is the plausible explanation. Figure 6 shows that recovery from both plateaus coincided with the opening of denominational schools in the colonies, provided a time-lag effect of about six months be allowed in each case. That is, membership continued to rise during the boom years of the 1880s but when, at the start of the depression, it became difficult to find either employment or trade apprenticeships that did not involve work on Saturdays, then the rise in membership

¹Union Conf. Minutes, meeting of November 10, 1895, Heritage Room.

²GC Bulletin, 1900, pp. 119, 199.

leveled off. This first plateau continued until a school opened with the purpose of training church members to engage in gospel ministry work. The cramped and expensive quarters of the St. Kilda school, its city location, and its unsuitability for manual arts training spelled failure for its stated goals. It did not train large numbers of young people to be relatively independent of national economic conditions. It trained them to be booksellers and gospel preachers but that was of slight value when the colonial population had little money to buy books and church members naturally had limited tithe to support the ministry.¹ Daniells reported that student booksellers had a difficult time in the 1894 January-to-March break so numbers were down for the opening of school on April 5, 1894.² Consequently the school closed in September with the promise that an all-round training in a rural location would be given as soon as land could be cleared and buildings erected at Cooranbong. While the promise was fresh the membership figures continued to climb, but as fulfillment lagged in 1895 to early 1897 a second plateau in membership became evident, and the leveling off did not recover until shortly after the opening of the full program at the permanent school, Cooranbong, in April 1897.

* * * * *

From the time Dickson unofficially evangelized in Melbourne, Victoria, until the St. Kilda school closed in late 1894 Seventh-day Adventist mission activities were concentrated largely in Victoria.

¹W. C. White, "The Australian Conference," *Review*, June 19, 1894, pp. 396, 397.

²A. G. Daniells to O. A. Olsen, April 13, 1894, GC Archives.

Their largest church group, in North Fitzroy, Melbourne, was composed of many who worked for the denomination in the Echo Publishing Company nearby. Their camp meetings, the organization of conferences, and the health food business all began in Melbourne. However, the missionaries did not ignore the possibilities elsewhere, for their activities eventually expanded to all the colonies and New Zealand. This extensive coverage fostered church groups scattered over a wide area and provided students who, after training, often returned to give leadership in their home church and extend their mission influence in the community.

CHAPTER III

SEARCHING FOR A SUITABLE LOCATION: 1894

The year 1894 was one in which Seventh-day Adventists made concerted efforts to establish their Australian school on a permanent site. A search for suitable land took place in both Victoria and New South Wales. Those making the search finally narrowed their choice to a tract of land at Coorانبong, New South Wales. Some people opposed the Coorانبong site and these objections, together with financial problems, made the process of achieving a unanimous committee action a painfully protracted one. However, by the end of the year the dissenting voices had acquiesced and individuals began to clear the woods on the estate in readiness for permanent buildings. It is important to note that the move from the city of Melbourne to a rural area did not have just local significance. E. G. White considered the noncity locale as having both lasting and universal relevance, for she wrote at the time,

Never can the proper education be given to the youth in this country [Australia], or any other country, unless they are separated a wide distance from the cities.¹ (Emphasis mine.)

Criteria for the School Site

Haskell's recommendation at the 1891 General Conference

¹E. G. White, MS 8, 1894, EGWRC-AU. This statement is published in E. G. White, Spec. Test. Ed., p. 87, and again in E. G. White, Fundamentals, p. 312.

suggesting the establishment of an Australian school saw only partial fulfillment in the St. Kilda school, Melbourne. The Australian leadership clearly stated from the very first term that this school was to be a temporary arrangement.¹

In December 1892, after the first term at St. Kilda, E. G.

White wrote,

We have now reached an important time in the history of our school in Australia. We should find a more suitable location. As yet the providence of God has not opened the way for us to move from the city to a more favorable place. We are waiting, and watching, and working.²

Subsequent events in Australia, especially in Melbourne, underscored the impelling need to be out of the urban areas and in a position of comparative independence from prevailing economic disaster. In the wake of Melbourne's bank failures E. G. White wrote, "The land boom has cursed this country."³ She went on to blame the influence of so many holidays and amusements in Australia, which, she said, did not teach people industrious work habits. She lamented the fact that young men in the St. Kilda school could be offered only light housework for exercise. In February 1894, she wrote,

Schools should be established for the purpose of obtaining not only knowledge from books, but knowledge of practical industry. . . . There must be education in the sciences, and education in plans and methods of working the soil.

¹"St. Kilda School Prospectus," Bible Echo, Supplement, September 1, 1892, p. 13.

²E. G. White, MS 18, 1892, EGWRC-AU.

³E. G. White, MS 8, 1894, EGWRC-AU. This manuscript is published in E. G. White, Spec. Test. Ed., pp. 84-105, and again in E. G. White, Fundamentals, pp. 310-27.

This country [Australia] needs educated farmers. . . . Manual occupation for the youth is essential. The mind is not to be constantly taxed. . . .

The school to be established in Australia should bring the question of industry to the front, and reveal the fact that physical labor has its place in God's plan for every man.¹

Other reasons were given at the same time for a country location. E. G. White wanted an environment where nature could be readily observed and studied by the students. Furthermore, she considered the temptations for youth to be idle and dissolute as strong and numerous in the cities, and if the characters of youth were to be transformed a more conducive atmosphere was surely needed. She also declared that in the course of time religious intolerance would grow to the extent that only those men who were self-supporting would be able to provide for their families.² This latter reason became increasingly pertinent later that same year as police arrested and convicted some Seventh-day Adventists in Sydney for working on Sundays.³ The combined factors provided the impetus for the mission leaders and responsible church members to initiate a lengthy search for a suitable school property. From the beginning of 1893 A. G. Daniells and W. C. White reported their plans for locating the "permanent school"⁴ according to the broad criteria set down by E. G. White. That is, the site was to be away from the cities and on land suitable for agriculture.

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³A. G. Daniells, "That Parramatta Prosecution," Bible Echo, May 21, 1894, pp. 153, 154; A. G. Daniells, "The Stocks Again," Bible Echo, August 20, 1894, p. 257.

⁴A. G. Daniells to O. A. Olsen, February 17, 1893, Presidential Incoming Letters, GC Archives; W. W. Prescott, "Report of the Educational Secretary," GC Bulletin, 1893, February 23, 1893, p. 355.

A Widespread Search

The search naturally began in the same colony in which the mission headquarters and the temporary school were situated. There, in Victoria, two of the more attractive locations were Wood Park Estate and Warronban Estate. The former comprised 914 acres near Euroa, situated ninety-four miles from Melbourne on the main Sydney-to-Melbourne railway line. Warronban, on the same line, was a property of 2,000 acres almost midway between Baddaginnie and Benalla.¹

W. C. White broke his New Zealand itinerary and returned to Australia in June 1893 to look at some estates that Daniells thought promising in New South Wales.² One of these was Fountaindale Estate, just a mile west of the Tuggerah Lakes near Ourimbah and about fifty-five miles north of Sydney.³ There the soil was good for fruit-growing throughout the 1,720 acres and the Sydney-to-Newcastle railway ran nearby for convenient transportation. In boom times a syndicate had invested \$100,000 in it but depression had caused it to pass into the hands of a banker who was then prepared to sell it for \$43,000. The timber on it was estimated to be worth \$10,000, but at \$25 an acre the total price was more than a small church constituency could afford.⁴ At that time of depression W. C. White wrote, "these

¹Union Conf. Minutes, meeting of January 17, 1894, Heritage Room.

²W. C. White to W. A. Spicer, June 8, 1893, EGWRC-DC.

³Union Conf. Minutes, meeting of January 18, 1894, Heritage Room.

⁴O. A. Olsen to the Foreign Mission Board, January 18, 1894, Presidential Outgoing Letters, GC Archives; W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, June 8, 1893, EGWRC-DC.

are dreadful times in the colonies. Good times to buy, if you have money, but hard times to raise money."¹ By July 1893 the search parties had convinced themselves that the school would best be placed within seventy-five miles of either Melbourne or Sydney.²

By the time the visiting General Conference president, O. A. Olsen, arrived in Australia on December 20, 1893, the search parties had selected a number of alternative sites for serious consideration. During Olsen's brief stay in Sydney they conducted him to some of these sites. On the train journey from Sydney to the Melbourne camp meeting scheduled for early 1894, he broke his journey intermittently to be shown the other promising ones near the railway line.³

At the Middle Brighton camp meeting in Melbourne, January 15 to 25, 1894, the delegates took some important organizational steps regarding the permanent school. For the year 1894 they decided to operate the St. Kilda school by a group of five men, and plans for the permanent school they left with the newly formed Australasian Union Conference. This latter body elected a school board of seven to further the search and purchase of a suitable site.⁴ This school board consisted of W. C. White and A. G. Daniells, president and

¹W. C. White to J. H. Kellogg, June 11, 1893, EGWRC-DC.

²W. C. White to A. T. Robinson, July 11, 1893, EGWRC-DC.

³O. A. Olsen to J. Christiansen, January 1, 1894; O. A. Olsen to B. J. Cady, January 2, 1894, Presidential Outgoing Letters, GC Archives.

⁴Union Conf. Minutes, meetings of January 23, 1894, January 25, 1894, and October 22, 1895, Heritage Room.

vice-president respectively of the union conference; L. J. Rousseau, principal of the St. Kilda school; H. Muckersy¹ and James Smith,² Melbourne church members; Stephen McCullagh,³ minister and recording secretary of the union conference; and W. A. Colcord,⁴ a newly arrived American minister in the colonies. Later events, however, demonstrated that search parties were not composed exclusively of these men.

¹Muckersy was manager of the Echo Publishing Company for some time. He with his wife Annie later became sympathetic with those in the North Fitzroy church who became critical of E. G. White. The rift however was apparently healed by 1900. A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, May 7, 1897, EGWRC-DC; E. G. White to J. G. Shannan, December 26, 1896, Letter 98, 1896; E. G. White Memory Album, 1900, EGWRC-AU; W. C. White to H. Muckersy, July 20, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

²Smith (1847-1938) was a retired sea captain, converted by Daniells in 1891, who became an elder in the North Fitzroy church. In 1893 he was treasurer of the Echo Publishing Company and secretary of the conference but was fired due to lack of funds. He too became involved in the ferment of criticism in the North Fitzroy church but later rose above this spirit and maintained active church affiliation and an advisory interest in the school project. J. Smith to W. C. White, April 11, 1898, EGWRC-DC; James William Sydney Smith obituary, Record, September 5, 1938, p. 7; E. G. White to J. G. Shannan, December 26, 1896, Letter 97, 1896; EGWRC-AU; W. C. White to the Foreign Mission Board, August 3, 1894, Presidential Incoming Letters, GC Archives.

³McCullagh ministered in New Zealand before transferring to Australia and was the subject of healing at Cooranbong during investigations of the school property. He suffered a relapse in 1896 but recovered again only to become the leader of an apostate group in Adelaide in 1897. In 1899 he was rebaptized and reordained. Union Conf. Minutes, meeting of July 19, 1899, Heritage Room; E. G. White [and George B. Starr], "Experiences in Australia," book manuscript, vol. 4, EGWRC-AU.

⁴Colcord (1860-1935) had preached in Iowa before going to Australia with his wife Anna in 1893 to teach Bible at the St. Kilda school. He was editor of the Bible Echo in Melbourne (1895-1898) then went to Cooranbong in 1899 to work as editorial assistant for E. G. White. He returned to America in 1902 to teaching, administrative, and publishing work, then for about twenty years renounced his church beliefs, but reunited with the church a few years before his death. Willard Allan Colcord obituary, Review, January 2, 1936,

Daniells, who had acted as chairman for "sort of a joint Committee on Location" and coordinator of the search prior to the election of the school board, gave a progress report at the Middle Brighton camp meeting. It appeared to Olsen, who presided at the meeting, that Daniell's committee favored Fountaindale in preference to Wood Park and Warrenban. However, the delegates decided nothing conclusive regarding a school site in view of the fact that the new school board would carry investigations forward from that point.¹

Shortly after the camp meeting concluded all the school board men except Colcord traveled to Sydney with Olsen and members of the Hare family from New Zealand.² They examined potential sites near Sydney until Olsen embarked for America on February 19 without any firm decision being reached regarding the location.³

One property was located at Kellyville, near Sydney,⁴ but another at Boon's Hill, Picton, received preference. It was situated about fifty miles out of the city near the Sydney-to-Melbourne railway line and consisted of average soil used for grazing at that time. One disadvantage was that the entire property lay like a dish with drainage to the center, and water contamination could occur once it

p. 21; Miscellaneous notes, Bible Echo, February 12, 1894, p. 48; Miscellaneous notes, Bible Echo, November 28, 1898, p. 384.

¹O. A. Olsen to the Foreign Mission Board, January 18, 1894, Presidential Outgoing Letters, GC Archives.

²Miscellaneous notes, Bible Echo, February 5, 1894, p. 40; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, February 10, 1894, Letter 88a, 1894, EGWRC-AU.

³Miscellaneous notes, Bible Echo, March 5, 1894, p. 72.

⁴W. C. White to E. G. White, February 9, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

was populated as a settlement.¹ The ideal location with an acceptable price proved elusive. However, while sailing back to America Olsen wrote that he was glad the committee had decided on a ceiling of \$12,500 for the purchase of land, and to build small at first with enlargements as the need arose.² This action eliminated the likelihood of their settling for most of the places they had seen to that date.

Despite the limitation which the committee had set they continued to examine high priced tracts. Muckersy and Rousseau had previously visited another property near Picton and brought back an indifferent report, but W. C. White and others visited it again to sample the soil with pick and spade. This property was about three miles from Thirlmere railway station on the Sydney-to-Melbourne line and was owned by Mr. Barker, a lawyer. He offered three separate adjoining tracts—one of 60 acres called Paradise, another of 250 acres called Woodburn, and the best, approximately 600 acres, called Shield's Farm. Barker's land had good drainage, for the whole estate was like an inverted saucer with excellent views all around. It was lightly timbered, some portions were cleared, and all of it was already fenced. All these features made it a tantalizing offer, but its inaccessible nature and uncertain water supplies were

¹O. A. Olsen to A. T. Robinson, February 26, 1894, Presidential Outgoing Letters, GC Archives; W. C. White to J. Hare, March 13, 1894; W. C. White to E. G. White, February 9, 1894, ECWRC-DC.

²O. A. Olsen to W. C. White, February 22, 1894, Presidential Outgoing Letters, GC Archives.

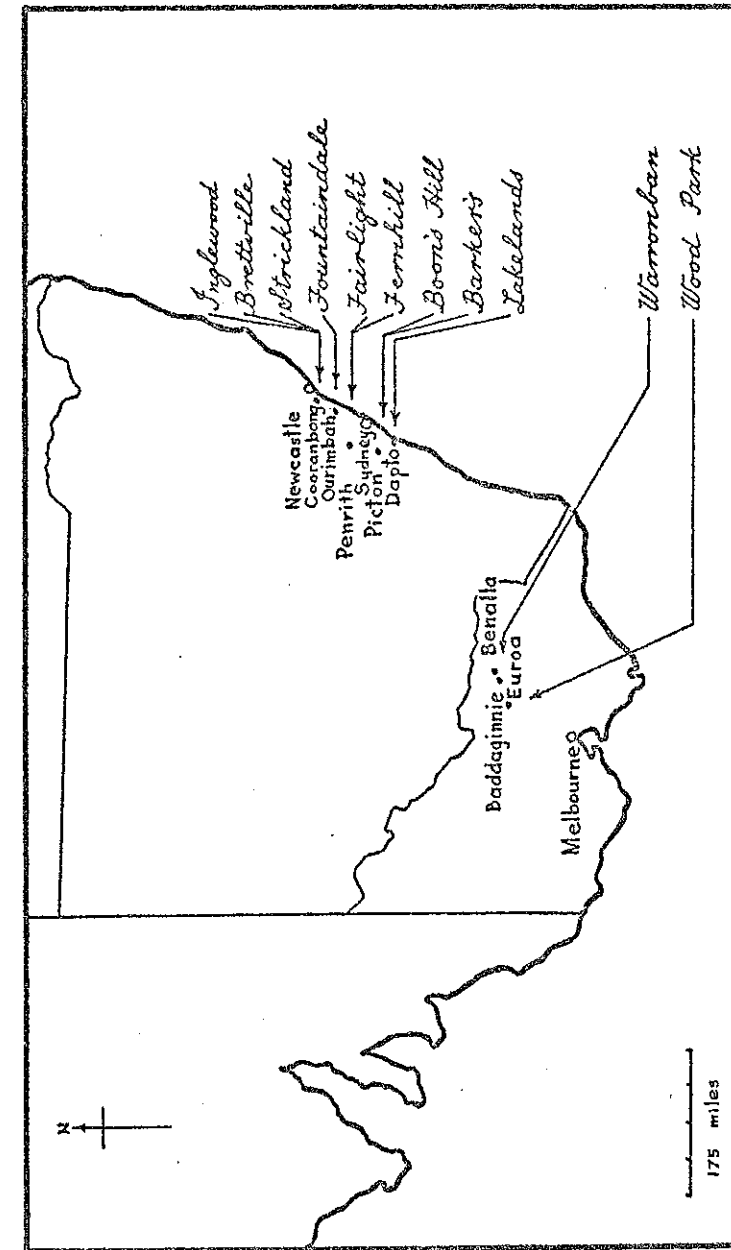


Fig. 7. Main estates in Victoria and New South Wales examined as a prospective permanent site for a school.

disadvantageous and the price was twice as much as the school board planned.¹

Another seemingly impossible proposition involved the Lake-lands Estate of deep chocolate-colored soil which lay near the coast south of Sydney, between the Dapto railway station and Lake Illawarra. The offer was 300 acres at \$75 an acre² and W. C. White was constrained to write, "Oh! If we were only rich, this would be the place."³

While some in mid-March were sampling Barker's property for the second time, Wesley Hare⁴ and P. Ainslee Reekie⁵ visited to the north of Sydney where W. C. White had heard there was some highly recommended land near Newcastle. The two men made a hasty survey of these two properties at Cooranbong and reported back favorably. One offer was 1,250 acres at \$30 an acre. Known as the Strickland Estate and lying south of Dora Creek, some of it was swamp and sandy loam, but the center and north had average top soil suitable for fruit growing. To the northwest of this was the Inglewood Estate of

¹A. G. Daniells to O. A. Olsen, March 13, 1894, Presidential Incoming Letters, GC Archives; W. C. White to J. Hare, March 13, 1894; W. C. White to E. and M. White, March 15, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

²W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, April 16, 1894, EDGWR-DC.

³W. C. White to A. J. Read, B. J. Cady, and E. C. Chapman, April 15, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

⁴Hare was visiting from Kaeo, New Zealand. Miscellaneous notes, Bible Echo, April 2, 1894, p. 104.

⁵Reekie was a Victorian member of the union conference executive committee who moved to a Sydney property in 1894. Union Conf. Minutes, meeting of January 19, 1894; "Educational Work--Village Settlement, October 19-November 4, 1894," in "Historical Materials," vol. 2: "Educational Work in Australia, 1893, 1894," 1955, EGWRC-AU.

700 acres at \$15 an acre. Someone had girdled the timber, the house had burned down, it was less accessible, and the search party found the soil to be no better than the Strickland Estate.¹ Six men--Reekie, McCullagh, White, Hare, L. N. Lawrence,² and church member Martin of Kellyville³--went to make a more thorough examination of these two offers but they were displeased with what they saw. It seemed that the search was interminable.

Brettville Estate

Just before the search party left the Cooranbong district after having decided against the Strickland and Inglewood Estates they were met by a local road contractor, Mr. O'Neill. He told them of 1,500 acres for sale north of Dora Creek. He also said that a few months previous the trustees had offered the property at auction with a minimum reserve set at \$5,000 and the highest bid of \$4,000 was refused. Reekie and Hare made a fleeting survey of this, the

¹W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, April 16, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

²Lawrence, with his wife, and daughter Mattie, emigrated to Australia from America in late 1893 and, after staying in the White household until the school location was chosen, was the first to work at developing the estate. Disagreements arose between himself and the school administrators in 1897 and he faded from the Cooranbong scene. Miscellaneous notes, Bible Echo, January 1, 1894, p. 8; E. G. White to J. H. Kellogg, May 17, 1894, Letter 46, 1894; E. G. White to O. A. Olsen, June 10, 1894, Letter 57, 1894; E. G. White to L. N. Lawrence, December 21, 1897, Letter 86, 1897; E. G. White, MS 2, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

³Martin was an orchardist who, when the school opened in 1897, traded fruit trees and labor in return for E. G. White paying tuition for his two children. His wife, Janet, joined him as a member of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in 1898. Janet Agnes Martin obituary, Record, March 8, 1943, p. 7; E. G. White Diary, MS 174, 1897; E. G. White Diary, MS 176, 1897; E. G. White to J. E. White, August 28, 1898, Letter 66, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

Brettville Estate,¹ while the others returned to Newcastle.²

The next two days W. C. White, Reekie, and Lawrence thoroughly examined the Brettville Estate. They found the northeast portion was nearly useless, timber cutters had taken all the best timber from the entire estate, and (in their estimation) only 200 to 300 acres was first-class agricultural land. The price, however, was favorable in comparison with other offers.³

In general terms the estate was bounded by Dora Creek on the south, Fallen Timber Creek on the west, and Sandy Creek on the east, and it extended north to comprise what was officially known as the Campbell Tract.⁴ Patrick O'Leary owned a partly cultivated forty-acre block,⁵ adjoining the southeast corner, and O'Neill himself owned fifty acres at the confluence of the two creeks. O'Neill's property was susceptible to flooding, but it was fenced and had some neglected orange trees on it that were still bearing. He was anxious to sell the fifty acres at the unlikely figure of \$50 an acre.⁶

W. C. White weighed the disadvantages against the advantages of the Brettville Estate. He lamented the great distance from

¹Known also as Brett's Estate. Hare MS, [1898], p. 1. EGWRC-DC.

²E. G. White Diary, MS 14, 1895, EGWRC-AU; W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, April 16, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

³W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, April 16, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

⁴A. H. Benson, "Report on the Campbell Tract near Morissett," May 21, 1894, Doc. File 170, EGWRC-AU.

⁵E. G. White to M. Davis, August 27, 1894, Letter 14, 1894, EGWRC-AU.

⁶School Board Minutes, meeting of October 4, 1898, Heritage Room; W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, April 16, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

Sydney, but reasoned it was offset by the estate's proximity to Newcastle for supplies and missionary work. He observed that the soil was poor, but the timber for building purposes was comparatively cheap and within easy access. Roads were primitive and it was three miles from the railway, but the creek was navigable from the estate to Lake Maquarie. This waterway assured a method for transporting fruit and garden produce to Newcastle markets if the school should develop agricultural industries. An added bonus was the fact that the lake, he said, was "a good fishing ground and may furnish a supply of food in a time of depression." He noted too that the local inhabitants, spoiled with \$5-a-day wages in the boom years of timber milling, were then in depression times and would prefer stealing rather than honest work. "We should need faithful night watchmen, with arms and dogs," he confided in a letter to Olsen.¹ All things considered, however, White concluded that if the price was as reported he thought he would buy it.²

W. C. White learned through J. M. Brunker³ that Mr. Brett, one of the trustees of the estate, had advertised it for \$7,500. White hoped he would be able to buy it for a figure between \$4,000 and \$5,000 in view of the fact that the highest bid at auction had

¹W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, April 16, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

²E. G. White to A. J. Read, B. J. Cady, and E. C. Chapman, April 15, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

³Brunker was a Newcastle land agent and former Minister for Lands. Later he became Colonial Secretary. W. C. White to A. G. Daniells, May 8, 1894; W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, August 30, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

been \$4,000.¹ On May 8 Reekie conveyed the message from Bruncker to W. C. White that Brett was prepared to sell for \$4,500, i.e., \$3 an acre.² They had thirty days to reach a decision so White placed a retaining fee of \$125³ with the agent and telegraphed Melbourne for more school board members to come to Cooranbong and view the property. The board members in Melbourne chose Daniells and Smith to leave for Cooranbong the following week.⁴

W. C. White no doubt shared his impressions and gave his mother a description of the Brettville Estate, for she and her household had moved from Melbourne to Sydney on March 26, 1894, and knew of all the movements of the search parties.⁵ In an interview over forty years later Agnes Lewis Caviness quoted W. C. White as saying that E. G. White "had visited the place two or three times, and had spoken in its favor to Elder and Sister Starr"⁶ before a large group examined the property on May 23. No supporting evidence exists for this statement except a similar recollection Daniells made about eight years earlier in which he said, "Several times [prior to May 23] Sister White, with her son, and her secretary, and a few of

¹Ibid.

²W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, May 13, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

³E. G. White to C. H. Jones, May 9, 1894, Letter 40, 1894, EGWRC-AU; W. C. White to J. Hare, May 9, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

⁴A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, May 11, 1894, Presidential Incoming Letters, GC Archives.

⁵Miscellaneous notes, Bible Echo, April 2, 1894, p. 104; E. G. White to J. H. Kellogg, May 17, 1894, Letter 46, 1894, EGWRC-AU.

⁶W. C. White, in Caviness Interviews [1936], Doc. File 170, EGWRC-AU.

of our brethren had visited the place, and she was favorable to its purchase."¹ Neither E. G. White's diary, letters, or manuscripts, nor W. C. White's and Daniell's letters mention any such visits. For this period, March 26 to May 23, E. G. White instead spoke of settling into her new home, preaching appointments in Sydney on most Saturdays and Sundays, writing letters on weekdays, being confined some days because of sickness, and entertaining visitors in her home.² The evidence, however, is not conclusive, because she did not record her whereabouts on every one of those days prior to May 23.³ The recollections of Daniells and White may be faulty on this point and White may even have depended on Daniells' recollection. Furthermore, White's interviewer, A. L. Caviness, may have known of Daniells' recollection and construed White to say the same. The fact remains that in E. G. White's mind, as in her son's, the question of permanent location appeared to be settled by May 9, for

¹A. G. Daniells, "Avondale College," 1928, Doc. File 170, EGWRC-AU. The section quoted here is missing from the equivalent article, A. G. Daniells "Wonderful Leadings of the Spirit of Prophecy in the Advent Movement--Part 4," Record, August 20, 1928, pp. 1, 2.

²E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, May 1, 1894, Letter 82, 1894; E. G. White to J. O. Corliss, May 17, 1894, Letter 10a, 1894; E. G. White to J. H. Kellogg, May 17, 1894, Letter 46, 1894; E. G. White, MS 23, 1894; E. G. White, MS 26, 1894; E. G. White Diary, MS 74, 1894; E. G. White Diary, MS 75, 1894, EGWRC-AU.

³According to the Alfred Hughes obituary there is some evidence that she visited the Fountaindale Estate with Hughes and others in April or May. Perhaps W. C. White and A. G. Daniells confused this with the later visit to Brettville. On the other hand, the writer of the Hughes' obituary may have confused such visits. This latter alternative appears unlikely for Hughes does not appear in lists of those that visited Brettville in May. Furthermore, E. G. White did comment on Fountaindale on the return journey from Brettville as if she was familiar with it. Alfred Hughes obituary, Record, June 30, 1930, p. 7; E. G. White Diary, MS 75, 1894, EGWRC-AU.

at the same time she wrote, "the decision we have so long contemplated has been made in regard to the land we hope to purchase for the school. The tract comprises 1,500 acres, which we obtain for about \$4,500."¹

However, the leadership did not dismiss completely the possibility of buying the Lakelands Estate, for when Daniells and Smith arrived in Sydney from Melbourne on May 16 they visited Dapto with Reekie and Mr. Humphreys. W. C. White had negotiated with the owner, Mr. Osborne, of the Australia Club, Sydney, to lower his price from \$75 to \$50 an acre, but it was still more expensive than the board planned.²

On the same day, Wednesday, May 16, Lawrence and his wife left Sydney by train and went north to Cooranbong with a tent to pitch near the Brettville Estate for sheltering those who would follow in a few days.³ Lawrence himself hired a hut near the Dora Creek railway station and used this as his base for a time, rowing to and from the estate in a dinghy.⁴ Daniells, Smith, W. C. White, and others went to Cooranbong with bedding and provisions on May 17

¹E. G. White to C. H. Jones, May 9, 1894, Letter 40, 1894, EGWRC-AU. The figure of \$3,500 given by E. G. White later is no doubt inclusive of the \$1,000 paid for Brown's forty acres, in which case the total acreage purchased to August 1895 should read 1,540 acres. Union Conf. Minutes, meeting of January 16, 1895, Heritage Room; E. G. White to J. H. Kellogg, August 28, 1895, Letter 42, 1895; E. G. White, MS 14, 1895, EGWRC-AU.

²W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, May 13, 1894; W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, May 16, 1894; W. C. White to P. H. Osborne, June 7, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

³W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, May 16, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

⁴E. G. White Diary, MS 75, 1894, EGWRC-AU; W. C. White to J. E. White, June 17, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

prepared to give the estate a thorough examination until the weekend.¹

The government fruit expert, A. H. Benson, arrived according to prearranged plans on Friday, May 18, to advise on the capabilities and value of the land.² He investigated the property and possibly shared his misgivings with those present. When he returned to his Sydney office the following Monday he wrote up his report saying,

The whole of the land is sour and would require liming and draining to bring it into good condition. . . . My advice is to purchase nothing but the best land and be content with a smaller area all of which will be productive rather than take up a large area the bulk of which is valueless and will be unproductive.³

This written report was not read, however, to the school board until after they themselves had viewed the property. W. C. White shortly afterwards made a list of those men who were on the estate helping to estimate its worth. Those he named were Daniells, Smith, Reekie, McCullagh, Humphries, Joseph Collins,⁴ himself, and his secretary, Mr. Caldwell.⁵ Three Melbourne members of the

¹E. G. White to J. H. Kellogg, May 17, 1894, Letter 46, 1896, EGWRC-AU; W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, May 16, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

²W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, May 13, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

³Benson, "Report on the Campbell Tract," May 21, 1894, Doc. File 170, EGWRC-AU.

⁴Collins (1864-1935) joined the church in 1890 and from 1894 worked as a canvasser, mission tentmaster, and laborer on the Brettville estate, but by 1897 he had apostatized. His faith waxed and waned throughout life, but he died a church member. Joseph Collins obituary, Record, November 4, 1935, p. 7; A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, May 7, 1897, EGWRC-DC; Miscellaneous notes, Bible Echo, April 16, 1894, p. 120; W. C. White to L. N. Lawrence, September 10, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

⁵W. C. White to J. E. White, June 17, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

school board, Muckersy, Colcord, and Rousseau, were absent. The latter two were no doubt busy teaching at the St. Kilda school.¹

On Wednesday morning, May 23, E. G. White and an assistant, Emily Campbell, together with G. B. Starr and A. G. Mackenzie,² left Sydney and traveled by train as far as the Dora Creek station to unite with those already there.³ After eating, they rowed up Dora Creek in three boats for about three miles until they came to the estate. While others dispersed over the property to sample the soil, E. G. White, who was sixty-six years old, and Emily Campbell, rested on a log situated on a slightly elevated ridge where they could survey some of the area through the partly cleared forest. While sitting on the log E. G. White said she planned in her imagination for cranberries, alfalfa, and vegetables to be grown in the surrounding soil. In a letter that night she wrote,

. . . our party returned, and broke up my future faith-prospecting. They gathered up my pillows, and we moved on our way back, as far as it would be prudent for me to walk. Again we halted and a seat was made for me to rest awhile, and we did some more talking and planning. Again we moved on, and did not pause till we reached the burning tree. They rolled over a large log, and a seat was made for me, where I could sit on my spring

¹A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, May 11, 1894, EGWRC-DC; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, May 24, 1894, Letter 82, 1894, EGWRC-AU; W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, May 16, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

²Mackenzie lost all his investments in the depression, then worked as a canvasser, laborer, stenographer, and legal adviser for W. C. White, and by 1896 was employed as head clerk in the Common Law Department, Sydney. E. G. White to H. Lindsay, June 14, 1894, Letter 50, 1894; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, August 22, 1894, Letter 89a, 1894; EGWRC-AU; W. C. White to the Executive Committee of the Australasian Union Conference, August 28, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

³E. G. White Diary, MS 75, 1894, EGWRC-AU; W. C. White to J. E. White, June 17, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

cushion and lean against a tree. I was facing a large, cheerful fire that was made by the burning tree.¹

While some were sitting about the fire W. C. White went to a nearby citrus orchard and brought back some lemons. The fact that fruit trees were already growing nearby and there were large eucalyptus trees in the woods strengthened E. G. White's conviction that the soil was favorable for agriculture. Her letter narrative continued,

We reluctantly gathered up our wraps and pillows and made our way toward the boat where the company that had been prospecting joined us.

They came from their investigation with a much more favorable impression than they had hitherto received. They had found some excellent land, the best they had seen, and they thought it was a favorable spot for the location of the school. They had found a creek of fresh water, cold and sweet, the best they had ever tasted. On the whole the day of prospecting had made them much more favorable to the place than they had hitherto been.²

Later, the sighting of a strange ploughed furrow was included in recollections of the events of May 23, but this was not written into E. G. White's letter the night following the search (see appendix B). After they rowed back to Lawrence's hut by moonlight the search group agreed that the estate should be purchased.

E. G. White's only objection to the area was its great distance from evangelistic opportunities in the large cities, but she reconciled herself with the thought that evangelism could also be done among the nearby villages and isolated people.³

The following morning, Thursday, about eight of the group met

¹E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, May 24, 1894, Letter 82, 1894, EGWRC-AU.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.; W. C. White to J. E. White, June 17, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

together for prayer before the day's activities and E. G. White, among other petitions, prayed for McCullagh, who was virtually incapacitated with "inflammation of the throat, stomach, and lungs." At the conclusion of prayers McCullagh declared he was healed¹ and indeed worked actively almost immediately. Those present interpreted his sudden improvement in health as a sign of divine approval on their agreement the night before to purchase the property.²

The group spent the remainder of the day examining the estate again, while W. C. White obtained a team of horses and a conveyance to drive his mother over the property and surrounding area so that she became familiar with its parts. Then, on the following morning she, with most of the other members of the group, returned to Sydney by train. The long process of searching for a suitable school location appeared to be over.³

Initial Arrangements

While still at Cooranbong in May, W. C. White rushed off a cablegram to Olsen telling him of the decision to buy Brettville,⁴

¹McCullagh claimed he had experienced a similar healing six months prior to this at a church farewell gathering in New Zealand. S. McCullagh, "From New Zealand to Australia," Bible Echo, January 22, 1894, p. 24.

²E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, May 24, 1894, Letter 82, 1894; E. G. White to O. A. Olsen, June 10, 1894, Letter 47, 1894; E. G. White to S. N. Haskell, September 2, 1894, Letter 29, 1894; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, May 30, 1897, Letter 149, 1897; E. G. White MS 62, 1898; EGWRC-AU.

³E. G. White Diary, MS 75, 1894, EGWRC-AU; W. C. White to J. E. White, June 17, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

⁴O. A. Olsen to W. C. White, May 23, 1894, Presidential Outgoing Letters, GC Archives.

but the next problem was how to pay the \$4,500. The first payment of \$1,500 had to be met by the end of June 1894, and the balance paid within two years. The conference treasuries were either empty or in debt.¹ To compound the problem word was received from Haskell saying that \$1,000 he had managed to obtain from a friend was to be sent through denominational offices in California, but it was redirected into a general fund by the Pacific Press Publishing Company manager, C. H. Jones, and the California Conference president, N. C. McClure.²

E. G. White wrote a reprimand to Jones, and an explanation to Olsen stating that if he had had anything to do with the redirection of the money she hoped he would experience the same degree of privation that they were going through in Australia.³ She was in no mood for smooth talking. In other letters to Olsen, she said she had been unable to pay her grocery bills for two months, and the principle involved in a recent reduction in their wages from America was unjust in view of the fact they were working just as hard, if not harder, than those who made the reduction. God would not bless an administration like that, she added.⁴ The fact that E. G. White's account at the Pacific Press contained about \$3,000 at the time may have caused Jones and McClure to believe financial affairs were not so

¹E. G. White to O. A. Olsen, June 24, 1894, Letter 54a, 1894, EGWRC-AU; W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, May 13, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

²E. G. White to O. A. Olsen, June 10, 1894, Letter 57, 1894, EGWRC-AU.

³E. G. White to O. A. Olsen, May 6, 1894, Letter 64, 1894; E. G. White to C. H. Jones, May 9, 1894, Letter 40, 1894, EGWRC-AU.

⁴E. G. White to O. A. Olsen, June 10, 1894, Letter 57, 1894; E. G. White to O. A. Olsen, July 19, 1894, Letter 63, 1894, EGWRC-AU.

needy in Australia. Nevertheless they transferred back again the misdirected \$1,000 and later sent it on to Australia.¹

For the first payment of \$1,500 W. C. White used some cash received from camp-meeting pledges, but he had to borrow half the amount from T. J. Sherwin² and \$525 from the Australasian Tract Society.³ Abbott and Allen, Sydney solicitors, were hired to handle the transfer of title deeds and instructed to insert the names of W. C. White and Reekie as the buyers.⁴ While financial and legal matters took their course W. C. White wrote a lengthy letter to the Foreign Mission Board reflecting some undisguised misgivings about the Brettville Estate. He had the fruit expert's written report in hand and enclosed a copy with the words,

Nearly all the men of influence, with whom we have come in contact, shake their heads when we speak of the district. The department of Agriculture after examining samples of the soil, said it was sour, and would require a ton and a half of lime to the acre. Then the Government Fruit Expert was sent up to examine it, and his report I will enclose with this. True, it was a rainy day, and we were short of time, and he did not see the best of the place, and yet, it sometimes makes me feel blue, to hear all these men who know a great deal, condemn the place.⁵

¹E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, September 30, 1894, Letter 120, 1894, EGWRC-AU; W. C. White to C. H. Jones, July 19, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

²Sherwin was a member of the Seventh-day Adventist church at Seven Hills, Sydney. He was the first Seventh-day Adventist to settle in Cooranbong, apart from those directly connected with the school. "From the Field," Bible Echo, July 9, 1894, p. 214; E. G. White to W. Harper, July 8, 1894, Letter 30a, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

³W. C. White to A. G. Daniells, July 8, 1894; W. C. White to the Foreign Mission Board, February 20, 1895, EGWRC-DC.

⁴W. C. White to L. N. Lawrence, June 7, 1894; W. C. White to Abbott and Allen, June 22, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

⁵W. C. White to the Foreign Mission Board, June 10, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

Despite this apprehensiveness W. C. White pushed ahead with plans for development. A draft on the Echo Publishing Company for \$1,000 arrived from the General Conference as part payment for donations from the Battle Creek, Michigan, church members. These gifts they gave for Australian church buildings, but W. C. White decided to use it for the school estate and repay it as soon as other money arrived.¹ The draft could not be cashed because the Echo's bank account was empty, but the fact that he had evidence of money in hand enabled him to go ahead with arrangements. He instructed Lawrence to hire the abandoned Healey's Hotel, Cooranbong, for \$10 a month for three months with privilege of renewal.² As the St. Kilda school was phased out, its furniture was shipped to the hotel, while Collins and Jimmy Gregory drove the school's horse and trap north to Cooranbong.³

W. C. White solicited bids for surveying the subdivision and laying out roads on the estate. He eventually hired P. Sydney Nott to survey for \$250.⁴ Nott began work in early August while living in one of the austere rooms of Healey's Hotel. From the start W. C. White planned that a large acreage would be purchased and subdivided, then portions resold to church members who wished to settle near the

¹W. C. White to L. J. Rousseau, [July 20, 1894], EGWRC-DC.

²E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, August 22, 1894, Letter 89a, 1894, EGWRC-AU; W. C. White to L. N. Lawrence, July 19, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

³W. C. White to L. N. Lawrence, August 3, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

⁴W. C. White to W. W. Prescott, August 2, 1894, EGWRC-DC. Nott's quote was for \$200 but this probably excluded board and lodging costs. P. Nott to W. C. White, July 18, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

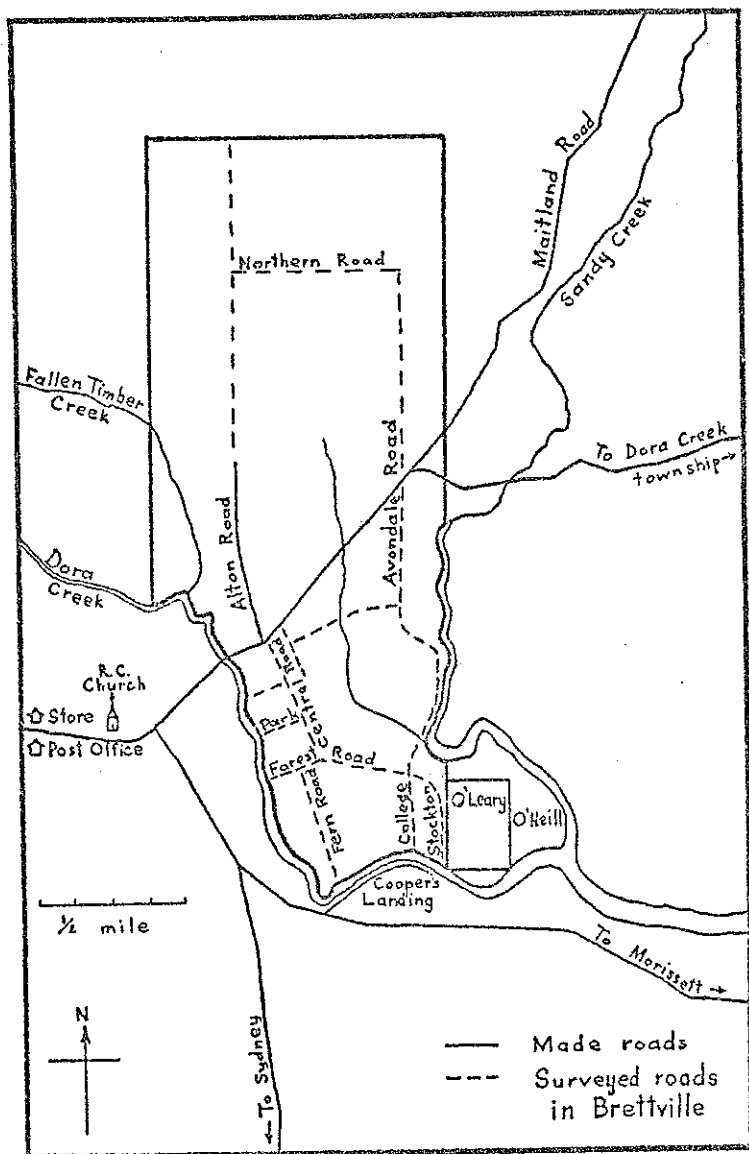


Fig. 8. Brettville Estate, formerly the Campbell grant, and surrounding districts in late 1894.

school for the benefit of educating their children while making a living growing fruit.¹ He also envisaged this settlement as an ideal place for the homes of ministers and canvassers whose work necessitated long absences from their families. The wives and children of these men, it was argued, would not feel so lonely in such a neighborly community.² W. C. White pushed ahead with this concept in anticipation of reaping some financial returns to use for the erection of school buildings.³

White instructed Brunner and Lawrence to make discreet inquiries about prices on adjoining pieces of land. These included the Inglewood and Strickland Estates viewed earlier,⁴ Mrs. Brown's (O'Leary's),⁵ and Thomas Russell's⁶ properties, both of which were 40 acres. The latter was on the opposite side of the creek.

Once the news of purchase spread among the church members

¹O. A. Olsen to A. T. Robinson, February 26, 1894, Presidential Outgoing Letters, GC Archives; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, August 22, 1894, Letter 89a, 1894, EGWRC-AU.

²Union Conf. Minutes, meeting of January 19, 1894, Heritage Room.

³"Educational Work--Village Settlement," in "Historical Materials," vol. 2, EGWRC-AU.

⁴W. C. White to L. N. Lawrence, June 1, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

⁵W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, June 26, 1894; W. C. White to L. N. Lawrence, July 19, 1894, EGWRC-DC; W. C. White, "The Avondale School for Christian Workers," *Record*, July 29, 1899, p. 7. Mrs. Brown is probably the widow referred to in W. C. White to L. N. Lawrence, June 1, 1894, EGWRC-DC., and evidently lived on the property officially listed as Patrick O'Leary's.

⁶Russell was the Cooranbong storekeeper. Later he appeared as a favorable witness with O'Neill in a court case over the school property. E. G. White Diary, MS 14, 1895, EGWRC-AU; W. C. White to L. N. Lawrence, July 13, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

they too began to visit Cooranbong. Joseph Hare, Sr., and his son, Joseph, came from New Zealand to examine the estate.¹ Conference personnel Gilbert T. Wilson,² J. O. Corliss, and George Teasdale³ visited and were pleased with it.⁴ So also did Sherwin, who sold his house in Sydney and settled in Cooranbong about July 1894. Later, Alexander Stewart, a farmer at Wychitella, Victoria, took the trouble to journey up and sample the soil.⁵

An influenza epidemic sweeping Australia at this time briefly incapacitated Colcord and Rousseau at the St. Kilda school. E. G. White in Sydney was also affected. To recuperate she went to Cooranbong in August and stayed in Healey's Hotel with the Lawrences. Gregory and Collins were there helping the surveyor, and Mackenzie joined them too. Daniells, Rousseau, W. C. White, and an old

¹A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, June 15, 1894, EGWRC-DC; E. G. White to O. A. Olsen, June 24, 1894, Letter 54a, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

²Wilson (1859-1899) was an American minister who spent six years working in Australasia until his early death from tuberculosis. Gilbert Thomas Wilson obituary, Bible Echo, January 30, 1899, p. 47.

³Teasdale was a New Zealander who returned in 1894 from studies at Healdsburg College, California, and taught in the final year of the St. Kilda school, Melbourne. He then engaged in ministerial duties, and in 1913 and 1914 was principal of Avondale College. His term as principal was apparently a debacle that resulted in lingering bitterness, eventual separation from church employment, and an unprecedented castigation in the Australian denominational press. Union Conference Committee, "Some Candid Statements for Lovers of Truth," Record, February 21, 1921, p. 6; Miscellaneous notes, Bible Echo, July 2, 1894, p. 208.

⁴E. G. White to S. N. Haskell, August 3, 1894, Letter 25, 1894, EGWRC-AU.

⁵E. G. White to W. Harper, July 8, 1894, Letter 30a, 1894, EGWRC-AU; W. C. White to L. N. Lawrence, September 4, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

gentleman called Tucker¹ had arrived earlier to begin surveying and planning the location of roads and buildings.²

During her stay E. G. White described the local, neglected farms on which the people did little work because of the mistaken impression that the soil was unproductive. She visited homes seeking to buy vegetables and oranges and then imagined Brettville one day yielding abundant crops as an object lesson to the surrounding people. The pioneers held Sabbath services in the woods that hid shy native birds, kangaroos, and koala bears.³ On another day a group including E. G. White rode in the newly purchased boat on Dora Creek as Rousseau stopped at intervals to scramble up the fern clad banks to dig samples of soil. Later, they drove through the bush tracks on the estate and walked over O'Leary's acreage, becoming familiar with the entire area.⁴

¹Tucker boarded and did light work at the White's household, having willed to the church all he possessed with the provision that the Whites care for him in his old age. He died in 1898 at about the age of 82, and was the first to be buried in the school cemetery. E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, October 23, 1897, Letter 148, 1897; E. G. White Diary, MS 182, 1898; E. G. White Diary, MS 183, 1898; E. G. White Diary, MS 137, 1899, EGWRC-AU. E. G. White Diary, MS 172, 1897, says he was then 83, and E. G. White to J. J. Wessels, May 18, 1897, Letter 126, 1897, says he was then 79. It is probable that even Tucker did not know his real age.

²E. G. White to S. N. Haskell, August 13, 1894, Letter 30, 1894; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, August 22, 1894, Letter 89a, 1894, EGWRC-AU.

³E. E. Hughes to A. Evans, July 18, 1897, Heritage Room; E. G. White, MS 35, 1894, EGWRC-AU; W. C. White to E. and M. White, June 17, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

⁴E. G. White, MS 35, 1894; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, August 22, 1894, Letter 89a, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

Sudden Postponement of Plans

While tramping over the estate together one day in late August, Rousseau, Lawrence, and W. C. White received the shattering news from America that the Foreign Mission Board was not altogether in favor of the purchase of Brettville and had therefore advised suspension of all financial investment until they had time to contact Olsen in Europe.¹ W. C. White's June 10 letter accompanied with the fruit expert's report had precipitated this negative reaction, and in Australia its repercussions polarized opinions of Brettville's soil.²

According to W. W. Prescott, E. G. White wrote to the Foreign Mission Board and to some extent alleviated their fears. Prescott, a board member, replied to W. C. White saying he thought those who had seen the property firsthand knew best.³ Olsen also wrote a letter to the Foreign Mission Board, and on September 11 they voted "that the Australian brethren act according to their best judgment in the future prosecution of the work."⁴ Subsequent letters by Olsen and Prescott revealed that they both had acquiesced in the matter.⁵ This remedy, however, was months in coming and the

¹FMB Minutes, meeting of July 18, 1894, GC Archives; W. C. White to F. M. Wilcox, September 2, 1894, W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, September 27, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

²E. G. White Diary, MS 77, 1894, EGWRC-AU.

³E. G. White's letter is not extant but is referred to in W. W. Prescott to W. C. White, July 18, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

⁴FMB Minutes, meeting of September 11, 1894, GC Archives.

⁵O. A. Olsen to A. G. Daniells, September 14, 1894, Presidential Outgoing Letters, GC Archives; W. W. Prescott to W. C. White, October 23, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

emergency steps taken when the first bad news arrived on approximately August 23, brought development to a standstill.¹

Upon initial receipt of the bad news Rousseau and W. C. White evidently hurried to Sydney where Reekie and Daniells were staying. Soon after an urgent telegram summoned E. G. White to Sydney to listen to the bleak impressions of Rousseau and Daniells. These men had serious doubts about the soil which were then heightened by the knowledge that the Foreign Mission Board had advised suspension of investment in the estate. They argued that for missionary purposes it was best to be nearer the city, and that they ought to abandon plans for agriculture in view of the high price that premium soil commanded. The two men were so adamant that W. C. White hesitated, but E. G. White said she thought they were making a mistake by abandoning all their original plans. Nevertheless, the union conference committee voted to suspend operations in harmony with the advice of the Foreign Mission Board.²

W. C. White arranged to have the solicitors mortgage the estate and considered with dread the prospect of searching for yet another site. White instructed Lawrence, at Cooranbong, to cancel arrangements to buy Brown's adjoining forty acres but to maintain the employment of Collins a little longer.³ He then addressed a letter

¹W. C. White to E. H. Gates, September 2, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

²E. G. White Diary, MS 77, 1894; E. G. White to the Brethren, February 2, 1898, Letter 3, 1898, EGWRC-AU; W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, September 27, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

³W. C. White to F. M. Wilcox, September 2, 1894; W. C. White to W. W. Prescott, September 3, 1894; W. C. White to L. N. Lawrence, September 10, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

to all potential buyers of allotments on Brettville asking them to inspect and consider its potential as a densely populated school settlement, or a place for a small number of families to engage in agriculture, or as a summer resort for a wealthy individual. It was obvious White was thinking about reselling the estate to church members, for he said as much in a letter to Lawrence five days later.¹

E. G. White began to despair of ever getting the school started. "The turn that things have taken," she wrote to Haskell, "leads me almost to prefer to come to Africa, rather than remain in this country. I dread the future, and have little courage to remain." All hopes of establishing a school on the Brettville estate began to fade, and she spoke of buying it herself and settling poor families on it under the direction of an experienced farmer who would teach the people to work the soil and become self-supporting.²

Final Decision to Buy Brettville

News of the acquiescence of the Foreign Mission Board in their September 11 meeting no doubt reached Australia before the October 18 to November 4 camp meeting held in Ashfield, Sydney. The reversed decision placed the responsibility of the choice on the assembled delegates at this important camp meeting.

The advisability of establishing a village settlement and

¹W. C. White to Those Inspecting Brettville, September 5, 1894; W. C. White to L. N. Lawrence, September 10, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

²E. G. White to S. N. Haskell, September 2, 1894, Letter 29, 1894, EGWRC-AU.

the suitability of Brettville were two main topics of discussion in the business meetings of the camp session. W. C. White reported that during the meetings his mother read to the delegates some of her educational concepts with respect to location of schools, balancing physical with mental labor, and making the schools places of temporary residence for those wishing to fit themselves to be laborers for God.¹

With respect to establishing a village settlement, McCullagh and Muckersy were the only two who spoke in favor. W. C. White appeared to start out in favor of a settlement modeled on one like the denominational schools at Walla Walla, Washington, and Lincoln, Nebraska, but Corliss asked the leading question, "Was the society at Lincoln united?"--implying they were not united. White rushed to the defense of his model, by saying it was "better to have the sheep mixed with the goats," and Corliss countered, "What if there are no sheep?" Lately, admitted White, counsels had come to him which led him to feel it was time for him to go slowly advocating his village settlement idea. In the preceding months he had changed his ideas about 1½-acre allotments, and was now in favor of larger ones of five to twenty acres. On the Brettville soil no one could hope to be self-supporting on minuscule lots. Daniells agreed with these sentiments and E. G. White spoke up against the tendency to colonize, but she added there was the necessity for new converts who lost employment to have somewhere to go as a place of refuge to exist with their families. Others spoke decidedly against a close village

¹W. C. White to E. D. Miller, November 23, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

settlement, and the delegates voted to recommend that the union conference abandon the idea entirely.¹

On the second issue--the suitability of the Brettville Estate--many more voiced their opinions. American missionaries W. L. H. Baker, W. D. Salisbury, and Dr. M. G. Kellogg, who had all been to see the property, favored it for the purposes of a school connected with some agricultural activities. N. D. Faulkhead² and J. M. Cole said that they would like to see a dairy developed on the property. Daniells was the one who spoke most disparagingly of the property, supported by Rousseau, and Collins also gave a bleak report. W. C. White, chairman of the meeting, steered a middle course, but at the same time suggested returning to land between Sydney and Melbourne as Olsen and Daniells had previously preferred. When W. C. White called for the vote the group unanimously recommended that the union conference locate the school on Brettville, though White expressed his sorrow that in spite of apparent unanimity some did not seem really satisfied. Before the meeting adjourned Kellogg said,

¹"School Location: Discussion at Ashfield Campmeeting, October 19-November 4, 1894," in "Historical Materials," vol. 2, EGWRC-AU; W. C. White to E. D. Miller, November 23, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

²Faulkhead worked at the Echo Publishing Company and by virtue of Masonic membership secured printing contracts from Lord Brassey, Grand Master of the Freemasons of Victoria--contracts which E. G. White condoned so long as the printed material was not offensive to church standards. Masonic connections also enabled him to sometimes aid church members in business transactions but it is unknown whether he helped in this way with the purchase of Brettville. N. D. Faulkhead to C. Lacey, July 9, 1900, EGWRC-DC; Miscellaneous notes, Bible Echo, May 18, 1896, p. 152; "The Work Advancing," Bible Echo, December 14, 1896, p. 385; E. G. White, "Week of Prayer in Australia--No 1," Review, September 27, 1898, p. 613.

I do not understand that Sister White has ever been shown that Brettville Estate is the place. In fact she told me herself that she could not ask the Lord as to giving her light as to what piece of land the school should be placed on. But it seems to me that there has been sufficient light given if people exercise their judgment, they would know what to do. Simply the description of the land, the location, the distance from the city, and the work to be accomplished, was what made me consent in my own mind that that was the place.

Kellogg had either never heard the furrow story (see appendix B) and that of McCullagh's healing, or he did not attach any significance to them as divine indicators. He obviously took his directions from the more general statements of educational guidelines of E. G. White. His practice was not unusual, especially in view of the fact that immediately after these meetings E. G. White herself told Daniells, Rousseau, and W. C. White to do the same. The persistent doubts that these three key men entertained about Brettville prompted E. G. White to believe she had made a mistake in communicating so much to them. She then asked them to keep what she had said to themselves, and pray and investigate and use their own judgment.²

Despite some continuing sentiments to the contrary, the union conference voted on November 20 to proceed to establish the school on the Brettville Estate, pay the remaining two-thirds of the price, and have W. C. White, Rousseau, and McCullagh act as a committee of management for the estate.³ E. G. White wrote the following day,

¹"School Location: Discussion at Ashfield Campmeeting," in "Historical Materials," vol. 2, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White to W. C. White, November 5, 1894, Letter 153, 1894, EGWRC-AU.

³"Report of the Thirty-third Meeting of the Australasian Union Conference," November 20, 1894, Doc. File 170, EGWRC-AU.

"At last it is decided to locate the school at Morissett, or Dora Creek. . . . I am no longer on the anxious seat so far as that question is concerned."¹

Lingering Indecision

Rousseau, no doubt realizing that he would have to lead out in a school very different from what he was accustomed to, made one last desperate attempt to find a different location. Near Penrith, west of Sydney, he found two properties that he considered worth close inspection.² Early in December Rousseau and his wife, together with E. G. White and May Lacey, rode twenty miles in the train from their Sydney home and were met by W. C. White and Mackenzie with horses and wagons to journey twelve miles further to the Fairlight Estate. For a few days they stayed there examining its 3,000 acres.³ Convicts had built the home and large water cisterns on the property, fruit trees were growing, and the price was \$50,000 to \$60,000. In the vicinity they also inspected the superior Fernhill Estate of 1,200 acres. This too had an immense stone mansion built by convict labor, but the wooden window frames were honeycombed with termites, the water cisterns were broken, and the price including land and buildings was again an insurmountable \$40,000. Rousseau's hopes for

¹E. G. White to S. N. Haskell, November 21, 1894, Letter 26, 1894, EGWRC-AU.

²W. C. White to A. G. Daniells, December 9, 1894; W. C. White to A. G. Daniells, M. C. Israel, and W. A. Colcord, December 14, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

³Later sources read 2,000 acres and there are some variations in the prices quoted. E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, March 13, 1896, Letter 147, 1896; E. G. White to H. and A. Lindsay, January 31, 1897, Letter 92, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

a different location were dashed in the pit of poverty.¹

While these investigations were going on, the school furniture from St. Kilda was shipped to Sydney and on December 13 it was reloaded onto two ketches and sent north to Dora Creek. The following Sunday, December 16, Rousseau went to Cooranbong to organize the storage of the furniture in a hired barn, and from that time forward no more alternative sites were considered.²

* * * * *

Thus the protracted two-year search for a suitable location was ended. It had reached serious intensity by early 1894, and on the evening of May 23 the search group decided to settle for Brettville, but this climax was followed by delays and reverses brought about because of dissension and uncertainties regarding the choice. Some believed there was divine approval for Brettville but others were not so impressed, and it was with no small degree of faith that they proceeded with the venture of establishing a school of the prophets in the woods.³

¹E. G. White, MS 69, 1894; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, December 13, 1894, Letter 122, 1894; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, March 13, 1896, Letter 147, 1896, EGWRC-AU.

²Hare MS, [1898], p. 2; W. C. White to H. Muckersy, J. Smith, and W. D. Salisbury, December 13, 1894; W. C. White to A. G. Daniells, December 17, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

³The term, "school of the prophets," was first applied to the proposed school by W. C. White. (See W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, May 13, 1894, EGWRC-DC.) White repeated the term (e.g., W. C. White to E. D. Miller, November 23, 1894, EGWRC-DC.) and Prescott also used it in reference to the school when in Australia (W. W. Prescott, "In the Regions Beyond," Review, May 26, 1896, pp. 328, 329). When Haskell and his wife spoke of the school they used the same term, too (S. N. Haskell, "Avondale School for Christian Workers, Cooranbong, N.S.W.," Bible Echo, April 5, 1897, p. 109; H. Haskell to E. G. White, March 30, 1898, EGWRC-AU). In keeping with the comparatively rare

Rousseau, who would be principal of the school, and Daniells, vice-president of the Australasian Union Conference, were both against the decision to locate at Brettville. The Foreign Mission Board members were not enthusiastic about the plans and W. C. White, president of the Australasian Union Conference, wavered between opinions. Why, then, did the group press ahead with the enterprise despite the attitudes of these key personnel? One reason was the adamant stand which E. G. White took in its favor. She was not a member of the locating committee but her influence, particularly on W. C. White, held the overwhelming majority to the view that Brettville was a suitable site. W. C. White and others who had spent countless hours making the search were really in no mood for a prolonged debate over the pros and cons of Brettville or any other estate. They were tired of searching and wanted a quick solution. Brettville offered them cheap land for a school away from the cities. It would provide a haven for church members thrown out of employment, and the better portions of the estate could be utilized for agriculture. These factors combined to cause the leading personnel to go ahead with their plans for a school on the Brettville Estate.

application of this expression to the school between 1894 and 1900, E. G. White made an infrequent and late use of it. (E. G. White to the Managers and Teachers in the Avondale School, April 13, 1900, Letter 88, 1900, EGWRC-AU).

CHAPTER IV

BIRTH PANGS: 1895-1896

Once the search party resolved the question of the school location, there followed a brief euphoric period; but progress came almost to a standstill because of further problems later. As the April 1897 date for the full-scale opening drew near, Daniells wrote, "We do no indulge the thought that the obstacles connected with this enterprise have been passed. . . ."¹ His realism was no doubt influenced by the experiences of 1895 and 1896 in which continuing financial depression, legal troubles, and personnel problems preoccupied the attention of those trying to establish the school on the Brettville Estate.

A study of this two-year period discloses the experimental nature of the school enterprise. The planting of gardens and an orchard in the face of pessimistic predictions was indeed an experiment. The pioneers made mid-course corrections with respect to the name of the institution, building plans, faculty, and the settlement of people close to the school buildings. Furthermore, the industrial department, which provided an expedient way to clear the land and was limited in what it could offer, was eventually placed in better perspective by Prescott. He planned a curriculum which had more

¹A. G. Daniells, "Our School," Gleaner, January 1897, p. 1.

academic content, and provided a better balance between physical and mental labor.

Buoyant Plans and Final Payment

In 1893 the White family heard that Mrs. A. E. Wessels in South Africa had promised \$3,000 to help establish the Australian school,¹ so E. G. White appealed to her for financial help. Alma and Nellie Druillard, American missionaries in South Africa, were largely instrumental in persuading the Wessels family to act generously in this regard and W. C. White hoped that the donation would be large enough to build the school quickly, so that before long he and his mother could return to America.²

In 1894, Mrs. Wessels sent \$2,500 to the General Conference officers, who placed it in the Australian school fund, and it was not until March 1895 that W. C. White made a call for this gift to be sent on to Australia.³ In the meantime Mrs. Wessels made a personal visit to Cooranbong. In company with her daughter and son-in-law, Anna and Harmon Lindsay, she traveled to America via Australia on her way to the 1895 General Conference.⁴ Over the 1894 Christmas

¹W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, June 8, 1893, EGWRC-DC.

²O. A. Olsen to G. I. Butler, February 27, 1894; O. A. Olsen to A. and N. H. Druillard, April 1, 1894, Presidential Outgoing Letters, GC Archives; W. C. White to J. H. Kellogg, June 11, 1893, EGWRC-DC.

³O. A. Olsen to W. C. White, August 13, 1894, Presidential Outgoing Letters, GC Archives; W. C. White to the Foreign Mission Board, March 11, 1895, EGWRC-DC.

⁴Miscellaneous notes, Bible Echo, December 24, 1894, p. 400; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, December 20, 1894, Letter 124, 1894, EGWRC-AU.

period her group spent an enjoyable time touring Brettville Estate and boating on Dora Creek. Before they left Sydney, Anna Lindsay agreed to donate \$5,000 to the school.¹ This figure was evidently part of the entire amount of a gratuity or investment that became available to Lindsay on January 16, 1895, and it took some months to reach America. W. C. White asked for it to be sent in March 1895, together with Mrs. Wessels' gift, making a total of \$7,500.² In 1900 the Australasian Union Conference was still raising questions regarding Mrs. Wessels' gift. According to their records it never arrived from the General Conference, unlike the Lindsay gift, which came in late August 1895.³

While the Adventists in Australia were delighted with the generosity of their fellow believers in Africa, the donations were but a tithe of those given by the Wessels family to denominational enterprises in America.⁴ It is understandable, therefore, that E. G. White did not hesitate later to ask the same family for further financial support.

The same boat that carried the Wessels and Lindsay families to Australia also bore W. C. Sisley, who was traveling around the

¹W. C. White to A. G. Daniells, December 21, 1894; W. C. White to E. and M. White, January 18, 1895, EGWRC-DC.

²O. A. Olsen to N. H. Druillard, April 16, 1894, Presidential Outgoing Letters, GC Archives; W. C. White to the Foreign Mission Board, March 11, 1895, EGWRC-DC.

³FMB Minutes, meeting of October 1, 1900, GC Archives; W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, September 1, 1895, EGWRC-DC.

⁴O. A. Olsen to N. H. Druillard, April 16, 1894, Presidential Outgoing Letters, GC Archives.

world planning for and advising about denominational buildings.¹ He visited Cooranbong and drew up building plans which the Australasian Union Conference committee accepted in January 1895.² These plans allowed for separate dormitories for the young men and young women, a classroom and administration building, a two-room elementary school, a manual-training workshop, and a laundry. The kitchen and dining room for the entire school family they planned as an attachment to the young ladies' dormitory, as also was a wing for the accommodation of children under fourteen years of age. The committee thought it wise to begin the building program with the girls' dormitory with these two wings attached, and use it for all purposes until the other buildings could be erected.³ W. C. White originally estimated this first structure would cost about \$1,500,⁴ but in actual fact it cost four times that figure. He presented a more realistic estimate later in the year when he said that the combined cost of the buildings would be about \$18,000, and this time the sequel proved him to be reasonably accurate.⁵

In the first flush of excited anticipation those designing the enterprise conceived of some creative names for the buildings,

¹Miscellaneous notes, Bible Echo, December 24, 1894, p. 400.

²L. J. Rousseau to All Our Brethren in New Zealand and Australia, February 25, 1895, EGWRC-DC.

³W. C. White, "Summary Report from Australasia," Review, August 13, 1895, p. 521.

⁴W. C. White to H. Lindsay, January 17, 1895, EGWRC-DC.

⁵M. Hare, "Building Committee's Report," Bible Echo, May 8, 1899, p. 157; W. C. White, "Summary Report," Review, August 13, 1895, p. 521.

the college, and the estate as a whole. The young ladies' dormitory they planned to call Bethel Hall, meaning literally "house of God," and reminiscent of the sacred spot where Jacob had the vision of a ladder extending to heaven. For the classroom building they proposed the name Uriel Hall, another title borrowed from the Hebrew language, literally meaning "light of God." For the young men's dormitory they suggested the name Herman Hall, a comparatively less esoteric one meaning "a warrior."¹ With a concession to the British colonial strands in Australian society and the recognition of the many streams of water in the area, the entire estate they renamed Avondale after the River Avon in England, and the planned educational institution they resolved to call Avondale College.² Bethel Hall and Avondale are names that remain to this day, but the name Herman Hall survived for only a brief period, and the name Uriel Hall was never applied to the classroom and administration building.

The effervescence given to this period by the visit of Mrs. Wessels, Sisley, and the Lindsays was further enhanced by W. C. White's marriage proposal to May Lacey. White shared his hopes with the Lindsays while they were there, and with Olsen in a letter, but it was not until after he had received a letter of approval from May Lacey's father that he made a public announcement.³ For the first time White now suggested that he and his mother ought to stay in

¹L. J. Rousseau to All Our Brethren in New Zealand and Australia, February 25, 1895, EGWRC-DC.

²Union Conf. Minutes, meeting of January 24, 1895, GC Archives.

³D. Lacey to W. C. White, January 16, 1895; W. C. White to H. Lindsay, January 17, 1895, EGWRC-DC.

Australia longer than previously planned. He also asked Olsen to help in getting his daughters, Ella and Mabel White, to join him in the new home he expected to establish there.¹ This Olsen did and the two young girls arrived in Sydney on April 30 under the guardianship of E. R. Palmer and his wife.² White's wedding was a quiet ceremony in the Lacey home, Glenorchy, Tasmania, on May 9, 1895, at which twelve friends were present.³

In January 1895, a \$3,000 appropriation from the General Conference enabled the union conference to make the final payment for the school estate.⁴ The forty acres adjoining the southeast corner of the property they also purchased for an additional \$1,000.⁵ The latter amount was paid perhaps either from a \$1,000 donation E. G. White made in July 1894,⁶ or, more likely, from the Walter Harper⁷

¹W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, January 18, 1895, Presidential Incoming Letters, GC Archives.

²Palmer (1869-1931) graduated from South Lancaster Academy, Massachusetts, and was secretary-treasurer and director of book canvassers in the Oklahoma Conference before he went to Australia in 1894 to engage in similar work. In 1899 he transferred from Melbourne to the Avondale faculty for one year, then returned to America in 1901. Miscellaneous notes, Bible Echo, May 13, 1895, p. 152; Miscellaneous notes, Bible Echo, February 6, 1899, p. 56; Miscellaneous notes, Bible Echo, August 19, 1901, p. 544; O. A. Olsen to W. C. White, November 8, 1894; O. A. Olsen to W. W. Prescott, November 26, 1894, Presidential Outgoing Letters, GC Archives.

³W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, May 17, 1895, EGWRC-DC.

⁴W. C. White to the Foreign Mission Board, February 20, 1895, EGWRC-DC.

⁵W. C. White, "The Avondale School for Christian Workers," Record, July 28, 1899, p. 7.

⁶E. G. White to O. A. Olsen, July 19, 1894, Letter 63, 1894, EGWRC-AU.

⁷Harper (1854-1937) and his wife were successful pioneer

loan that arrived late in September 1894, in response to a request for money from him.¹ At the same time, the union conference also made efforts to secure the one-hundred-foot-wide government reserve along the southern boundary touching Dora Creek. They made application to the Land Board in Newcastle, but not until late August 1896 was a compromise struck which enabled the purchase of the strip west of Fern Road opposite Cooper's Landing. This addition cost \$425 for seventeen acres, at \$25 an acre.² The school board had therefore spent \$5,925 to obtain 1,557 acres. Later they purchased an additional fifty acres.

Throughout most of 1895 optimism remained high as the pioneers received donations, made building plans, and extended borders of the estate. Everyone anticipated a full-scale opening of the new school in 1896 with suitable buildings erected and a sizable faculty assembled.

The Industrial Department

Early in 1895 the union conference decided to open Avondale College with what they euphemistically called an industrial department. There were no buildings in which skilled trades could be

canvassers in western America and personal friends of E. G. White. Sara McEnterfer to W. Harper, May 9, 1897, Hughes Collection, Heritage Room; E. G. White to W. Harper, March 7, 1895, Letter 31b, 1895, EGWRC-AU.

¹E. G. White to W. Harper, July 8, 1894, Letter 30a, 1894; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, September 30, 1894, Letter 120, 1894; E. G. White to W. Harper, September 23, 1894, Letter 31, 1894, EGWRC-AU.

²"The Land Board," Newcastle Morning Herald, September 1, 1896, p. 7.

taught. There was not even any land cleared for agricultural training, but they encouraged young men to enroll for such an inauspicious course of training. They preferred those who were hard workers and over eighteen years of age, and they also asked those between the ages of fourteen and seventeen to pay a nominal fee to compensate for a lack of muscle. The teachers planned for the students to work six hours daily for six days each week beginning May 5. In return for this work students received their board and lodging either in Healey's Hotel or in tents pitched alongside. In addition Rousseau and his wife tutored them in two subjects.¹

Leaders admitted the methods employed in this school to be an experiment, and the whole project began with apprehension among the church members.² Rousseau had circularized the Australasian constituency with eighty letters explaining the planned program. There was to be work from 8:00 A.M. to noon followed by half an hour for lunch at the work site. The afternoon would be occupied with two more hours of work, a walk back to Healey's Hotel, classes from 3:00 to 4:30 P.M. and then half an hour for supper. Another four hours were set for work from 5:00 to 9:00 P.M., but Rousseau did not specify if this was to be for study, regular manual work, chores at Healey's Hotel, or whether the work shifts were to be staggered for different individuals throughout the day. W. C. White notes that

¹L. J. Rousseau to All Our Brethren in New Zealand and Australia, February 25, 1895, EGWRC-DC; W. C. White, "Summary Report," Review, August 13, 1895, p. 521.

²E. G. White to J. H. and E. E. Kellogg, August 27, 1895, Letter 47a, 1895, EGWRC-AU; W. C. White to J. E. White, August 3, 1895, EGWRC-DC.

after the first experimental months the hours for class work were changed to 4:00-8:00 P.M.¹

Despite some misgivings on the part of the membership, nineteen men and boys enlisted and by June 12 had cleared about ten acres of land for an orchard. Nine students came from Victoria, five from New South Wales, four from New Zealand, and one from Tasmania. A few more came later to swell the number to a maximum that year of about twenty-six.² With ax and cross-cut saw they felled and cleared the forest on part of the O'Leary block, grubbing and burning some stumps as large as seven feet in diameter which had been abandoned by earlier timber cutters.³ Salisbury stated earlier that, considering the wild nature of the woods and the poor soil, the students would certainly get plenty of physical labor.⁴ In a similar vein, Daniells said after a visit during this first term, "I tell you it is an industrial department and no mistake. They pull off their coats, roll up their sleeves, and work like good fellows."⁵

One man, E. Worsnop, who, with his wife was staying at

¹L. J. Rousseau to W. C. White, March 4, 1895; W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, July 5, 1895, EGWRC-DC.

²E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, August 4, 1895, Letter 125, 1895, EGWRC-AU.

³Avondale School for Christian Workers Calendar, 1899 (n.p., 1899), p. 17; Hare MS, [1898], pp. 2, 3, EGWRC-DC.

⁴"School Location: Discussion at Ashfield Campmeeting, October 19-November 4, 1894," in "Historical Materials," vol. 2: "Educational Work in Australia, 1893, 1894," 1955, EGWRC-AU.

⁵A. G. Daniells to O. A. Olsen, July 17, 1895, Presidential Incoming Letters, GC Archives.

Belden's in Sydney, decided at the beginning of the term that he would walk the eighty miles to Coorانبong and offer to clear land. E. G. White persuaded him to go by train instead. When he presented himself to Rousseau at the estate, saying he had come to clear land for E. G. White, Rousseau cut him short by saying she had no land there. Worsnop, apparently a Christian at heart but one who had a rough appearance and manner, could easily have given a wrong impression leading to a misunderstanding, but he meekly carried the rebuff back to E. G. White. This in turn drew a sharp reprimand from E. G. White to Rousseau with the reminder that she had given \$1,000 into the school enterprise and in view of this investment she was entitled to say what took place there. She instructed Rousseau to give Worsnop a chance to prove himself. Whether Worsnop was one who took the afternoon classes or not is unknown, but he did considerable clearing and other work on the property from that time on.¹

A complete listing of everyone who did enter the industrial department is difficult to ascertain with certainty, but some names seem unquestionable: Burt Corliss,² Bert Guillard,³ Ross Lewin,⁴

¹I. James to W. C. White, November 1, 1900, EGWRC-DC; E. G. White to L. J. Rousseau, March 20, 1895, Letter 69, 1895, EGWRC-AU.

²Corliss was the son of J. O. Corliss. E. G. White mentions him by name as being on the estate in January 1895, and working there in August 1895. E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, January 21, 1895, Letter 130, 1895; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, August 19, 1895, Letter 126, 1895, EGWRC-AU.

³Guillard finished a five-year apprenticeship as a stonemason in Napier, New Zealand, and offered to go into the industrial department. W. C. White to E. G. White, February 20, 1895, EGWRC-DC.

⁴Lewin was a tentmaker who was converted at the 1893 Wellington camp meeting, New Zealand, and came to Avondale in 1895. "Field

A. G. Mackenzie,¹ P. W. Mills,² Charles Paap,³ Harry Richardson,⁴ G. W. (Zep) Tadish,⁵ and W. T. Woodhams.⁶

The industrial department taught young men how to cut down trees and grub out stumps, but the Australasian constituency needed graduates of a higher caliber than such training alone could produce. The department also built muscle on the men and must have added something to their general knowledge and spiritual experience. It served, however, to underscore the need for a full-scale program with a variety of courses that retained a better balance between physical and mental labor.

Notes, "Gleaner, December 1895; W. C. White to E. G. White, February 20, 1895, EGWRC-DC.

¹"Field Notes," Gleaner, December 1895.

²Ibid.

³Paap (1873-1940) went from New Zealand to the St. Kilda school and was on the Avondale estate in 1895. Later he took the Biblical course at Healdsburg College, California; married Ellen Nash, a New Zealander; and was ordained in 1903, spending six years of his ministry in South Africa. Charles Albert Paap obituary, Record, February 26, 1940, p. 7; W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, July 5, 1895, EGWRC-DC.

⁴Richardson assisted Hare in timber cutting at Avondale in 1895 and labored on the estate for the rest of his life. M. Hare to W. C. White, January 3, 1896, EGWRC-DC. Harry Richardson obituary, Record, July 6, 1942, p. 7.

⁵Tadish worked at Avondale in 1895 and returned as a student in 1897. Central Australian Conference, "The Students' Aid Fund," Gleaner, May 1897, p. 61; A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, May 6, 1897; M. Hare to W. C. White, December 24, 1895; M. Hare to W. C. White, January 3, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

⁶Woodhams was a brickmaker who worked at Avondale, 1895 to 1898; settled there on an allotment, 1896 to 1898; and was an Avondale School Board member, 1897 to 1898. School Board Minutes, meetings of April 28, 1897, September 13, 1898, and September 14, 1898, Heritage Room; M. Hare to W. C. White, December 24, 1895; W. C. White to E. Campbell, August 8, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

Progress and Evaluation

Throughout 1895 more Seventh-day Adventists joined the Rousseau, Lawrence, and Sherwin families in Cooranbong until there was a sufficient number to form an officially recognized church company. They planted fruit trees, made bricks, and erected houses and a sawmill. These were all signs of progress, and the experiment at Avondale appeared to be developing into a success.

Metcalf Hare¹ arrived in Sydney late in March 1895 and traveled to Cooranbong to assist Lawrence and Rousseau in their work of supervision.² Hare, with his wife Maria, ten-year-old Milton, and five-year old Robert, pitched a tent and became the first to settle on the estate itself. Two or three years later Hare wrote of this experience in these words:

Excepting the hours during the day when the young men were at work, there was little to break the monotony of our tent life. Ever and anon the silent calm was disturbed by the tinkling of bells; and the tired oxen moved listlessly in pursuit of food, or were startled in their slumbers by the echoes of the hunter's dog. The wild animals and the birds became quite sociable. Even the snakes seemed to have a fellow-feeling, and the opossums passed unmolested through our dwelling.³

¹Hare (1855-1938) was a senior student at St. Kilda school in 1894, then sold his share in Hare Bros. Store, Kaeo, New Zealand, and moved to Avondale. He had experience as a carpenter, boat builder, bushman, and saw miller. He took an active part in the industrial and committee work at Avondale, then moved to America in 1908. His two sons, Milton and Robert, became medical doctors. Metcalfe Hare obituary, Record, October 24, 1938, p. 7; Metcalfe Hare obituary, Review, October 6, 1938, p. 22; Miscellaneous notes, Bible Echo, April 2, 1894, p. 104; W. C. White to E. G. White, February 20, 1895; W. C. White to the Foreign Mission Board, March 11, 1895, EGWRC-DC.

²E. G. White to W. C. White, March 21, 1895, Letter 92a, 1895, EGWRC-AU.

³Hare MS, [1898], p. 2, EGWRC-DC.

At this time Alfred Hughes¹ and his family moved from Sydney and settled near the Avondale estate. He had no sons, so it must be presumed he was either anticipating an imminent school opening for his daughters or he desired work on the property. David Lacey² also moved his family from Tasmania to Cooranbong village with the purpose of educating his children at the school.

The 1895 winter was memorably cold and dry. As spring approached W. C. White claimed that only two showers had fallen on the Cooranbong district in the preceding six months. Daniells spoke of drought conditions in Queensland too, where horses at auction sold for \$1 each.³ In mid-winter the White families went to Cooranbong and stayed in Lacey's cottage, venturing out ten times in the early morning moonlight across frosty fields and through wire fences to speak to the students and workers at their worship periods.⁴ On

¹Hughes (1846-1930) heard the Advent message preached in Parramatta, Sydney, about 1894. He moved his family to Avondale, but did not become a church member until two years before his death, although he attended church services and the rest of his family were members. Alfred Hughes obituary, Record, June 30, 1930, p. 7; E. G. White to O. A. and Mrs. Olsen, April 11, 1895, Letter 62, 1895, EGWRC-AU.

²Lacey had three daughters, May, Margaret, and Nora, and one son, Herbert, all from a previous marriage. He married Mrs. Hawkins, who had four daughters and two sons from her previous marriage. They rented a home with forty acres on the Martinsville road, Cooranbong. E. G. White Diary, MS 64, 1896; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, July 19, 1897, Letter 176, 1897; E. G. White to S. N. Haskell, June 25, 1895, Letter 28, 1895, EGWRC-AU; W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, July 5, 1895, EGWRC-DC.

³A. G. Daniells to O. A. Olsen, July 17, 1895, Presidential Incoming Letters, GC Archives; W. C. White to A. Nobbs, August 6, 1895, EGWRC-DC.

⁴E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, August 4, 1895, Letter 125, 1895, EGWRC-AU.

these occasions E. G. White expressed some "thoughts about the childhood of Jesus, which she had never written out before. Immediately after the talks," reported W. C. White, "she wrote out the matter" and this she included in an early chapter of her new book on the life of Christ.¹

It was also at one of these early morning meetings that Rousseau publicly acknowledged that he was perfectly satisfied with the location of the school.² Daniells, however, took longer to admit a change of attitude. A letter of his in July 1895 showed some signs of reconsideration,³ but it was not until April 1897 that he wrote to E. G. White,

I have felt for a long time that I would like to tell you of the change in my feelings. . . . I have seen more and more that I have not viewed things in their true light. . . . This again has prevented me from being the help to you and Brother White that I should have been in the past trying times. It has thrown heavier burdens on each of you, and increased the perplexities. I feel very sorry about this. . . . I ask your forgiveness. . . . I love the school enterprise and can cheerfully work for its interests.⁴

During a visit to Avondale in July and August 1895, E. G. White drove over the estate on a platform wagon and selected a forty-acre section which she intended to purchase and divide

¹W. C. White to J. N. Nelson, August 3, 1895, EGWRC-DC.

²E. G. White to A. E. Wessels, July 16, 1896, Letter 114, 1896; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, August 19, 1895, Letter 126, 1895, EGWRC-AU.

³A. G. Daniells to O. A. Olsen, July 17, 1895, Presidential Incoming Letters, GC Archives.

⁴A. G. Daniells to E. G. White, April 15, 1897, EGWRC-DC.

equally between herself and W. C. White.¹ In August the Whites pitched tents on this site and camped in them during the early stages of clearing and building on their lot.² True to W. C. White's earlier prediction, local thieves gave some trouble, but not on the same scale he had feared. According to one E. G. White recollection only once was something stolen from them, but in another recollection she remembered two occasions--once when thieves stole a bag of cabbages and a bag of beans from their storehouse, and another when some intruder took a loaf of bread from their table.³ These conditions, however, soon improved. By December 1895 J. G. Shannan,⁴ the carpenter in charge of building E. G. White's home, had built it to the stage where it was suitable for the Whites to transfer from their hired Sydney home. On Christmas day, when rail fares were cheaper, they finally moved to Avondale permanently and named the new home "Sunnyside."⁵

¹E. G. White to A. E. Wessels, July 16, 1896, Letter 114, 1896, EGWRC-AU. These forty acres were added to later. The Gleaner, August 1896, says E. G. White owned sixty-six acres on the estate and the 1899 title deed gives a total acreage of about eighty-six acres with it all under E. G. White's name. Certificate of Title to E. G. White Property, Avondale, April 27, 1899, EGWRC-AU; W. C. White, "The Avondale School," Gleaner, August 1896, p. 12.

²W. C. White to U. Smith, August 5, 1895, EGWRC-DC.

³E. G. White, MS 126, 1902; E. G. White to Mrs. and Mrs. Irwin, June 15, 1902, Letter 113, 1902, EGWRC-AU.

⁴Shannan had lived in Hobart, Tasmania, before he came to work at Avondale. After building E. G. White's home he built the North Fitzroy church, Melbourne, but then fell into disagreement with some Avondale pioneers when he returned to the estate in late 1896. "Personal," Gleaner, May 1896; J. G. Shannan to W. C. White, November 26, 1895, EGWRC-DC.

⁵E. G. White to Mr. and Mrs. Wilson, January 1, 1896, Letter 116, 1896; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, February 14, 1896,

On the estate Hare kept busy as foreman of the team of older workers, while Lawrence supervised the teenagers. These men delayed ploughing because there was no rain and the soil was extremely hard. Eventually they called for bids for the ploughing, despite the parched conditions, but the prices quoted were found to be exorbitant, so they decided to plough it themselves. To procrastinate with the hope that rains might come later would have meant waiting until it was too late to plant fruit trees and vegetables that year. Instead, they borrowed a plough and bullocks, but the ground was so hard it broke the plough in the first furrow. In desperation Hare bought a large plough and harrows in Sydney, brought them to Coorانبong, and ploughed only spaced furrows rather than the whole cleared area.¹ This enabled them to plant the trees quickly, and when the rains came later they ploughed between the rows to complete the job.²

Hare also scouted in the local area getting advice on orcharding. Mr. Mosely, a gardener and nurseryman at Ourimbah, supplied one thousand trees and on Sunday, August 18, 1895, he came to instruct the men how best to plant them. The men planted three hundred trees that first day and the remainder soon after.³ From

Letter 143, 1896, EGWRC-AU. E. G. White's first letter bearing the address "Sunnyside" is E. G. White to C. Anderson, January 3, 1896, Letter 2, 1896, EGWRC-AU.

¹W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, July 5, 1895; W. C. White to M. G. Kellogg, August 14, 1895, EGWRC-DC.

²E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, February 25, 1896, Letter 145, 1896, EGWRC-AU.

³E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, August 4, 1895, Letter 125, 1895; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, August 19, 1895, Letter 126, 1895, EGWRC-AU.

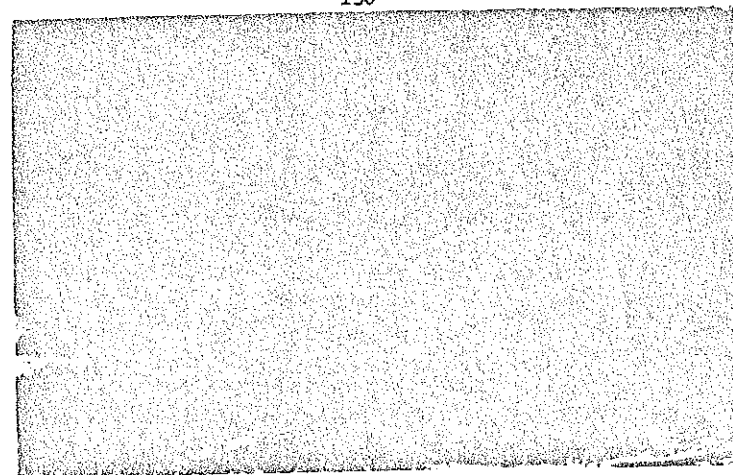


Fig. 9. Clearing land, 1895



Fig. 10. Avondale sawmill, 1895-1899

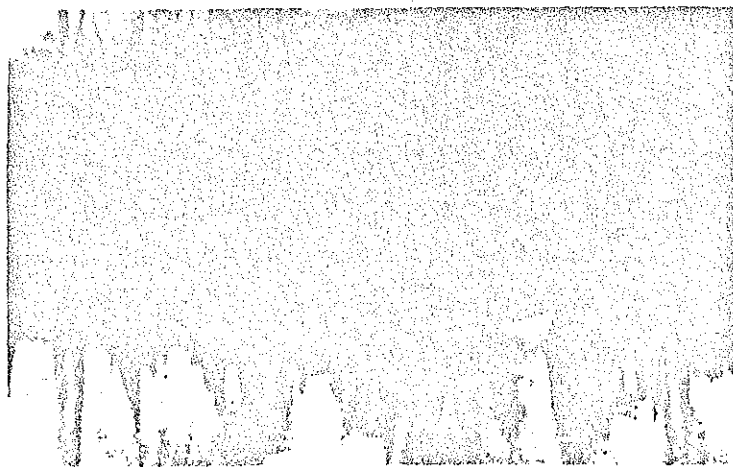


Fig. 11. Boating on Dora Creek

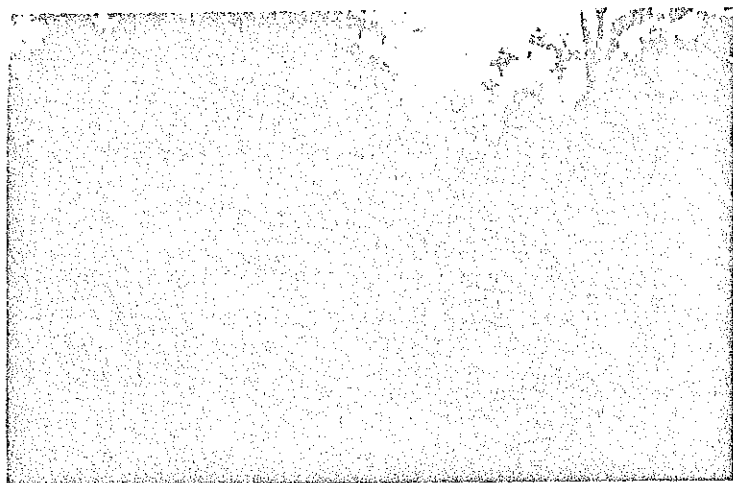


Fig. 12. Avondale Road to "Sunnyside"

then until the rains came about a month later the trees had to be watered by hand. Despite this care about ninety trees died and in their place they planted new ones the following year.¹ Mosely supplied the same service for the Whites' orchard and maintained close contact, periodically visiting and advising on the proper cultivation of fruit trees.²

Once the orchard was planted, in addition to an experimental garden of pumpkins, melons, and potatoes, the next task was to establish a sawmill so that timber could be readied for the school buildings. Hare's expertise in this area proved helpful and he assumed the leadership in building and operating it from the first. When in Sydney buying the plough he had also examined milling equipment with the result that the school board purchased a used plant cheaply for \$1,400. The plant included a boiler, a fifteen horse-power engine, a break-down saw, an iron saw bench with circular saws, and a planing machine. The latter was a necessity because the other mills in the district had no planer. Workers dismantled the plant, shipped it north on September 19, 1895,³ and installed it in a sixty-foot-square mill building erected near the bank of Dora Creek not far from the orchard.⁴ By early February 1896 Hare tested the saws, and in March

¹W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, September 29, 1895; W. C. White to the Executive Committee of the Australasian Union Conference, August 16, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

²E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, January 30, 1896, Letter 141, 1896, EGWRC-AU.

³W. C. White to M. G. Kellogg, August 14, 1895; W. C. White to A. G. Daniells, September 20, 1895; W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, September 29, 1895, EGWRC-DC.

⁴C. B. Hughes [sic] to H. Bree, June 17, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

he put the entire plant into full operation, but the boiler bulged, causing further delays until he could make repairs.¹

However, Hare reported in June 1896 that he had milled about fifty logs despite troubles with the break-down saw which proved inadequate for the "fearfully hard" timber cut on the estate. The first of the lumber he used to place a ceiling and stairs in the mill and thus provide a large upstairs room. Workmen then transferred the school furniture from a local, hired building and stored it in one end of this mill loft.²

The school board decided in 1895 to manufacture bricks for public sale as well as for the proposed buildings. Suitable clay from the estate, scrapwood from the mill for firing, and an experienced brickmaker in the person of Woodhams guaranteed a convenient industry while the need lasted. The following year they decided to build larger buildings with brick veneer, and negotiated with Woodhams to make 75,000 bricks on contract at \$6.25 per thousand.³ By June 1896 he had made about 40,000 bricks,⁴ but plans took a decided turn for economy about this time and they eventually constructed the buildings almost entirely of wood.

Another significant step occurred at Avondale when, about

¹W. C. White to S. N. Haskell, February 2, 1896; W. C. White to the Executive Committee of the Australasian Union Conference, August 16, 1895, EGWRC-DC.

²C. B. Hughes [sic] to H. Bree, June 17, 1896; Hare MS, [1898], p. 3; W. C. White to G. Teasdale, July 5, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

³E. R. Palmer, "A Visit to Avondale School," Gleaner, December 1895; W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, May 1, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

⁴C. B. Hughes [sic] to H. Bree, June 17, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

early August 1895, the company of Seventh-day Adventist believers officially organized themselves as a church within the infant New South Wales Conference. First reports listed them with a baptized membership of thirty-five. Throughout 1895, when the students and Rousseau lived in the abandoned Healey's Hotel, church services were held in the hotel dining room.¹

Towards the end of the first experimental term, E. G. White concluded, "we are convinced since making this experiment at Avondale, Cooranbong, that the Lord will indeed work with those who combine physical and manual labor with their studies."² She was glad to see unruly young boys like Burt Corliss becoming Christian gentlemen under the discipline of manual labor.³

The students did not want to leave at the end of August but desired to continue working and studying, so the board extended the term to almost the end of the year.⁴ Palmer came for two weeks to train those who wished to sell denominational books during the summer. The first of the young ladies to attend Avondale College, J. Mansell and L. Oliver, came for this special training session.

¹"From the Field," Bible Echo, November 25, 1895, p. 364; E. G. White, MS 14, 1895; E. G. White Diary, MS 61, 1896, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, August 16, 1895, Letter 80a, 1895, EGWRC-AU.

³E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, August 19, 1895, Letter 126, 1895, EGWRC-AU. Despite E. G. White's optimism regarding Corliss, he was the first to be expelled from the school. Soon afterwards the Corliss family departed hurriedly from Australia. E. G. White to B. Corliss, April 14, 1896, Letter 15a, 1896, EGWRC-AU; W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, May 1, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

⁴N. Hare to W. C. White, December 24, 1895, EGWRC-DC; E. G. White to J. H. and E. E. Kellogg, August 27, 1895, Letter 47a, 1895, EGWRC-AU.

After some inconvenient delay caused by the school's inability to pay wages to some of these students,¹ Mills and Mackenzie set off to canvass Tamworth, New South Wales, and Lewin worked Singleton and Scone in the same colony. Lewin then returned home to canvass in New Zealand. Throughout 1896 Miss Oliver canvassed in Ballarat, Victoria. However, no reports appeared from Miss Mansell.² Apparently Lewin entered the industrial department and climaxed his stay by taking instruction from Palmer before leaving to engage in canvassing; therefore he, with other young men who did the same, may be regarded as the first graduates of Avondale College. These limited results were encouraging, but the original plans had called for a more extensive institution.

W. W. Prescott and the Cooranbong Institute

Optimism for an 1896 opening of school buildings still existed when W. W. Prescott, the General Conference educational secretary, went to Avondale in January³ of that year "to assist in organizing the school work, and setting it upon a proper basis."⁴

Prescott had traveled throughout the Australasian colonies since his arrival in late July 1895.⁵ Soon after his arrival W. C. White took him to Avondale just at the time when the workers were

¹M. Hare to W. C. White, January 3, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

²"Field Notes," Gleaner, December 1895; "Personal," Gleaner, April 1896.

³"From the Field," Bible Echo, January 27, 1896, p. 29.

⁴Miscellaneous notes, Review, February 25, 1896, p. 128.

⁵W. W. Prescott to W. C. White, May 20, 1895, EGWRC-DC.

struggling to plough the hard ground. Two weeks later he visited again when bush fires were raging in the area, filling the air with smoke, and he was not very impressed with the district at all.¹ At the Armadale camp meeting in Victoria, delegates elected him to the Avondale College Board together with Daniells, Hare, Rousseau, and W. C. White. Prescott, Corliss, and Rousseau were also appointed a committee on education at this camp meeting and they submitted a list of recommendations in a report designed to spur progress on the school enterprise. They recommended that the name of the institution be changed to "The Avondale School for Christian Workers" and called for immediate steps to be taken to raise finance and erect the buildings. In addition, they recommended the operation of the industrial department be discontinued and specific plans be formulated for the training of denominational gospel workers while at the same time providing for manual labor. Prescott and Rousseau had evidently analyzed the 1895 situation and now tacitly admitted that titles such as "college" and "industrial department" were euphemisms. Apparently, as they compared the program at Avondale with those at other schools, they could not justify such titles. They sensed the needs of the church constituency and tailored their plans to meet them.² W. C. White wrote to Olsen, "Prescott is reshaping our school work and plans. Just now we are in a chaotic state. As soon as

¹W. W. Prescott, "In the Regions Beyond," Review, May 19, 1896, p. 315.

²Union Conf. Minutes, meetings of October 21, 1895, October 31, 1895, and November 11, 1895, Heritage Room.

plans are reformed, and our work takes shape, I will write you about them."¹ Thus, with the purpose of perfecting and instituting these plans, Prescott stayed at Avondale until he sailed from Sydney on May 1, 1896.²

While at Avondale Prescott and E. G. White talked a great deal about educational matters and the curriculum of the proposed school. She said he drew her thoughts out as James White used to do, and that he led her to say much that she would otherwise have left unsaid. Prescott then advised her to write the matter out for publication.³ These talks prompted her to search among her manuscripts for material written earlier. Eventually she found some 1874 writings on the theme of their conversations,⁴ and before publication these were apparently revised and updated. Much of what E. G. White subsequently published in Special Testimonies on Education (1897) was dated shortly after these conversations and the Cooranbong Institute.

The 1896 Cooranbong Institute was the highlight of Prescott's stay in Australia. A large meeting tent and six family tents were pitched on the estate. Teachers and ministers attended from March 26 to April 23, 1896. About forty came, many bringing their own bedding, tents, and cooking facilities to stay on the property or close

¹W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, November 15, 1895, EGWRC-DC.

²Miscellaneous notes, Bible Echo, April 27, 1896, p. 128.

³E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, February 16, 1896, Letter 144, 1896, EGWRC-AU.

⁴E. G. White Diary, MS 62, 1896, EGWRC-AU.

by.¹ Manual labor in the afternoons occupied their time, E. G. White giving painting jobs to some so they could pay their fees to attend.² An interesting sidelight at this time was the adoption of a three-week-old son by the Daniells, an event which must have been overshadowed somewhat by the excitement caused when May Lacey White gave birth to twin boys the following day.³

Prescott lectured in the mornings on the principles of education. The Gleaner reported that,

He [Prescott] believes that everything should be studied from the standpoint of the word of God first, the works of God second, and the providences of God third, and that human authority should be subordinate to these. . . . This is right in harmony with what Sr. White has always taught, and now it is being given serious attention, and being resolved into a system.⁴

Starr conducted a series of studies on the Book of Ephesians and Daniells spoke in the evenings on the topic of the Holy Spirit. Speakers taught those in attendance how to study the Bible by chapters and books rather than by the proof-text method. A number of people from the surrounding district, including public school teachers, also attended these evening meetings.⁵

E. G. White spoke at least six times, among other things

¹Miscellaneous notes, Bible Echo, April 6, 1896, p. 112; W. C. White, "An Institute at Avondale," Bible Echo, March 23, 1896, pp. 92, 93; W. C. White to N. D. Faulkhead, April 20, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

²E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, April 11, 1896, Letter 121, 1896, EGWRC-AU.

³"Personal," Gleaner, April 1896.

⁴"The Cooranbong Institute," Gleaner, April 1896.

⁵"Bible Study and Bible Teaching," Gleaner, July 1896, p. 6; E. G. White Diary, MS 64, 1896, EGWRC-AU.

emphasizing the imperative of an "all-sided education"¹--theory coupled with practical usefulness--and lamenting the neglect of the study of "the grand educating book, found in nature, which hears and sees God."²

In retrospect, Daniells wrote of Prescott's stay in Australia,

. . . he [Prescott] studied our situation and needs, and gave most excellent instruction on the courses of study, and the best methods of teaching. All this instruction has been preserved in written form. It is approved, and will be adopted by those who will conduct the school.³

Shortly after Prescott left, Rousseau decided to return to America on a one-year leave of absence so that his wife could regain her health at the Battle Creek Sanitarium in Michigan.⁴ His own health was not too robust either, for he had succumbed to the flu epidemic in 1894 and suffered with boils in 1895. People noticed he was worn and overworked when keeping the school accounts, teaching, and acting as preceptor at Healey's Hotel.⁵ Rousseau's and his wife's work as teachers was highly regarded, and their departure from Sydney on July 6, 1896, coupled with the announcement that the school

¹E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, April 7, 1896, Letter 148, 1896, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, April 11, 1896, Letter 121, 1896, EGWRC-AU.

³A. G. Daniells, "Our School," Cleaner, January 1897, p. 1. The written guidelines are not extant.

⁴W. C. White to the Foreign Mission Board, June 10, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

⁵E. G. White to S. N. Haskell, August 13, 1894, Letter 30, 1894; E. G. White to Mr. and Mrs. Olsen, April 11, 1895, Letter 62, 1895; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, August 4, Letter 125, 1895, EGWRC-AU.

would not open until April 1897, cast a pall of discouragement over the Australasian constituency. Contributions to the school enterprise dropped significantly.¹

Despite these setbacks, the flagging spirits of the school pioneers must have received an injection of fresh enthusiasm as a result of the Coorانبong Institute. Prescott, however, could not remain in Australia any longer because of his other responsibilities. The school enterprise had to continue with his written guidelines in lieu of his presence, and the departure of the Rousseau's deepened the paucity of qualified educators in the Australasian mission.

A Lengthy Court Case

Unknown to most of the church members, a very serious problem--a court case over the title deed of the estate--further delayed the opening of the school and depleted financial resources. When the Australasian Union Conference decided to ask the General Conference to handle land sales and deeds through an American attorney sent to Australia, this action apparently planted the seeds of the problem. Trouble arose in America finding a suitable man to go to Australia with the power of attorney, but in May 1894 it seemed certain that such a man would eventually be despatched from America.² In expectation, W. C. White went ahead and signed the purchase contract, "William C. White, for the General Conference Association." White

¹W. C. White to J. I. Gibson, July 9, 1896; W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, August 2, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

²O. A. Olsen to W. C. White, April 27, 1894; O. A. Olsen, to E. G. White, August 24, 1894, Presidential Outgoing Letters, GC Archives.

hired lawyers Abbott and Allen soon after, and they advised that only the names of White and Reekie appear on the deed without any reference to the General Conference. This they did, and all went well until the final payment in 1895. At that time the lawyers for the Brettville Estate refused to hand over the deed to Abbott and Allen on the false pretext that one month's interest had yet to be paid by White. Furthermore they insisted that White sign the deed using the same words as in the purchase contract. White's lawyers felt this was unreasonable and unwise.¹ E. G. White noted an allegation that the trustees of the Brettville Estate, impressed by the unexpected transformation of the property, were anxious to extract more money for it.²

W. C. White was in New Zealand when the problem concerning the transfer of the deed arose. It is uncertain whether his secretary, A. G. Mackenzie, gave permission to press charges to obtain the deed or if Abbott and Allen simply went ahead on their own.³ Nevertheless, a protracted court case ensued which resulted in a decision in White's favor at the first hearing on August 28, 1895.⁴ The defendants appealed the decision and the case came up for trial again in November 1895. Just prior to the second trial, documents arrived from America which officially granted W. C. White the power

¹W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, July 5, 1895, EGWRC-DC.

²E. G. White Diary, MS 14, 1895, EGWRC-AU.

³W. C. White to W. C. Sisley, May 31, 1896; W. C. White to L. J. Rousseau, July 9, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

⁴E. G. White Diary, MS 14, 1895, EGWRC-AU.

of attorney on behalf of the General Conference, and these papers he dutifully handed to Abbott and Allen to prove his power to act and hold the deed.¹

The court postponed the hearing until February 24, 1896, when a different set of judges presided from those who gave the favorable decision originally. The Chief Justice handed down his decision in favor of the defendants, largely, he said, because of highly technical irregularities with respect to the power of attorney papers sent from the General Conference.² Later, W. C. White learned from others that the real underlying reason was more likely prejudice against American corporations holding Australian land.³ Abbott graciously waived the \$1,500 fee that his firm had billed White, but there still remained the \$2,000 that the court ordered as payment for the defendants' costs.⁴ "The raising of the necessary funds to meet this bill has been the most painful task I ever engaged in," said White.⁵ It took him three months to raise the money, and another six weeks elapsed before a receipt arrived and other lawyers could be hired. Therefore, by July 1896, the case had cost \$2,000 but

¹W. C. White to the Executive Committee of the Australasian Union Conference, August 28, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

²Ibid.

³W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, June 3, 1896; W. C. White to W. Gregg, October 1, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

⁴W. C. White to W. D. Salisbury, April 20, 1896; W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, June 3, 1896; W. C. White to L. J. Rousseau, July 9, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

⁵W. C. White to W. C. Sisley, May 31, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

the title deed still remained in the hands of the defendants.¹

White hired other lawyers and even gained an appointment with the Registrar General, who assured him that a valid transfer of the deed could be made by using the documents presented at the first hearing. Ironically, the lawyers who then gave White the greatest assurance for a successful transfer were in the same firm, Rollin and Gilder, that held the deed and had fought Abbott and Allen in court. With General Conference permission White hired Rollin and Gilder on the understanding that the transfer would be accomplished for about \$100.²

Those subdividing the estate attempted to have Alton Road resurveyed so that it would meet Maitland Road neatly at Central Road, but this request met with a decided refusal from the government surveyor. White had no desire for more disagreements so he abandoned the effort and the process began for the transfer of the title deed and for its registration under the Real Property Act.³ These legalities lingered until late 1897.⁴

The whole unpleasant experience of the court case, coupled with the already short supply of funds, crushed hopes for a prompt opening of the school. Only a dramatic turn of events could have changed the trend toward despair. This was provided when E. G. White

¹W. C. White to the Executive Committee of the Australasian Union Conference, August 28, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

²Ibid.

³W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, September 27, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

⁴School Board Minutes, meeting of August 12, 1897, Heritage Room.

later borrowed money to launch the building program.

The Struggling Experiment

The pioneers made very little progress in 1896. A few workers continued in employment and teachers offered a brief term of school for local people. The sale of building lots on the Avondale estate, from which W. C. White hoped to provide finance for the school buildings, was barely sufficient to maintain running expenses. Technically no resale of lots on the estate could take place until the title deed was in the custody of White. However, school authorities sold lots from 1895 onwards, but apparently they gave no purchase contracts or title deeds to the buyers until later.¹

The sale of lots was almost entirely confined to the area south of Maitland Road, not far from the ridge where the school buildings later stood. Through the woods in a northerly direction from the ridge, E. G. White and her assistants settled into her ten-room house. While W. C. White waited for funds for his house to be built opposite, he and his family hired the abandoned convent in Cooranbong. Lawrence and family moved into the little hut on E. G. White's lot that carpenters erected before "Sunnyside." Albert and Robert Lamplough bought one acre on the corner of Alton and Maitland Road and built a boot and shoe shop and a blacksmith's shop. James Hansen² built a general store combined with living quarters on

¹E. L. Rousseau to W. C. and M. White, September 30, 1898; W. C. White to W. Gregg, October 1, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

²Hansen labored with Starr in tent missions in Sydney before he came to Avondale. Apparently he added to his acre, for when he sold out in 1902 on account of his wife's death, he offered about five acres for sale with the store. "From the Field," Bible Echo

another acre near Lamplough's and began business in August 1896. Near the drained swamp, Carswell purchased an acre, had a four-room cottage built, and boarded some of the workmen. W. T. Woodhams built a one-room hut and planted fruit trees on his acre. Rousseau's lot, partly cleared by him, was left without any further improvements after his departure. Hare, apart from the Whites, was the one who enthusiastically experimented with vegetable and fruit crops on four acres to the west of College Road. Thomas Coulston¹ purchased eighteen acres, built a four-room cottage, and planted fruit trees. On the corner of Maitland and Central Roads, Worsnop bought five acres and built a three-room cottage. G. B. Starr and Harry Camp also purchased lots as an investment, but these lay undeveloped.² By August 1896, twenty-two lots covering a total of 103 acres were sold to thirteen separate buyers for the sum of \$3,000.³ Prices per acre ranged from \$11 to about \$55 for choice soil and location such as Hare procured.⁴

February 17, 1896, p. 53; Miscellaneous notes, Bible Echo, October 13, 1902, p. 336.

¹If "Colson" and "Coulson" are misspellings of Coulston's name in E. G. White's letters then he was a carpenter who helped to build "Sunnyside." E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, January 21, 1895, Letter 130, 1895; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, February 14, 1896, Letter 143, 1896, EGWRC-AU.

²W. C. White to E. Campbell, August 8, 1896; W. C. White to the Executive Committee of the Australasian Union Conference, August 16, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

³W. C. White, "The Avondale School," Gleaner, August 1896, p. 12.

⁴"The Land Board," Newcastle Morning Herald, September 1, 1896, p. 7; M. Hare to W. C. White, July 25, 1900, EGWRC-DC.

Throughout 1896 some advance occurred with agricultural pursuits. Copious rains fell in February to soften the virgin soil between the rows of fruit trees, so these strips, together with a vegetable garden area, the men ploughed thoroughly by yoking sixteen bullocks to the plough. With one man facing the lead bullocks to shout directions and crack the whip, another working at the point of the plough relieving it of roots, and two men holding a handle each, the plough was steered and wheeled around the rows with amazing order.¹ It was not necessary to do much draining of the land in 1895 because of the abnormally dry conditions. However, workers drained a thirty-five acre swamp in 1896. They achieved this with a main channel about a quarter of a mile long and eight feet wide at the bottom with beveled banks, and nine feeder drains.²

With the cancellation of the industrial department classes and the departure of Rousseau, very little happened in 1896 with respect to training young people in academic lines. Newlyweds Herbert C. Lacey³ and his wife Lillian arrived in Australia from

¹E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, February 25, 1896, Letter 145, 1896, EGWRC-AU.

²C. B. Hughes [sic] to H. Bree, June 17, 1896; Hare MS, [1898], p. 3, EGWRC-DC.

³Lacey (1871-1950) was May Lacey White's only full brother. He studied at the Episcopal College, Tasmania, before he joined the Seventh-day Adventist Church and then E. G. White paid most of his expenses to take the ministerial course at Healdsburg College, California, as well as the classical course from Battle Creek College, Michigan. He married Lillian Yarnell, of California, and they sailed the following day for Australia, where he was ordained in 1896; he taught at the Avondale school, and conducted evangelism during school vacations. After he left Australia in 1902 he taught Bible and Greek at denominational colleges in England and America. Herbert Camden Lacey obituary, Review, January 25, 1951, p. 22; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, July 19, 1897, Letter 176, 1897; E. G. White Diary,

Battle Creek College, Michigan, and connected with the school on what appeared to be a semiprivate teaching basis. Lillian Lacey also served as accountant from July 1896.¹ At this time W. C. White wrote,

. . . [H. C.] Lacey has been talking with the young people about here, proposing to hold evening classes in the mill. There are quite a number who desire to attend; and he has now gone to Sydney to procure books. The School Board have thought best to furnish him free use of the building, chairs, forms, desks, blackboards, etc., etc., if he would conduct the classes, collect a reasonable tuition, and not involve the school in any expense.²

Between twenty and thirty local students attended this school from July 20 to October 1, 1896, having an afternoon class with Lillian Lacey and evening classes four nights each week in the saw-mill loft. The main subjects taught were Bible, physics, grammar, arithmetic, reading, writing, spelling, and music.³

In the thinking of E. G. White at the end of the year the main criteria for success was not the academic results but whether or not the land had produced fruit and vegetables to assure a food supply for boarding students. As the trees began to show growth and the gardens produced, she evaluated the experiment as indeed a success.⁴ Efforts to make any faster progress on the school buildings were embarrassingly slow. E. G. White wondered if the people should

MS 174, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

¹W. C. White to J. I. Gibson, November 24, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

²W. C. White to W. W. Prescott, July 2, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

³W. C. White, "The Avondale School," Bible Echo, August 31, 1896, p. 269; W. C. White to W. Gregg, October 1, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

⁴E. G. White to A. E. Wessels, December 14, 1896, Letter 115, 1896, EGWRC-AU.

not build a church first and hold classes in its rooms, or whether it would not be better to erect school buildings and use them for church services too. However, she concluded that time would develop their plans and methods.¹

Laying Foundations with Borrowed Money

Throughout Australia in 1896 drought conditions reached their greatest intensity during the decade. This phenomenon did not affect Avondale directly for it was situated in a comparatively well-watered spot, but the church membership in general suffered with the rest of the population and could give very little financial assistance. Money was scarce and there seemed no avenue of escape from the dilemma. "We are bound about with poverty. No one to draw from [and] not a soul in this country who comes up and makes a donation. In America all is close and times are hard. . . ," wrote E. G. White.² She had earlier borrowed about \$1,500 from Haskell, then another \$500 from him in November 1895.³ She had also borrowed \$1,000 from Hare when she first moved to Avondale,⁴ but at this time she called on the South African Wessels family again and requested a loan of \$5,000⁵

¹E. G. White to A. E. Wessels, July 16, 1896, Letter 114, 1896, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, October 1896, Letter 158, 1896, EGWRC-AU.

³E. G. White to A. G. Daniells, August 31, 1897, Letter 39, 1897, E. G. White Diary, MS 19, 1895, EGWRC-AU.

⁴E. G. White to A. G. Daniells, September 24, 1897, Letter 43, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

⁵E. G. White to A. E. Wessels, July 16, 1896, Letter 114, 1896; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, August 2, 1896, Letter 154, 1896, EGWRC-AU.

so that the school buildings could be erected in time for the advertized opening in April 1897. The court costs, of course, had had a devastating effect on finances. Furthermore, W. C. White admitted that the school managers "had invested more money in general improvements than was thought to be necessary or profitable."¹ E. G. White's expenses when building her house were more than expected too. This she later blamed on Shannan's meticulous habits in his carpentry. As a result Hare made the suggestion that bids be called for on any further building construction work.²

The \$5,000 loan requested from Wessels arrived in September 1896, and immediately the men started to build Bethel Hall to serve as the girls' dormitory. They hauled bricks from Woodham's stockpile, and Hare perfected specifications to give to about ten Seventh-day Adventist builders.³ The call for bids, together with the promise of meager wages, deeply angered Shannan who, when working on "Sunnyside" nine months earlier, had helped Hare to make the original specifications for the school buildings. He evidently presumed that he would obtain the contract when funds became available.⁴ Instead,

¹W. C. White to the Executive Committee of the Australasian Union Conference, August 28, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

²M. Hare to W. C. White, December 24, 1895, EGWRC-DC; E. G. White to Mr. Chapman and Mr. Bell, January 22, 1897, Letter 35, 1897, EGWRC-AU; W. C. White to W. D. Salisbury, April 15, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

³W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, September 27, 1896, EGWRC-DC. E. G. White later insisted that the loan be given for longer than one year. E. G. White to A. E. Wessels, October 20, 1896, Letter 113, 1896, EGWRC-AU.

⁴W. C. White to N. D. Faulkhead, January 3, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

Fred Lamplough submitted the successful bid of \$910.¹ On October 1, 1896, Lamplough and Lacey measured out and dug foundations.² By this time, the original plans for a brick-veneer structure had been simplified to a wooden one, using timber cut and milled on the estate, with Avondale-made bricks to be used for the foundations and chimneys only.³

Thursday, October 1, 1896, Lacey's school went into recess. The following day E. G. White left for weekend preaching appointments in Sydney en route to Melbourne and the Adelaide camp meeting. It was therefore hastily arranged for E. G. White to come to the building site at the end of the day's work on October 1, when she set the first foundation brick in place (see appendix C). Only a few persons attended the simple ceremony at which E. G. White offered a thankful dedication prayer and she, Lacey, and Hare spoke briefly.⁴

This was a relatively inauspicious milestone in an enterprise that had begun with far more elaborate building plans. However, it did portend better things to come compared with the dismal progress made up to that point.

¹W. C. White to W. W. Prescott, October 25, 1896, EGWRC-DC. The school supplied bricks and timber, therefore Lamplough's bid was most likely for workmen's labor only. The total cost of Bethel Hall was later listed as \$3,000. M. Hare, "Building Committee's Report," Bible Echo, May 8, 1899, p. 157.

²W. C. White to W. Gregg, October 1, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

³W. C. White, "The Avondale School," Gleaner, October 1896, p. 24.

⁴W. C. White, "Australia," Review, November 17, 1896, p. 736.

Plans for the 1897 Faculty Slate

With Bethel Hall in the process of erection, plans were laid by the Avondale School Board for the appointment of the 1897 faculty.

The board chose S. N. Haskell as Bible teacher and Lillian Lacey as matron. They planned for T. W. Skinner¹ to be cook, and G. Teasdale to serve as first assistant or vice-principal, with H. C. Lacey as principal. They decided this slate almost on the eve of W. C. White's departure for the 1897 General Conference in College View, Nebraska.² He, together with Daniells, Hare, Woodhams, Salisbury, and H. C. and Lillian Lacey had agreed that this faculty, all fresh from American training courses and all young (with the exception of Haskell) would be a suitable faculty.³ E. G. White was appalled and later spoke of that board as ignorant and incapable, particularly for electing the inexperienced Lacey as principal without first counseling with her. Furthermore, she was making every effort to prevent an emphasis on academics which excluded manual labor. Such an emphasis, she believed, prevailed in the training

¹Skinner (1866-1943) went from New Zealand to study in America. When he returned he married Maud Camp, an assistant in E. G. White's household, and worked at hydropathy and lectured on health. Thomas William Farenden Skinner obituary, Record, October 18, 1943, p. 7; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, November 26, 1894, Letter 129, 1894; E. G. White to W. C. White, May 5, 1897, Letter 141, 1897, EGWRC-AU; W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, December 21, 1895, EGWRC-DC.

²Olsen talked of nominating W. C. White as his successor at that General Conference but E. G. White objected. However, she did expect Olsen to ask W. C. White to assist him in America and, if he did so, she would take it as the sign for her to return to America also. E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, January 16, 1896, Letter 139, 1896; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, May 6, 1896, Letter 150, 1896, EGWRC-AU.

³School Board Minutes, meeting of December 18, 1896, Heritage Room.

institution from which these young teachers had come. To weight the faculty with such people, she felt, was to defeat the purpose of the school.¹

E. G. White wrote candidly to Lacey, urging him to study his Bible more, to practice habits of economy and simplicity, to consult more with those who were on the estate from the start, and to be content with the old furniture brought from St. Kilda rather than planning to fit the buildings with carpets and extravagant facilities like those in the Battle Creek College. She wished for a principal who would not introduce textbooks by infidel authors. She wanted a leader who practiced physical as well as mental labor and who would support useful manual work in the place of games and amusements for the exercise of the muscles. In addition to general classroom studies she advocated training in agriculture, bookkeeping, dressmaking, cooking, building construction, bookbinding, and a variety of other trades so that students would go from the school in command of the practical realities of life.²

There was no question with regard to Haskell as a faculty member, for he was a tried and trusted worker. He had arrived from South Africa on October 6, 1896,³ and after the Adelaide camp meeting had spent a week at Avondale renewing his close acquaintance with the

¹E. G. White to W. C. White, June 6, 1897, Letter 140, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White to H. C. Lacey, December 20, 1896, Letter 60, 1896; E. G. White to Friends of the School, December 20, 1896, Letter 60a, 1896; E. G. White, MS 41a, 1896, EGWRC-AU.

³W. C. White, "Australia," Review, November 17, 1896, p. 736.

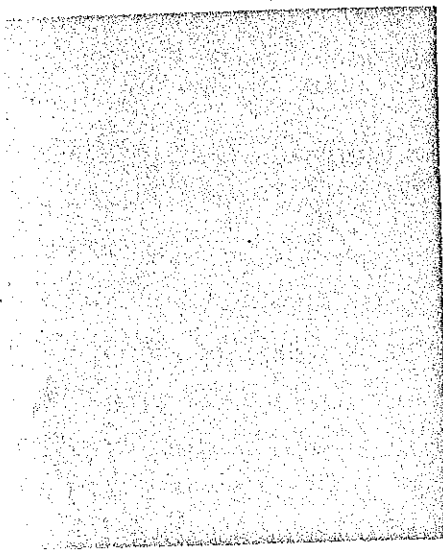


Fig. 13. Hetty Haskell



Fig. 14. Stephen Haskell

Whites. Shortly after this visit, W. C. White made the request to the South African Conference for Hetty Hurd to transfer to Australia. E. G. White wrote a similar letter also.¹ The friendship between Haskell and Hetty Hurd was a closely guarded secret, for even Daniells, who spoke with Hetty at length when she arrived in Melbourne, wrote to Haskell and E. G. White on the very day of Hetty's marriage to Haskell saying, "I know nothing of her plans nor of yours." Daniells requested that she work on her own in Adelaide.² Haskell was conducting a series of early morning and evening revival meetings at Avondale, so after their marriage in Sydney, E. G. White urged him to return and continue the stabilizing work he had begun there. She reasoned that others could minister in Adelaide and elsewhere, but the need for the Haskells was more urgent at Cooranbong.³

The 1897 faculty slate, as projected in 1896, did not form exactly as planned. In the absence of W. C. White his mother stepped in to take an even stronger role in directing affairs on the estate. E. G. White made sure that a different faculty eventuated than the one voted previously by the school board. The fact that Haskell was not a qualified teacher probably militated against him

¹S. N. Haskell to E. G. White, December 18, 1896, EGWRC-AU; W. C. White to the Executive Committee of the South African Conference, December 2, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

²A. G. Daniells to S. N. Haskell and E. G. White, February 24, 1897, EGWRC-DC.

³E. G. White to A. G. Daniells, February 24, 1897, Letter 41, 1897; E. G. White to S. N. and H. Haskell, March 1, 1897, Letter 74a, 1897, EGWRC-AU. Haskell was summoned urgently to Adelaide about a month after settling in at Avondale. S. N. Haskell to E. G. White, April 5, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

as the choice for principal; nevertheless he assumed a leading role on the estate as a spiritual diplomat and peacemaker. Lacey, she said, was not to be principal, so the choice of another person had to be made later.

The Shannan/Lawrence Controversy
and Its Results

E. G. White's note of urgency for an ameliorating influence in the person of Haskell occurred because W. C. White left the estate for America in the midst of a bitter rebellion at Avondale.

The factors which caused the problem ran deep and were personal in nature, but apparently some roots of it lay in events that had occurred at the Echo Publishing Company in Melbourne. Officials there had dismissed some workers due to a lack of funds, and others, in sympathy, had separated themselves from employment in discontent. Shannan had lived in the home of one of the North Fitzroy church members who shared his criticisms of the situation at the printing office. He returned to Cooranbong with a similar critical spirit towards all on the estate who did not meet with his approval. As already mentioned, the act of calling for bids to build Bethel Hall, when he expected to obtain the contract without competition exploded his damaged confidence in the church leadership. The problem became complicated when Shannan shared his grievances with Lawrence, Hughes, and others about the leadership and low wages.¹ Lawrence, who shared his attitudes, had for some time followed the

¹E. G. White to J. G. Shannan, December 26, 1896, Letter 97, 1896; E. G. White to J. G. and E. L. Shannan, December 26, 1896, Letter 98, 1896, EGWRC-AU.

practice of paying tithe to and depositing all his money with the Review and Herald Publishing Association in Michigan because he did not agree with the management of things at Avondale. For the same reason he refused to donate or loan money when needed, and refused to work in the orchard for anything less than \$1.50 a day.¹ He was offered \$1 a day, and E. G. White admitted this was a low wage, but considering the great shortage of finance and the fact that Lawrence had come as a missionary for the good of the cause the leadership had hoped he would work under these conditions.²

When the selection of 1897 church officers took place, some voted to appoint Lawrence as an elder but E. G. White objected. On December 31, 1896, she called a special evening meeting on the grass outside the mill, candidly outlined the troubles that were taking place, and called for better attitudes to prevail. In response, Hare confessed his habit of impatience, but Shannan and Lawrence did not stand to say anything.³

The crisis precipitated closer investigation of Lawrence's business dealings. Some accused him of being a hard bargainer and not always honest. He had bought a cow for \$15 from the school and later tried to resell it for \$25, refusing a \$20 offer in gold sent by E. G. White, saying he had already given his word to two other

¹E. G. White, MS 2, 1897; E. G. White to W. C. White, January 14, 1897, Letter 167, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White to J. G. Shannan, December 26, 1896, Letter 97, 1896; E. G. White to J. G. Shannan and L. N. Lawrence, February 5, 1897, Letter 110, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

³E. G. White to A. G. Daniells, January 1, 1897, Letter 44, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

people that they could have it for \$22.50. In actual fact these two people had refused the offer. On another occasion a buyer of a lot on the estate gave him \$5 to have the trees girdled. Lawrence hired Robert McCann¹ to do it, giving McCann only \$2.50 and retaining the rest as payment for his task of hiring and giving directions to McCann.²

After E. G. White had counseled with him, he sold the cow back to the school, and handed McCann the remaining \$2.50. These were small matters in the establishment of a school, but the principles involved, such as unselfishness and strict honesty, were more important. E. G. White reprimanded Lawrence for his actions, emphasizing that only men with a missionary spirit were wanted on the Avondale estate, that God did not originate the eight-hour-work-day system, and that furthermore she did not appreciate his habit of wasting time telling humorous stories to the young men while they were supposed to be working in his team.³ Some wished that Lawrence would leave Cooranbong but he himself was not of that mind. However,

¹McCann (1844-1933) was an Irishman who came to Australia as a boy. He and his wife Ann became members of the Seventh-day Adventist Church about 1890 in Sydney and moved to Dora Creek about 1896, where he labored on the Avondale estate. About 1920 they moved to Newcastle where she predeceased him by only a month in 1933. Ann McCann obituary, Record, February 6, 1933, p. 7; Robert McCann obituary, Record, March 13, 1933, p. 6; E. G. White Diary, MS 62, 1896, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White to W. C. White, January 14, 1897, Letter 167, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

³E. G. White, MS 2, 1897; E. G. White, MS 5, 1897; E. G. White, MS 12, 1897, EGWRC-AU. Another reprimand had been given earlier on the subject of storytelling. E. G. White to Those Who Work at Cooranbong, March 4, 1895, Letter 2, 1895, EGWRC-AU.

he did fade from the district and Iram James replaced him.¹

As a direct result of the sad episode with Shannan and Lawrence, E. G. White wrote to W. C. White in America, "I am thinking you are crowding families too near the school," for "from the light given me there will be--as there is now--those who settle on the land who will be thorns in our sides."²

A repetition of strife, but with different personalities, occurred in late 1897 and the long-term results were that when W. C. White returned from America the school gradually bought back building lots south of Maitland Road, except those on Avondale Road. They first purchased Woodhams' improved acre for \$100, then Rousseau's lot for \$210,³ and negotiations continued with the other owners with mixed success.⁴ Not until 1900 did Hare move from his allotment, when he arranged to transfer to W. C. White's property on Avondale Road.⁵

The day after the Avondale School Board voted to repurchase Woodham's lot E. G. White wrote,

¹S. N. Haskell to E. G. White, December 9, 1896; E. G. White, MS 2, 1897; E. G. White to W. C. White, January 17, 1897, Letter 168, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White to W. C. White, January 14, 1897, Letter 167, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

³School Board Minutes, meetings of February 9, 1898, September 13, 1898, and October 4, 1898, Heritage Room.

⁴E.g., Worsnop had to be enticed from his five acres with the promise of fifteen acres on the north side of Maitland Road where he began all over again. E. G. White Diary, MS 184, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

⁵M. Hare to W. C. White, July 25, 1900, EGWRC-DC.

Last Friday night [9 September 1898] after retiring, a great burden came upon me. . . . Then some things were presented before me.

Some persons were selecting allotments of land, on which they proposed to build their homes, and one stood in our midst, and said, You are making a great mistake, which you will have cause to regret. This land is not to be occupied with buildings, except to provide the facilities essential for the teachers and students of the school. . . . For you to settle this land with private houses, and then be driven to select other land at a distance for the school purposes would be a great mistake always to be regretted. All the land upon the ground that is not needed for buildings is to be considered the school farm, where youth may be educated under well qualified superintendents. . . .

The Lord would have the school grounds dedicated to him as his own school premises. The church premises are not to be invaded with houses. We are located where there is plenty of land. . . .

We have had an experience to teach us what this means. Nearly one year ago, as we were living the last days of the old year [1897], my heart was in a burdened condition. I had matters opening before me in regard to the dangers of disposing of land near the school for dwelling houses. We seemed to be in a council meeting, and there stood One in our midst who was expected to help us out of our difficulties. The words spoken were plain and decided: This land, by the appointment of God, is for the benefit of the school. You have recently had an evidence of human nature, what it will reveal under temptation. The more families you settle about the school buildings, the more difficult it will be for teachers and students. . . .¹

The settlement of families on the estate was one aspect of the experiment which gave recurring trouble. In 1894 W. C. White and the union conference delegates had abandoned the scheme for a close village settlement with small buildings lots. However, they sold some large lots, together with a few small ones, to select individuals. Some of these portions were situated very close to the school buildings. As the experiment developed, it became increasingly desirable

¹E. G. White, MS 115, 1898, EGWRC-AU. E. G. White, MS 115a, 1898, contains the same material as MS 115, 1898. E. G. White, MS 170, 1899, is an abridged copy. In its abridged form it appears in E. G. White, Testimonies, vol. 6, pp. 181-92.

to transfer the settlers to the north of Maitland Road and reserve the southern area of the estate for the exclusive use of the school.

Buildings Readied for the Opening Date

During the southern summer of 1896/1897 the builders made steady progress on Bethel Hall. By early March they had it almost completed except for finishing touches.¹ The two-story structure was thirty-six feet wide by about sixty-five feet long with a twenty-four by fourteen foot lean-to at the back. It could accommodate thirty-six students and teachers,² but some soon concluded that the bedrooms were rather small.³

On the morning of February 22, 1897, as the builders were laying foundations for the dining room and kitchen, E. G. White visited the building site, and in conversation with Hare asked where the young men were going to be housed. Daniells had thought it would be possible to make do with the mill loft or some tents for the boys' accommodation and Hare expressed similar ideas in his reply, but E. G. White then said it would be best to make the second building a two-story one to provide sleeping quarters for the boys in addition to a temporary chapel. Hare liked the idea, so they agreed on the spot that this should be done.⁴ This second building was

¹E. G. White to H. C. and L. Lacey, March 16, 1897, Letter 89a, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

²G. T. Wilson, "Avondale School Notes," Bible Echo, June 21, 1897, p. 197; "Historical Sketch," Bible Echo, May 8, 1899, p. 155.

³E. G. White to W. C. White, May 5, 1897, Letter 141, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

⁴E. G. White to A. G. Daniells, February 24, 1897, Letter 41, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

twenty-six feet by about eighty feet long with a basement about half its length for the storage of food. The first floor was to be entirely taken up with the kitchen and dining room but soon after school started the workmen partitioned off a temporary room for a boys' class and another for the elementary school. They also adapted a portion of the storeroom at one end of the kitchen for living quarters for the cook and his wife. One-third of the upper story, despite its close proximity to Bethel Hall, served as boy's bedrooms, and the remainder of the space as a temporary chapel, so services did not have to be held in the uncomfortable mill loft.¹

The decision to make the second building two stories, in addition to the lack of rain that forced the mill to close, prolonged the building schedule. Some soon realized that the students' homes would not be completed in time for an April 28 opening. Daniells grew very concerned about the deadline and proposed that school open a month later than advertized, but in view of the delays and despair that had already been experienced the building was pressed ahead.²

Problems also plagued the work of recruiting students. Daniells, despite good intentions, could not apply himself to it because of an overload of other problems. W. C. White's absence threw extra work on Daniells. Lacey, too, could help little, for while touring in Victoria and Tasmania enlisting students, he

¹Wilson, "School Notes," Bible Echo, June 21, 1897, p. 197.

²A. G. Daniells to E. G. White, March 19, 1897, EGWRC-DC; E. G. White to A. G. Daniells, February 24, 1897, Letter 41, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

contracted typhoid fever and nearly lost his life.¹ Daniells was busy dealing with the Federal Constitution crisis;² discontent in the North Fitzroy church, Melbourne; the apostacy of two ministers, McCullagh and Hawkins, in Adelaide, South Australia, and the ferment it stirred in that church; together with the apostacy of Collins in Perth, Western Australia.³ Furthermore, harbor authorities had quarantined Daniells for two weeks in February and vaccinated him against smallpox. He, his wife, and secretary had visited Hetty Hurd on the boat as it passed through Melbourne, and soon after they visited, the ship authorities discovered that smallpox had broken out among the crew, necessitating quarantine.⁴ In addition to all these problems, Haskell hurriedly left for Adelaide in April to help deal with the McCullagh-Hawkins crisis, so he too could help little with student recruitment. At times Hare felt the load so heavy he grew discouraged as he tried to speed the enterprise without the aid of the other key men who were vitally needed.⁵

The worst drought of the decade broke when rain came on May 7, enabling the mill boiler to be started again. Hetty Haskell

¹E. G. White to W. C. White, March 15, 1897, Letter 181, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

²W. A. Colcord to E. G. White, March 24, 1897; A. G. Daniells to E. G. White, March 24, 1897, EGWRC-DC.

³A. G. Daniells to E. G. White, January 5, 1897; A. G. Daniells to S. N. Haskell and E. G. White, March 12, 1897; A. G. Daniells to E. G. White, March 24, 1897, EGWRC-DC.

⁴A. G. Daniells, "Quarantine Station, Melbourne," Gleaner, February 1897, p. 50; A. G. Daniells to M. Hare, February 18, 1897, EGWRC-DC.

⁵S. N. Haskell to E. G. White, April 5, 1897; E. G. White to J. E., E. L., and W. C. White, April 6, 1897, Letter 152, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

organized the repair, vermin eradication, cleaning, and transfer of the school furniture from the mill loft to the school buildings, and arrangements were made for Skinner to join the faculty as cook and instructor.¹ However, as the deadline neared without prospects of completing the buildings the leadership called the local church members to a meeting at 6:00 A.M. Sunday, April 4, at which they presented their desperate case and made a call for volunteers. Some offered to work out their cash pledges to the school. E. G. White offered to release her workers so they could help too. That day over thirty volunteers worked on the buildings. Mrs. Worsnop, with her ten-year-old daughter, cleaned opposite sides of the windows in Bethel Hall. Maggie Hare, Minnie Hawkins, and Mr. Tucker painted window frames that had just arrived from Sydney. Hetty Haskell and Sara McEnterfer nailed the Oregon floor boards in the dining room as Iram James lifted the boards into place and operated the cramp. When the women suffered blisters they punctured them, rubbed their hands with vaseline, and went on with their work. Even Hare's six-year-old son, Robert, earnestly chopped away at the root of a large tree that had to be removed. By the end of the day they had completed half the dining room floor and almost finished the cleaning of Bethel Hall. Throughout the next two weeks the volunteer work continued. M. A. Connell dug sand and unloaded the boats as two teams of horses carried materials to the building site. Carpenters put the weatherboards on the second building, every nailhole bored with a gimlet

¹E. G. White to A. E. Wessels, March 7, 1897, Letter 133, 1897; E. G. White to H. C. and L. Lacey, March 16, 1897, Letter 89a, 1897; E. G. White to H. C. and L. Lacey, March 29, 1897, Letter 89b, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

because the wood was so hard. Harry Richardson and masons from Sydney laid brick in the basement floor as ladies formed a human chain to deliver the bricks to them.¹ The men built a fifteen-foot cistern capable of storing about sixty thousand gallons of rainwater. They situated this between the two buildings. So much rain came soon after the cistern was completed that in a few weeks it overflowed,² guaranteeing an adequate water supply for the school year. Despite the fact that the lathing and plastering of all the interior in the second building could not be accomplished because of lack of finances, the united effort enabled the buildings to open on April 28, 1897.³

* * * * *

The birth of the full-scale program at Avondale was thus a painful and protracted process, dogged with a chain of unforeseen complications. The agricultural experiments proved to be successful, but the location of families close to the school buildings, which was a modification of the original village settlement, came to be viewed as undesirable and detrimental. The pioneers achieved little during the two years with respect to academic accomplishments and the

¹E. G. White to J. E., E. L., and W. C. White, April 6, 1897, Letter 152, 1897; E. G. White to Mr. and Mrs. J. J. Wessels, May 18, 1897, Letter 126, 1897; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, July 4, 1897, Letter 164, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

²Wilson, "School Notes," Bible Echo, June 21, 1897, p. 197; E. G. White to A. E. Wessels, June 24, 1897, Letter 132, 1897, EGWRC-AU. Elsewhere the cistern depth is given as twelve feet. E. G. White to Mr. and Mrs. J. J. Wessels, May 18, 1897, Letter 126, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

³E. G. White to W. C. White, May 5, 1897, Letter 141, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

provision of many denominational workers. However, two buildings were nearly finished and with renewed hopes the church leadership and constituency looked forward to brighter results in the years ahead.

CHAPTER V

A FRESH BEGINNING: 1897

The Australasian church constituency, still in the throes of financial depression, reached a low ebb in their enthusiasm for the school enterprise during the years 1895 and 1896. The tangible sign of progress, the erection of Bethel Hall, swelled optimism in the minds of most of the local group who saw it constructed, but there were others who had carried ill reports of mismanagement and inequities. Despite these criticisms the opening of the Avondale School for Christian Workers infused renewed confidence and the church membership responded by either attending it themselves or financially assisting others to do so.

The year 1897 provided the first opportunity for the experimental school to receive a fair trial. The previous two years were ones in which the pioneers operated only a part of the ultimate program. That is, they first instituted the industrial department to clear land and determine if the soil would produce anything. Once they found this component to be a success as a life-support system, then they could advance with greater confidence to additional aspects of the school enterprise. They learned lessons in those two years and benefited by the experience, but in 1897, with some proper buildings, a larger school family, and a productive farm, the components were present for the broader experiment.

For a number of years pioneers like S. N. Haskell and E. G. White had advocated certain priorities in Christian education. It became evident that local circumstances at the Avondale school occasioned a growing enunciation of these priorities during the course of their experience on the estate. One of their highest priorities was to foster a climate conducive for the conversion of the students. The main criteria for success of the experiment therefore resolved itself into the question, How many individuals have become genuine Christians?

Incoming Students

In the Gleaner the school board published the first bulletin for the school announcing that the term would extend from April 28 to October 27 without vacations. The plan was to have school for six months followed by another six months in which the students could canvass and the faculty could engage in public evangelism and school promotion. They asked each boarding student to pay \$80 in addition to working eighteen hours a week for six months' board and tuition. Reflecting Prescott's emphasis at the 1896 Cooranbong Institute, the bulletin promised that,

The foundation of all true education is the knowledge of God. As He reveals Himself to us in a threefold way, through His word, His works, and His providences, the basis of instruction will be laid in the Bible, Science, and History. History will include language and literature, etc., and Science, the mathematics. In this way a broad field of study is opened to every student who desires to qualify himself for the Master's service. . . .¹

¹"Avondale School for Christian Workers," Gleaner, January 1897, pp. 1, 2.

No matter how much publicity was given in this vein, school advertizing did not remedy the shortage of funds experienced by most prospective students. Daniells wrote that "scores of young people would go if they had the means."¹

Ways were sought to secure financial help for the students. At first the Central Australian Conference Committee voted \$200 from tithe receipts to bolster the Students' Aid Fund but when Daniells enquired from E. G. White whether it was ethical to use tithe money for that purpose, she answered, no. In an atmosphere of desperation, Miss E. M. Graham, treasurer of the Australasian Union Conference, made the suggestion that every church member donate about twelve cents each week for twenty weeks, and promised that for every twenty-seven members who practiced this plan there would be enough to send one student to the school.² Even though the union conference presented this plan to the church members almost on the eve of the school's opening, it enabled many to attend--some of whom arrived late--and saved the school from a disastrously low enrollment in the first year.

Daniells estimated that forty boarding students would be required to cover operating costs.³ The situation looked gloomy when

¹A. G. Daniells to E. G. White, January 27, 1897, EGWRC-DC.

²A. G. Daniells to S. N. Haskell and E. G. White, March 12, 1897; A. G. Daniells to E. G. White, March 19, 1897; A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, May 6, 1897, EGWRC-DC.

³A. G. Daniells to S. N. Haskell and E. G. White, March 12, 1897, EGWRC-DC.

the school opened with five faculty and only two students.¹ The two students were probably J. L. Dean and his wife, canvassers in New South Wales, who had arrived at Avondale early in April, pitched a tent on the estate, and helped to put the finishing touches to the buildings.²

On Wednesday, April 28, 1897, opening exercises were held in the unlined upper room above the kitchen. Haskell read Scripture and led the capacity audience in prayer, followed by some remarks from E. G. White. The Avondale School Board had earlier decided to postpone operating an elementary school, but due to E. G. White's insistence they reversed the decision and started a school. With the school issue weighing on her mind, she spent the time during opening exercises for the senior school talking about the necessity of having an elementary school. A few days later she wrote about it, saying that a school should be started even if there were only six eligible children in the area. She continued, saying that the infant years were the most important because "the first seven to ten years of a child's life is the time when lasting impressions for good or for evil are made." When E. G. White finished speaking at the opening exercises, Mr. Gambrill, who sent his children to a public school, came forward spontaneously to endorse her remarks and soon after, when the elementary school opened, Gambrill's three children rowed each day to the school via Dora Creek. Others who attended the

¹S. N. Haskell, "Our Australian Bible School," Review, October 26, 1897, p. 679; E. R. Palmer, "Avondale School," Gleaner, June 1897, p. 65.

²"Notes," Gleaner, April 1897, p. 60; E. G. White Diary, MS 172, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

elementary school were Hare's sons, Milton and Robert, and W. C. White's daughters, Ella and Mabel.¹

The day before the opening, Daniells wrote to say there were some students in Melbourne who were waiting for the excursion rates on the railway to take effect. These rates meant a two-thirds reduction in fares but also meant traveling on Saturday, against denominational ethics. Some flexibility prevailed because the time of traveling was apparently regarded as unavoidable, and six students arrived on campus on Saturday evening, May 1. During the following week, one arrived from New Zealand, six more arrived by train from the Central Australian Conference on Friday, May 7, and others came in during the first two weeks, bringing the total enrollment to about forty, including elementary students.²

Issues of the Gleaner listed some of the students who were among the first to arrive at the school.³ Tadish, a student in the 1895 industrial department, returned to Avondale from the Prahran church, Melbourne. Mr. Christiansen, Amelia Hubbard,⁴ Percy Neale,⁵

¹E. G. White to W. C. White, May 5, 1897, Letter 141, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

²A. G. Daniells to E. G. White, April 27, 1897, EGWRC-DC; E. G. White to W. C. White, May 5, 1897, Letter 141, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

³Central Australian Conference, "The Students' Aid Fund," Gleaner, May 1897, pp. 61, 62; Palmer, "Avondale School," Gleaner, June 1897, pp. 65, 66.

⁴Amelia Hubbard later taught at the North Fitzroy church school and then married Louis Rose, a worker in the Echo Publishing Company. Miscellaneous notes, Australasian Signs of the Times, April 13, 1903, p. 180.

⁵Neale was sent by his parents of the Williamstown church, Melbourne. A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, May 6, 1897, EGWRC-DC.

George Simpson,¹ and Lizzie White also attended from Melbourne churches. The North Fitzroy church in Melbourne sponsored John Bell² and Annie Sommerville,³ and the Echo Publishing Company sponsored Vergie Blunden from the same church. Others from North Fitzroy were Prissie and Lily Prissall, and Louis Jones.⁴ The

¹Simpson was a twenty-year-old from the Armadale church in Melbourne. He was chosen by Lacey to benefit from the Students' Aid Fund. He attended again in 1898, continued as a laborer in 1899, and then tried canvassing in the Central Australian Conference. A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, May 6, 1897, EGWRC-DC; Faculty Minutes, meeting of May 3, 1899, Heritage Room; "Items of Interest," Record, November 1, 1899, p. 9; School Board Minutes, meeting of April 2, 1899, Heritage Room.

²Bell (1822-1898) was a Scottish bachelor and among the first people in Australia to accept Seventh-day Adventist teachings, about 1885. He hosted E. G. White's group when they visited Melbourne en route to the 1896 Adelaide camp meeting. In the following months he received two letters from E. G. White correcting him for some of his unorthodox views published in a booklet, and he readily believed Shannan's critical reports of Avondale at the same time. He set aside his views, attended Avondale, and worked as E. G. White's bookkeeper while a student. In August 1898, he was elected treasurer and accountant of the Central Australian Conference, but he died before he could take office. John Bell obituary, Bible Echo, December 19, 1898, p. 407; A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, May 6, 1897, EGWRC-DC; A. T. Robinson, "Central Australian Conference," Bible Echo, August 29, 1898, p. 277; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, October 1896, Letter 158, 1896; E. G. White MS 31, 1896; E. G. White, MS 32, 1896; E. G. White to Mr. Chapman and J. Bell, January 22, 1897, Letter 35, 1897; E. G. White Diary, MS 173, 1897, EGWRC-AU. MSS 31 and 32, 1896, in answer to Bell's views, are published in E. G. White, Selected Messages, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1958), 2:101-17.

³Annie Sommerville came from a poor family and worked in the folding room of the Echo Publishing Company. After returning from Avondale she worked in the same place as a typesetter, and in 1902 married Alfred Westlay. A. G. Daniells to E. G. White, May 3, 1897, EGWRC-DC; Miscellaneous notes, Bible Echo, May 19, 1902, p. 168.

⁴Jones' mother was a schoolteacher who had earlier sent him and his sister Ethel to the St. Kilda school during the later terms of its operation. A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, May 6, 1897, EGWRC-DC.

Australian Tract Society sponsored Hetty Newcombe of the Adelaide church, and Edward Goodhart¹ and Susie Gurner came from there, too. The Adelaide church members, who had just recovered from the McCullagh-Hawkins apostasy, chose Rollie Vercoe to attend, and from the Students' Aid Fund sponsored Evelyn Gooding. Both Gooding and Goodhart proved to be useful young people on the campus, she by assisting in the elementary school and he as a bookkeeper. A little later R. H. Constandt² and Joseph T. F. Steed³ also came from Adelaide. From the Brisbane church Edith Adcock attended; and two students, Miss Appeldorff⁴ and Mr. Judge,⁵ came from Hobart. More

¹Goodheart was a twenty-four-year-old who had worked as chief accountant in the shipping department of Elder Smith and Company, Adelaide. He accepted Seventh-day Adventism at the 1896 Adelaide camp meeting and was unable to retain his job because his employers refused to grant him Saturdays off. While a student in 1897 he worked as a secretary for E. G. White and in 1898 as bookkeeper for the school, then as union conference treasurer. C. B. Hughes, "Avondale Summer School," Bible Echo, November 7, 1898, p. 360; E. E. Hughes to Mr. and Mrs. Evans, August 26, 1898, EGWRC-AU; School Board Minutes, meeting of May 2, 1898, Heritage Room; E. G. White Diary, MS 178, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

²Constandt spent four years at Avondale, boarding during the last year in W. C. White's home and working as E. G. White's bookkeeper and on the farm. "Arrangements for the Summer Vacation," Record, November 1, 1899, p. 8; R. H. Constandt obituary, Record, August 19, 1935, p. 7.

³Steed, as a boy, had attended the Adelaide church when pioneered by Corliss in 1886. "Joseph T. F. Steed," Record, July 28, 1935, p. 21.

⁴Miss Appeldorff married Mr. Allen of Western Australia in 1900. C. B. Hughes to W. C. White, January 1, 1901, EGWRC-DC.

⁵Judge, a few days after school opened in 1899, was dismissed for cultivating a friendship with a young lady student. Faculty Minutes, meeting of February 21, 1899, Heritage Room; S. N. Haskell to E. G. White, March 18, 1899; E. G. White to S. N. and H. Haskell, March 15, 1899, Letter 226, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

late starters were Cressy Martin,¹ Albert Piper,² and Henry Southon.³

Of special interest was the arrival in August of T. Salmon, a nineteen-year-old Tahitian prince who, while touring the world, happened upon Avondale. He decided to stay and improve his knowledge of the English language. Another member of the student family from the South Sea Islands was Francis Nicholas, who arrived at the same time as Salmon. She had worked as a government translator in the Cook Islands and while at Avondale translated religious literature for missionary purposes in the South Pacific.⁴ The presence of these island young people at the school underscored the missionary character of the institution and highlighted the need for a printing press on campus to be connected with foreign translation work.⁵

However, the church leaders did not institute the school for evangelization of the Pacific Islands alone. Leaders had first a work of conversion to do at the home base, and more specifically in the lives of all the students who attended the school.

¹E. G. White Diary, MS 174, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

²Piper came from Petone, New Zealand. E. G. White to W. C. White, June 6, 1897, Letter 140, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

³Southon had been a student in the 1895 industrial department and returned with some tuition on the understanding he pay the remainder by working on the farm after school finished. M. Hare to W. C. White, January 3, 1896, EGWRC-DC; School Board Minutes, first meeting of May 30, 1897, Heritage Room.

⁴E. G. White Diary, MS 175, 1897; E. G. White to A. and H. Lindsay, August 18, 1897, Letter 90, 1897; E. G. White to J. E. White, September 12, 1897, Letter 147, 1897, EGWRC-AU; G. T. Wilson, "The Week of Prayer at the Avondale School," Bible Echo, November 8, 1897, p. 349.

⁵E. G. White to W. C. White, December 9, 1897, Letter 142, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

The 1897 Faculty and Timetable

Except for the exclusion of Teasdale, the faculty at the beginning of the school year remained unchanged from the slate organized before W. C. White left to visit America. Skinner superintended the kitchen and conducted cooking classes one day each week. Mrs. Lacey took charge of the elementary department, and her husband acted as principal of the entire school while he taught physiology and music. The Haskells operated for the first month what was virtually a Biblical institute, teaching the books of Daniel and Revelation. In addition, Hetty Haskell served as matron.¹ These arrangements were provisional in view of the fact the the union conference had invited Cassius² and Ella Hughes³ to lead out in the

¹S. N. Haskell, "Opening of the Avondale School," Bible Echo, May 17, 1897, p. 157; G. T. Wilson, "Avondale School Notes," Bible Echo, June 21, 1897, p. 197.

²C. B. Hughes (1859-1921) became a Seventh-day Adventist when a teenager in Missouri and attended Battle Creek College, paying his tuition by working part-time. He worked as an evangelist in Kansas and in the opening year of Walla Walla College, Washington, he served as Bible teacher and dean of men. There he married the dean of women, Ella Evans, and was ordained the same year. His brother Luther later taught at Walla Walla College in the industrial department. Hughes was pioneer principal of Keene Industrial School, Texas, for four years before he went to Australia. After six years at Avondale he returned to pioneer other schools in Alabama, Texas, California, Jamaica, and Canada. Cassius Boone Hughes obituary, Review, September 22, 1921, p. 30; C. B. Hughes to W. C. White, July 20, 1903, EGWRC-DC; L. Hughes to O. A. Olsen, March 8, 1896, Presidential Incoming Letters, GC Archives; Miscellaneous notes, Australasian Signs of the Times, March 30, 1903, p. 151.

³Ella Hughes (1864-1962) attended Battle Creek College and later obtained a teaching certificate in Missouri. For four years she taught at South Lancaster Academy, Massachusetts, and in 1893 went as dean of women to Walla Walla College, Washington, where she married C. B. Hughes. A daughter, Emma, was born at Avondale in 1900 and a son, John, was born in Jamaica in 1908. Both children became physicians. C. B. Hughes to W. C. White, July 22, 1912; Ella Hughes recollection, n.d., EGWRC-AU; Ella Evans Hughes obituary, Review,

the school. These two teachers at that time were on their way from America.

The Hughes arrived in Sydney on May 24, 1897. The following day they went by train to Morissett, intrigued all the while with the quaint rail cars without porters or aisles connecting the separate compartments. On arrival at Morissett the crude spring wagon, drawn by one horse and certain to remind any newcomer of the pioneering spirit, jolted them about four miles to the school, where they settled into two downstairs rooms in the front of Bethel Hall.¹

The next day the Avondale School Board met and made the necessary adjustments regarding teaching assignments. Little change was made, for Hughes simply assumed the leadership at the close of the Biblical institute and began a regular school. Lacey taught music, physiology, arithmetic, and geography. Hughes taught history and managed the industrial department, while his wife specialized in the teaching of English. She also taught one Bible subject, and a cooking class for boys on Saturday evenings. The other faculty members continued with their work as assigned them from the beginning of the school year. Weekly wage rates were set for the faculty at the same meeting. Skinner received \$11.25 and Lacey \$12.50, while Hughes as principal earned \$15.00. Employees' wives who also worked did not do so without remuneration. They each received \$10.00² and twelve

March 7, 1963, p. 24.

¹E. E. Hughes to Mr. and Mrs. Evans, June 1, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

²S. N. Haskell, "The Avondale, Australia, School," Review, August 17, 1897, p. 521; School Board Minutes, meeting of May 26, 1897, Heritage Room.

months later E. G. White made it clear to church administrators in America that this procedure was proper.¹

Prior to the opening of the school, Sara McEnterfer had collected donations in the community for a school bell, which someone purchased for \$30.00 and mounted between the two buildings.² Every morning at 5:45 the bell announced rising time for the school family. Worship was half an hour later, with breakfast at 7:00. At 8:45 A.M. school opened with a Bible study for all by S. N. Haskell, and regular teaching in the various subjects took place from 9:15 A.M. to 1:15 P.M., followed by lunch at 1:30. Three hours of work, Monday through Friday, occupied teachers and students in the kitchen, dormitories, or on the farm, and on Sunday afternoons the entire school family worked together preparing and tending flower gardens in front of the buildings. Instead of five meals each day, which the colonials ate habitually, only three meals were given customarily³ and, in contrast to the diet at the St. Kilda school, the kitchen provided no meat at all.⁴ The simple menu was composed of vegetables grown on the property, milk from the campus cows, bread baked in the

¹E. G. White to G. A. Irwin, I. H. Evans, U. Smith, and A. T. Jones, April 21, 1898, Letter 137, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White to W. C. White, May 5, 1897, Letter 141, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

³Haskell, "The Avondale School," Review, August 17, 1897, p. 521; E. E. Hughes to Mr. and Mrs. Evans, December 17, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

⁴A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, June 15, 1894, EGWRC-DC; Wilson, "Notes," Bible Echo, June 21, 1897, p. 197.

school oven, and fruit which the Laceys had laboriously canned during the previous summer.¹

Some Curriculum Priorities

School life in 1897 involved a serious academic emphasis. Regarding the mental acumen of the students in general one experienced teacher said, "They are better spellers and readers than those I have usually had in our schools."² The classrooms themselves are sparsely furnished with chalkboards on easels and backless seats for the students, but Ella Hughes partially rectified these spartan measures when she solicited donations the following year for about seventy-five American school desks.³

Other common realities of life on campus could not escape Ella Hughes' notice either, for she spoke of the prevalence of fleas brought from the chicken houses into the dormitories and occasional rats looking for food in the rooms.⁴ However, her enthusiasm for life at Avondale became apparent when she wrote descriptions in her letters of the calm misty mornings, tall eucalyptus trees shedding slivers of bark, the sun setting behind the western hills, and

¹E. E. Hughes to A. Evans, July 18, 1897; E. G. White to A. G. Daniells, January 1, 1897, Letter 44, 1897, EGWRC-AU. The earliest extant Avondale menu, when the third meal was optional, is found in appendix D.

²E. E. Hughes to A. Evans, July 18, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

³E. E. Hughes to Mrs. Evans, May 6, 1898, EGWRC-AU; Miscellaneous notes, Bible Echo, July 4, 1898, p. 216.

⁴E. E. Hughes to A. Evans, July 18, 1897; E. E. Hughes to Mr. and Mrs. Evans, October 12, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

hundreds of frog voices croaking near the creeks.¹ She loved the ferns reflected in the water and the orchids growing high up in the trees, the sound of shy bellbirds singing in the woods, and the sight of koala bears and kangaroos.²

Throughout her letters Ella Hughes never pined for the cities. Apparently, like other faculty members, she preferred life in natural surroundings. Haskell was convinced of the advantages of a retired locality and often wrote of the benefits of studying nature first hand.³ E. G. White, who had promoted the need of a rural setting for the school from the start, reciprocated Haskell's sentiments. This aspect of E. G. White's educational methodology was a recurring theme throughout these years. She conceded that no secluded locality could totally exclude soul destructive diversions, but she said she believed Cooranbong was situated where temptations would not be so numerous as near the large cities.⁴ Prescott also highlighted the importance of nature when he lectured at the 1896 Cooranbong Institute. The constant promotion of natural surroundings finally resulted in the Avondale School Board voting "that the teachers give attention to nature study that they may be able to

¹E. E. Hughes to Mrs. Evans, August 11, 1897; C. B. and E. E. Hughes to Mr. and Mrs. Evans, and Mr. and Mrs. Hughes, November 6, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

²E. E. Hughes to A. Evans, July 18, 1897; E. E. Hughes to Mrs. Evans, July 29, 1897; E. E. Hughes to Mrs. Evans, August 26, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

³S. N. Haskell, "A Cause of Rejoicing," Bible Echo, April 12, 1897, p. 117; S. N. Haskell, "Nature Study--No. 1," Bible Echo, February 21, 1898, pp. 60, 61.

⁴E. G. White, MS 181, 1897; E. G. White, MS 10a, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

teach some lines in the coming [1898] term."¹ Teachers put this into practice by making excursions into the woods with the students,² and mid-way through that same year E. G. White commented that students were then "learning from nature's book the lessons essential for them in their religious life."³

The inclusion of physiology in the curriculum was similarly considered to be an essential aspect of the school. While Dr. M. G. Kellogg was lecturing at the St. Kilda school,⁴ E. G. White wrote, "Our students should have a thorough training, that they may enter upon life with an intelligent knowledge of the habitation which God has given them."⁵ Shortly after the 1896 Cooranbong Institute she repeated similar thoughts, and as H. C. Lacey taught the subject at Avondale, she wrote, "Whatever their age, the youth who attend school need instruction on physiology, that they may understand the house they live in."⁶ "The youth," she continued, "should be taught to look upon physiology as one of the essential studies."⁷ In 1898 the faculty named this subject a separate department with Lacey continuing to specialize in teaching it, but supported also by lectures

¹School Board Minutes, meeting of January 11, 1898, Heritage Room.

²E.g., E. E. Hughes to Mrs. Evans, July 15, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

³E. G. White, MS 79, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

⁴Miscellaneous notes, Bible Echo, February 12, 1894, p. 48.

⁵E. G. White, "Education and Health," Bible Echo, February 5, 1894, p. 34.

⁶E. G. White, MS 69, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

⁷E. G. White, MS 61, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

on nursing from Dr. E. R. Caro¹ every Sunday.² E. G. White endorsed this development with the words, "It is also very essential that students understand the principles of physiology and the art of nursing the sick. . . ."³

It was apparent from Cassius Hughes' choice of a history textbook, Empires of the Bible,⁴ that history was not taught for the purpose of learning about ancient events and personalities per se, but rather for integrating the knowledge with Bible history and thus enhancing the understanding of how God operates in the dimension of time. His textbook dealt largely with ancient Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome in conjunction with the prophecies of Daniel.

Another facet of the pioneers' attitude to history was revealed by E. G. White's denunciation of the expenditure of time, money, and energy in tours and exploration of the Holy Land. Traditional stories connected with reputed holy sites and the reverence

¹Caro was from Napier, New Zealand, and had studied under Dr. J. H. Kellogg in Battle Creek, Michigan. He and his wife arrived at Sydney in October 1897, to work as medical missionaries. His contemporaries spoke of him as a person who had grandiose ideas for the centralization of authority over all the denominational medical work in Australia, divorcing it at the same time from gospel evangelism. Miscellaneous notes, Bible Echo, October 25, 1897, p. 344; A. T. Robinson to W. C. White, October 9, 1900; A. T. Robinson to E. G. White, November 29, 1900, EGWRC-DC; E. G. White Diary, MS 172, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

²S. N. Haskell, "Opening of the Avondale School," Bible Echo, April 11, 1898, p. 116; E. E. Hughes to Mr. and Mrs. Evans, June 4, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

³E. G. White, "The Week of Prayer at Avondale School," Review, October 25, 1898, p. 677.

⁴A. T. Jones, The Empires of the Bible (Battle Creek, Michigan: Review and Herald Publishing Association, [1897]; G. T. Wilson, "The Spiritual Interests of the Avondale School," Bible Echo, November 15, 1897, p. 357.

given for the places of sacrifices now abolished, she concluded, should have low priority compared with tracing the actual events in the Bible itself.¹ Again, referring to a different aspect of the study of history she wrote,

It is of no use for men to purchase large volumes of history supposing that by studying these they can gain great advantage in learning how to reach the people at this stage of the earth's history. As I see the shelves piled up with ancient histories and other books that are never looked into, I think, Why spend your money for that which is not bread?²

Metcalfe Hare probably had in mind a study emphasis on war campaigns, political intrigues, and ancient lore when he referred to history as the "dreary forebodings of chaotic darkness."³ With these negative attitudes, the Avondale pioneers consciously sought to reorient the teaching of history so that it would merge with Bible study and demonstrate, as Prescott taught, "the providences of God."⁴

The necessity for bookkeeping to be included in the Avondale curriculum was sharply focused by local circumstances. While Rousseau remained in Australia he did his best to keep the school accounts, but perhaps because of sickness, overwork, lack of training, or a combination of these factors, he had a difficult time doing so. He and Faulkhead had scrambled to prepare a balance sheet in late 1895, working together on it through most of the Armadale camp meeting so they could present a report to the constituency. Only then

¹E. G. White, "Higher Education," Review, February 25, 1896, pp. 113, 114.

²E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, October 20, 1899, Letter 164, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

³C. B. Hughes [sic] to H. Bree, June 17, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

⁴"The Cooranbong Institute," Gleaner, April 1896.

did these men realize the extent of excessive expenditure. Furthermore, those in charge of the school enterprise had no buildings constructed as evidence of progress and this was a great disappointment to Prescott.¹ Someone else managed the accounts, possibly Caldwell or Mackenzie, from the time of the Armadale camp meeting until a few months before Rousseau's departure. During this six months accounts were ill kept and Rousseau was called on just before he left Australia to straighten matters out before Lillian Lacey assumed charge of them.² Perhaps Prescott, upon his return to America, had shared with Olsen his misgivings about the bookkeeping methods in Australia, for Olsen had written emphasizing the necessity of bookkeeping skills for foreign missionaries.³ Church leaders in Michigan sent other pointed complaints and W. C. White replied,

I much regret that I am not sufficiently posted on accounts and bookkeeping, so that I could be a teacher, and I am determined to make an earnest plea to the managers of our schools, that much attention shall be given to instruction in this line.⁴

In a list of accusations (some of which were quite true) which McCullagh made at the height of his disaffection with the church, he alleged that the early financial records of Avondale were burned to destroy evidence of poor management.⁵ His rancor may have colored his accusation, but it must also be remembered that he him-

¹W. C. White to W. C. Sisley, May 31, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

²W. C. White to W. W. Prescott, July 2, 1896; W. C. White to J. I. Gibson, November 24, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

³W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, July 5, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

⁴W. C. White to J. I. Gibson, November 24, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

⁵S. N. Haskell to E. G. White, April 5, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

self had served as a member of the small committee of management and he would have known what went on better than most people.¹ W. C. White's admission of inadequacies in this area, pressure from headquarters, and the unexplained source of \$2,000 used to pay court costs on May 21, 1896, lends weight to the possible truthfulness of McCullagh's allegation. Furthermore, one of the most confusing elements in the primary sources of Avondale's history is money matters. This circumstance is due not only to the fact that few financial records are extant, but also to the apparent neglect of regular bookkeeping methods, and the pioneers' penchant for borrowing money from hither and yon, sometimes for emergency purposes such as paying up former loans. It is also clear that monies were usually directed through American account books or those of the Echo Publishing Company, and anyone who was not skilled in careful bookkeeping would certainly become lost in the maze. It is difficult to understand how Rousseau could possibly have arrived at any sort of financial statement if someone had destroyed all the records prior to his departure. If someone had burned only embarrassing documents then this may explain the cause of his long, hard struggle to sort things out in June 1896. Then again, someone may have destroyed all or some of the records either at or soon after the changeover of accountants when Rousseau left and Lillian Lacey took over. The motive was either what McCullagh alleged it to be or simply a desire to tidy up the office. Nevertheless, the bookkeeping prior to 1897 left much to be desired, and it was understandable that the school pioneers made

¹"Report of the Thirty-third Meeting of the Australasian Union Conference," November 20, 1894, Doc. File 170, EGWRC-AU.

concerted efforts to train competent accountants.

In 1898 Lillian Lacey pioneered the establishment of a commercial department at Avondale, and in early June 1898, she reported, "There are ten in the stenography class, and fifteen are studying bookkeeping."¹ E. G. White wrote that just prior to this report Christ had spoken to her in vision and impressed her, among other things, with the need for bookkeeping in the curriculum.² After Lacey's report of the commercial department, she endorsed the action of the teachers regarding bookkeeping³ by saying it "has been strangely dropped out of our school work, but it should be considered an essential branch."⁴

The most important subject for study at Avondale was the Bible. At the 1896 Cooranbong Institute Prescott had taught that it was preeminent.⁵ Haskell said before the 1897 school year began, "A school is needed by our people where the Bible is made a prominent textbook. . . ."⁶ In a similar vein E. G. White wrote, "I hope that all who can possibly do so will come to this first term of school,

¹L. Lacey, quoted in E. G. White, "Week of Prayer--No. 3," Review, October 11, 1898, pp. 646.

²E. G. White, "Week of Prayer in Australia--No. 2," Review, October 4, 1898, p. 629.

³S. N. Haskell, "Opening of the Avondale School," Bible Echo, April 11, 1898, p. 116.

⁴E. G. White, MS 79, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

⁵"The Cooranbong Institute," Gleaner, April 1896.

⁶S. N. Haskell, "Avondale School for Christian Workers, Cooranbong, N.S.W.," Bible Echo, April 5, 1897, p. 109.

where the Bible will be made the most important line of study."¹ For years E. G. White had promoted this concept. Before the Avondale site was chosen she had written, "Higher education is that which places the Bible as the very foundation of all education."² Just before Prescott had sailed for Australia she had written to him saying, "Those who are preparing for the heavenly abodes should be recommended to make the Bible their chief book of study."³

In committee meeting E. G. White pressed the imperative for Bible study⁴ and immediately after the 1896 Cooranbong Institute she repeated this emphasis.⁵ With increasing frequency until 1898 she wrote on this topic, continuing to make reminders after 1898, but in that particular year the importance of Bible study was especially accented. In her mind at this time the study of classical Greek and Latin was of little consequence compared to the study of the Bible.⁶

¹E. G. White to the Church in Adelaide, April 22, 1897, Letter 1, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White, MS 9, 1894, EGWRC-AU. This is published in E. G. White, Spec. Test. Ed., p. 164.

³E. G. White to W. W. Prescott, June 13, 1895, EGWRC-AU. This is the same as E. G. White, MS 1a, 1896, and published in E. G. White, Spec. Test. Ed., p. 230, and also E. G. White, Fundamentals p. 381.

⁴Union Conf. Minutes, meeting of November 7, 1895, Heritage Room.

⁵E. G. White, Spec. Test. Ed., p. 52-57. This is republished in E. G. White, Counsels to Teachers, Parents, and Students Regarding Christian Education (Mountain View, California: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1913), pp. 421-26.

⁶E. G. White, "The True Object of Education--No. 2," Instructor, April 7, 1898, p. 264; E. G. White, "God's Word Our Study-book," Instructor, June 30, 1898, p. 505.

She believed that the general Bible studies given early each day by Haskell should be attended by every teacher and student.¹ "In our school at Avondale," she wrote, "we are seeking to make the word of God the foundation of all the education given."² "If the Bible had been made the book of study in the schools, what a different showing there would be in society today!" she lamented.³

The methods of implementing Bible study were left, however, largely to the teachers. As E. A. Sutherland in America read E. G. White's published articles, he went to extremes by trying to rid his school of all textbooks except the Bible. E. G. White believed this was a wrong course.⁴ Haskell, at Avondale, tried to integrate the practical branches of study with the Bible by using a concordance to list Biblical references on curriculum subjects such as cooking.⁵ In a very simple way he drew religious lessons from the woods⁶ and farm,⁷ but not until later did others integrate the Bible with the common branches in a more sophisticated way. In keeping with

¹E. G. White, MS 54, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White, MS 57, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

³E. G. White, "Search the Scriptures--No. 2," Instructor, October 20, 1898, p. 826.

⁴E. G. White to J. E. White, August 14, 1898, Letter 136a, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

⁵S. N. Haskell, "At the School," Bible Echo, June 7, 1897, p. 181.

⁶S. N. Haskell, "Sabbath at the Avondale School," Bible Echo, May 31, 1897, p. 173.

⁷S. N. Haskell, "Scripture Lessons from a Burning Log," Bible Echo, July 25, 1898, pp. 234, 235. Published also as "Lesson from a Burning Log," Review, August 30, 1898, p. 559.

E. G. White's admonition not to sandwich the Bible in between infidel authors¹ teachers at Avondale in 1899 began to use the Bible and E. G. White's books as models in the English literature classes,² and the study of geography they made the occasion for becoming conversant with foreign lands in preparation for missionary service.³

Avondale teachers taught subjects such as nature study, physiology, history, and bookkeeping with a definite rationale in mind. They taught their Bible classes in a similar way, but the influence of the Bible went beyond the hours allotted to Scripture study. Religion pervaded the curriculum and also the school family's way of life.

The Ideal Christian Teacher

The early years at Avondale were ones in which E. G. White clearly expounded her concept of an ideal Christian teacher, especially in her dealings with H. C. Lacey.

She had helped Lacey with his educational expenses in America,⁴ expressed special concern for him when he was so sick with typhoid fever,⁵ and nurtured him in her religious and educational

¹E. G. White, "The Bible in Our Schools, Review, August 17, 1897, pp. 513, 514. This is published also in Bible Echo, November 22, 1897, p. 363 and White, Fundamentals, pp. 467-74.

²E. R. Palmer, "Practical Teaching in the English Language," Record, July 17, 1899, pp. 13, 14.

³S. E. Peck, "The Principles of True Education Applied in the Study of Geography," Record, July 31, 1899, p. 2.

⁴E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, January 15, 1895, Letter 117, 1895, EGWRC-AU.

⁵E.g., E. G. White to H. C. and L. Lacey, March 19, 1897, Letter 87, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

concepts. In his experience at Avondale Lacey very early attracted E. G. White's displeasure by his confident, "breezy" manner that saw no need to consult with her on important items.¹ On one occasion, as chairman of a church committee, Lacey allowed a meeting to nominate W. Gregg as an elder without seeking advice from E. G. White. Gregg was a new church member and said to be influenced by the criticisms of Shannan and Lawrence. E. G. White believed, therefore, that it was poor judgment to thrust Gregg into leadership. Haskell, the eldest ordained man on campus, must have felt embarrassed as Lacey worked independently and without seeking advice from him. It even appears that Haskell proposed leaving the faculty, for E. G. White threatened that if Haskell left she also would leave rather than be considered a cipher on the campus.²

Lacey admitted that as a student at Battle Creek College his teachers had not required him to take Bible subjects. E. G. White considered not only this, but also his lethargic habits, in need of remedy.³ She wrote to him, "Let the physical be employed in useful labor that will be doing good."⁴ "You have not been taught to believe," she continued, "that a diligent use of the muscles, combined with mental labor, is the most useful education that can be

¹E. G. White to A. G. Daniells and E. R. Palmer, June 27, 1897, Letter 185, 1897; E. G. White to H. C. and L. Lacey, June 30, 1897, Letter 89, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White to W. C. White, May 6, 1897, Letter 182, 1897; E. G. White to A. G. Daniells and E. R. Palmer, June 27, 1897, Letter 185, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

³E. G. White Diary, MS 174, 1897; E. G. White to H. C. Lacey, April 28, 1898, Letter 79a, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

⁴E. G. White, MS 136, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

obtained for practical life.¹ Instead, he had engaged in light-hearted talking and amusements to idle time away when not studying. When at Avondale his carefree manner fostered a lack of discipline in the classrooms and dormitories. Clownish behavior, talking nonsense, and ball games on Sunday, July 4, 1897,² all met with reprimands from E. G. White as she spoke to the students assembled in the chapel:

... two or three students, who act like larrikins, may make it very hard for those who are trying to maintain order. The students who want to do right, who want to think soberly, are greatly hindered by the association of those who are doing cheap, miserable work.³

The rooms that have been dedicated to God must not be defiled by your improper conversation and lawless course of action. . . . we have not established the school to be a place where students are permitted to give loose reign to their own ways and objectionable traits of character. If you do not, and will not consent to be under control, and to behave yourselves as gentlemen, you have the privilege of returning to your homes.⁴

Three students had threatened to leave if the faculty did not grant more privileges with young ladies and permission for games and pranks. But E. G. White was adamant, citing examples from the St. Kilda school as evidence for not allowing such activity to take place.⁵ She informed W. C. White of the crisis in these words:

¹E. G. White to H. C. and L. Lacey, June 30, 1897, Letter 89, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White Diary, MS 174, 1897; E. G. White to W. C. White, July 5, 1897, Letter 174, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

³E. G. White, MS 81, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

⁴E. G. White, MS 82, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

⁵E. G. White to W. C. White, August 15, 1897, Letter 145, 1897; E. G. White to J. E. White, September 12, 1897, Letter 147, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

We have labored hard to keep in check everything in the school like favoritism, attachment, courting, and writing on slips of paper and visiting in this way. We have told the students that we would not allow the first thread of this to be interwoven with their school work. On this point we were as firm as a rock. I told them that they must dismiss all ideas of forming attachments while at school. . . .

I told the students that if they did not keep themselves to themselves and make the most of their time, serving the Lord with mind, heart, soul, and strength, the school would not benefit them, and those who had paid their expenses would be disappointed. I told them that no frivolity would be tolerated, . . . we did not design to have a few leading spirits demoralizing the other students.¹

Lacey's tendency to be "a boy among boys" and his lack of decorum attracted much of the blame for the general spirit of levity in the school. E. G. White prompted him to kneel when leading the church group in prayer. She reprimanded him for his scepticism and penchant for studying and quoting famous non-Biblical authors rather than seeking an experiential knowledge of Christ through Bible study and prayer.² For months E. G. White guided Lacey away from his former influences and toward an ideal closer to her concept of a proper teacher. At the end of 1895 she wrote, "Unless our schools rise to a much higher plane of action, their candlestick [i.e., the presence of the Holy Spirit] will be removed out of its place."³ The conclusion of 1897 found her writing to Lacey on the same theme and reminding him that Avondale was not to imitate any school which

¹E. G. White to W. C. White, August 15, 1897, Letter 145, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White Diary, MS 174, 1897; E. G. White to A. G. Daniells and E. R. Palmer, June 27, 1897, Letter 185, 1897; E. G. White to H. C. and L. Lacey, June 30, 1897, Letter 89, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

³E. G. White, MS 20, 1895, EGWRC-AU.

the denomination had established in America.¹ Amusements in those schools, she said, were introduced by Satan as a substitute for productive manual labor, and many teachers in them were ignorant of the proper example they should set. She continued, "The teaching should be of a higher class, of a more sacred, religious order, than has been in schools generally. Human nature is worth working upon, and it is to be elevated, refined, sanctified. . . ."²

Lofty ideals like these reshaped the thinking of Lacey, and by mid-1898, while revival meetings were in progress at Avondale, E. G. White reported that Lacey had a renewed religious experience.³ Her efforts on his behalf she judged as successful, and his case stands as an example of what she considered the necessary spiritual qualities of a faculty to be if students are to be converted to Christianity.

Discovery of Accounting Errors

Apart from the criticisms which E. G. White made respecting games, frivolity, and Lacey's poor example, she also expressed concern regarding the low tuition rates. She was responsible for over

¹In regard to the combination of manual labor with book studies, S. N. Haskell said they used South Lancaster Academy, Massachusetts, as a model. He himself had helped to pioneer that academy, and Ella Hughes had been a teacher there too. The experience of Cassius and Ella Hughes at Keene Industrial Academy must also have influenced Avondale's development. What E. G. White probably had specifically in mind here were the two colleges that Lacey had attended, i.e., Healdsburg and Battle Creek. S. N. Haskell to Mrs. Harris, November 7, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White, MS 136, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

³E. G. White to A. G. Daniells, June 6, 1898, Letter 50a, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

\$5,500 in loans invested in the project and on this amount she had to pay interest. Deeply concerned, she asked Daniells and Palmer how they could possibly pay running expenses, let alone repay their loans, if they did not operate on a profitable basis?¹ A slight increase in tuition and an extra charge for an optional third meal each day were levied the following year,² and the full enrollment for 1897 provided assurance that the school would not go further into debt for the time being. In August 1897 a bookkeeper discovered that the school had not received \$5,500 from the Echo Publishing Company and the General Conference. This revived the financial situation and occasioned much jubilation. A bookkeeper in the Echo Publishing Company had identified \$3,000 sent from the General Conference without explanation as money meant for the school. Similar checking led to the discovery that a \$2,500 appropriation from America had failed to arrive in Australia.³ These two sums resulted in a substantially different picture of the school's financial status, and with this news in hand the Avondale School Board immediately pressed ahead with the erection of buildings and general improvements to cost an estimated \$7,000.⁴ This they did rather than repay their loans. Furthermore, despite the fact that \$5,500 was now in hand and was

¹E. G. White to A. G. Daniells and E. R. Palmer, June 27, 1897, Letter 185, 1897; E. G. White MS 58, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

²School Board Minutes, meeting of October 24, 1897, Heritage Room.

³E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, August 16, 1897, Letter 177, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

⁴School Board Minutes, meeting of August 12, 1897, Heritage Room.

twice as much as needed for the boys' dormitory, a campaign was launched among the church members to raise \$5,000 in the name of the boys' dormitory.¹ Such were the puzzling financial practices of Avondale's early years.

Building Avondale Church

As time went by, the pioneers demonstrated their priority for the building of a campus church before construction of the boys' dormitory. Two years before this they had conducted the first church services on the estate in the open air. While they boarded in Healey's Hotel, they used its large dining room for church services; but once the sawmill was erected, they gathered in it, sitting on backless boards and shielded from the wind and sun by a tent fly.² Later, when a ceiling was placed in the sawmill, they were able to use the loft as a church. The loft was chilly in winter, oppressive in summer with the sun beating down on the low iron roof, and bed bugs (probably from the school furniture stored there) crawled over the worshippers.³ Once the school buildings were erected the school faculty transferred church services to the area above the kitchen. The first services held there were on April 10, 1897. At that time Hetty Haskell was in charge of the Sabbath School, and the service itself was filled with testimonies of thanks, including one from an

¹"Improvements at the School," Gleaner, November 1897, p. 24.

²E. G. White Diary, MS 63, 1896; W. C. White, "Notes from New South Wales," Bible Echo, February 10, 1896, p. 45.

³E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, September 26, 1897, Letter 147a, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

eighty-year-old hobo, who had not been a churchgoer for sixty years.¹

From about the beginning of 1897 E. G. White was convinced a proper church building ought to be erected. When about eighty people crowded into the mill loft the air became so oppressive they all grew drowsy. As the school grew in number the room above the kitchen proved to be no better in this respect. The windows had to be opened for ventilation, and those sitting nearest were exposed to the winter cold. Furthermore, the close school benches and desks in the room made it difficult to kneel for prayer. In fact, the entire situation was not conducive to a worship atmosphere.² S. N. Haskell joined E. G. White in agitating for a proper church building, and requests for loans were sent out to friends who had means.³

On Sunday morning, August 15, 1897, the Avondale School Board, in addition to G. T. Wilson, E. G. White, and the teachers' wives, all met to discuss building plans. During the noon interim they looked at various sites for the church.⁴ Hare tenaciously argued for a secluded spot on low lying ground near the swamp, but E. G. White insisted that she and W. C. White, when viewing the estate originally, had talked about the probability of a church in a prominent

¹E. G. White Diary, MS 172, 1897; E. G. White to W. C. White, April 9, 1897, Letter 190, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White [and G. B. Starr], "Experiences in Australia," book manuscript, vol. 4, p. 221; E. G. White to S. N. Haskell, January 3, 1897, Letter 70, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

³E. G. White to A. and H. Lindsay, August 18, 1897, Letter 90, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

⁴School Board Minutes, first meeting of August 15, 1897, Heritage Room.

place on Maitland Road.¹ At the evening school board meeting that same day the board decided to donate \$500 in the form of building materials for the church, and Haskell eagerly proposed that they proceed with the building immediately, pledging that he would pay any amount outstanding after other donations were received.² E. G. White advised them not to be so hasty. The following night, however, she said that the instruction of Hag 1:2-8 was brought to her mind, admonishing her that they build the church immediately.³ A \$1,000 donation arrived from Wessels and Lindsay of South Africa to strengthen her reversed decision, and the Australasian Union Conference gave another \$1,000.⁴

The site donated by the Avondale School Board was at the main entrance to the campus. They also gave a lot 132 feet square to be used as a cemetery.⁵ Haskell assumed charge of the church building project and discussed his plans with E. G. White.⁶ To counter Hare's continuing argument for a secluded spot closer to the school, E. G. White told him, "The farther it is removed from the school buildings,

¹E. G. White [and G. B. Starr], "Experiences in Australia," p. 222; E. G. White to M. Hare, January 21, 1898, Letter 11, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

²School Board Minutes, second meeting of August 15, 1897, Heritage Room.

³E. G. White to M. Hare, August 17, 1897, Letter 56, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

⁴E. G. White [and G. B. Starr], "Experiences in Australia," p. 226, EGWRC-AU.

⁵School Board Minutes, meeting of August 12, 1897, Heritage Room; W. C. White, "The Avondale School for Christian Workers," Record, July 28, 1899, p. 6.

⁶E. G. White Diary, MS 175, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

calling the students to go to and from the place of meeting, the better will be the influence."¹ Perhaps this meant that the discipline of effort required, and the exercise gained in getting to services, would be beneficial for the students. It would also provide an opportunity for the students and faculty to be in a slightly different environment from what they were accustomed to all week long.

On Saturday, August 21, E. G. White preached from Haggai and Ezra with the encouragement to build at once so that the church would be completed before the school year closed eight weeks later.²

The next day some rough plans were shown to Mr. Hardy and later he, together with Fred Lamplough and Mr. Baron, who was not a church member, agreed to do the carpentry work at greatly reduced wages. Five other carpenters assisted under the direction of Hardy and Lamplough, who were both local church members. On Monday a meeting of the church members convened and all but two, Hare and Hughes, voted to build immediately. Haskell and Lamplough hurried off and ordered frame timber from Healey's mill nearby, then later went to Sydney to procure finishing panels and to arrange for Mr. Clayton, a church member, to make the seats.³ Bricks could not be obtained so quickly; therefore it was decided to build on swamp mahogany piles that could last up to twenty years without termites eating them. When

¹E. G. White to M. Hare, August 17, 1897, Letter 56, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White Diary, MS 175, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

³Ibid.; E. G. White, MS 97, 1897; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, August 29, 1897, Letter 151, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

bricks became available from the school kiln, it was planned for the wooden piles to be replaced.¹

Originally E. G. White had advised for a seating capacity of about 250 at a cost of approximately \$1,500, but on the night of August 23 she said she had a vision that the church should be able to seat four hundred.² For this reason the supervisors made new plans for a main sanctuary sixty-four feet long and thirty-two feet wide with a wing on each side at the rostrum end, each measuring twenty-six feet long by sixteen feet wide. The wings were to be separated by folding doors to allow expansion for large conferences and increased membership, the main floor was to have a 1:42 downgrade to the rostrum, and the interior walls were to be stained cherry with a walnut and light-corn ceiling.³

The students were given a one-day holiday to help clear the ground and dig foundations while seven yoke of oxen pulled the large logs into heaps to be burned. On August 31 the workers sank the first foundation piles. The building mushroomed throughout September, until a delay of ten days occurred while the workers waited for the delivery of siding lumber.⁴ Everything else that could be done, including the staining of the ceiling, the men completed. As

¹E. G. White, MS 97, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

²School Board Minutes, meeting of August 12, 1897, Heritage Room; E. G. White Diary, MS 175, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

³"Dedication of the Church at Cooranbong," Bible Echo, November 8, 1897, p. 346; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, October 18, 1897, Letter 178, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

⁴E. G. White Diary, 175, 1897; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, August 29, 1897, Letter 151, 1897; E. G. White to A. G. Daniells, August 31, 1897, Letter 39, 1897, EGWRC-AU.



Fig. 15. Buildings erected in 1897: Bethel Hall, right, and the multipurpose second building.

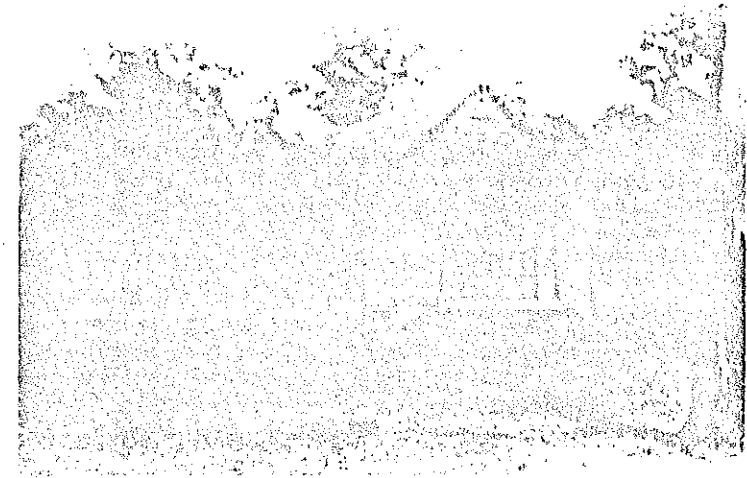


Fig. 16. Avondale Church, 1897

carpenters waited for siding, they hoped no rain would fall to spoil the floor and ceiling. Rain had not fallen for a month. During the ten-day delay gentle rain did fall for three days, but in the absence of wind, it left the floor and ceiling unharmed. Late on Friday afternoon, September 24, a boat arrived with the delayed lumber and it was unloaded quickly before nightfall.¹ During the next three weeks the workmen completed the building, and as the final weekend of the school year² approached, so many visitors arrived that it was decided to hold the first service in the new church on October 16.³ On the following afternoon the dedication of the new church took place with about three hundred people present, and closing exercises for the school followed in the evening. For the occasion, Hughes organized a special decoration of the church with large ferns and stag-horn plants from the woods, giving a pleasing contrast with the stained woodwork. Those who took minor roles in the dedication service were Colcord, Daniells, Robert Hare,⁴ Hughes, A. T. Robinson,⁵

¹E. G. White to Mrs. Tuxford, September 24, 1897, Letter 113a, 1897; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, September 26, 1897, Letter 147a, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

²It had been decided to close school early to enable students to attend the Sydney camp meeting, so at Hughes' suggestion classes were held on Sundays to enable them to complete their courses of study. E. G. White to W. C. White, August 15, 1897, Letter 145, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

³E. G. White Diary, MS 177, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

⁴Hare was a minister, at that time located in Western Australia, but was visiting New South Wales for the Australasian Union Conference meetings. Union Conf. Minutes, meeting of October 26, 1897.

⁵Robinson was a minister who had arrived from South Africa only one week before. Miscellaneous notes, Bible Echo, October 18, 1897, p. 336.

and Starr. Lacey's musical talent was evident as he led in the singing, Haskell preached the dedication sermon, and E. G. White offered the prayer of dedication. The entire building had cost about \$2,750 and was dedicated free of debt.¹

As E. G. White looked in retrospect over the two previous years, she admitted in her diary that she had made a mistake by building the school dormitories first. Her lack of faith and the dearth of money had caused her to let the building of a campus church take a low priority.² She wrote in a letter,

We have this neglect to repent of, and if the Lord will forgive our neglect and our stupidity we will never repeat this mistake, but will make God first, and exalt his service in everything we do. . . . It should have been the very first work done on the school grounds.³

With this confession and the completion of the church in 1897 those responsible rectified the wrong, and the Avondale school was blessed with a representative church building as a witness to all that the heart of campus life should be found in its religious aspect.

Summer Activities

Three days after the Avondale church dedication W. C. White arrived back from America. He was in time for the Stanmore camp meeting in Sydney, attended by most of the students and faculty.

¹"Dedication of the Church at Cooranbong," Bible Echo, November 8, 1897, p. 348; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, October 18, 1897, Letter 178, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White Diary, MS 175, 1897; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, August 24, 1897, Letter 153a, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

³E. G. White to M. Hare, August 17, 1897, Letter 56, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

After the camp meeting and all through the summer vacation, the Haskells engaged in evangelism at Stanmore and organized the building of the Stanmore church.¹ The Laceys also labored in public meetings, but further south, in Melbourne.²

On campus Ella Hughes supervised the elementary school every morning until late January 1898. Evelyn Gooding and Maggie Hawkins, who received their board and instruction free in return for their work,³ assisted as trainee teachers. Cassius Hughes remained to operate the farm with the help of about ten young men who also received morning classes, but he took the opportunity to visit government agricultural research stations too, including one at Richmond, Sydney.⁴ The previous spring, Hughes had bought bee hives in Sydney, and nearly two months later he reported he had twenty-one in production.⁵ The honey industry proved to be an instant success, for during vacation he extracted about one thousand pounds of honey

¹E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, October 23, 1897, Letter 148, 1897; E. G. White to G. A. Irwin, I. H. Evans, U. Smith, and A. T. Jones, April 21, 1898, Letter 137, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

²A. T. Robinson to E. G. White, January 8, 1898, EGWRC-DC.

³School Board Minutes, meeting of October 24, 1897, Heritage Room; E. E. Hughes to Mr. and Mrs. Evans, November 18, 1897; E. E. Hughes to Mr. and Mrs. Evans, January 31, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

⁴C. B. and E. E. Hughes to Mr. and Mrs. Evans, and Mr. and Mrs. Hughes, November 6, 1897; E. E. Hughes to Mr. and Mrs. Evans, November 18, 1897; E. E. Hughes to Mr. and Mrs. Evans, January 31, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

⁵E. E. Hughes to Mr. and Mrs. Evans, September 11, 1897; C. B. and E. E. Hughes to Mr. and Mrs. Evans, and Mr. and Mrs. Hughes, November 6, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

for use throughout the school year.¹ He also planted pumpkins, melons, cucumbers, potatoes, and eight hundred tomato vines.² Much fruit for use by the students was canned in the kitchen basement by boiling nineteen two-quart cans at a time in a large cauldron. Some of the peaches, plums, pears, and quinces for canning the workers obtained from the school orchard, and by the end of the vacation one thousand cans of fruit were preserved. They also juiced half a ton of grapes, bottled tomatoes, and preserved jams and jellies in the basement.³

Building Herman Hall

When the school board made the decision to go ahead and build the church in August, plans and specifications for the boys' dormitory were solicited from Hare. Previously, they planned to make the boys' dormitory three stories high and connect it to the kitchen-dining room building, but the board revised this plan to two stories with an elevated roof, so that attic rooms could be added later.⁴ With regard to the location, E. G. White explained the reason for the change in plans with these words:

If these buildings had all been put up [in 1896] we should not have had the best ideas of what was wanted. The third building [the boys' dormitory] would have been connected with the

¹E. E. Hughes to Mr. and Mrs. Evans, March 6, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

²C. B. Hughes to Mr. and Mrs. Hughes, January 17, 1898; E. E. Hughes to Mr. and Mrs. Evans, December 17, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

³E. E. Hughes to Mr. and Mrs. Evans, January 31, 1898; E. E. Hughes to Mr. and Mrs. Evans, March 6, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

⁴School Board Minutes, meetings of August 12, 1897, August 15, 1897, and November 16, 1897, Heritage Room.

second. Now we seem to understand better the plans we need to work to. Having the school in operation has improved our methods and plans for the third building.

We feel that the third building must be a dormitory for the gentlemen students and must be in another location, a little distance from the building for the girls. This is, we learn, a positive necessity, and therefore we shall act in building very differently from that which we would have done if we had built at once.¹

In the last few weeks of school the students cleared the ground for the boys' dormitory² and Hare started up the sawmill again, using logs from the campus and others purchased elsewhere. At the same time he prepared plans and specifications and arranged for American finishing lumber to come from Sydney on bullock wagons.³ Progress was slower than experienced with the church building, but by January 1898 the brick foundation piles were laid,⁴ and on the eve of the new school year, March 15, 1898, the carpenters closed their work, leaving the painting, cleaning, and furnishing to be done after the students moved in.⁵

The completed building was sixty-three feet long by thirty-six feet wide with a one-story wing at the back for a bathroom.

¹E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, August 16, 1897, Letter 177, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

²S. N. Haskell, "Our Australian Bible School," Review, October 26, 1897, p. 679.

³School Board Minutes, meeting of November 16, 1897, Heritage Room; E. E. Hughes to Mr. and Mrs. Evans, September 11, 1897; E. E. Hughes to Mr. and Mrs. Evans, October 12, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

⁴E. E. Hughes to Mr. and Mrs. Evans, January 3, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

⁵W. C. White, "The Avondale School," Record, March 1898, p. 25.

The total cost was \$3,980.¹ The students housed in this building did not enjoy any heating, but workers added the luxury of linoleum on the hallways early in the school year. Carpet, salvaged from the St. Kilda school, was laid on the stairs. These additions helped to make the bare building comfortable. In addition to the boys' dormitory, named Herman Hall, a laundry was built during the summer vacation. Carpenters also finished the interior walls of the dining hall and upper room in the second building and made proper partitions for classrooms.²

* * * * *

The total impact of the school program on the lives of the students in 1897 resulted in visible changes for the better, and before the school term finished all the boarding students except two young girls professed faith in Christ. Of the total enrollment of eighty-two, that is forty boarding students, seventeen community students, and twenty-five elementary children, the reports said most were converted. E. G. White and C. B. Hughes pronounced the school experiment in 1897 a resounding success.³ The first year of the

¹M. Hare, "Building Committee's Report," Bible Echo, May 8, 1899, p. 157; W. C. White, "Avondale School for 1898," Bible Echo, March 7, 1898, p. 80.

²E. E. Hughes to Mrs. Evans, May 6, 1898, EGWRC-AU; E. R. Palmer to W. C. Sisley, October 9, 1900, EGWRC-DC; White, "Avondale School," Bible Echo, March 7, 1898, p. 80.

³C. B. Hughes, "Avondale School for Christian Workers: Report for 1897," Record, January, February 1898, p. 7; E. G. White to S. Rogers, November 8, 1897, Letter 101, 1897, EGWRC-AU. Total enrollment figures vary slightly up to a high of eighty-seven, but the figure given by the principal is considered the best authority. Haskell and E. G. White, who gave slightly higher enrollments, also made the statements, "Every grown pupil was baptized. . . ." and "Not one of the students left the school unconverted." These general

Avondale School for Christian Workers also witnessed a developing optimism among the church constituency. The school was financially stable, material progress was evident with the building of the church and Herman Hall, and the pioneering leaders learned lessons in methodology. The students went away with a Christian perspective on life to strengthen their home churches, and many returned with others in 1898.

statements may be qualified with the information from Hughes that two young girls (probably elementary students) had made no response. S. N. Haskell to Mrs. Harris, November 7, 1897; E. G. White to S. Rogers, November 8, 1897, Letter 101, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

CHAPTER VI

DIVERSIFICATION AND STABILIZATION: 1898-1900

The first year of the full-scale program at Avondale provided incentive to press ahead with development of the school's physical plant so as to alleviate the crowded makeshift conditions. The school administration was encouraged also to offer additional courses and to expand the industries and work opportunities on campus. Resultant diversification in 1898, 1899, and 1900 tended to strengthen and stabilize the institution. During these years however, there were several more occasions for friction among personalities, and times of desperate money shortages, but steady progress was made in the face of these difficulties. Enrollments continued to rise, many students entered denominational service, and the entire experience occasioned a growing articulation of Avondale's educational objectives and methods.

During the years 1898 to 1900 experimentation was evident with some adjustments to the timetable and the organization of separate departments for nursing, business, and teacher-trainee students. The school board gave a sewing department a one-year trial and they broadened the experiment to include printing, health food, and health-care facilities on campus. By 1900 these components formed integral parts of the school.

Standards for student conduct were phrased in increasingly

specific terms as necessity forced the administration to curb undesirable behavior among teenage students. The industrial department and local mission activities grew successfully as alternative avenues for youthful energies in preference to games and amusements. Some of the pioneers expressed the overall emphasis on the productive and philanthropic use of time and energy as an ideal characteristic for Seventh-day Adventist schools.

Antagonism Against the Haskells

The most troublesome aspect of the Avondale campus during 1898 was the friction which developed between the Haskells and some other faculty members. Its presence on campus is indisputable, but some of the causes for it can only be inferred from circumstantial evidence.

Metcalf Hare, as already indicated, was peeved by the decision to build the church on a conspicuous site, and Haskell's managerial role in the construction of it may have caused some of Hare's annoyance to be displaced to Haskell. Furthermore, in the rush to get the church completed by the end of the school year Haskell bypassed Hare's campus sawmill in favor of Healey's mill as a source of supplies, and this, unwittingly, may have added to the growing alienation between the two men.¹

While constructing Bethel Hall and the second building, Metcalf Hare and E. G. White worked together harmoniously to the point of mutual confidence, and the entrance of Haskell onto the

¹E. G. White Diary, MS 175, 1897; E. G. White to M. Hare, January 21, 1898, Letter 11, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

estate meant that her confidences were then extended to include Haskell too, for there was strong mutual respect between Haskell and E. G. White.¹ Hare may have resented this, as he found these two pioneers in agreement about the church project at the very time they rejected his own advice regarding the site. Skinner, for some reason, encouraged the criticisms but he left for Western Australia after the 1897 school year.² Whatever the real cause for alienation between Hare and Haskell, E. G. White lamented it and reprimanded Hare for his uncooperative spirit. She reprimanded Hughes, too, when he sympathized with Hare.³

Haskell was a man of sixty-five at the time, and his spiritual impact as an elder statesman and father figure was felt strongly on the campus. He was unable, however, to take an active part in hard physical labor due, he said, to an "old difficulty which troubles me after [a] certain amount of physical exercise." In a situation where his contemporaries expected every male, and even the able females, to do active practical work, Haskell's reason for absenting himself may have annoyed some people. To make matters worse, Haskell criticized the shortcomings of the farm work at Avondale, and even though he apologized for this afterwards, no doubt his remarks did not help to endear him to Hare and Hughes.⁴

¹E. G. White to G. B. and N. Starr, April 14, 1897, Letter 157, 1897; E. G. White, MS 168, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White Diary, MS 180, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

³E. G. White Diary, MS 179, 1897; E. G. White, MS 177, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

⁴S. N. Haskell to W. C. White, [April 1898], EGWRC-AU.

The temperaments of Haskell and Lacey were quite different. Haskell was frugal and devout, and he solicited other people's opinions, but Lacey was lighthearted and tended to act on his own judgment. These contrasting characteristics should not have made them incompatible; on the contrary, the strengths of one could have compensated for the weaknesses of the other, but A. T. Robinson once observed, "I could see when I was there that the then present combination was almost, if not quite, an impossible one to continue."¹

A portion of the problem probably lay in differences between the teaching methods of the Haskells and Lacey. The Haskells were both keenly aware of this and defended their methods in letters to E. G. White. They emphasized that their syllabbi were Bible based and Bible integrated in contrast to Lacey's science-oriented approach which was only sprinkled with Scriptural verifications. Hetty Haskell wanted to teach physiology, but W. C. White had indicated that she was not as competent as Lacey in that field, so she taught only a preparatory class in it. This also may have caused some underlying discontent.²

The friction deteriorated into a committee struggle to have the Haskells left off the faculty slate for 1898. When the Avondale School Board met to vote on the organization of their staff apparently the position of matron was discussed early. When the chairman requested nominations for matron someone suggested Hetty

¹A. T. Robinson to E. G. White, January 8, 1898, EGWRC-DC.

²H. Haskell to E. G. White, March 30, 1898; S. N. Haskell to E. G. White, March 20, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

Haskell's name, but there was no support for the motion and the meeting resulted in an embarrassing stalemate. For these attitudes E. G. White wrote Metcalfe Hare and Cassius Hughes strong reprimands.¹ The school board called Miss Nannie Whittenburg² from America to be matron but when it was found that she could not arrive before the opening of the school on March 16, they made temporary arrangements.³ On January 10 the Avondale School Board met again and E. G. White herself attended.⁴ At this meeting the board reelected the Haskells as Bible teachers, but E. G. White became so discouraged that she thought of returning to America and wrote, "I wish to be counted out, and find some place where I can be away from the school, and give myself entirely to the work of getting out my books."⁵ She expressed a growing reluctance to combat ideas that diverged from her own. Weary of contention on campus she wished at this time she was isolated from the school.⁶

Haskell himself, however, remained undaunted at this stage. In response to E. G. White's downcast feelings he wrote reaffirmations

¹E. G. White to M. Hare, January 21, 1898, Letter 12, 1898; E. G. White to M. Hare and C. B. Hughes, MS 179, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

²Miss Whittenburg graduated with honors from the Battle Creek Sanitarium School of Scientific Cookery and worked as teacher and matron at Keene Industrial Academy, Texas, where Cassius and Ella Hughes had known her. C. B. Hughes, "The Teachers' Department," Record, March 1898, p. 27.

³E. E. Hughes to Mrs. Evans, April 7, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

⁴E. G. White Diary, MS 180, 1898, EGWRC-AU; School Board Minutes, meeting of January 10, 1898, Heritage Room.

⁵E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, January 11, 1898, Letter 36, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

⁶E. G. White Diary, MS 180, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

of his loyalty and confidence in these words:

I have no special interest in the School if you haven't! But I do have and therefore believe the Lord has not left you to separate from it in a special sense yet. It is your last battle on the educational question. It was the voice of God that selected the land, and directed, so far as it has gone, on the ground where the evidences of God's selection has been so marked. Schools in America have rejected light and truth which you have sent them, but this has not as yet done it. Whatever may have been our mistakes we have not done this. And we shall not do it. Sister White, I shall not leave you in this matter if it costs me my life. And I know that Hetty will not. I had felt I could not go in their [sic] in view of what I feared of a policy that would lead the School to depart from God's plan and methods, which as I understand to be largely developed as we go on in the enterprise. To go in their [sic] without you would be only to repeat mistakes of the past in other schools. This I can never do.¹

I know by the help of God I can help Prof. Hughes to be settled and take hold if I can get at him. And together we can pull over the brow of the hill.²

When the 1898 school year opened on March 16 only part of the faculty was there, so the teachers created some temporary measures for the first month. Miss Whittenburg arrived on April 16 to be matron and cooking instructor, while the Haskells did not get back from completing their Sydney evangelistic mission until April 25. In the meantime Ella Hughes acted as matron and Miss Sarah Peck, who had recently arrived from South Africa to work for E. G. White as an editorial assistant, filled in as teacher for Hetty Haskell's classes.³ This arrangement was no doubt pleasing to Hetty because she had worked with Sarah Peck in South Africa and they had talked

¹S. N. Haskell to E. G. White, [January 1898], EGWRC-AU.

²S. N. Haskell to E. G. White, [February 1898], EGWRC-AU.

³S. N. Haskell, "Opening of the Avondale School," Bible Echo, April 11, 1898, p. 116; E. E. Hughes to Mrs. Evans, April 7, 1898; E. E. Hughes to Mr. and Mrs. Evans, April 22, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

much about the integration of Bible with other subjects.¹ The similarity of their teaching methods must have made it comparatively easy for Hetty to assume charge of the classes when she arrived in April. In fact, Sarah Peck's affinity with the Haskells may be what led to a suggestion that she remain on throughout the year.²

The school board retained the Laceys as teachers in 1898, and Cassius Hughes remained principal while his wife took charge of the elementary school.³ Minnie Hawkins, who had helped to teach during the summer, agreed to be cook for the entire year.⁴ Therefore, the only personnel change in faculty for 1898 was that Skinner was dropped and Miss Whittenburg and Minnie Hawkins shared the work that he had done. Some individual members of the faculty did, however, have different assignments, as already noted.

The Haskells were on campus only two days when E. G. White wrote,

It is not a good sign when men will not unite with their brethren, but prefer to act alone, when they will not take in their brethren because they do not just exactly meet their mind. If men will wear the yoke of Christ, they cannot pull apart.

Let all querulous complaints cease.⁵

However, friction did not die. Daniells, then president of the Australasian Union Conference, wrote a letter saying he did not

¹H. Haskell to E. G. White, March 30, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White to W. C. White, March 25, 1898, Letter 170, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

³School Board Minutes, meeting of January 10, 1898, Heritage Room.

⁴E. E. Hughes to Mrs. Evans, April 7, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

⁵E. G. White, MS 56, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

think anyone on the faculty should be dispensed with. The school board read his letter at the first meeting after Haskells arrival on campus. With W. C. White in the chair, Cassius Hughes dissented from Daniells' opinion, but E. G. White, who was there by special invitation--no doubt to quell anticipated trouble--spoke up in support of Daniells' letter.¹ The matter of faculty personnel therefore remained as it was until the end of the school year, with the addition of Orwin A. Morse,² who began teaching music in August 1898.³ Metcalfe Hare had resigned as business manager; his work from then on involved directing the sawmill and acting as superintendent of building operations.⁴ Some alleviation of the tension between faculty members came when, at a meeting of the New South Wales Conference which Cassius Hughes attended in Sydney, a committee elected Haskell president of the conference.⁵ Under normal circumstances such a turn of events would doubtless have encouraged Haskell, but in view of the current situation, it actually led him to think of himself

¹School Board Minutes, meeting of April 28, 1898, Heritage Room.

²O. A. Morse arrived from America on July 24, 1898, with his parents, Mr. and Mrs. G. W. Morse, who took charge of the health food business in Australasia. O. A. Morse was asked, on arrival, to be music teacher, for he held certificates from the Conservatory of Music, Toronto, Canada. C. B. Hughes, "Avondale Summer School," Bible Echo, August 22, 1898, p. 272; Miscellaneous notes, Bible Echo, August 8, 1898, p. 256; School Board Minutes, meeting of August 1, 1898, Heritage Room.

³E. E. Hughes to Mr. and Mrs. Evans, August 1, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

⁴School Board Minutes, meeting of February 14, 1898, Heritage Room.

⁵E. E. Hughes to Mr. and Mrs. Evans, August 1, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

as a failure and to desire to leave Australia. He sailed for America approximately nine months later.¹

Therefore, Haskell's term of service at Avondale was accompanied with problems. When in 1898 the Haskells had been invited back to teach they came bravely in spite of the seeds of trouble that were a legacy from 1897. Their inclusion on the 1898 faculty was not the result of haphazard planning. It was purposeful, in order to provide a mature spiritual influence for the school family. Avondale needed their significant leadership throughout 1897 and again in 1898. For this reason the board included them in the ongoing experiment with the hope that the Haskells' continued presence would smooth out personality and other differences. The passing of 1898 did not see this hope realized, and the board made alternative arrangements for 1899.

Innovations

With added buildings on campus, the year 1898 brought a change in locale for some people and departments. The faculty transferred church services from the room above the kitchen to the church building proper. The young men, of course, lived in Herman Hall where Cassius and Ella Hughes had moved into two rooms. This was convenient, for Cassius Hughes was dean of men as well as principal, and his wife conducted the elementary school in the same building. Once the young men moved into Herman Hall, the school family used

¹S. N. Haskell to E. G. White, January 10, 1899, EGWRC-AU.



Fig. 17. Herman Hall, 1898

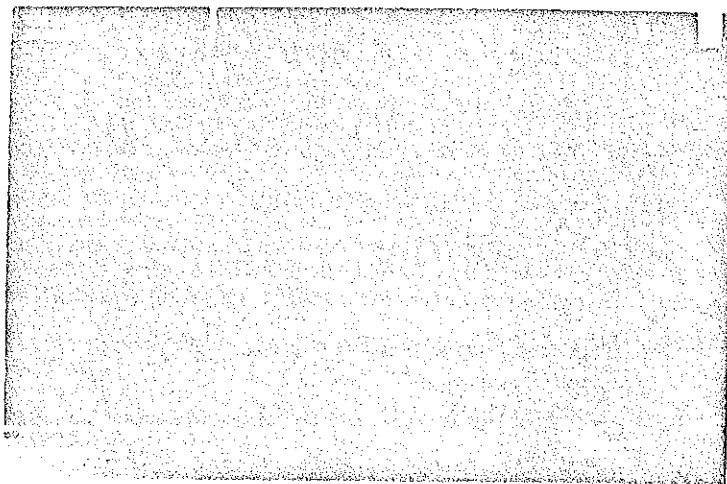


Fig. 18. Student group, about 1898

the kitchen-dining room building exclusively for meals, classes, chapel, and study periods.¹

Some innovations in the daily timetable for 1898 seem to be attributable to the experiences of 1897. Everyone rose at 5:00 A.M. rather than 5:45, and retired at 8:45 P.M. The faculty reduced by half an hour the three hours of work each afternoon, and the students used this extra time in preparation for the evening study hour. Those who wanted a third meal ate it during this late afternoon interval, and some of the young men took the opportunity for a saltwater bath in Dora Creek at the end of their work day.

Another variation in the program was the allowance of fifteen minutes of privacy to all students for personal prayer and Bible reading in their rooms. Teachers organized this by having half the student family remain behind in the chapel after evening worship, doing some class study, while their roommates retired to the dormitories to be alone, then, after fifteen minutes, the two halves of the student family changed places and spent another fifteen minutes before the regular evening study hour began in the chapel.²

Between May 28 and June 5, 1898, a week of special prayer meetings took place on campus which demonstrated the Avondale family's desire not only to share their religious convictions but also to make their Christianity practical. S. N. Haskell, Metcalfe Hare, and five senior young men scattered to the Sydney and Newcastle Seventh-day Adventist churches to lead out in religious services.

¹Haskell, "Opening of School," *Bible Echo*, April 11, 1898, p. 116; E. E. Hughes to Mrs. Evans, April 7, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

²C. B. Hughes, "Avondale School," *Record*, May 1898, pp. 63, 64.

Senior students who remained behind visited in the community to invite individuals to the special meetings.¹ Two wagons and the school boat transported interested listeners from Dora Creek township on both Saturdays. In the shade of the eucalyptus trees church members served lunch for these visitors. On Monday the students worked at mission projects by donating their time to clear land or make cereal for sale. At the first Saturday meeting, mission-offering envelopes were given out to each member with an invitation to write on them a brief testimony of thanks to God. The authors read these to the entire church the following Saturday just prior to the collection of the donations. Apart from the spiritual revival gained from the meetings, members gave \$250 in this mission offering. Just before the final meeting, Adventists from Dora Creek township decided to establish their own regular weekend meetings. Thus emerged the first of several satellite groups which the Avondale church fostered.²

The pioneers of the Avondale school considered an emphasis on missions as an essential element of the institution. During the 1898 week-of-prayer meetings, Cassius Hughes is recorded to have said that missionary work should begin in one's immediate vicinity, then later extend abroad. "This school," he said, "has been established to teach men and women how to minister to others, and thus find

¹W. C. White, "Reports from the Week of Prayer," Bible Echo, July 11, 1898, p. 221.

²E. G. White, "Week of Prayer in Australia--No. 4," Review, October 18, 1898, pp. 661, 662; E. G. White, "Week of Prayer at Avondale Church," Review, November 1, 1898, pp. 693, 694.

happiness."¹ In the wake of these meetings E. G. White commented in a slightly different vein, saying that added knowledge was another bonus, besides happiness, that came from mission work.²

These thoughts were not born in the 1898 meetings. They were alive for years and clearly expressed as one of the objects of the school from the start. Haskell, as a result of what was no doubt his first visit to the Avondale estate, had spoken of the school as one "to educate laborers for the mission field."³ After the school had operated for just a few months, the Australasian Union Conference expressed the concept more definitively in the words, "The object of the school at Cooranbong is to educate missionary workers for the Home and Foreign Field."⁴ It was clear that the Avondale teachers recognized this object. Individuals exerted a missionary influence in the community before 1898, but that year marked the beginning of concerted attempts in the surrounding towns, particularly missions in which students participated.

Three New Departments

Apart from the special week of prayer which generated so much missionary work, the 1898 school year moved along without interruption to the regular program. Lillian Lacey pioneered the commercial

¹C. B. Hughes, quoted in E. G. White, "Week of Prayer--No. 3," Review, October 11, 1898, p. 645.

²E. G. White, MS 84, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

³S. N. Haskell, "A Visit to Cooranbong," Review, December 15, 1896, p. 796.

⁴Union Conf. Minutes, meeting of October 27, 1897, Heritage Room.

department, including bookkeeping. Her husband headed the department of physiology and hygiene in which the school offered the first year of the nurses' training course. Students completed the nurses' course by working in one of the denomination's city health homes. H. C. Lacey gave nursing theory at the school during the week, and on Sundays Dr. Caro came from Sydney to help him direct practical hydrotherapy techniques in the schools' bathing rooms.¹ Students training to be ministers and canvassers also learned about hydrotherapy as an interdisciplinary measure recommended by Haskell when he wrote, "Our Bible workers should be practical nurses, and our nurses should be practical Bible workers."²

Not only potential Bible workers, but also trainee teachers were expected to learn something about cooking and nursing. The teachers' department, sometimes called the normal department, was one of the three new ones organized in 1898.³ The school board instituted this department after successfully operating the denomination's first elementary school in Australia, the Avondale elementary school conducted by Ella Hughes and two assistants.

After the initial experimentation with an elementary school in 1897, the Australasian Union Conference voted that nine women should form a committee on primary education to steer plans for the

¹H. C. Lacey, "Department of Physiology and Hygiene," Record, March 1898, p. 28.

²Haskell, "Opening of School," Bible Echo, April 11, 1898, p. 116.

³Hughes, "Teachers' Department," Record, March 1898, p. 27; School Board Minutes, meeting of March 15, 1898, Heritage Room.

widespread operation of elementary schools.¹ The immediate problem which confronted them, of course, was the staffing of such schools. The establishment of a teacher-training program at Avondale was designed to meet this end. During the summer of 1897/1898 Minnie Hawkins and Evelyn Gooding assisted as trainee teachers and were the first of those instructed by the denomination in Australia. Even though Minnie Hawkins decided to meet the exigency for a cook at Avondale, the summer experience may be considered as a successful pilot program before the proper training department began in April 1898.²

In her diary and private letters E. G. White jotted down her thoughts regarding church schools and the quality of trained teachers needed for staffing such a widespread system. Her concern about the lack of substantial Bible teaching and the quality of the students' associates in the existing secular schools was reflected in the following advice to parents:

Get out of the cities as soon as possible. Establish church schools. Gather in your children, and give them the word of God as the foundation of all their education. . . .

We have a special work to do in educating and training our children that they may not, either in attending school, or in association with others, mingle with the children of unbelievers.³

Previous to this, E. G. White had written much more on this subject, but it was scattered through her manuscripts and letters.

¹Union Conf. Minutes, meeting of October 29, 1897, Heritage Room.

²E. E. Hughes to Mrs. Evans, April 7, 1898; E. E. Hughes to Mrs. Evans, May 6, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

³E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, July 13, 1898, Letter 58, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

Therefore, she engaged Sarah Peck for a time to gather and edit appropriate excerpts which were presented and discussed at the 1899 Australasian Union Conference session at Avondale. When this published compilation on the topic of church schools appeared soon after, it served as a guide to help promote the establishment of elementary schools throughout Australia.¹ The denomination opened the first of such schools at North Fitzroy, Melbourne, in May 1900. The teachers were Mrs. Morse² and Miss Prissie Prismall, the latter being a local church youth trained at Avondale.³ Soon after this church school started, E. G. White wrote to Mrs. Morse saying, "The object of the [North Fitzroy] school is to educate children to consecrate themselves to God."⁴

The establishment of the commercial, physiology and hygiene, and normal departments expressed the desire that Avondale should provide not only ministerial workers for the denomination but also bookkeepers, nurses, and teachers. This diversity of courses had as the common denominator a Scripture orientation designed to convert young people to practical Christianity.

¹S. E. Peck, comp., "Church Schools," Record, July 26, 1899, pp. 10-13.

²Mrs. Morse came to Australia about August 1898, as an experienced teacher who had established church schools in America. On her arrival she was Miss Ray Ellis, but later married O. A. Morse. She brought with her Sutherland's concept that only the Bible should be used as a school textbook. This occasioned E. G. White to write against this extreme, recommending that the denomination retain the regular textbooks until their own should be published. E. G. White to J. E. White, August 14, 1898, Letter 136a, 1898, EGWRC-AU; 1899 Avondale faculty photograph, Heritage Room.

³Miscellaneous notes, Bible Echo, June 11, 1900, p. 392.

⁴E. G. White to R. Morse, June 7, 1900, Letter 84, 1900, EGWRC-AU.

Report on 1898 and Summer Activities

Throughout 1898 Cassius Hughes and the young men continued setting grape vines and fruit trees behind the school buildings; planting oats, potatoes, cabbage, parsnips and turnips on the drained swamp; and girdling trees in preparation for clearing the land for pasture. Others cut suitable lumber at the mill, built a large carpenter's shop, and finished the attic rooms in Herman Hall to provide for the growing enrollment.¹

The 25 percent increase in student enrollment from 1897 to 1898 was taken as a sign of the constituency's growing confidence. Approximately half of the 104 students came from New South Wales; many were local children attending the elementary school. Thirty students came from the Central Australian Conference, six from the Queensland mission territory, and twelve from across the sea in New Zealand.² Francis Nicholas represented Polynesia again, in addition to Mr. Hathaway³ from Fiji, who returned to his home as a self-supporting missionary at the end of the year. A twenty-year-old Japanese student, Mr. Suzuki, had learned of Avondale while aboard a ship coming to Australia. When he enrolled, Ella Hughes

¹M. Hare, "Avondale School," Bible Echo, November 14, 1898, p. 365; C. B. Hughes, "The Avondale School," Bible Echo, April 25, 1898, p. 133; E. E. Hughes to Mr. and Mrs. Evans, March 6, 1898; E. E. Hughes to Mr. and Mrs. Evans, May 19, 1898; E. E. Hughes to Mr. and Mrs. Evans, August 1, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

²E. R. Palmer, "Avondale School," Record, September 14, 1898, p. 93.

³Hathaway was a half-caste Fijian who attended an Australian school as a boy. Prior to attending Avondale, while working in the gold mines in New Zealand, he read and accepted Seventh-day Adventist beliefs. J. E. Fulton, "Fiji," Review, January 17, 1899, p. 44.

instructed him in English by having him read from the New Testament. This quickened an interest in religion that led to his baptism at the year-end. Suzuki went with Haskell to work as his tentmaster during the Queensland summer evangelism crusade.¹ Cassius Hughes baptized a total of thirty-two individuals, most of them students, at the school during the year. Eight-year-old Mabel White was among the number.² When the ministerial institute and the school year closed simultaneously on September 26, 1898, thirty-two of the senior students began denominational work as canvassers, missionaries, or bookkeepers, either on a full-time or summer basis.³

During the 1898/1899 summer vacation period Cassius and Ella Hughes moved out of their rooms in Herman Hall and into those vacated by the Haskells in Bethel Hall. This was more convenient for Ella who was preceptress for the few young ladies who remained behind to work in the kitchen and laundry. She enjoyed a rest from teaching. In her place Miss Annie Walker, an experienced teacher from Sydney, taught twenty students in the elementary school. Frank Lyndon⁴ and his wife moved into Herman Hall where he acted as dean of men and

¹S. N. Haskell, "The Avondale School," Review, November 29, 1898, pp. 768, 769; Palmer, "Avondale School," Record, September 15, 1898, p. 94.

²E. G. White to J. E. White, August 28, 1898, Letter 66, 1898; E. G. White to Mrs. P. W. Wessels, October 5, 1898, Letter 62, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

³E. E. Hughes to Mr. and Mrs. Evans, September 25, 1898, EGWRC-AU; Palmer, "Avondale School," Record, September 15, 1898, p. 93.

⁴Lyndon was from Napier, New Zealand, and trained at Battle Creek, Michigan, then taught at Graysville Academy, Tennessee. There he married in July 1897, and a year later went to Avondale. E. E. Hughes to Mr. and Mrs. Evans, October 7, 1898, EGWRC-AU;

taught the fifteen students who enrolled for the summer term. The subjects taught were Bible, arithmetic, bookkeeping, physiology, and English. In addition, O. A. Morse gave piano and organ lessons. Cassius Hughes continued as principal, business manager, and farm supervisor, but H. C. Lacey worked in evangelism at Newcastle. Miss Whittenburg enjoyed a month's vacation in Queensland before returning to the busy round of fruit canning and the other duties of a matron.¹

Building and Dedication of College Hall

Very little progress took place in the construction of new buildings during 1898. This tardiness was probably due to the persistent shortage of money, for in mid-year E. G. White reported that the school was \$15,000 in debt. The crowded school still suffered inconveniences due to the lack of proper classrooms and faculty homes, so E. G. White came to the fore again as the school's protagonist by writing to Daniells, "I have no hesitancy in saying that at this time the school interest must come first, and more than that, must be kept first."²

Daniells was not in receipt of this letter more than a day or two before he met with the Avondale School Board, chaired by W. C. White. The board voted at this meeting to go ahead immediately and

G. A. Irwin to A. G. Daniells, February 4, 1898, Presidential Outgoing Letters, GC Archives.

¹E. E. Hughes to Mr. and Mrs. Evans, October 7, 1898; W. C. White, "The Work at Avondale," Record, December 15, 1898, p. 121.

²E. G. White to A. G. Daniells, June 3, 1898, Letter 50, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

erect the main building in the center of the campus.¹ This building came to be known as College Hall and contained the chapel, library, classrooms, and principal's office. Students cleared the ground and Metcalfe Hare stockpiled lumber in readiness, but construction did not begin until early 1899. H. E. Thomson² prepared plans and specifications in late 1898, and in the new year all was ready with a completion date set for three months after the laying of foundations. Hare worked as superintendent of the entire operation and Fred Lamplough worked as the on-site foreman for \$2 a day. His wages were an indication of an improved financial situation, for it was twice as much as that offered to Shannan and Lawrence in the summer of 1896/1897.³

The completed two-story building was fifty-six feet long, forty-eight feet wide, and cost approximately \$4,000;⁴ it bore a marked similarity to the main building at South Lancaster Academy in Massachusetts. The faculty reserved two front rooms downstairs for the peripatetic elementary school and the remaining four rooms they set aside as classrooms for the senior students.

¹School Board Minutes, meeting of June 9, 1898, Heritage Room.

²Thomson was a British carpenter with a wife and ten children who borrowed \$150 from E. G. White to buy seventeen acres of land on Alton Road. They camped in a bark hut and two tents in 1898 while they cleared land, built a house, and worked on campus at the same time. E. G. White to J. H. Kellogg, October 5, 1898, Letter 84, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

³School Board Minutes, meetings of November 12, 1898, November 26, 1898, December 3, 1898, and January 3, 1899, Heritage Room.

⁴M. Hare, "Building Committee's Report," Bible Echo, May 8, 1899, p. 157.

Two flights of stairs led to the upstairs chapel that was capable of seating about three hundred people. The principal's office was located in a room at the top of the stairs and in another room Morse arranged the small library. Workmen transferred the school bell from its stand near the kitchen and hung it above the chapel. On the day before the official opening, Misses McEnterfer and Peck organized the decoration of the building with ferns and flowers while others tidied the surroundings in preparation for the dedication.¹

The official opening and dedication took place at 6:00 A.M. Thursday, April 13, 1899. Another service was held at 3:00 P.M.² During these meetings pioneers briefly related the history of the school, Metcalfe Hare presented a report of building costs and operations from the time the sawmill was set up, and others spoke on the purposes and methods of the school. Cassius Hughes, in his talk, posed the question, What connection does agriculture and manual training have with regular school work? In answer he proposed that God had designed the combination of physical and mental labor to be so in Eden, and Hughes cited Christ's thirty years as a carpenter and three-and-a-half years as a minister as an example for all.³

E. R. Palmer also addressed the audience on the theme of

¹Faculty Minutes, meetings of April 11, 1899, and April 17, 1899, Heritage Room; "Historical Sketch," Bible Echo, May 9, 1899, p. 156.

²E. G. White to S. N. and H. Haskell, April 14, 1899, Letter 70, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

³C. B. Hughes, "Agriculture and Manual Training," Bible Echo, May 8, 1899, p. 157.

practical education, noting that the popular trend was to take country youth to the city boarding schools and there train them in high society manners and bookish culture. This, he said, was in contrast to Avondale's method of attracting city youth to the country for an education in "true culture" that stems from "a heart full of love and tenderness, which is in harmonious touch with God and humanity."¹

W. C. White also spoke of the practical nature of Avondale's training, but at the same time he pointed out how the students could use it throughout their lives. What the school designed to do, he said, was to train the youth to be "missionaries of the solid, practical stamp," who were versatile enough to meet most exigencies of life such as soil culture, building, sewing, cooking, nursing, and teaching.²

These expressions, which the leaders at Avondale made after a few years of successful experimentation, presented a united voice with respect to the purposes of the school and demonstrated that the year 1899 marked the time when they began to publish their rationale and methodology with confidence.

Aspects of the 1899 School Year

* At a time when the Australian colonial governments were reassessing their own educational systems as a result of the Fink Report, the purposes and methods of the Avondale school also received

¹E. R. Palmer, "Symmetrical Education," Bible Echo, May 8, 1899, pp. 156, 157.

²W. C. White, "Objects and Aims of the School," Bible Echo, May 8, 1899, pp. 153, 154.

attention from government men in an unofficial sense. During the first six months of 1899 the New South Wales Secretary for Agriculture, the government fruit expert, and over twenty politicians visited the school estate. Some of these visitors inquired why Seventh-day Adventists had established the school away from the cities in such a secluded place. Public attention was attracted also from nearby cities. A Wesleyan minister in Newcastle enrolled his son and distributed Avondale calendars among his parishioners.¹ The wealthy cookie manufacturer, Mr. Arnott, who lived in Newcastle, sent his son to the school even though he, too, was not a member of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.²

The total enrollment for 1899 reached 150, representing an increase of over 50 percent compared with the 25 percent increase of the previous year. Approximately two-thirds of the 1899 enrollment were boarders. This meant that the dormitories were quite full. In addition, many parents were settling in the district for the benefit of their children's education.³

In 1899 the school board continued all departments conducted the previous year. Miss Bertha Harlow⁴ operated a sewing department

¹E. G. White to G. I. Butler, April 21, 1899, Letter 74, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White Diary, MS 191, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

³"Notes from the Avondale School," Record, September 1, 1899, p. 7.

⁴Bertha Harlow was the sole Seventh-day Adventist in her family. She had owned a large dressmaking business but became an invalid. Treatment at the denominational health home in Sydney, and later in E. G. White's home, restored her health and she remained at Cooranbong to work. E. G. White to J. H. Kellogg, October 5, 1898, Letter 84, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

as a further practical aspect of the institution. In December 1898, Miss Harlow began to teach sewing at Avondale for one hour each day in return for her board, but in 1899 she conducted five classes in addition to an industrial section where students made and sold dresses according to customers' orders.¹

The personnel problems experienced in 1898 forced a different organization of the faculty for 1899. Apparently to bring this about, the school board voted that Daniells, Palmer, and Morse should nominate the faculty of 1899.²

The executive committee of the New South Wales Conference had already elected Haskell as their conference president, but the school board committee making faculty nominations suggested that Haskell, Daniells, and Colcord teach Bible in rotation, each for a third of the school year. The other significant suggestion was to have Colcord as principal and Hughes simply to work as agricultural teacher and business manager. The board accepted the report of this nominating committee, but met again the next day and voted that all board members submit their resignations so that a new election of the board could take place in the same meeting. This maneuver led to the ousting of Hughes as secretary of the board and his replacement by Lyndon. The new board then voted that Daniells be the 1899 principal rather than Colcord.³ It was evident that neither Colcord nor Hughes

¹B. M. Harlow, "Sewing Department," Record, July 12, 1899, p. 16.

²School Board Minutes, meeting of September 14, 1898, Heritage Room.

³School Board Minutes, meetings of September 25, 1898, and September 26, 1898, Heritage Room.

were favorites and that Daniells and Palmer, who were both present at the board meetings, were either maneuvering or being maneuvered into positions of important responsibility at Avondale. Daniells had just moved to Sydney from Melbourne and was thus disposed to take a more active part at Avondale.¹ In the summer of 1898/1899 the board published the school calendar and distributed it with the 1899 faculty listed, but they eventually made marked changes in personnel and teaching assignments.

When the school year began on February 1, 1899, Daniells was indeed principal in name, but in the first faculty meeting, held that same evening, the teachers voted to give Cassius Hughes the oversight of the school.² Apparently Daniells was there simply as peacekeeper, preacher, and counselor. The desperate need of funds took him from the school for the last week of February as he tried to find means in Sydney.³

He was absent nearly all of April trying to gather funds in Melbourne and Adelaide, where he had some remarkable experiences gathering over \$5,000 for the school.⁴ This trip caused him to be absent for the opening of College Hall. However, the money gathered was a substantial factor in saving the school from financial embarrassment due to the continued building program that had gone on in the face of debt.

¹Miscellaneous notes, Bible Echo, September 12, 1898, p. 296.

²Faculty Minutes, meeting of February 1, 1899, Heritage Room.

³E. G. White Diary, MS 183, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

⁴A. G. Daniells to E. G. White, April 23, 1899, EGWRC-DC; E. G. White Diary, MS 185, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

During Daniells' absence, it was business manager Palmer, and not Hughes, who acted as principal in name. In May, Palmer chaired the faculty meetings even when Daniells was present. Furthermore, after May 28 Daniells' name no longer appeared among those present in the faculty meetings, and Palmer served as principal for the remainder of the year. Daniells was therefore principal in name only for the first part of the year, as Palmer gained increasing competence and Hughes was eased out of some of his responsibilities.¹

Throughout the year Cassius Hughes taught mathematics and maintained the industrial department. His wife served as preceptress for much of the year, and when the elementary school reopened on March 28, she took charge with Misses Tuxon,² Evelyn Gooding, Lizzie White, and Edith Ward as trainee assistants. Miss Ray Ellis joined the elementary faculty in June because of increased numbers and the work load on Ella Hughes.³

Lacey scheduled his evangelism in Newcastle to terminate at the end of April 1899, and then he was to rejoin the faculty for the winter, but the reason given for his return a month early was Daniells' necessary absences.⁴ Lacey was therefore asked to come and

¹Faculty Minutes, meetings of April 10 to May 28, 1898, Heritage Room.

²Miss Tuxon had previously been a Bible worker and at the end of 1899 went to work in the Australasian Union Conference office. A. G. Daniells to O. A. and R. Morse, December 19, 1899, EGWRC-DC; School Board Minutes, meeting of January 2, 1899, Heritage Room.

³W. C. White, "The Avondale School for Christian Workers," Record, July 28, 1899, p. 5.

⁴E. G. White to S. N. and H. Haskell, April 2, 1899, Letter 61, 1899, EGWRC-AU.



Fig. 19. Faculty group, about August 1899. Left to right: front row, C. B. Hughes, Mrs. Hughes, Mrs. Palmer, E. R. Palmer; middle row, Miss Whittenburg, Miss Harlow, Mrs. Reekie, Miss Ellis, Miss Tuxon, Mrs. Lacey; back row, E. H. Gates, F. W. Reekie, O. A. Morse, H. C. Lacey.



Fig. 20. College Hall, 1899

share the teaching of Bible and English with Lyndon. This was a significant reversal in plans, for originally Daniells, Haskell, and Colcord were to teach Bible in rotation. Colcord was already living at Cooranbong in the abandoned convent¹ and editing manuscripts for E. G. White, but the pressure of work may have forbidden his release to the school in the emergency. What is more significant is that Haskell was not called in during the urgent demand for a Bible teacher even though the board had slated him to teach some time during the year. The board instead chose Lacey, who was readily available in nearby Newcastle, as the best option. For the remainder of the year his wife, Lillian, took a comparatively light work load teaching grammar in the evenings and serving as school accountant.² The 1899 school year proved to be the Laceys' last term at Avondale. In October they transferred to ministerial work in Queensland as E. G. White continued to show an interest in their spiritual welfare, suggesting they keep in contact with her and offering to be, as it were, a mother to them.³

Morse conducted the business department in 1899 as well as continuing his music teaching, begun at the end of the previous year. From the start the Haskells had opposed, for some unknown reason, his inclusion on the faculty.⁴ At the end of 1899 the board replaced

¹E. G. White to A. and M. Walling, January 26, 1899, Letter 12, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

²W. C. White, "Avondale School," Record, July 28, 1899, p. 5.

³E. G. White to H. C. and L. Lacey, October 31, 1899, Letter 172, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

⁴H. Haskell to E. G. White, January 6, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

Morse with another music teacher and advised him to obtain work at the Echo Publishing Company in Melbourne, much against his wishes. Daniells wrote to Morse saying that the reason for the change in faculty at the end of 1899 was that the school needed older and more experienced teachers.¹ A further reason was possibly that Morse exerted little spiritual impact on his students, for it was at this time that E. G. White wrote, "There is nothing more offensive in God's sight than a display of instrumental music when those taking part are not consecrated, are not making melody in their hearts to the Lord."²

Mrs. Edith Reekie³ continued the nursing department in 1899, and also acted as matron in the boys' dormitory until Lacey became settled there as dean of men. Miss Whittenburg continued as matron and Bertha Harlow pioneered the sewing department. F. W. Reekie⁴ served as steward. He replaced Metcalfe Hare, who superintended building operations and then transferred to the food factory. Hare could well have served as head in the new carpentry shop, but Thomson

¹A. G. Daniells to O. A. and R. Morse, December 19, 1899, EGWRC-DC.

²E. G. White, "A Call for Help," Review, November 14, 1899, pp. 729.

³Mrs. Edith Reekie (1875-1935) was the daughter of Edward Hare, New Zealand. She studied nursing in Battle Creek, Michigan, and there in 1897 married John Reekie, a medical student. They went to Australasia in 1898 and returned to America permanently in 1920. Miscellaneous notes, Bible Echo, May 23, 1898, p. 168; Edith Reekie obituary, Record, February 10, 1936, p. 7.

⁴F. W. Reekie (1864-1938) was a book canvasser except for one year he spent as steward at Avondale. F. W. Reekie obituary, Record, August 29, 1938, p. 7; W. C. White, "Avondale School," Record, July 28, 1899, p. 5.

assumed charge of that section.¹ For the latter part of the school year E. H. Gates, superintendent of the Polynesian Mission, conducted classes in missions, supervised translation work, promoted the establishment of a printing press at Avondale, and worked in evangelism in the surrounding district.²

Gates' wages, like those of Daniells, no doubt did not come from the school, and some of the elementary school helpers most likely received only their board and tuition. It is also likely that Bertha Harlow and Miss Tuxon received only free board, or a very small wage in addition to free board. Therefore the large slate of faculty and staff described above was probably not such a drain on finances as suggested at first glance. Furthermore, the Laceys and Miss Ellis were not there for the entire year. The criticisms W. A. Colcord voiced at the 1899 Australasian Union Conference session regarding an oversized faculty was therefore really unjustified,³ especially considering the large increase in enrollment.

The financial statement for the year ending September 30, 1899, issued fifteen months after the announcement of the \$15,000 debt, showed an operating profit of \$1,655. The school still had not repaid the large loans, but at least the institution had not slipped further into debt. At the end of 1899 W. C. White summarized the situation in these words:

¹School Board Minutes, meeting of November 26, 1898, Heritage Room.

²"Items of Interest," Record, November 1, 1899, p. 9.

³"Union Conference Proceedings," Record, July 24, 1899, p. 14.

The Board of Managers are of good courage regarding the future of the School. Its various departments are proving so helpful in fitting young men and women for useful and profitable employments, that we feel assured of a liberal patronage, and this, with careful management, should enable the school to pay all running expenses, and aid a little in reducing the interest bearing indebtedness.¹

The Sanitarium Health Food Company

The coming of the Sanitarium Health Food Company to Avondale was a financial help during this period of financial recovery in 1899. The manufacture of health foods by the denomination in Australia was then a subsidiary of the Australasian Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association, which also operated the denomination's health homes and hydrotherapy rooms. The association decided to transform the sawmill into a nut-food factory. Consequently the school board sold two acres, together with the mill, to the Association for \$2,000.² Ella Hughes wrote, "It is a fine thing for the school to get rid of the mill, for it has been more than a dead loss to them."³ The proceeds of this sale provided more than enough for the \$1,100 seven-room principal's cottage⁴ built in the summer of 1898/1899. More than that, the factory eventually provided unskilled work for youth who, though they did not learn a trade in the process, were able to earn their tuition by working part-time in that denominational

¹W. C. White, "Our School Financial Statement," Record, December 1, 1899, p. 9.

²W. C. White, "Avondale School," Record, July 28, 1899, p. 7.

³E. E. Hughes to Mr. and Mrs. Evans, August 11, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

⁴M. Hare, "Building Report," Bible Echo, May 8, 1899, p. 157.

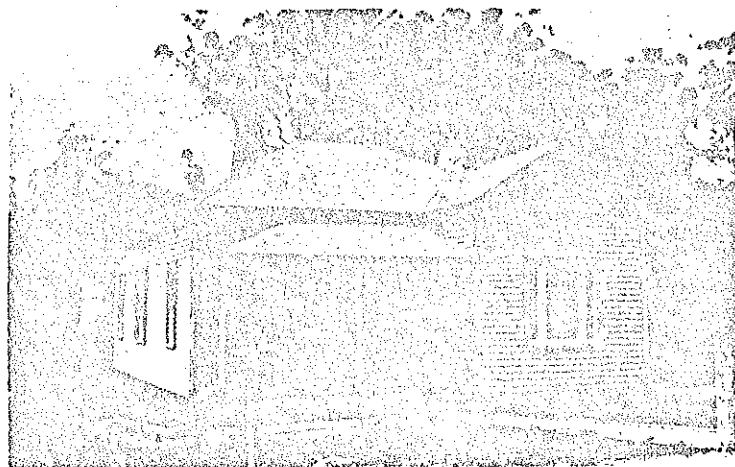


Fig. 21. Principal's home built in 1899



Fig. 22. Unloading at the Avondale landing

environment. Such an arrangement, however, did not fulfill the guidelines for practical education.

Soon after the association's decision to locate the food factory at Avondale, E. G. White wrote in agreement that the factory should be established there away from the city and provide manual labor for the students. However, in the same manuscript she reemphasized that agriculture was to be the basic industry of the school and that trades such as carpentry and printing were also essential. By comparison with other aspects of the Avondale campus, she wrote very little concerning the food factory though she did recognize it as an industry in which parents too could find work while sending their children to the Avondale school.¹

Discipline Problems

The enrollment during the very earliest years of Avondale was made up generally of mature and responsible students. After a year or two of operation, however, the constituency pool of such individuals was trained and employed, with the result that the students who came in 1899 and thereafter represented a lower age bracket.² Many of these teenagers caused trouble during 1899, and the records reveal it was a year of rule making and dismissals. The 1899 School Calendar and prospectuses of previous years had outlined the standards of conduct required at the school. The faculty, however, found it necessary to explain these in detail to the students

¹E. G. White, MS 105, 1898; E. G. White, MS 101, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White to S. N. and H. Haskell, March 15, 1899, Letter 226, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

two weeks after school opened in February 1899. The faculty minutes from that time on reveal continual additions to the rules for proper deportment at the school.

The faculty forbade students to loiter about the dormitories of the opposite sex, and disallowed community students to visit boarding students in their rooms without prior permission. The faculty also instructed the dormitory deans to accompany students to and from the morning and evening study periods in the new chapel, and forbade students to use the school boats unless accompanied by an adult. Pranksters were using the water-filled fire buckets improperly. Some were absenting themselves without excuse from the early morning study hour. To remedy this problem the teachers kept records so that those students who provided no excuse had their names read from the desk at the chapel period in the hope that the embarrassment would prevent a repetition.¹

Early in the year there was some sickness among the students. Cassius Hughes said he had noticed that the same thing occurred every year and he blamed it on the sweets and tinned fish being eaten in the rooms. Consequently the faculty forbade food in the dormitories and recommended that dietary lectures be given.²

In spite of the explanations of the standards and the supervision and precautions taken by the faculty, dismissals became all

¹Faculty Minutes, meetings of February 17, 1899, May 30, 1899, June 5, 1899, and August 8, 1899, Heritage Room.

²Faculty Minutes, meeting of March 25, 1899, Heritage Room.

too common for infringements such as bad language and smoking.¹ One notable expulsion was that of McCullagh's daughter, Cristobel. Three years beforehand E. G. White had advised Cristobel's parents that they needed to exercise stronger discipline with their daughter. When Cristobel left the school the Haskells briefly cared for her in an effort to remedy her alledged misconduct.²

E. G. White's comments on discipline that were occasioned by similar problems in the St. Kilda school, and the dismissal of Burt Corliss in 1896, have already been mentioned. In February 1899, when Haskell heard of another dismissal--that of Mr. Judge for courting by letter--he wrote, "Whoever has charge of dealing with Colonial colts will not have an easy time of it even if they are old religious men and women."³

A few days later E. G. White preached to the students in the Avondale church in these words,

It is because we desire you to learn of God and His law that we have established a school here, and students are to understand that they must be obedient. They are to place themselves under the rules and regulations of the school. As soon as they persist in introducing into the school practices which the school was established to separate from students, they will be separated from the school, because we have not consented to engage in this expense; we have not hired hundreds of pounds to establish a school here to bring together students who will carry out wrong practices.

Courting is not to be carried on in the school. That is not

¹Faculty Minutes, meetings of May 1, 1899, June 20, 1899, June 21, 1899, and August 30, 1899, Heritage Room.

²H. Haskell to S. McCullagh, May 2, 1899; E. G. White to S. McCullagh, July 11, 1896, Letter 69, 1896, EGWRC-AU.

³S. N. Haskell to E. G. White, March 18, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

what you are here for. We are here to prepare for the future life. . . .¹

In the wake of a batch of dismissals in May and June 1899, Palmer spoke candidly to an assembly of ministers and asked them not to recommend teenagers to Avondale simply because they hoped they would be reformed there. "Our school is not designed as a reformatory, to receive students whom parents can never manage," he said.² Haskell had declared there were "some who would do better at a Reform School,"³ and E. G. White, expressing the same thoughts, wrote in 1900,

Will not our churches in the Colonies do what they can to assist in sending to the school students who wish to prepare for missionary work? Our [Avondale] school is not a reformatory, and we do not wish to have students come who have made up their minds to be unmanageable, who will not submit. Such students make the work of the teachers exceedingly hard, and their influence over the other students is detrimental.⁴

The 1899 experiences in discipline prompted the Avondale faculty to spell out more rules in preparation for the 1900 school year. The faculty gave instructions to the deans to supervise dress standards, leisure-time reading, and the hoarding of food in dormitory rooms. Teachers also informed the students of separate strolling areas for the young men and young women. College Hall marked the division line between these two separate strolling areas. Teachers

¹E. G. White, MS 66, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

²E. R. Palmer, "The Avondale School," Record, July 21, 1899, p. 15.

³S. N. Haskell to E. G. White, March 17, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

⁴E. G. White to my Brethren and Sisters in Australasia, February 24, 1900, Letter 34, 1900, EGWRC-AU.

allowed the men to stroll in southerly and westerly directions to the orchard, Dora Creek, and along Central Road as far as the church. The ladies strolled in a northerly direction following Sandy Creek and Avondale Road as far as "Sunnyside."¹

The large proportion of teenagers in 1899 caused the faculty to react by creating more and more rules rather than simply retaining general guidelines for conduct. Furthermore, parents and ministers, perhaps in response to the reports that many young people at Avondale were being baptized, began to regard Avondale as the panacea for their unruly children. Leaders therefore took pains to eradicate this growing misconception and remind the church constituency of the real purpose of the institution. Avondale was meant to be a place where conversions would take place in the students' minds, and also where educational methods were to be reformed, but it was not to be a corrective institution in the generally accepted sense of the term.

The 1899 Australasian Union Conference Session

The biennial session of the Australasian Union Conference was held in College Hall, July 6 to 24, 1899, with approximately one hundred delegates and G. A. Irwin, the General Conference president. Some of the delegates found rooms with church-member friends in the community. The school dormitories accommodated others who worshipped, ate, and worked with the students for the duration of their stay. To make room for the delegates the young ladies moved out of Bethel Hall and crowded into the rooms above the kitchen. The young men vacated

¹Faculty Minutes, meetings of January 2, 1900, and January 23, 1900, Heritage Room.

the lower floor of Herman Hall and bunked in the second-floor rooms with those already there. Organizers of the session asked the visitors to bring suitable clothing for manual labor during the afternoon schedule. The physical work involved felling trees and grubbing out stumps. In a very real sense those who attended the session learned what was meant by an all-round education. They practiced it as well as listened to it expounded.¹ During the session hindsight encouraged more of the leaders to explain the purposes of the Avondale school. At this time, therefore, there appeared in the denominational press many articles and recorded sermons from W. C. White, E. R. Palmer, Cassius Hughes, and Sarah Peck on the topic of having a balance between physical and mental work.² At the last Saturday afternoon meeting of the session E. G. White read a manuscript to the delegates assembled in the church. Her topic was the purpose of Avondale, particularly of the school farm. Avondale "is holy ground," she said, and only those students "who will be subordinate to rule, who will learn in the school of Christ" were welcome. She explained that the school was to graduate teachers, missionaries, and ministers having a thoroughly Bible-based education. A printing press needed to be established there, she advised, as well as a health-food factory. Furthermore, "Avondale is to be a philanthropic center" she said, where the unemployed could learn how to support themselves in a trade or agriculture. Therefore the farmland was not to be overrun with private homes crowded in close to the

¹A. G. Daniells, "Union Conference," Bible Echo, July 3, 1899, p. 224; "Notes," Record, September 1, 1899, p. 7.

²Record, July 14 to 31, 1899, *passim*.

school. The experience at Avondale over the preceding few years had served to clarify and illustrate the concepts presented in her manuscript and it presented something of a crystallization of the ongoing experiment to date.¹

When Irwin was at Avondale for the session meetings he spent considerable time in the home of E. G. White discussing denominational work in America and Australia.² Twelve days later after he left Cooranbong E. G. White dreamed to her dismay that Haskell was packing up and returning to America. As the dream continued she understood that Haskell should not go to America at that time.³ Nevertheless, three weeks later it was publicly announced that Haskell would sail for America at Irwin's request. Before the month was over Haskell was in Sydney to embark with Irwin for the voyage home.⁴

At that stage there was no hint that the Whites would do likewise. In fact, there was every indication that they were reconciled to the idea of remaining in Australia. That year, 1899, E. G. White sold her properties in California and Michigan,⁵ and continually encouraged her son Edson to join her for a few years in

¹E. G. White, MS 101, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

²G. A. Irwin, "My Visit to Australia," Review, October 10, 1899, p. 653.

³G. A. Irwin, "My Visit to Australia," Review, October 17, 1899, p. 671; E. G. White, MS 180, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

⁴E. G. White Diary, MS 188, 1899; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, July 30, 1899, Letter 240, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

⁵E. G. White to J. H. Kellogg, August 29, 1899, Letter 129, 1899; E. G. White to P. W. Wessels, March 22, 1899, Letter 47, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

Australia. In 1897 she had welcomed the idea of having Edson work with her for a time, but in 1899 mention of it intensified. The reasons given to Edson for the interruption of his work in America were that he needed a change for his health, and the Avondale school would appreciate his help and advice in the printing and publishing of books. Racial trouble had flared in Mississippi where Edson worked, and E. G. White thought it best for him to leave since his life was in danger. Furthermore, he had deliberately burned a manuscript belonging to J. O. Corliss, so it was thought discreet for him to absent himself from any repercussions that might arise from this unwise act.¹ In June 1899, during Irwin's visit to Avondale, E. G. White sent Edson the ship passage money for him to come to Australia. She instructed Edson to bring some medicines not easily procurable in Australia, as well as some of her furniture and books, including Barnes' commentary on the Bible and a book by the educator, Horace Mann.² However, Edson did not go. He had outlined for himself some other plans which involved postponing the trip to Avondale. When E. G. White herself began to think of returning to America she dropped the subject of Edson's journey.

The 1899 union conference session was therefore significant for a number of reasons. It was the time when leaders arranged for

¹E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, April 10, 1899, Letter 238, 1899; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, July 4, 1899, Letter 239, 1899; E. G. White to J. E. White, August 11, 1899, Letter 117, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, June 5, 1899, Letter 243, 1899; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, June 16, 1899, Letter 102b, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

Haskell's departure from Australia and made plans for Edson White to go to Australia to assist the school and his mother. It was also the occasion for lengthy elucidation of the purposes of the Avondale school.

A Philanthropic Center

As mentioned above, during the 1899 Australasian Union Conference session E. G. White made the key statement, "Avondale is to be a philanthropic center."¹ In her own household she tried to practice that principle. For some years she had cared for Edith and Ernest Ward, whose mother had died. Their father sold books in New Zealand. He paid their school tuition while E. G. White gave them board and clothing.² It has already been noted that Mr. Tucker was also cared for in the White household until his death in 1898. These examples illustrate the fact that the White household was a miniature philanthropic center long before the 1899 statement.

Apparently W. C. White knew of tentative plans to build an orphan's home or similar benevolent enterprise at Avondale for he reported at the 1899 session meetings that some authorities had reserved land just east of the church for such a purpose.³ However, the plan probably existed only in the thinking of Dr. Caro. It was certainly in harmony with the aims of the Australasian Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association established by Caro in imitation

¹E. G. White, MS 101, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, July 19, 1897, Letter 176, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

³W. C. White, "Avondale School," Record, July 28, 1899, p. 7.

of Dr. J. H. Kellogg's enterprises headquartered at Battle Creek, Michigan.¹ When E. G. White wrote, "Orphan boys and girls are to find a home here [at Avondale],"² it is not clear whether she was endorsing plans for an orphan's home or whether she simply meant that such people in need would be cared for in private community homes. Three months earlier she had written more clearly,

Homes for the aged should be found in private families, where they can receive love and attention. God has a people in this world, and there are many who can adopt children, and care for them as God's little ones.³

In view of these statements and her own practice it appears she did not see a need for either an orphan's or an old people's home at Avondale at that stage.

However, during the 1894 search for suitable land one of the factors considered was that if they should locate away from the coast where the air was less humid then they could combine the school with a different kind of institution--a sanitarium.⁴ School planning committees did not entirely forget this idea for even though Avondale was not very far inland, circumstances combined to indicate the need for a local health treatment facility.

When an Echo Publishing Company employee suffering from neuralgia came to Cooranbong in 1896 for rest, E. G. White expressed

¹A. T. Robinson, "Australasian Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association," Bible Echo, May 2, 1898, p. 139.

²E. G. White, MS 101, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

³E. G. White to Mr. and Mrs. Wessels, April 10, 1899, Letter 68, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

⁴W. C. White to W. M. Barker, May 28, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

a need for a sanitarium to be established there.¹ The narrow escape from death that the second-born of May and W. C. White's twins had experienced at birth also underscored the desirability of better medical services at hand.² Again, when Iram James' wife, attended by Sara McEnterfer, gave birth to a son in 1897 E. G. White wrote in her diary, "We shall have to build a hospital on the school grounds just as soon as we can get means."³

One church member conducted popular first-aid classes in Martinsville as a missionary venture, but this did not meet the larger needs.⁴ All types of medical cases in the district in 1897 had caused nurse Sara McEnterfer to be called out to give emergency aid. With cold compresses she restored one man who was unconscious with a fever, but during the night his family gave him rum to drink and he died in a drunken fit. An eight-year-old Roman Catholic boy, accidentally gashed his ankle and his parents dressed it with lard. A Newcastle doctor then advised them to treat it with a bread poultice. Two weeks later, with the wound black and the boy reduced to a skeleton, the parents summoned help from Sara McEnterfer. After days of fomentations and care in E. G. White's home, the boy fully recovered. Successful treatment advertized itself, and many more people came seeking help.⁵

¹E. G. White Diary, MS 62, 1896, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White Diary, MS 64, 1896, EGWRC-AU.

³E. G. White, MS 70, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

⁴W. C. White, "Work at Avondale," Record, December 14, 1898, p. 122.

⁵E. G. White, MS 97, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

Newcastle doctors charged over five dollars plus their traveling expenses to visit such emergency cases in the Cooranbong district. Invariably the doctor simply advised taking the patient to a Sydney or Newcastle hospital. This factor, together with the frequent calls made on Sara McEnterfer's services, and the institution of a nursing department at the school in 1898, all led to a campaign for funds to build a sanitarium on the school grounds.¹

In September 1898, the Avondale School Board officially recognized the need for a sanitarium and voted to donate fifteen acres for the institution.² They meant the large acreage to provide garden plots for patients to work in.³ The allotment was in a conspicuous position on the corner of Central and Maitland Roads, where Worsnop had established himself, so it was necessary for him, much against his will, to transfer to another site on Alton Road.⁴ Money for the sanitarium came in the form of a \$1,000 loan from Dr. J. H. Kellogg, a \$500 loan from John Loughborough, and \$2,500 from E. G. White herself. Later Mrs. Josephine Gotzian sent \$2,500, which settled the debt on the building.⁵

¹E. G. White to Our Churches in America, August 5, 1898, Letter 73, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

²School Board Minutes, meeting of September 25, 1898, Heritage Room.

³E. G. White to S. N. and H. Haskell, April 14, 1899, Letter 70, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

⁴E. G. White Diary, MS 184, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

⁵E. G. White to J. Gotzian, September 11, 1899, Letter 139, 1899; E. G. White to J. Gotzian, November 1, 1899, Letter 190, 1899; E. G. White to S. N. and H. Haskell, April 14, 1899, Letter 70, 1899; E. G. White to P. W. Wessels, March 22, 1899, Letter 47, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

Clearing the site actually began as early as April 1899.

At the same time Thomson worked on plans for the two-story, fifteen-room building. On April 20, E. G. White met with Thomson to review the plans. Then, because of the shortage of funds, the planning committee decided to have smaller rooms in order to reduce the overall width of the building by four feet. E. G. White disliked the change and recalled some things explained to her previously that argued against an alteration of plans. The explanations she spoke of were probably an allusion to two visions she later said she had received. One vision, she said, was received a month beforehand, and the other, only the night before the interview with Thomson. During the interview with Thomson she did not mention the visions or their substance, but the night after the interview she became convinced the plans should not be changed, and in the following days she wrote of the visions. Matters concluded when the committee adopted the original larger plans and construction began.¹

Two tragedies at Avondale--the death of a four-year-old boy by food poisoning² and the drowning of Miss Elsie Gates³--underscored the desirability of efficient medical aid that could be obtained

¹E. G. White, MS 65, 1899; E. G. White, MS 67, 1899; E. G. White, MS 68, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

²See below, p. 252, n. 2.

³Miss Gates (1852-1899) worked in America as a city missionary nurse. She arrived in Australia only ten days before the accident to visit her brother, E. H. Gates, president of the Polynesian Mission. Elsie Gates obituary, Bible Echo, January 8, 1900, p. 38; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, December 3, 1899, Letter 203, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

quickly.¹ Finally, in a special ceremony on December 27, 1899, the Avondale Health Retreat was officially opened by J. L. Fegan, Minister for Mines and Agriculture. H. A. Hellier took charge of the institution.²

Throughout the course of its construction the Health Retreat occasioned some practical guidelines from E. G. White. She wrote, "In every case treatment is to be accompanied by prayer,"³ and, "In no case should women nurses give treatment or massage or packs to men, or men to women."⁴ Patronage actually declined during the first year, but a complete change of staff reversed this trend in 1901.⁵

From America six years later E. G. White wrote,

The students at the Avondale school should have the advantages of those chapters of experience to be gained in this little sanitarium. In no case should this part of their education be dropped out or neglected. The Avondale Retreat can be made an educating influence, and in connection with its work, principles may be brought into the work of the students that shall help to qualify them to do the special work for this time.⁶

Apart from the Health Retreat, in harmony with the philanthropic concept of Avondale, a number of poor families settled on the

¹E. G. White to S. N. and H. Haskell, April 14, 1899, Letter 70, 1899, EGWRC-AU; W. C. White to G. B. Starr and W. A. Colcord, December 5, 1899, EGWRC-DC.

²"The Adventists' Camp at Cooranbong," Newcastle Morning Herald, December 28, 1899, p. 5; E. R. Palmer, "General Notes," Record, January 1, 1900, p. 8.

³E. G. White, MS 67, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

⁴E. G. White, MS 68, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

⁵A. T. Robinson to E. G. White, January 15, 1901; A. T. Robinson to W. C. White, November 6, 1900, EGWRC-DC.

⁶E. G. White to Brethren and Sisters in Avondale, January 17, 1907, Letter 4, 1907, EGWRC-AU.

estate north of Maitland Road. The Worsnop and Thomson families were the earliest examples of this class of settler who worked on the campus while their children attended school. James and Alice Rodd¹ came with their seven children in 1897. Later, the Pococks,² Lords,³ Hungerfords,⁴ and others were given aid to build simple homes, and plant gardens and orchards, and provided with work on campus if they desired it.

The experience with Shannan and Lawrence had taught the lesson that it was wise to be very selective with respect to who

¹Rodd settled on the western corner of Alton and Maitland Roads in September 1897. He had been a coach builder and painter in Sydney, and worked on building construction at Avondale while his wife served as a nurse and midwife in the Cooranbong area. E. G. White Diary, MS 176, 1897; E. G. White to J. H. Kellogg, October 5, 1898, Letter 84, 1898; E. G. White to Mr. and Mrs. J. J. Wessels, April 4, 1899, Letter 63, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

²Pocock was a coach builder who had lost employment on becoming a Seventh-day Adventist. He settled on Alton Road with his wife and five children. Soon after their arrival at Avondale in April 1899, their four-year-old son died of food poisoning incurred during the trip. E. G. White Diary, MS 185, 1899; E. G. White to S. N. and H. Haskell, April 2, 1899, Letter 61, 1899; E. G. White to Mr. and Mrs. J. J. Wessels, April 4, 1899, Letter 64, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

³Lord was a railway signalman in Newcastle for twenty years until he lost employment when he and his family became Seventh-day Adventists. He went to Cooranbong in 1899 with his wife, seven of his eight sons, a married daughter and son-in-law, and began by hiring land to farm while living in a termite-ridden shanty. E. G. White to S. N. and H. Haskell, April 2, 1899, Letter 61, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

⁴Hungerford was a livery-stable keeper until depression times forced him out of business. After his entire family were treated for influenza by Sara McEnterfer they became Seventh-day Adventists. E. G. White said of him that he had a good-shaped forehead and if he had not formerly been a heavy drinker he would have grown intellectually. He died of lung trouble in 1899, leaving a wife and six children under seventeen years of age, the three oldest being his step children. The family were then cared for by community church members. E. G. White Diary, MS 137, 1899; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, July 30, 1899, Letter 241, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

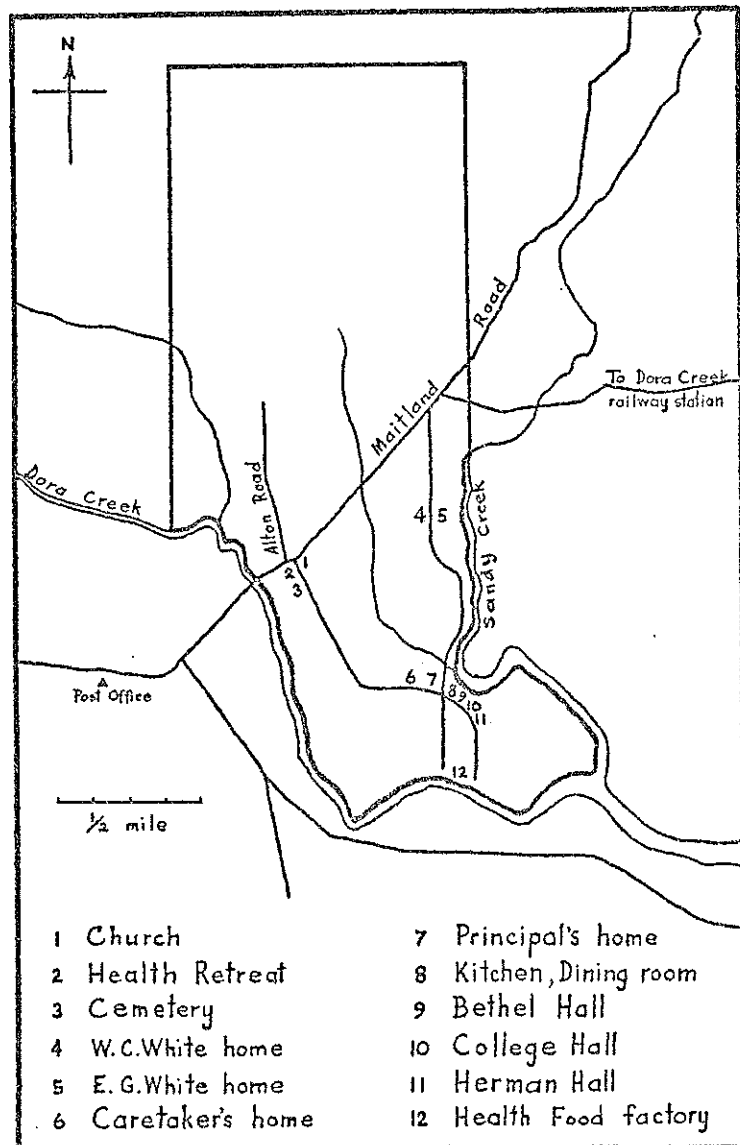


Fig. 23. Avondale, formerly the Brettville Estate, showing the location of principal buildings in 1900.

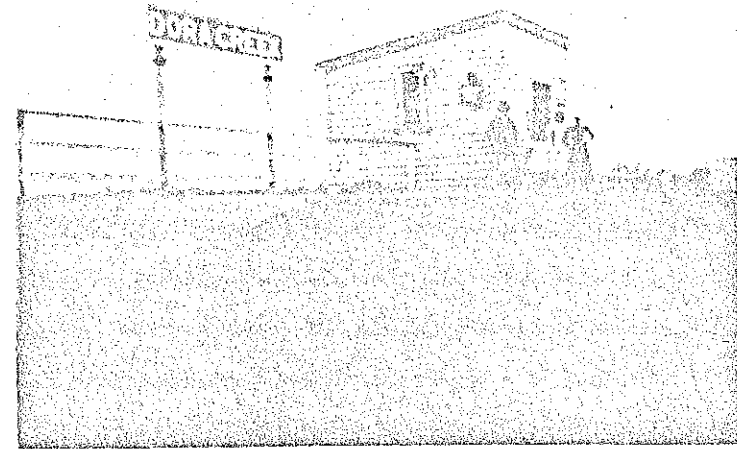


Fig. 24. Dora Creek railway station

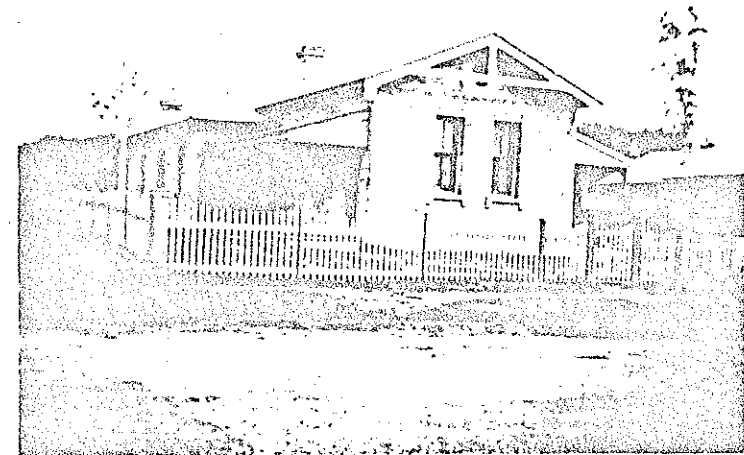


Fig. 25. Cooranbong post office

should settle on the estate. Those who enjoyed this privilege were generally ones who were skilled tradesmen, industrious, had suffered loss of employment after accepting Seventh-day Adventist beliefs, and had children of school age. E. G. White wrote, "Only those [people] shall secure homes who are in need of the advantages through real necessity, for their present and eternal good."¹

Therefore, by the end of 1899, nearly five years after arrival at Cooranbong, the pioneers had established the main school buildings, the Health Food Factory and the Avondale Health Retreat. Maitland Road formed the approximate demarcation line between land set aside for the school farm and land allowed for the settlement of those in need. The purposes of the school appeared to be in the process of fulfillment. Furthermore, the leaders tested and more clearly elucidated their methods for attaining these purposes.

Teaching and Administration Changes in 1900

When the new school year opened on February 1, 1900, the school board made considerable changes in personnel compared with the previous year. Cassius Hughes was reinstated as principal. His wife, who was expecting a child in April, did not take any responsibility in the school that year, which made it necessary to secure someone else to take charge of the elementary school. Fortuitously, Miss Hattie Andre had written to E. G. White saying that she thought teaching elementary school for the Pitcairn Islanders was no longer mentally stimulating and she would like an opportunity to train

¹E. G. White to J. H. Kellogg, October 5, 1898, Letter 84, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

adult missionaries. E. G. White saw the wisdom of this, and replied saying that she thought anyone who had worked for a few years in similar circumstances should have a change because "the mind of the educator becomes impoverished by being kept in a class of labor which does not lead the mind to higher subjects."¹ Instead of engaging in the exact type of work she envisaged, Miss Andre joined the Avondale faculty in 1900 as director of the elementary school and teacher trainees, but this gave her the change that she desired.²

The school board selected Dr. E. J. Waggoner as Bible teacher for Avondale but this appointment did not eventuate. Instead, A. T. Robinson and his wife transferred from the Central Australian Conference to share the Bible teaching between them.³ Dr. Kate Lindsay, then working in South Africa, had received two letters from E. G. White strongly urging her to transfer to Avondale to lead out in the training of nurses at the Health Retreat.⁴ E. G. White preferred a woman for this task, but Dr. Lindsay turned down the call. Hellier and his wife were obtained as substitutes, but the arrangement was not altogether successful. At the end of the year Robinson reported,

¹E. G. White to H. Andre, December 1, 1899, Letter 197, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

²"Avondale School Faculty for 1900," *Record*, January 1, 1900, p. 8; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, February 27, 1900, Letter 32, 1900, EGWRC-AU.

³A. G. Daniells to O. A. and R. Morse, December 19, 1899, EGWRC-DC.

⁴E. G. White to K. Lindsay, August 9, 1899, Letter 113, 1899; E. G. White to K. Lindsay, October 12, 1899, Letter 158, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

Everything came around so that they [the Helliers] asked to be relieved of the work at the Retreat, and so far as we have any means of knowing, Brother and Sister Hellier went away feeling all right. The fact is the whole thing petered out on their hands, until there was scarcely anything being done at the Retreat and I believe they were glad to be relieved of the responsibility of the situation.¹

When Irwin had sailed to Australia the previous year, aged Susannah Sisley accompanied him together with her recently widowed daughter, Maud Sisley Boyd, and Maud's daughter, Ella.² Mrs. Boyd found employment at Avondale as matron during 1900. Miss Whittenburg, who had served as matron for two years, transferred to the position of dean of women left vacant by Ella Hughes. J. H. Paap was dean of men, and his wife taught music. Palmer remained as business manager and taught the English courses which Lyndon and Lacey shared before they entered ministerial work at the end of 1899.³

Palmer was an excellent business manager and was largely responsible for the financial stability which Avondale enjoyed at the end of the decade. His zeal for funds, however, overstepped the mark on one occasion when he sent E. G. White a bill for the pasturage that her cow evidently enjoyed on school property. E. G. White flatly refused to pay the bill because she said she was "one of the firm" and had donated innumerable favors to the school for which she

¹A. T. Robinson to W. C. White, November 6, 1900, EGWRC-DC.

²M. S. Boyd, "Early Experiences," Record, June 7, 1937, p. 2; S. Sisley, "A Letter," Review, August 15, 1899, p. 528.

³"Avondale School Faculty," Record, January 1, 1900, p. 8; H. E. Minchin, "The Avondale School," Bible Echo, February 26, 1900, p. 143.

had never considered asking remuneration.¹

Near the end of the school year Palmer tried to demonstrate that he was indispensable to the management of Avondale, even though E. G. White had advised him to reenter book work. Reluctant to leave his work to someone else, he suggested that he work during the summers at the Echo Publishing Company and in school time train book canvassers at Avondale while keeping an eye on the business management.² He was not, however, reelected as business manager at the end of 1900. Nevertheless, he insisted that his name appear in the 1901 school calendar as business manager to the exclusion of other faculty members and their positions. The calendar was very nearly printed as such, except Cassius Hughes happened into the press and saw the proof sheets. Hughes then remonstrated with Palmer to include the names of all faculty members. All these names were eventually included, together with Palmer's, but he did not take the position in 1901.³ Hare, who stepped in temporarily as business manager, also had a disagreement with Palmer at the end of the year over the sale of some cattle. All things being considered, Palmer's exit from Avondale was troublesome. He finally returned to America in August 1901.⁴

¹E. G. White to Those Who Occupy Responsible Positions in the Avondale School, June 25, 1900, Letter 89, 1900, EGWRC-AU.

²E. R. Palmer to W. C. White, September 10, 1900; A. T. Robinson to W. C. White, November 6, 1900, EGWRC-DC.

³E. W. Farnsworth to A. G. Daniells, November 29, 1900; A. T. Robinson to W. C. White, October 9, 1900, EGWRC-DC.

⁴C. B. Hughes to W. C. White, November 30, 1900, EGWRC-DC; Miscellaneous notes, Bible Echo, August 19, 1901, p. 544.

In March 1900, A. G. Daniells sailed for America via South Africa with full intentions of returning to Australia. Rumors were circulated by a close associate, John Wessels, that there was a lobby in Australia to oust Irwin from the General Conference presidency in favor of Daniells. There was probably an element of truth in the rumor but Daniells himself was apparently oblivious to it and flatly denied the matter in a letter to Irwin. Nevertheless, delegates at the 1901 General Conference session decided that Daniells and Irwin should exchange responsibilities, and for this reason Daniells did not return to Australia as he had anticipated.¹

Daniells also conveyed to Irwin the news that E. G. White had decided to attend the 1901 General Conference session. The March 1900, letters and diary of E. G. White revealed this to be so. She felt Avondale had an excellent faculty that year and conditions had stabilized to the point where her help was not as necessary as before.² The school still needed money to cancel out loans, but she provided for that by granting the royalties of her book on Christ's parables to the denomination's schools, including Avondale.³ The time and circumstances therefore seemed appropriate for more of the Avondale pioneers to retire from the experiment.

¹A. G. Daniells to G. A. Irwin, March 14, 1900; A. G. Daniells to G. A. Irwin, July 31, 1900, Presidential Incoming Letters, GC Archives.

²E. G. White to My Brethren and Sisters in Australasia, February 24, 1900, Letter 34, 1900; E. G. White Diary, MS 91, 1900, EGWRC-AU.

³E. G. White Diary, MS 89, 1900, EGWRC-AU.

Games Crisis

The E. G. White letters and diary for the period April through July, 1900, reveal that her decision to return to America wavered between surety and uncertainty. Perhaps her indecision at this time was influenced by a crisis which arose in April over ball games at Avondale, because she did not make a final decision until the issue was resolved.

It happened that April 13, 1900, was the first anniversary of the opening of College Hall. This being a Friday, it was thought best to celebrate on Wednesday, April 11, with a special religious service and the remainder of the day given over to games. According to a recollection by Hughes twelve years later, someone on the faculty collected donations and purchased tennis and cricket sets for the school. The anniversary was the first time that the school family had used the equipment.¹

On the morning of April 11 the anniversary service took place in College Hall at which A. T. Robinson and W. C. White took part. E. G. White also spoke on the "importance of the teachers and students becoming fully consecrated to God and making the very most of their God-given time and opportunities and increasing in ability and in spiritual comprehension."² After the service the Whites returned home, and the school family spent the rest of the day playing tennis and cricket.

In a dream two nights later, said E. G. White, "I appeared

¹C. B. Hughes to W. C. White, July 22, 1912, Heritage Room.

²E. G. White Diary, MS 92, 1900, EGWRC-AU.

to be in the performance that was carried on, watching the actions of the human minds in the development of the spirit that, in these amusements, was defacing the impression of the moral image of God."¹ The following morning, Friday, she spoke to the assembled school again, taking 2 Pet 1 as her Scripture to denounce games as recreation. Her weekend was spent away from the estate at meetings in Maitland with the Robinsons. In their absence the school family used the tennis and cricket sets on Sunday afternoon.²

The Avondale School Board, chaired by W. C. White, met at 5:00 P.M. Sunday afternoon and voted that they "recommend the faculty to devise plans to furnish something better to occupy the spare time of students [rather] than sports."³

E. G. White returned with the Robinsons to Avondale early Monday morning and was evidently told of what had occurred the previous day, for she wrote in her diary,

To spend money, which is so hard to obtain, on materials with which to play tennis and cricket is not in harmony with the testimonies which have been given to our schools in Battle Creek. The danger of playing these games is pointed out, and those in the school disregarded them.

It has been understood all through our ranks that these games are not the proper education to be given in any of our schools.

The school in Avondale is to be a pattern for other schools which shall be established among our people. Games and amusements are the curse of the Colonies, and they must not be allowed in our school here. . . .⁴

¹E. G. White to the Managers and Teachers in the Avondale School, April 13, 1900, Letter 88, 1900, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White Diary, MS 92, 1900, EGWRC-AU.

³School Board Minutes, meeting of April 14, 1900, Heritage Room.

⁴E. G. White Diary, MS 92, 1900, EGWRC-AU.

The following day, Tuesday, E. G. White continued her denunciation in her diary, lamenting the fact that the teachers in the school had yielded to the students' wishes and played games on the previous Sunday afternoon. She likened the situation to the time when Aaron allowed the Israelites to build the golden calf. "Amusements," she continued, "are not to be a part of the education given to the students in our school in this place." For three days she wrote in this vein until on Thursday morning she talked with Hughes and Palmer, who then made the excuse that they had not known what to do with the students on Sunday afternoon. She said she replied in these words,

Is there not abundance of work to be done on this farm where all the energy and tact would be turned to the most useful account in a good work? Why set in operation a work which is absorbing and by repetition becomes more and more absorbing? You understand, or should understand, that all our powers belong to Him whose we are by creation and by redemption. Christ gave us an example in this world. He lived not to please Himself even from childhood. I should think you could see by Christ's example that there is a work of doing good to come into the education of the youth. All are to be rightly educated as in the schools of the prophets. If it takes one half of Sunday, let another teacher take the other half and educate how to work in helping some of the worthy poor about us. There are houses that can be built. Get your students under a man who is a builder and see if you cannot find something that can be done in the lines of education and in the lines of holiness that they may do righteousness.¹

Rather than themselves making explanations to the students, Hughes and Palmer suggested to E. G. White that she speak to the students again on the following morning. Therefore, at an early morning meeting on Friday, April 20, she read to the students and faculty what she had written on the games topic over the previous

¹Ibid.

few days. At this meeting she hoped that many would stand and make public confession, but no one responded. She left again for weekend meetings at Maitland feeling dejected and wishing Haskell was there to support her as he had apparently done in 1897, when the same issue had arisen. The issue died, despite her misgivings, but she continued to write on the subject, sharing with the teachers in the church school at North Fitzroy, Melbourne, the same counsel she had given the Avondale school. Another manuscript set out the rationale for her position, maintaining that games are a means to forget God and therefore become a form of idolatry. Furthermore, they are unproductive in terms of moral values, time and talents spent, and useful results. The entire crisis occasioned E. G. White to write some of her most unequivocal statements on the topic of games for youth in denominational schools.¹

Some Highlights and Assessments

Apart from the crisis over amusements the school term itself ran smoothly in 1900 with relief from the incessant discipline problems experienced the year before. Enrollment dropped slightly to approximately 140, but the spiritual tone of the students was more vibrant than in 1899.² At the end of revival prayer meetings held in June E. G. White made the statement, "We have now, I believe, all attending the school converted."³ The students became active on

¹Ibid.; E. G. White to R. Morse, June 7, 1900, Letter 84, 1900; E. G. White, MS 32, 1900, EGWRC-AU.

²Miscellaneous notes, Bible Echo, July 16, 1900, p. 472.

³E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, July 1, 1900, Letter 186, 1900, EGWRC-AU.

weekends in Dora Creek township, Martinsville, and Morissett, where they held Sabbath School meetings. One New Zealand student in particular, Harold Harker, conducted such a successful program among the Morissett children that the decision was made to buy land and erect a building for regular meetings. One-third of an acre in the township was secured for \$50. Students built a small hall on it, which they dedicated in July for church meetings.¹

One enterprise the school pioneers planned and promoted from the time South Sea Islanders first attended Avondale in 1897 was to have a printing press established on campus to do translation work and provide Polynesian language tracts. The proposed facility was meant to enable students to learn the printing trade also. These anticipations were fulfilled in 1900 when Elliot Chapman came from America to set up a print shop with used presses and type that he had gathered up in America, Tahiti, and Australia. Using power supplied by the food factory boiler, the presses printed tracts in the Fijian, Tongan, and Maori languages as well as English-language denominational periodicals.²

Throughout the entire six years that he was at Avondale, Cassius Hughes worked as superintendent of the farm industries in addition to being principal most of the time. This unusual combination of responsibilities indicates that Avondale was essentially an industrial school with emphasis on the practical side of education.

¹E. G. White to G. A. Irwin, June 27, 1900, Letter 109, 1900, EGWRC-AU.

²E. C. Chapman to W. C. White, November 22, 1899; EGWRC-DC; W. M. Crothers, "The Avondale Press," Review, December 4, 1900, p. 782.

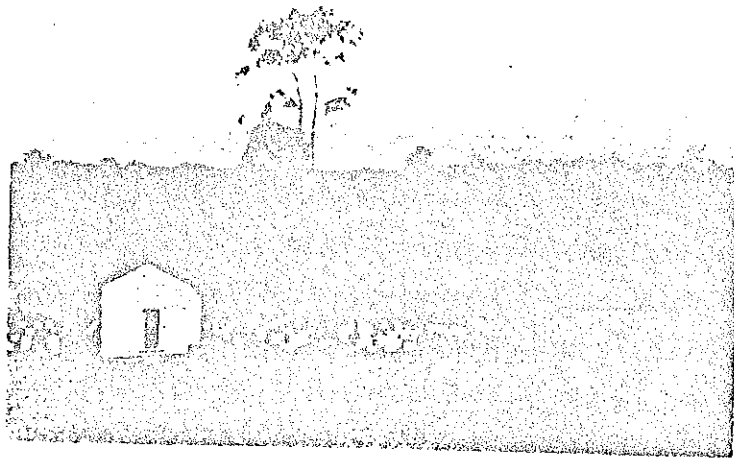


Fig. 26. Avondale apiary and orchard

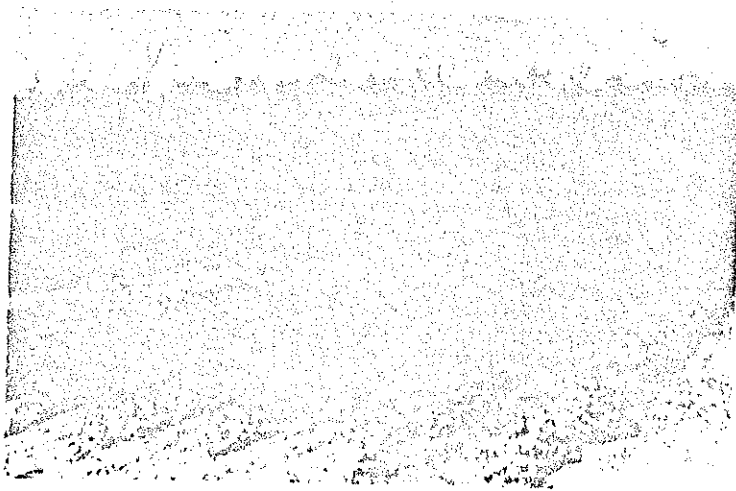


Fig. 27. Avondale vineyard

Hughes made a success of the agricultural projects even though he went to the country as a stranger to its soil and climate. He, of course, had some farming experience in America, but he drew advice from government experts in Australia and experimented himself, as Hare and others did also.

When E. G. White first settled on the estate, she took the advice of the government analyst, Benson, and supervised the liming of an experimental plot. Hughes noticed in 1900 that this same soil still yielded a good crop. He observed also that in other areas which no one had limed the results were patchy. By reflecting on the possible cause of this he remembered that in the better yielding patches workers had burned large stumps and piles of logs during the days of land-clearing. The ashes, he deduced, had sweetened the soil. Probably to prevent Hughes from becoming discouraged when he first arrived at Avondale, Benson's 1894 report was evidently not given to him until later. Not until 1900 did he study it carefully, for then he wrote to W. C. White:

Lately I have noticed in the report that the government made on the land when you were about to purchase it, that it is stated that lime is necessary. We have proved this to be so on the swamp, and I am sure that the result will be just as good on the other ground. We not only find that lime will improve the swamp, but also that it makes other fertilizer doubly efficient, so that liming the land will make a large reduction in the fertilizer bill.¹

Hughes, therefore, began using lime on the drained swampland with excellent results. In other areas of the estate good results were already seen. The vineyard made vigorous growth, corn on the

¹C. B. Hughes to W. C. White, November 4, 1900, EGWRC-DC.

O'Neill field grew well, and the fruit trees bore heavily. In the summer of 1900/1901 Robinson reported,

The cows are rolling fat, and living in feed up to their ears. We have a herd of the finest calves that I have seen in many years. The orchard is yielding a large amount of nice fruit. Yesterday they gathered eleven bushels of most luscious peaches, and before bed time they were in cans, filling 139 two quart cans. Miss Whittenburg now has over one thousand cans put up, most of which has grown on our school farm. The bees are doing splendidly this year. We have just taken another three thousand pounds of honey from them.¹

This picture of productivity was in sharp contrast to the wild appearance of the woods six years beforehand and the almost abandoned farms in the surrounding district. It testified to the optimism of the pioneers, the resourcefulness in experimentation, and their industriousness in the face of depression.

Departure of the Whites

At the end of July 1900, E. G. White finally made her decision to return to America in order to speak personally against many elements she considered undesirable at the denominational headquarters, Battle Creek, Michigan. Her July decision left only a month for packing up and selling her property in order to leave with W. C. White and his family on August 29.²

The entire eighty-six acres on which E. G. White and W. C. White had built their homes was valued by realtors at approximately \$5,000. The Whites divided their ten building lots into three sections for resale. Five of the ten lots, including E. G. White's

¹A. T. Robinson to E. G. White, January 15, 1901, EGWRC-DC.

²E. G. White Diary, MS 95, 1900, EGWRC-AU; W. C. White, "From Cooranbong to St. Helena," Review, October 15, 1900, pp. 666, 667.

house, horse, vehicles, and farm implements were bought by Mrs. Susan Minchin of New Zealand for a little over \$5,000. Two of the allotments were transferred to W. C. White, evidently with the view to settle on those later, for they planned to be in America only two years. W. C. White traded his termite-infested house on three lots for Hare's home near the school buildings. W. C. White then sold Hare's home to the school. This transaction gave Hare a larger acreage opposite "Sunnyside," and the fact that the school then owned Hare's former home provided an additional teacher's cottage close to the school buildings.¹

When the Whites sailed for America in late August 1900, they were accompanied by assistants Sarah Peck, Marian Davis, Maggie Hare, and Sarah McEnterfer.² Iram James and his family followed in 1901 to continue as E. G. White's gardener and maintenance man.³ Hughes and his wife left Avondale in 1902.⁴ Hare also transferred to America in 1908 and worked in various denominational sanitariums.⁵

¹Certificate of Title to E. G. White Property, Avondale, April 27, 1899; Creer and Berkeley, Valuers, "Valuation Report of the Property of Mrs. E. G. White at Avondale," [August 1900], Doc. File 170, EGWRC-AU; M. Hare to W. C. White, November 18, 1900, EGWRC-DC; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, August 14, 1900, Letter 123, 1900, EGWRC-AU.

²W. C. White, "Cooranbong to St. Helena," Review, October 16, 1900, pp. 666, 667.

³I. James to W. C. White, March 25, 1901, EGWRC-DC; E. G. White to N. D. Faulkhead, May 29, 1906, Letter 156, 1906, EGWRC-AU.

⁴C. B. Hughes to A. G. Daniells, August 1, 1902; C. B. Hughes to W. C. White, July 20, 1903, EGWRC-DC.

⁵E. G. White to J. E. White, February 5, 1908, Letter 50, 1908, EGWRC-AU.



Fig. 28. "Sunnyside," home of E. G. White, 1896-1900

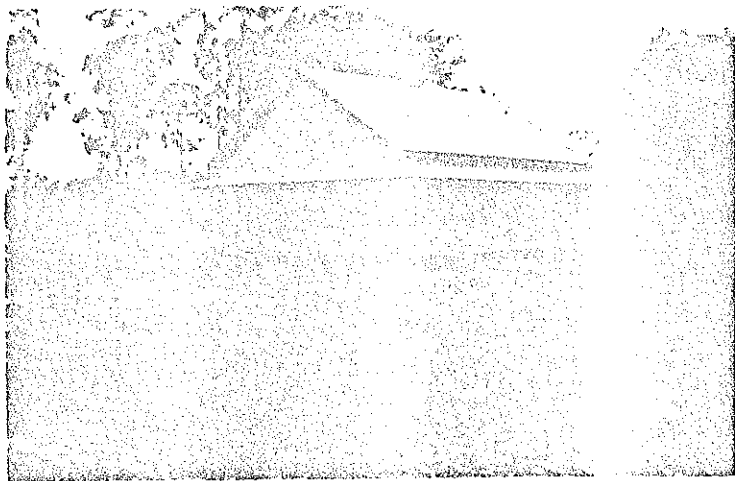


Fig. 29. Home of W. C. White, 1897-1900

By 1900 many of the Avondale pioneers had already left the campus. Lawrence faded from the scene in 1897. Rousseau died in 1898 while studying medicine in Michigan. The Haskellis and Daniells returned to America before 1900, and the Laceys by then were ministering in Queensland churches. Palmer returned to America shortly after the Whites did.

There was no dramatic shift either in policy or in personnel immediately after the Whites left. Men such as E. W. Farnsworth and C. W. Irwin, who took leading positions soon after, were in general agreement with the objectives and methods pursued at Avondale. Cassius and Ella Hughes, as well as Miss Whittenburg, continued there for a short time longer, providing some continuity of policy.

The years 1898 to 1900 were ones of industrial and course diversification, of gradual stabilization with respect to finances and faculty, and a time for the pioneers to evaluate the experiments which they had made on the estate.

CHAPTER VII

AN EYE ON ETERNITY

The large number of consistent goal statements made by the Avondale pioneers indicates that they did not operate the school capriciously. They worked with definite purposes in mind and these were repeatedly stated in various contexts during the years of experimentation. The goal statements sometimes contrasted with the prevailing practice within the denomination. The pioneers wrote, fully aware of this contrast, in the conviction that the larger Seventh-day Adventist colleges in America, as well as the St. Kilda school in Melbourne, were not practicing satisfactory methods. They believed these institutions were not achieving the goals to the same extent that they thought possible when teachers used better techniques. This belief prompted leading individuals to establish Avondale College. The institution grew to be regarded as a model school for the denomination--a school which would serve as a sample of what all Seventh-day Adventist schools should be like in general aspects. Throughout the experiment there was no indication that the goals and general methods were temporary and applicable only to the 1890s. Rather, the very nature of the goals indicated long-lasting qualities. Furthermore, the rationale given for the methods imply their validity for determining methods for modern use.

The Need for a Model School

While the St. Kilda school was still operating, early in 1894, E. G. White outlined some of the desirable characteristics of the anticipated permanent school. The contrasts between these characteristics and conditions in the St. Kilda school indicate that a change was imperative. She said practical, manual labor on a farm was essential to the educational process. Such labor could not, of course, be provided in the rented, city quarters of the St. Kilda school. She wanted an environment where the students would be away from the lure of sports and other amusements. Furthermore, she advised that a location amid nature be sought. These elements were not provided at either the St. Kilda school in Melbourne, or Battle Creek College in Michigan, to which some Australasian students had gone.¹

Other aspects, such as discipline at the St. Kilda school, were unsatisfactory. E. G. White lamented the baneful influence of one teacher in the school who kept saying at faculty meetings, "Young folks must have their jolly times," a concession, she believed, that encouraged pranksters and did not foster a suitable climate for training Christian ministers and teachers.² E. G. White condemned the introduction of amusements into Battle Creek College in these words,

It is he [Satan] who has introduced the idea that selfish amusements are a necessity. Students sent to school for the purpose of receiving an education to become evangelists,

¹E. G. White, MS 8, 1894, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White, MS 68, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

ministers, and missionaries to foreign countries should not have received the idea that amusements are essential to keep them in physical health, when the Lord has presented before them that the better way is to embrace in their education manual labor in the place of amusements.¹

Statements which denounced Battle Creek College were made largely in the context of E. G. White's acquaintance with H. C. Lacey and other Australasian students who had studied in America and returned home to work. She believed Lacey had brought an education with him from America that was deleterious to the students.² In the same context she disapproved of the lack of emphasis given to Bible study in Battle Creek College.³

Other emphases troubled E. G. White. She depreciated aspects of the contemporary classical courses with these words, "The philosophy of common sense is of far more importance to the youth than the study of Greek and Latin. . . ."⁴ She disapproved of the five-year courses offered at Battle Creek College especially because of the lack of balance with physical labor throughout the years of study.⁵ With returned Australasian students in mind, E. G. White wrote,

¹E. G. White, MS 41a, 1896, EGWRC-AU. This manuscript has a marked similarity to E. G. White, MS 136, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White to A. G. Daniells and E. R. Palmer, June 27, 1897, Letter 185, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

³E. G. White, MS 56, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

⁴E. G. White, "God's Word Our Study-book," Instructor, June 30, 1898, p. 505.

⁵E. G. White, MS 10a, 1895; E. G. White Diary, MS 174, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

We have had evidence that four or five years of study in the schools in America has brought our youth back to Australia without an all-round experience. Some who have spent the longest time in America we have to begin to educate in regard to the first principles of the necessities of our school.¹

Therefore, in view of what E. G. White believed to be an unsatisfactory educational system at that time in the Seventh-day Adventist church, she made it clear, during the establishment of Avondale College, that the institution was not to pattern itself after previous attempts by the denomination.²

A Holy Experiment

When Seventh-day Adventists in Australia were being arrested and convicted for working on Sundays in 1894, the choice of Australia as the place for the model school may have appeared unwise to some. Prospects for religious liberty were precarious, and if the situation deteriorated to the point where the government had closed down the school, the expenditure of large sums of money at Avondale would probably have been wasted. But circumstances did not deteriorate. On the contrary, the Australian Constitution, in the context of the federation movement, provided increasing assurance that full religious liberty would be granted in the proposed Australian Commonwealth. In 1897, as the Avondale school was just getting started on a full-scale basis, Daniells wrote:

I presume you [E. G. White] have learned before this that the Constitution adopted by the delegates at the Adelaide Convention is in harmony with the petition we sent in. That Constitution

¹E. G. White MS 98, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White, MS 136, 1897; E. G. White, MS 56, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

does not permit the general government to make any laws respecting religion, and it prohibits the State government from making any laws prohibiting the free exercise of any religion. This really separates church and state more definitely than does the American Constitution.¹

Soon after the draft constitution was adopted by referendum,

E. G. White wrote of Australia:

This field is large, and has been represented to me as a new world, a second America, but very different from America in its government. But America is far from being what it once was.²

In the above quotation the meaning of the last sentence was not clear. In the 1890s Seventh-day Adventists in America were being imprisoned for their religious convictions. Therefore, the quotation may be interpreted in context as saying that the American government was deteriorating in its practice of the religious ideals of its constitution. In view of this E. G. White may have looked on Australia somewhat in the same way that William Penn thought of his experiment as an attempt to demonstrate certain ideals. In some respects the Avondale school venture was similar to Penn's "holy experiment." In rural isolation the Avondale estate provided a buffer against religious intolerance for a Christian community that had different customs. Furthermore, the enterprise was spoken of as taking place on "holy ground,"³ and it was referred to as an "experiment." When E. G. White evaluated the agricultural experiments at

¹A. G. Daniells to E. G. White, April 27, 1897, EGWRC-DC.

²E. G. White to G. I. Butler, April 21, 1899, Letter 74, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

³E. G. White, MS 101, 1899, EGWRC-AU. This was published in E. G. White, "The School and Its Work," Record, July 28, 1899, p. 9.

the end of the 1895 school term and again at the conclusion of 1896 she wrote,

. . . we are convinced, since making this experiment at Avondale, Cooranbong, that the Lord will indeed work with those who combine physical and manual labor with their studies.¹

The work done by the students there [at Avondale] was the best thing that could have been done. We feel so thankful that we have made the experiment, and can testify that the land, when thoroughly cultivated, will yield its treasures in fruit and vegetables. This is a fact that we have felt it necessary to demonstrate.²

Once the pioneers found the potential of the soil to be satisfactory, their attention began to include experimentation with the school itself. In reference to school building plans, E. G. White wrote, "Time will develop methods and plans."³ Haskell expressed the same concept during the 1898 controversy over his inclusion in the faculty. He wrote, "I had felt I could not go in their [sic] in view of what I feared of a policy that would lead the School to depart from God's plans and methods, which as I understand to be largely developed as we go on in the enterprise."⁴

These statements lead to the conclusion that in some respects the Avondale school was to be regarded as another holy experiment, even though it was not specifically expressed in those terms. hindsight may indeed regard it as such.

¹E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, August 16, 1895, Letter 80a, 1895, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White to A. E. Wessels, December 14, 1896, Letter 115, 1896, EGWRC-AU.

³E. G. White to A. E. Wessels, July 16, 1896, Letter 114, 1896, EGWRC-AU.

⁴S. N. Haskell to E. G. White, [January 1898,], EGWRC-AU.

The Educational Goals

The educational goals of the Avondale school were simple, lofty by nature, and few in number. The content of the pioneers' goal statements possessed similar elements and indicated general harmony with respect to the purpose of the institution. Some development or shifts in emphasis were evident in their expressions of the goals. These, however, were not contradictory. Instead, they were complementary and occasioned by local circumstances.

The minutes of the Australasian Union Conference sessions reveal what the primary goal for Avondale was in the minds of the church delegates. These people thought of the institution essentially as a training center that would produce gospel workers. At one of the first meetings in 1894 it was said that in view of the need to evangelize different areas, "many laborers should be educated and trained to engage in the work."¹ Some three years later a resolution read, "The object of the school at Cooranbong is to educate missionary workers for the Home and Foreign Field."² A note of urgency was inserted into an 1899 resolution, proposing that young people be trained "rapidly" for denominational employment.³ The General Conference president, G. A. Irwin, was present when this resolution was made. He, reflecting the union conference viewpoint, regarded Avondale as an institution "where workers could be properly educated

¹Union Conf. Minutes, meeting of January 19, 1894, Heritage Room.

²Union Conf. Minutes, meeting of October 27, 1897, Heritage Room.

³Union Conf. Minutes, meeting of July 18, 1899, Heritage Room.

in the different lines of work, either to return to their home church to use their acquired knowledge in building up the work, or to go as pioneers to entirely new fields."¹

Avondale College was a union conference institution. The responsibility for administration and finance of the school rested specifically with the Avondale School Board elected at the Australasian Union Conference sessions. The school board was responsible also for issuing an annual bulletin or calendar in which goal statements may be found. The first of such bulletins (1897) did not specify any distinct goal, unless the statement, ". . . a broad field of study is opened to every student who wishes to qualify himself for the Master's service . . .,"² be taken as an allusion to the goal of training denominational workers. However, the 1898 bulletin introduced for the first time an official recognition of the priority given to Christian character development. It read:

The purpose for which this school has been founded, is to give a thorough and practical education, in which the mental, moral, and physical powers of the students will be harmoniously developed. Special efforts will be made to develop in the youth sound, Christian character, and to awaken a desire to enter some line of Christian work.³

In the following year, 1899, another aspect was incorporated into the goal statement, the concept that the development of Christian character meant training people to take their places in the

¹G. A. Irwin, "My Trip to Australia," Review, November 29, 1899, p. 775.

²"Avondale School for Christian Workers," Gleaner, January 1897, p. 2.

³"The Avondale School: Prospectus for 1898," Record, January, February 1898, p. 9.

eternal New Earth. The statement read, in part:

. . . the Avondale School [is] to so direct every line of study pursued that it may do its part in restoring the image of God in the soul, that students may here be fitted to give the light to others, and finally that all together may have an inheritance among those that are sanctified.¹

Thus, the official goal statements reveal an evolving expression of what the Avondale school should accomplish. To begin with, the concept expressed was that the institution should train young people for work in the denomination--especially as missionaries. This goal, of course, suggests a religious ideal, so later explanations of the goal specify this additional aspect. Then, in turn, the religious aspect was thought of as not only the object of the present life, but also of life eternal.

Apart from the official viewpoint, goal statements were expressed by some of the individual pioneers, too. After his first visit to the Avondale school, Haskell wrote that it was "a school to educate laborers for the mission field. . . ." ² A few months later he amplified the same sentiments:

There are many good schools, but the sole subject of this one is to fit those who attend for usefulness in the cause of God. It is hoped that from this place many will go forth to carry the truth to different portions of the earth.³

Later, Haskell wrote again, "The ultimate object of the

¹Avondale School for Christian Workers Calendar, 1899 (n.p., 1899), p. 12.

²S. N. Haskell, "A Visit to Cooranbong," Review, December 15, 1896, p. 796.

³S. N. Haskell, "Avondale School for Christian Workers, Cooranbong, N.S.W.," Bible Echo, April 5, 1897, p. 109.

school is the development of true missionaries."¹ There was little variation or development in Haskell's statements on the goals of Avondale. However, it would be wrong to presume that he did not consider the religious conversion of his students a goal to be reached. As Bible teacher and church elder during 1897 and 1898, he pursued this goal and wrote of the conversions and baptisms in his evaluations of the school years.²

While at the 1896 Cooranbong Institute W. W. Prescott climaxed his work in Australasia, particularly with regard to education. He was largely instrumental in having the name changed from Avondale College to The Avondale School for Christian Workers.³ Implicit in this new title was the goal of training individuals for colonial and foreign mission work. On the other hand, Prescott was quite explicit about the religious goal to be achieved. "Here [at Avondale]," he wrote, "is an excellent opportunity for the development of a sturdy Christian character."⁴

Shortly before the school opened in 1897 Daniells expressed the goal as being "to reveal God to the student and thus make him

¹S. N. Haskell, "The School and Its Needs," Record, January, February 1898, p. 8.

²S. N. Haskell to Mrs. Harris, November 7, 1897, EGWRC-AU; S. N. Haskell, "The Avondale School," Review, November 29, 1898, pp. 768, 769.

³Union Conf. Minutes, meetings of October 21, 1895, October 31, 1895, and November 11, 1895, Heritage Room.

⁴W. W. Prescott, "In the Regions Beyond," Review, May 26, 1896, p. 328.

acquainted with the character and dealings of God."¹ As the man responsible for the administration of denominational work in Australasia, it is noteworthy that Daniells did not explicitly mention the training of missionaries.

W. C. White, as chairman of the Avondale School Board, did refer to the need of training denominational workers, and he looked to Avondale to fulfill that need. It is difficult, however, to find a concise goal statement in his letters and articles. At the opening of College Hall in 1899 he addressed the assembly on the purpose of Avondale, but he mixed terms such as "principles," "aims," "scheme," and "object." He appears to have had some goals in mind which were in general harmony with the statements of other pioneers, but he did not express any clear goal statements as such.²

The statements of the Avondale faculty themselves reveal general agreement with respect to their objectives. Unfortunately, there are not enough statements from the individual teachers to determine if a development of goals took place in their minds. Two statements from Cassius Hughes show that he regarded Avondale as a training institution for denominational workers:

This school has been established to teach men and women how to minister to others. . . .³

¹A. G. Daniells, "The Avondale School for Christian Workers," Bible Echo, March 29, 1897, p. 103.

²W. C. White, "Opening of 'College Hall,' Avondale School," Bible Echo, May 8, 1899, pp. 153, 154.

³C. B. Hughes, quoted in E. G. White, "Week of Prayer--No. 3," Review, October 11, 1898, pp. 645, 646.

We may be encouraged to hope that the time is not far distant when from the school there will go forth workers to all parts of the Australasian Colonies, also to the needy mission fields to the north, and the east, and the west.¹

When H. C. Lacey was speaking of the goals of his physiology and hygiene department in 1898, he cast his statement in the broader context of the entire school and said,

The object we have before us is the qualifying of laborers to engage in the all-round work of the third angel's message. In this school we are trying to fit ourselves to prepare for the second coming of Christ. We need a thorough fitting up for this work, not only spiritually and intellectually, but also physically.²

Metcalfe Hare was a man of many skills and a clear mind. His two goal statements reveal the two-part objective that is seen also in some official statements--Avondale was for the training of denominational workers as well as for the development of consecrated characters. On these aspects he wrote,

We are here in Avondale, New South Wales, the nucleus of what is designed, in the providence of God, to develop intellect and character that can be used to the glory of God to combat the deceptions, and encounter the perils of the last age of this world's history.³

This work has been commenced in the providence of God for one purpose, one object, one design, and that is the development of character and the molding of minds; the education of youth and of men and women who may take a part in the closing work of the gospel. Men and women are wanted who shall go out equipped with the armor of heaven, able to do efficient work in the

¹C. B. Hughes, "Avondale School for Christian Workers. Report for 1897," Record, January, February 1898, p. 7.

²H. C. Lacey, quoted in E. G. White, "Week of Prayer," Review, October 11, 1898, pp. 645.

³C. B. Hughes [sic] to H. Bree, June 17, 1896, EGWRC-DC.

Lord's cause. . . . And has not God chosen this place as an educational center, a place to train workers?¹

When E. R. Palmer first visited Avondale in 1895, he did so with the purpose of training book canvassers for the summer vacation period. It was natural for him therefore to express the goal of Avondale as being "a place where many will be fitted for the Master's work."² Later, in 1899, when he was principal of the school, he viewed the goal as being one of spiritual emphasis. He said at the opening of College Hall, "The work of this institution should be so arranged as to place students under the most favorable conditions for restoration from this physical, mental, and spiritual weakness."³

A. T. Robinson made a rather tardy deduction concerning the goal of Avondale. After teaching there for one year he wrote, "I am coming to believe more and more that the Lord designs that Avondale should be a great missionary training ground."⁴ Sarah Peck placed her emphasis on the religious potential of the school. The goal, she believed, was to mold individuals with characters according to God's standards.⁵ When she wrote about the school farm, she considered it to be God's object lesson for the students, which would "inspire in

¹N. Hare, "Avondale School," Bible Echo, November 14, 1899, p. 365.

²E. R. Palmer, "A Visit to 'Avondale' School," Gleaner, December 1895.

³E. R. Palmer, "Symmetrical Education," Bible Echo, May 8, 1899, p. 156.

⁴A. T. Robinson to E. G. White, November 29, 1900, EGWRC-DC.

⁵S. E. Peck, "Home Life at School," in "Historical Materials," vol. 3: "The Avondale School, 1895-1907," 1955, EGWRC-AU.

their souls an unquenchable thirst for that Eden restored. . . ."¹ H. E. Minchin, a local church member, echoed the practical-religion aspect of the goal by saying, "The object of the school is the physical and moral development of students, in addition to the giving of a thoroughly practical and useful education."²

These goal statements made by those faculty and staff at Cooranbong were evidently not intended to be either definitive or comprehensive. The statements possessed, however, some elements common throughout. Avondale, the leaders believed, was established with the goal of converting young people who would, after suitable training, work as local or foreign missionaries.

Of all the pioneers at Avondale, E. G. White was the most prolific writer of goal statements. Some of these referred to education in general, while others had the Avondale school particularly in mind. These statements were phrased in various terms and contexts. There were, however, common elements in them. Like the official statements, there appeared to be some development of thought and shifting of emphasis. Furthermore, it should be noted that E. G. White did not set out to define the goals of the Avondale school in a creedal form in any one manuscript. Instead, the goal statements are scattered throughout her writings.

When writing of the goals of education in general, E. G. White underscored the practical and eternal aspects. In 1894 she

¹S. E. Peck, "Natural Aspects," in "Historical Materials," vol. 3: "The Avondale School, 1895-1907," 1955, EGWRC-AU.

²H. E. Minchin, "The Avondale School," Bible Echo, February 26, 1900, p. 143.

wrote, "The best education that can be given to children and youth is that which fits them for a life of usefulness and for the future, immortal life."¹

By 1895 E. G. White's terminology changed slightly in preference for the phrase "true education" rather than "best education." However, her emphasis on a practical as well as a religious education remained the same. Echoing the 1894 statement, she published a year later the statement, "True education is that which will train children and youth for the life that now is, and in reference to that which is to come. . . ."² Specifically to highlight the spiritual goal she wrote,

True education is the inculcation of those ideas which will impress the mind with the knowledge of God. . . .

The education given in our schools should be of that character which will strengthen the spiritual intelligence and give an increased knowledge of God and of Jesus Christ. This kind of education will qualify men to become missionaries. . . .³

The end of all true education is expressed in the words of Christ: 'This is life eternal, that they might know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent.'⁴

These statements helped to define what E. G. White meant by "true education." From about 1896 onwards she used more frequently the synonym "higher education" to describe the object of schooling. The fact that she did consider it a synonym is seen clearly by

¹E. G. White, "Right Education and Its Object," Bible Echo, January 29, 1894, p. 27.

²E. G. White, "The True Object of Education," Instructor, March 31, 1898, pp. 244, 245.

³E. G. White, MS 20, 1895, EGWRC-AU.

⁴E. G. White, MS 40, 1895, EGWRC-AU.

comparing the last quotation and the following excerpt, both of which employ the same Scripture citation:

We established the school [Avondale] for the purpose of making most diligent efforts to reach the higher education, of which Christ spoke in His prayer to His Father. 'And this is life eternal,' He said, 'that they might know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent.'¹

E. G. White variously defined "higher education" as students learning "how to love God supremely and their neighbor as themselves;"² leading "young men and young women to be Christlike;"³ and practicing "the meekness and lowliness of Christ."⁴ "The students in our schools are to consider the knowledge of God as above everything else,"⁵ she wrote on the eve of the 1896 Cooranbong Institute. If students would strive for this goal in their education, she felt assured they would carry the results in their characters to the eternal world and there continue their higher education.⁶ At the opening of College Hall, 1899, she said, "We are fitting for heaven,

¹E. G. White to M. Hare, January 21, 1898, Letter 12, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White, MS 54, 1896, EGWRC-AU.

³E. G. White, "The Bible in Our Schools," Review, August 17, 1897, p. 513. This was published again in E. G. White, "The Bible in Our Schools, No. 1," Bible Echo, November 8, 1897, pp. 345, 346, and E. G. White, Fundamentals, p. 467.

⁴E. G. White Diary, MS 185, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

⁵E. G. White, MS 8, 1896, EGWRC-AU. This is published in E. G. White, Spec. Test. Ed., p. 15, and also E. G. White, Fundamentals, p. 415.

⁶E. G. White, MS 108, 1898, EGWRC-AU; E. G. White, "The Week of Prayer at Avondale School," Review, October 25, 1898, pp. 677, 678.

the higher school."¹ The concept was more fully expressed in the words,

The main object of education should be to gain a knowledge of how we can glorify God, whose we are by creation and redemption. . . .

This higher phase of education only is able to prepare students for the higher school, where Christ and God will be the teachers, and where, throughout eternity, we shall learn how best to magnify and glorify God's name.²

Whatever adjective E. G. White used to describe what she considered to be the goal of education she depicted the same concept. That is, the goal to be reached by students was a lofty spiritual target.

Many of E. G. White's goal statements were published throughout the Seventh-day Adventist denomination, and these general sentiments about education were no doubt familiar to the other Avondale pioneers. E. G. White also probably shared the same thoughts orally with them prior to the opening of Avondale. However, it was not until after the Avondale school was opened that she began to express goals for Avondale itself in written form. The same concepts that she had previously applied in a general sense to education she then applied specifically to Avondale. The emphasis given in her goal statements also reciprocated the trends seen in the goal statements made by the union conference and the school bulletins.

The earliest goal statement by E. G. White which specified Avondale was a general, all-encompassing one:

¹E. G. White, MS 66, 1899, EGNRC-AU.

²E. G. White, MS 76, 1897, EGNRC-AU.

The school [Avondale] was established at a great expense, both of time and labor, to enable students to obtain an all-round education, that they might gain a knowledge of agriculture, a knowledge of the common branches of education, and above all, a knowledge of the word of God.¹

There followed then a period when E. G. White's emphasis was placed on the aspect of making Avondale a training school for denominational workers. The object of all the study done by the students was said to be to enable them to convert non-Christians.² With Avondale students specifically in mind she wrote, "Every soul is to obtain an education with the object in view of imparting his knowledge to others."³ A few days later she repeated that the students were to obtain an education that will qualify them to work intelligently as missionaries."⁴ And again the following month she instructed Daniells, "We want young men and women to go forth from the Avondale school as medical missionaries, as laborers together with God."⁵ In retrospect, it is this goal which remained preeminent in her mind, for she wrote in 1904, "We saw the great need for a school [at Avondale] in which promising young men and young women could be trained for the Master's service."⁶

¹E. G. White to W. C. White, August 15, 1897, Letter 145, 1897, EGNRC-AU.

²E. G. White Diary, MS 176, 1897, EGNRC-AU.

³E. G. White, MS 54, 1898, EGNRC-AU.

⁴E. G. White, MS 57, 1898, EGNRC-AU.

⁵E. G. White to A. G. Daniells, June 13, 1898, Letter 52, 1898, EGNRC-AU.

⁶E. G. White, MS 8, 1904, EGNRC-AU. This is published in E. G. White, *Selected Messages*, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1958), 2:102.

The goal of training denominational workers was, of course, not exclusive of the goal of having each student genuinely converted to Christianity. In fact, employment as a missionary was dependent upon evident conversion. With increasing frequency, beginning in 1898, E. G. White emphasized the aspect of individual conversion as antagonism prevailed among some faculty, and as discipline problems became common among the students. She wrote to the Avondale School Board,

The most essential experience to be gained by the teacher and the student, is that obtained in seeking for the salvation of the souls for whom Christ has died. Teachers and students are to work for the recovery of that which was lost through transgression.¹

"Our students," E. G. White wrote, "are now deciding their eternal destiny. They are deciding whether they are willing to be fitted for the companionship of angels."² She repeated at the opening address for the 1899 school year, "This school [Avondale] has been established in the order of God, that young men and young women may be partakers of the divine nature by linking up with Christ."³ That same year, in the midst of school discipline problems, she preached to the students and members in the Avondale church saying, "It is because we desire you to learn of God and His law that we have established a school here. . . ."⁴ This emphasis on the goal of conversion was sustained from 1898 to 1900.

¹E. G. White to the Avondale School Board, April 28, 1898, Letter 5a, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White, MS 84, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

³E. G. White, MS 8, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

⁴E. G. White, MS 66, 1899, EGWRC-AU.

In 1900 E. G. White incorporated into one succinct sentence the two main aspects of the goal for Avondale. In a general letter to the Australian constituency she wrote, "The truth that Christ is a personal Savior is to be taught [to the students] so clearly that souls will submit to be led and taught by God, and in their turn win other souls to Christ."¹

Thus, the primary educational goal for the Avondale school, according to E. G. White, was to bring about the experience of conversion among the students. The institution was also established, she believed, to inspire and train individuals to work as denominational missionaries in various capacities, and to direct them to look forward in faith to the restoration of the Edenic model school in which God would be the Teacher.

Where then do counsels about a rural location, practical training, Bible study, amusements, and other important elements of the Avondale school fit into the goal statements?

The placement of the school in a rural setting was not viewed as a goal as such. Only in the sense that Avondale provided something of a haven from religious intolerance, was the isolation amid nature an end in itself. That goal of separation from society could have been accomplished if the property had simply been subdivided for families without any school ever being built. Many others, before and since, have retired from cities with the goal of living in semi-isolation or because of a love for nature. The Avondale pioneers, however, viewed the natural environment not as the object or

¹E. G. White to My Brethren and Sisters in Australia, February 24, 1900, Letter 34, 1900, EGWRC-AU.

goal of their endeavors, but as a means to an end. It was part of their methodology for fostering conversion. Conversion of students was their goal, not isolation in nature.

Similarly, the absence of games and amusements was not merely a negative reaction per se against contemporary Australian habits. It was designed to train students as missionaries who had a singular purpose to minister to others' needs. There was no desire to train youth whose interests would be divided throughout life. Therefore, the ban on games was part of the methodology to discipline students to learn practical work that would make them useful and productive missionaries. The training of missionaries was their goal, not the banning of games.

Agricultural and manual arts training were incorporated in the curriculum not simply to teach young people how to earn wages and support a family. It was a method of teaching about God's provisions for mankind in the sun, air, water, and soil. Agriculture also taught man's dependence on God as the Source of life. Furthermore, the possession of a small acreage would assure sustenance in hard times and thus enable Christians to continue in their witness to others. In all respects there was always a religious rationale given for practical training. Agriculture was not simply for agriculture's sake. It was not thought of as the end or goal of the educational process. It was a method to achieve the spiritual goal of understanding God's laws of life as well as to train more useful missionaries.

Even Bible study was never understood to be one of the goals of the Avondale school. No doubt the teachers recognized that the

Bible can be studied with no further goal than to add to one's reservoir of knowledge. At Avondale Bible study was viewed as a method to foster intelligent conversion.

In this way it may be argued that the various distinctive methods employed at the Avondale school were aimed at achieving the comparatively simple yet lofty goals of converting students and training them to convert others.

A Model School

When the Avondale pioneers began their enterprise, they wanted it to serve as a showpiece, first to those in the surrounding district of Cooranbong, then to Australians in general, and in due course to the entire Seventh-day Adventist denomination.

As the pioneers planted the first fruit trees on the estate in 1895, local men saw what was being done and bought some of the trees meant for Avondale to plant in their own soil. E. G. White wrote, "We are now making an orchard and building a small cottage, and in this way giving object-lessons. Already some are buying trees from us to plant."¹ She continued, ". . . whatever land we occupy is to have the very best kind of care and [is] to serve as an object lesson to the Colonials of what the land will do, if properly worked."² In late 1896 she repeated the same sentiments in these words, "This [Avondale] must be a sample settlement, to tell what

¹E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, August 16, 1895, Letter 80a, 1895, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, August 19, 1895, Letter 126, 1895, EGWRC-AU.

can be raised here."¹ Initially, therefore, the venture in agricultural experimentation was viewed as having an exemplary and somewhat evangelical aspect. It was designed to awaken the Australians to the potential of the soil if cultivated intelligently and industriously.

Once the school itself began operating it was clear that the leaders consciously thought of the methods used in the school as basically different from those used elsewhere. Hetty Haskell wrote to E. G. White saying she believed a class recitation in any course in their curriculum ought to be essentially different because of its integration with Scripture.² A few weeks later E. G. White wrote, "Our school is different from any school that has been instituted. The Bible is taking the place in the school that it should always have had."³ The following year, 1899, she categorically set the Avondale school apart as a distinctly unique institution by saying, "Our School [Avondale] is not to pattern after any school that has been established in America, or after any school that has been established in this country [Australia]."⁴ At the same time the principal, E. R. Palmer, was reported as saying Avondale was the model

¹E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, December 16, 1896, Letter 162, 1896, EGWRC-AU.

²H. Haskell to E. G. White, March 30, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

³E. G. White to G. A. Irwin, I. H. Evans, U. Smith, and A. T. Jones, April 21, 1898, Letter 137, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

⁴E. G. White, MS 101, 1899, EGWRC-AU. This is published in E. G. White, "The School and Its Work," Record, July 28, 1899, p. 8.

school, especially with regard to its Scripture-based curriculum.¹ By using the terminology, "model school," he reflected what E. G. White had written the previous year: "Our school must be a model school for others who shall establish schools in Australia; every movement we make must tell."²

The terms "object lesson," "different," "pattern," and "model school" were all applied to the experiment at the Avondale school. The school was to be a light set on a hill for all the local people, indeed, all individuals throughout Australasia, in order to guide their way of life.

The example set by Avondale was intended, however, to influence an even wider circle of people. The model was meant to serve not only Australia but also the entire Seventh-day Adventist denomination. In the context of the games crisis at Avondale in 1900 E. G. White wrote,

Why has this school [Avondale] been established? Is it to be like all other schools, or is it to be as God has revealed, a sample school? If so, we would better perfect everything after God's pattern, and discard all worldly makeshifts, which are called education.³

The school in Avondale is to be a pattern for other schools which shall be established among our people.⁴

With evident success manifest at Avondale after more than five years of experimentation the Whites carried the concept of a

¹E. R. Palmer, as reported in "Union Conference Proceedings," Record, July 21, 1899, p. 15.

²E. G. White, MS 186, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

³E. G. White to the Managers and Teachers in the Avondale School, April 13, 1900, Letter 88, 1900, EGWRC-AU.

⁴E. G. White Diary, MS 92, 1900, EGWRC-AU.

model school back to America when they returned in 1900. Six months after arrival in America E. G. White wrote, "God has said that the school in New South Wales should be an object lesson to our people in all other parts of the world."¹ At the 1901 General Conference session, when speaking on the topic of education, she said to the assembled delegates, "We are not to have all study nor all work. Work is to be conducted as nearly as possible as we have conducted it in Australia."² At the same session W. C. White exhorted the international delegates with similar words,

We have often been told that the Avondale School was to be a sample school. A sample is usually a small piece of something that we expect to get more of. Let us study the sample.³

This ever-broadening circle of influence and example which was committed to the Avondale school by the Whites was apparently not restricted just to the Seventh-day Adventist denomination. At the time when alternative sites were being examined for the school, E. G. White indicated that the broad concept of balance between mental and physical education had universal relevance. She wrote,

Never can the proper education be given to the youth in this country [Australia], or any other country, unless they are separated a wide distance from the cities. . . .

The school to be established in Australia should bring the question of industry to the front, and reveal the fact that physical labor has its place in God's plan for every man. . . .⁴

¹E. G. White, MS 18, 1901, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White, "Instruction Regarding the School Work," GC Bulletin, 1901, p. 453.

³W. C. White, "The Responsibility of our Publishing Houses and the Division of Territory to Accomplish the Best Results, and to Economize Means," GC Bulletin, 1901, p. 10.

⁴E. G. White, MS 8, 1894, EGWRC-AU.

The generic term, "every man," was based by the Avondale pioneers on the Edenic school. Cassius Hughes, in his brief speech at the opening of College Hall in 1899, used the same concept when linking physical with mental work.¹ A few months later Sarah Peck published an article on the physical, mental, and moral restoration of mankind, having as her thesis that the goal of education was adequate preparation to meet God. She too spoke of the Edenic school in these words,

To Eden we look for God's original design concerning our physical needs. . . . To Eden we look for the origin of that moral law. . . . To Eden, also, must we look to understand God's plan for our intellectual nature, a safe guide for our educational work. Here we find a description of the first school--a model not only for all time, but for all eternity.²

It is clear from the statements quoted that the Avondale school was eventually considered by the pioneers to be a model school for the entire Seventh-day Adventist educational system. They went as far back in time as the Edenic school to substantiate their rationale for their rural location, the combination of physical with mental labor, and, above all, the concern for moral regeneration. The implication was that time-honored characteristics in man's original school were worth exemplifying in the Avondale model. The distinctive qualities of the Avondale school were also considered to be relevant for all time by virtue of their generic nature.

Avondale's simple goals were certainly long-lasting ones. As long as students needed conversion, and as long as missionaries

¹C. B. Hughes, "Agriculture and Manual Training," Bible Echo, May 8, 1899, p. 157.

²S. E. Peck, "God's Original and Eternal Plan of Education," Record, July 21, 1899, p. 6.

were needed as agents to convert others, the goals would remain relevant.

The same reasoning may be applied to some of the methods employed for achieving the goals. That is, as long as cities remained sources of temptation for youth, the rural locale would be a better option. As long as games and amusements retained pugilistic, unproductive, and division-of-interest characteristics, students would be better off without them. As long as the likelihood of religious intolerance and loss of employment remained, a knowledge of agriculture would be vital. Again, as long as agriculture was dependent on God's control of the life-giving forces, essential spiritual lessons could be learned from engaging in it. As long as students needed conversion, Bible study would remain an essential part of the curriculum. In other words, not only were the goals of the Avondale school meant to be long-lasting, but also much of the methodology. The nature of the methodology and the rationale given for it in its historical context determine whether or not the method was to be long-lasting.

* * * *

The holy experiment at Avondale was initiated largely by the existence of unsatisfactory conditions in the Seventh-day Adventist educational system at the time. In its broad and successful aspects the Avondale school was meant to serve as a model for the denomination in addressing itself to the reformation of the undesirable situation. The statements on methods indicate that the importance of the Avondale model lay in aspects such as its rural location, its Scripture-based curriculum, the balance between

physical and mental work, and the absence of games. Similarly, both the context and the content of the goal statements teach that Avondale's universal and long-lasting relevance rests on the imperatives of conversion and character development as well as on the need to train missionaries. Both methods and goals may be viewed historically as having an eye on eternity.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

The Seventh-day Adventist presence was first manifest in Australia in the person of Alexander Dickson during the late 1860s. However, not until 1885 did the official group of missionaries arrive to begin work that produced permanent, visible results. By the time a small church constituency formed, financial depression had plunged to depths that made it impossible to build an expensive educational institution. Between 1892 and 1894 the church members had to be content with a temporary school at St. Kilda in Melbourne. The vicissitudes of the St. Kilda school, and later the Avondale school, apparently influenced the reported totals of the Australasian church membership.

The establishment of a permanent Seventh-day Adventist school in Australia began in 1894 with the search for a suitable location to give academic and practical training. The committee assigned to search out a suitable location for the school used as criteria a low cost commensurate with the small constituency and the national depression, isolation from the distractions of the cities, accessibility, available building materials, sufficient acreage to allow subdivision for resale, and soil adequate for an independent food supply and instruction in agriculture. The Brettville Estate of

1,500 acres was eventually purchased in the isolated district of Cooranbong, New South Wales.

The sighting of the strange furrow in May or August, 1894, was not a significant factor in the decision to purchase the Brettville Estate. According to E. G. White, some of the leaders decided to purchase the land before May 9, 1894. Prior to her first visit, her own favorable predisposition was perhaps oriented by W. C. White's enthusiastic description and interest in buying it. Subsequently, her dream of the furrow and her sighting of it apparently confirmed her impression. The continued debate over the issue, and E. G. White's own agreement to inspect other properties such as the Fernhill and Fairlight Estates as late as December 1894, indicate that the sighting of the furrow did not immediately precipitate the final decision. Decisive factors of greater significance were the estate's combination of isolation with accessibility, its low price (\$4,500), the improvement in McCullagh's health when prayer was offered on his behalf, and the acquiescence of the Foreign Mission Board. Other factors were the increasing weariness in searching for a suitable location, the closing of the St. Kilda school, and subsequent pressure from the church constituency to get the permanent school started. Later accounts of the furrow story in both primary and secondary sources magnified its role as a determinative factor in the purchase of the Brettville Estate.

The pioneers who planned the school enterprise changed the name of the estate to "Avondale" and the school itself they named Avondale College. The name was later changed to The Avondale School for Christian Workers. Experimentation first took place with the

soil and later with the teaching methods, until the pioneers grew confident that the enterprise could be represented as a model school for the denomination.

One of the purposes of the school farm was to furnish the food requirements of the students. Tuition fees would then provide the teacher's salaries, and in this way the school was to be virtually self-supporting. In the event of large-scale religious intolerance or national calamity when prospective students might find it difficult to submit tuition fees, provision could be made, with a large acreage, to grant students longer hours for manual labor for growing additional produce as a cash income. However, this aspect of the experiment was only implicit. Throughout the initial years, when large amounts of capital came in to start the project, there was little indication of the self-supporting concept in explicit terms.

The operation of a full-scale school program was slow in coming to fruition. When the St. Kilda school closed in 1894, some anticipated that the permanent school would open the following year. Indeed, the pioneers did begin a school at Cooranbong on May 5, 1895. The school boasted a board of management, a name, one department, two teachers, more than twenty students, boarding facilities and a classroom of sorts in Healey's Hotel, entrance requirements, tuition rates, a code of conduct, and a regular schedule. Nevertheless, it was essentially a land-clearing operation that provided evening classes in rudimentary subjects for young employees. Throughout 1895 and 1896 legal troubles over the transfer of the estate's title deed prolonged delay. The deepening financial depression made matters

still worse. Perhaps the brightest spot in these two dismal years was the 1896 Cooranbong Institute, at which W. W. Prescott formed goals and laid plans. This was an important milestone in the development of the school's educational goals and methods.

During their years of mission service in Australasia, A. G. Daniells and W. C. White generally worked in executive capacities with the Avondale school occupying a large share of their attention. Cassius Hughes, Metcalfe Hare, and others assisted them. However, E. G. White was the principal protagonist who shaped much of the school's theoretical orientation, and at times confirmed decisions on the basis of her dreams and visions. S. N. Haskell strongly supported her from the very earliest planning stages in America. The leadership of the school enterprise was therefore a joint venture.

The financial depression which reached its lowest level in 1895, together with the long series of droughts, the worst being in 1896, were important factors in the slow rate of progress experienced when establishing the school. These national conditions brought poverty to most of the church membership. The desperate shortage of capital to erect proper school buildings prevented any realization of the pioneers' goals until E. G. White borrowed overseas capital to facilitate the erection of dormitories. On October 1, 1896, E. G. White set the foundation brick in place for the first building on campus--Bethel Hall. Despite a labor dispute with some employees, Bethel Hall, partly finished classrooms, and a kitchen were made ready in time for school to open on April 28, 1897.

The school faculty offered what was essentially a Bible-workers' training course in the first year of full-scale operation.

Every student worked with the teachers for three hours each day at manual labor in addition to their regular studies. The year 1897 witnessed the endeavors of E. G. White to mold H. C. Lacey according to her concept of the ideal Christian teacher. Stephen Haskell and his wife Hetty brought a strong Biblical emphasis to the overall school life, he being instrumental in building the campus church during the closing weeks of the school term. Evaluations of the first year of full-scale operations spoke of success in terms of total enrollment, the number of students baptized, and the practical work being done in conjunction with academic studies.

When a bookkeeper discovered two errors in the school accounts which provided an extra \$5,500, the school board pressed ahead with the building of the boys' dormitory (Herman Hall) in the summer of 1897/1898. Its completion in time for the 1898 school term alleviated crowded boarding and teaching facilities and provided space for an enrollment of just over one hundred that year. The faculty organized a commercial department to train denominational bookkeepers, a normal department in which elementary school teachers could be trained, and a physiology and hygiene department to provide the first year of a nurses' training course. These three new courses, together with the one for Bible workers, continued to satisfactorily train youth in fulfillment of the educational goals. On the negative side, a certain amount of contention among some of the school board members marred these early years.

Significant building developments occurred on the campus during 1899. College Hall, as the central building, provided adequate classroom and administration facilities as the enrollment rose

to approximately 150. The Sanitarium Health Food Company purchased the sawmill and began to transform it into a nut-food factory. This provided some employment for both parents and students. The Avondale Health Retreat was opened at the end of the year. It grew primarily out of a pressing local need for efficient medical services in the isolated Cooranbong district. It also provided a convenient training ground for students in the first year of their nursing course, but this appeared to be a secondary consideration for its establishment.

The year 1899 saw the completion of major building activities. The pioneers had followed the sequence of first ascertaining the productivity of the soil while at the same time erecting a sawmill and brick kiln. Then the first of the school buildings--a girls' dormitory and kitchen--were erected, followed by the church, a boys' dormitory, classroom and administration facilities, a health-food factory, and a health-care home. Small industries such as carpentry and printing were late developments in the decade. The only regret expressed at one time was the fact that the erection of the church had not taken priority over the erection of the school buildings.

The year 1899 was also marked by many discipline problems among students younger than those in attendance previously. This resulted in the proliferation of rules which became a permanent aspect of the school life. Despite discipline problems the administration extolled the virtues of the school in the wake of successful experimentation. The Australasian Union Conference session, held at Avondale in mid-1899, witnessed the elucidation of the school objectives as expressed by a variety of speakers. Much of the subject matter was published in the denominational magazines and served to

advertize the goals of the institution.

By 1900 the experimental school appeared to be stabilized financially, the constituency remained optimistic about the institution, and student enrollment remained at nearly 150. The games crisis in April was the one event which occasioned significant statements on educational guidelines. E. G. White's departure from Australia, together with W. C. White, marked the end of her real contact with the school. No more did E. G. White, the principal protagonist, draw on the activities at the school to express fresh concepts, approbations, or denunciations. The experiment, in general respects, was pronounced a success. The model was cast and thereafter was meant to be regarded as normative for the Seventh-day Adventist denomination.

The pioneers had responded to the need of a training school in the Australasian Union Conference. They launched into the experiment against financial odds, believing all the time that what they were doing was meant to serve as an object lesson for others. Their priority came to be expressed in many different ways as the conversion of students in preparation for eternal life. The corollary, expressed at first as the priority, was that these converted students would then leave the institution to convert others in the colonies and the foreign mission fields.

Conclusions

This study began with a contextual outline of some relevant aspects of the Australian milieu. On this foundation was constructed, from primary sources, a detailed history of the Avondale school

(1894-1900). Within this framework there followed an analysis of the educational goals of the institution in order to determine their nature, interrelationship, priorities, development, and applicability. It seems appropriate to draw the following conclusions.

The Avondale pioneers established the school as a consequence of real needs. They needed suitably trained personnel who would engage in various forms of evangelism for the denomination. They regarded the leading contemporary Seventh-day Adventist schools as unsatisfactory in terms of methods practiced and the product of these institutions. Their dissatisfaction, especially that of E. G. White, rested largely with Battle Creek College because of its lack of emphasis on Bible study, a liberal attitude toward games and amusements, a classical curriculum, and scant regard for manual labor. The situation was all the more serious because Battle Creek was the senior denominational training institution and an example to its lesser counterparts.

E. G. White's statements concerning her concept of the ideal Christian teacher were occasioned by her experience with individuals who had studied at Battle Creek College and had gone to Australasia to work for the denomination. Her dealings with H. C. Lacey in particular demonstrates this. Lacey's initial failure to follow acceptable methods was no doubt largely due to his unawareness of required personal religious qualities and his inability to recognize the lofty spiritual goals of the institution. E. G. White believed that if the American training institutions had been oriented correctly the graduates of the institutions would be aware of the religious nature of their work and respond accordingly.

E. G. White held Battle Creek College in low esteem because it apparently was not training an acceptable product. In Australia she did not foresee the products of the St. Kilda school as much better than those of the Battle Creek College. At the St. Kilda school there was no space for agriculture and other manual work, and the city environment was not conducive to character development. The Australasian church constituency did not view the increasingly secular government schools as welcome alternatives for their youth. To circumvent the expense of sending colonials overseas for their education and in order at the same time to obtain a more acceptable product, the pioneers in Australia established a school of their own. In addition, the institution served as a haven for victims of religious intolerance and the financial depression. Thus, the Avondale school met a variety of needs.

Those who developed the school looked on it as an experiment. That is, even though E. G. White in particular had published a great deal of her educational concepts, she had had very little opportunity to directly influence a school where the concepts were experimented with and applied practically. E. G. White, S. N. Haskell, and others brought with them to Australasia some general goals in harmony with their outlook on education, but at the start of the Avondale school experiment these were not defined specifically. Aspects of the goals appeared in committee minutes, during public addresses, and at times of crisis when individuals were reminded of the objectives of the school. There was apparently little methodical and deliberate enunciation of the goals prior to the establishment of the school.

This situation later occasioned some admissions of error and subsequent corrections.

The absence of elaborate goals gave flexibility to the direction of the school. Local conditions led the pioneers to add to the curriculum as priorities came to their attention. The great need for men to farm intelligently was one reason why agriculture gained favor as an essential part of the program. The dearth of competent bookkeepers and managers for the denomination's institutions prompted the development of the commercial department at Avondale. The need for nurses as medical missionaries and the great expense in sending them to America for training, led to the establishment of a physiology and hygiene department. Similar causes applied to the implementation of a teachers department.

These developments were not an indication that it was the first time the pioneers ever regarded agriculture or bookkeeping or any other subject as an essential part of the curriculum. The direction which the development of Avondale took simply indicated that the pioneers were sensitive to local needs and reacted in a positive and practical way to fulfill those needs. Their entire course of action within the experiment was flexible enough to try fresh ventures such as the sewing department, and drop exigencies such as sawmilling and brick making.

The Avondale school, however, did have two basic educational goals. One was the conversion and character development of its students. E. G. White wrote of this goal as the "best," "true," or "higher education" which prepared individuals for life eternal. The second goal was the suitable training of denominational workers, as

the name of the institution indicated. It was this goal that was expressed first as having priority. Based on their theoretical statements, it appears that the pioneers quickly realized that the accomplishment of this goal was intimately associated with the goal of character development, which was expressed thereafter as the top priority.

The rural location, Bible study, the integration of Scripture into all other subjects, local missionary activities, manual labor, and the banning of games for youth were all methods believed to heighten spiritual awareness or to foster a climate for character development and the proper training of missionaries.

The Avondale school, in both general and specific contexts, was stated by E. G. White and W. C. White to be a model school for the entire denomination. The expression of this concept developed as most of the experiment proved to be a success. The word "blue-print," often applied today to the Avondale school, was never used in reference to it during the 1890s and for some time after. The pioneers referred to the school as one providing "object lessons." They said the school was to be "different," and they used the synonyms "pattern," "model," and "sample" to designate the institution's place among the other schools of the denomination. Appeals to the belief that the Avondale school was patterned after the Edenic model, imply confidence that the institution was intended to serve as a model for all mankind. In one specific context--the imperative that physical labor must be linked with mental work--E. G. White specifically supported the inference of generic relevance.

The nature of many of the methods implied their long-lasting

relevance. The expressed rationale for any particular method determines whether or not it is intended to remain relevant. For example, one reason offered for the necessity of a rural location was avoidance of liquor saloons, gambling, sports, and other distractions of the cities. Thus, the rural location was intended for as long as the city environment would continue to sabotage the achievement of the school's goals. Likewise, the nature of the educational goals implied their long-lasting relevance. By virtue of the fact that the goals served a perpetual need, indeed, an increasing need, they would inevitably remain relevant.

APPENDIX A

ORGANIZATION OF NORTH FITZROY CHURCH, MELBOURNE

The first Seventh-day Adventist church organized in the Southern Hemisphere was located at North Fitzroy, Melbourne.

S. N. Haskell says he was in attendance when the group was first formally organized as a church. He adds that the occasion was conducted on Sunday, probably in conjunction with the public-evangelism meeting that day. According to his account, the date was April 10, 1886,¹ but this cannot be correct for a number of reasons. First, April 10, 1886, fell on a Saturday rather than a Sunday. Secondly, Haskell had left Australasia for America and was part way across the Pacific Ocean by April 10. In an article describing his trip he says he was aboard ship en route to America from New Zealand by March 30. Other dates are given in the same article with properly matched day names confirming its information.² Finally, April 10 should be rejected because the 1888 SDA Yearbook lists the date as January 10, 1886.³ The 1887 SDA Yearbook gave

¹S. N. Haskell, "The Australian Mission," in Historical Sketches of the Foreign Missions of the Seventh-day Adventists, compiled by the publishers (Basle, Switzerland: Imprimerie Polyglotte, 1886), p. 99.

²S. N. Haskell, "From Australia to America," Review, May 11, 1886, pp. 296, 297.

³SDA Yearbook, 1888, p. 132.

April 10,¹ evidently following Haskell's chapter in Historical Sketches, and unaware of his Review article and actual itinerary.

January 10, 1886, is accepted in this study as the true date on the basis that this day was indeed a Sunday, it fits into Haskell's itinerary, and the 1888 SDA Yearbook agrees.

¹SDA Yearbook, 1887, p. 130.

APPENDIX B

THE FURROW STORY

During the afternoon of May 23, 1894, and all of the following day, a group of individuals including E. G. White examined the Brettville Estate at Cooranbong, New South Wales. This $1\frac{1}{2}$ -day examination of the estate is sometimes associated with the sighting of a strange furrow there in the forest. E. G. White wrote later that before going to view the property she had had a dream in which she saw a short, deep furrow ploughed in the forest and two men standing near it denouncing the soil and its potential. In the dream a voice said that these men bore false testimony of the soil. It was later claimed that the dream was told to Starr and his wife before the May 23 journey to Cooranbong, and was dramatically fulfilled during an inspection of the property.¹

In contrast to evidence for the story of the sudden improvement in McCullagh's health there is no immediate primary evidence for the furrow drama (if it took place in May). An E. G. White letter written while she was at the estate during the May examination speaks of the McCullagh incident and other happenings but not about the furrow.² Likewise, W. C. White's letters contain detailed

¹E. G. White, MS 62, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, May 24, 1894, Letter 82, 1894, EGWRC-AU.

descriptions of the activities during the entire visit but make no mention of the furrow.¹ Daniell's recollection omits all reference to it but recounts the McCullagh incident.² In a compilation of manuscripts which Starr evidently edited and embellished after his return from Australia (1909), there is no account of it either.³ The only account left by Starr was found in an undated recollection⁴ which differed markedly from the recollections of others.

The best evidence for the furrow story is found in later accounts told by E. G. White herself. In these accounts it appears that just before she visited Cooranbong, and for some months immediately afterwards, the dream was communicated orally to family friends, after which allusions to it began appearing in her personal letters. The earliest of these written references are brief and at times vague. The first is found in an August 27, 1894, manuscript which reads, "In the dream you have heard me relate, words were spoken of land which I was looking at, and after deep ploughing and thorough cultivation, it brought forth a bountiful harvest."⁵ Almost the same words are found in a letter to one of her assistants, also

¹E.g., W. C. White to J. E. White, June 17, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

²A. G. Daniells "Wonderful Leadings of the Spirit of Prophecy in the Advent Movement--Part 5," Record, August 28, 1928, p. 2.

³E. G. White [and G. B. Starr], "Experiences in Australia," book manuscript, 4 vols., EGWRC-AU.

⁴G. B. and N. Starr, "Personal Experiences and Observations with the Prophetic Gift in the Remnant Church," n.d., pp. 173-75, Doc. File 496, EGWRC-AU.

⁵E. G. White, MS 35, 1894, EGWRC-AU.

written from Coorانبong on August 27, 1894,¹ and coincident with the arrival of news from America that the Foreign Mission Board was not in favor of the Brettville Estate.²

Several weeks later, at the Ashfield camp meeting of October 19 to November 4, 1894,³ E. G. White related the dream for the first time to a public audience, in response to sustained opposition from Daniells and Rousseau. An account which is apparently verbatim records her as saying,

... Whoever turned up that plough, I do not know, nor anybody else. It was turned over about two yards wide, just as we would by a plough, and there were different grades of soil. One was standing at the end of that soil shaking their head. 'No,' they said, 'that would not produce. It was not good soil.' I thought that one that has authority spoke and said, 'The soil properly worked, properly educated, will bring its return.'⁴

This account does not make clear how many people were denouncing the soil. On the one hand the singular is used, "One was standing . . . shaking . . . head." On the other hand the plural pronouns, "their" and "they," are used.

It could be an instance of poor grammar or faulty stenography. An alternative explanation is that some confusion or variation in the story on this point was already present.

In 1897 E. G. White alluded to the dream, but not to the

¹E. G. White to M. Davis, August 27, 1894, Letter 14, 1894, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White Diary, MS 77, 1894, EGWRC-AU; W. C. White to F. M. Wilcox, September 2, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

³Miscellaneous notes, Bible Echo, October 8, 1894, p. 320; Miscellaneous notes, Bible Echo, November 5, 1894, p. 344.

⁴"Educational Work--Village Settlement, October 19--November 4, 1894," in "Historical Materials," vol. 2: "Educational Work in Australia, 1893, 1894," 1955, EGWRC-AU.

furrow specifically, when she wrote, "From the light given me in the night season before I came [to Coorانبong] I was sure that here the school should be established."¹

The first full account was written by E. G. White on June 28, 1898, in these words,

... I dreamed that I was walking upon the ground; I came to a neat cut furrow that had been ploughed one-quarter of a yard deep, and two yards in length. Two of the brethren who had been acquainted with the rich soil of Iowa were standing before this furrow and saying, 'This is not good land; the soil is not favorable.' But one who has often spoken in counsel was present also, and He said, 'False witness has been borne of this land.' Then He described the properties of the different layers of earth. He explained the science of the soil, and said that this land was adapted to the growth of fruit and vegetables, and that, if well worked, would produce its treasures for the benefit of men. This dream I related to Bro. and Sister Starr and my family [on May 22].

The next day we were on the cars, on our way to meet others who were investigating the land; and as I was afterward walking on the ground where the trees had been removed, lo, there was a furrow just as I had described it, and the men also who had criticized the appearance of the land. The words were spoken just as I dreamed.²

Back in America in 1907--thirteen years after the incident--she wrote the account again but with some variations and additions including the words, "The brethren looked at it [the furrow] in surprise. How had it come there? they asked. Then I told them the dream that I had had."³

W. C. White was the custodian and reader of these letters and manuscripts for two decades. He was no doubt familiar with

¹E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, May 30, 1897, Letter 149, 1897, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White, MS 62, 1898, EGWRC-AU.

³E. G. White to J. E. White, October 22, 1907, Letter 350, 1907, EGWRC-AU.

their contents and it is possible that his late recollection (about 1936)¹ was dependent on the information contained in the 1898 and 1907 manuscripts of his mother. He added some details which are suspect. For example, he said that both Mr. and Mrs. Starr stayed close by E. G. White while others ranged over the estate. On the contrary, the 1894 letters² described himself and Emily Campbell as the only ones who remained by his mother's side for any length of time during the search and Mrs. Starr is not mentioned at all among the visiting party. It is more likely that she stayed behind in Sydney either because of limited sleeping quarters near the estate or because of the cost of the train journey.³

Starr, in an undated recollection, said,

The next day after she [E. G. White] related this dream, Sister White and I were invited by telegram to Dora Creek. . . . Leaving the boat, the ladies sat upon a log lying near and listened to members of the committee express their minds regarding the place. . . . I was listening to hear someone say, 'the land is sour' as Sister White said they would. But just near the place where we were gathered, there was a furrow in plain sight, and I saw Sister White looking intently at it. It certainly had all the appearance of the one she had told us of in her dream.

Leaving the ladies seated on the log, the committee led us men to see the rich land in the large swamp near by. The committee had a man digging a deep ditch to ascertain the full depth of this soil. Here the man was still throwing out rich black soil at a depth of six feet or more. Someone inquired, 'What is the matter with that soil?' 'Oh, nothing,' was the reply, 'it is very rich. . . .' Another spoke and said, 'Yes, but the land is sour.'⁴

¹W. C. White, in Caviness Interviews, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, May 24, 1894, Letter 82, 1894, EGWRC-AU; W. C. White to J. E. White, June 17, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

³E. G. White to J. H. Kellogg, May 17, 1894, Letter 46, 1894; E. G. White Diary, MS 75, 1894, EGWRC-AU.

⁴Starr, pp. 173-75, EGWRC-AU.

There are some significant differences between this account and the other recollections. Apart from the fact that Mrs. Starr is not specifically mentioned as being a member of the group, the ladies are pictured as sitting on a log rather than walking when the furrow was sighted. Furthermore, the account indicates that the men present were not told that day about the dream and they did not even notice the furrow, except Starr himself, therefore surprise was not generally manifest in their expressions. The latter point contradicts what E. G. White wrote in the 1907 account regarding the men's surprise.

W. C. White, in his recollection, added that the two doubters standing at the furrow were Daniells and Rousseau.¹ It is true that these two men later doubted the quality of the Cooranbong soil, but E. G. White's 1898 account demands that these identities be matched with two who "had been acquainted with the rich soil of Iowa."² Daniells was born, reared, and had preached in Iowa, therefore he fits the description of one identity.³ Rousseau was born in Iowa, but his boyhood home was in Kansas.⁴ Furthermore, he is not mentioned in any other source as being in the search party. Only

¹W. C. White, in Caviness Interviews, EGWRC-AU.

²E. G. White, MS 62, 1898, EGWRC-AU. E. G. White to My Brethren, February 2, 1898, Letter 3, 1898, is more specific in that it says Daniells and Rousseau "had worked the rich soil of Iowa." [Emphasis mine.] For a similar phrase see E. G. White Diary, MS 77, 1894, EGWRC-AU.

³P. T. Magan, "Life Sketch of Arthur Grosvenor Daniells," Review, April 18, 1935, p. 2.

⁴G. C. Tenney, "A Devoted Worker Fallen," Review, September 6, 1898, p. 580.

Daniells and Smith came from Melbourne to view the estate, and Rousseau evidently remained at his post of duty in Melbourne.¹

Starr had lived and preached in Iowa and therefore better fits the identity of the second person in this respect.² But the 1898 account speaks of two who spoke critical words of the soil in fulfillment of the dream, and it is unlikely that Starr, having known of the dream beforehand, would mouth these words to Daniells if he believed they were contrary to divine counsel.

One explanation for this confusion over the identity and real number of men who expressed doubts at the furrow is that the 1898 and 1907 accounts are syntheses in the minds of E. G. White and W. C. White. That is, having heard one man (perhaps Daniells) denounce the soil at the same time as the furrow was seen and then experiencing continued opposition from both Daniells and Rousseau, these two phenomena became fused in their minds. The lack of clarity about the number of opponents spoken of in the late 1894 pericope may be the first evidence of a synthesis taking place. Then, with the passing of time, the two phenomena apparently became more firmly synthesized in the 1898 and 1907 accounts.

Another explanation is that two men (Daniells and perhaps Lawrence--if he was an Iowan) did make denunciations near the furrow, and later, because of Rousseau's opposition, Rousseau was erroneously

¹A. G. Daniells to W. C. White, May 11, 1894, EGWRC-DC; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, May 24, 1894, Letter 82, 1894, EGWRC-AU; W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, May 16, 1894, EGWRC-DC.

²George B. Starr obituary, Review, April 20, 1944, p. 20.

linked with Daniells by W. C. White as the second person who denounced the soil.

Variations among the details, especially those found in recollections, do not detract from the basic story as reconstructed from better sources. Nevertheless, the furrow story rests on one-sided primary evidence. That is, the evidence is almost exclusively from one pen when it was possible for a number of other writers to have mentioned the incident in detail from first-hand experience. Furthermore, if the incident took place in May then the entire absence of its mention in the diary and letters of May, June, July, and most of August 1894, is a considerable omission when it is remembered that so many other details were written up immediately.

If the dream took place before the May 23 visit then one explanation is to regard the sighting of the furrow as having taken place months later, when E. G. White was recuperating at Cooranbong in August 1894. Many of the same people were present in August as were visiting on May 23. During August both Daniells and Rousseau examined the estate with E. G. White and W. C. White. McCullagh and Starr, however, were not present.¹ Another explanation is to regard the opposition of Daniells and Rousseau as preceding the dream. That is, during their visit to the estate in August Daniells and Rousseau assessed the land as useless and voiced disapproval of its purchase. There then followed perhaps E. G. White's dream and the sighting of the furrow by all present. The fact that Daniells and Rousseau continued their opposition beyond August would suggest that they placed

¹E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, August 22, 1894, Letter 89a, 1894, EGWRC-AU.

little significance in the furrow sighting. A further explanation is to regard the dream as taking place before the May 23 visit, followed by the opposition of Daniells and Rousseau later, and the sighting of the furrow by E. G. White alone during the August visit. These three explanations require discounting some or all of the elements in Starr's recollection.

Some may say that the furrow story was a developing figment of E. G. White's imagination, contrived perhaps for ulterior motives. This alternative implies that E. G. White fabricated the story dishonestly so that opponents such as Daniells would be silenced by the suggestion that the choice of the Brettville estate had divine approval. There is no real evidence that such a fabrication took place.

Others may regard the dream as symbolic, an alternative that dismisses historical phenomena and lends itself to speculation. The fact that E. G. White, W. C. White, and G. B. Starr did not regard the dream as symbolic could be dismissed in favor of the suggestion that they did not understand the dream themselves. But there is no real evidence to maintain this suggestion. If the dream was symbolic then the question could be asked, What is the meaning of the furrow? It is not a familiar symbol readily known to listeners and readers, therefore one's imagination can be allowed free rein. This method of explaining history is unacceptable.

Any explanation of the furrow story must rest on the available evidence. We cannot gainsay that E. G. White had the dream of the furrow. Likewise, a denial that she herself saw the actual furrow cannot be supported from the evidence. With regard to the

time of the dream it is uncertain whether it took place in May or August 1894. The evidence is strong that only E. G. White (with the addition perhaps of Starr if the furrow was sighted in May) saw the furrow at the same time that criticisms of the soil's potential were being voiced. It is clear that Daniells and Rousseau were still manifesting opposition the following year. Others had lingering doubts. The furrow incident therefore played a minor role in convincing the leadership that the school should be located on the Brettville estate. The one individual whose faith in the potential of the estate seemed to benefit the most from the dream and sighting of the furrow was E. G. White herself. Conflicting details in the later recollections of E. G. White, W. C. White, and G. B. Starr, may be explained by the tendency of human memories to distort or sometimes synthesize data during recall.

APPENDIX C

FOUNDATION-LAYING CEREMONY FOR BETHEL HALL

The date usually given in secondary sources for the laying of the first brick for Bethel Hall is October 5, 1896, a Monday. The earliest source to give this date is the Hare manuscript (about 1898), written two years after the fact. Another early source is the anonymous historical sketch given at the opening of College Hall in April 1899.¹ Evidence supports the belief that this latter historical account was very likely written by S. N. Haskell and edited by Sarah Peck, neither of whom were present at the ceremony.² If these sources are accepted as correct, then E. G. White's itinerary included the laying of the foundation stone on Monday, October 5, followed by a train journey to Adelaide, arriving there only two days later, on Wednesday, October 7. This represents a physical impossibility in view of train schedules in those days.

The October 5 date may be rejected on the basis of clear evidence favoring Thursday, October 1, 1896. E. G. White, in her diary and in a letter to Mrs. Wessels, gives the same date as W. C. White's Review article, which says that the first brick was laid on October 1. The sequence of subsequent events until the Whites

¹"Historical Sketch," Bible Echo, May 8, 1899, p. 155.

²School Board Minutes, meeting of September 26, 1898, Heritage Room.

arrived in Adelaide is outlined in the E. G. White diary entries, letters, and manuscripts. These harmonize with W. C. White's account. That is, the brief foundation-laying ceremony took place on Thursday, October 1, at 5:30 P.M. On Friday, October 2, most of the White household journeyed by train to Sydney in preparation for E. G. White's speaking appointments on Saturday and Sunday, October 3 and 4. On October 5 the group evidently left Sydney, and on arrival in Melbourne had a noon luncheon and visited the Echo Publishing Company. Then E. G. White spent another day traveling to Adelaide. The few hours spent in Melbourne were no doubt on October 6 for E. G. White and Sara McEnterfer arrived in Adelaide on October 7. S. N. Haskell arrived in Melbourne from South Africa on the evening of October 6, missing E. G. White by a few hours. W. C. White and about forty other delegates left Melbourne after Haskell's arrival and reached Adelaide on the morning of October 8 in time for the camp meeting.¹

The brick-laying ceremony, the weekend of appointments in Sydney, the visit in Melbourne, the arrival of Haskell, and the beginning of the Adelaide camp meeting all fit comfortably into the more leisurely schedule allowed by an October 1 date. Furthermore, the best of primary sources agree on this schedule. An October 5 date demands an impossible pace of travel between Cooranbong and Adelaide, ignores appointments in Sydney and Melbourne, and rests on recollections that are two to three years old.

¹E. G. White to A. E. Wessels and Children, October 16, 1896, Letter 112, 1896; E. G. White to J. E. and E. L. White, October 1896, Letter 158, 1896; E. G. White Diary, MS 55, 1896; E. G. White, MS 60, 1896; W. C. White, "Australia," Review, November 17, 1896, p. 736.

APPENDIX D

AVONDALE SCHOOL MENU¹

Sunday

Breakfast: Rolled oats, granola, milk, bread, rolls, honey, stewed quince, caramel coffee.
Dinner: Tomato soup, croutons, mashed peas, squash, corn, nut sauce, bread, zwieback, bread and fruit pudding, lemon dressing.

Monday

Breakfast: Oatmeal, granola, fruit toast, bread, rolls, buns, stewed apples, honey, milk, caramel coffee.
Dinner: Pea soup, croutons, mashed beans, scalloped tomatoes, boiled rice, nut sauce, bread, zwieback, quince pie.

Tuesday

Breakfast: Oatmeal, granola, macaroni, nut butter, bread, rolls, gems, stewed quinces, honey, milk, caramel coffee.
Dinner: Bean soup, croutons, green peas, potatoes, squash, milk sauce, bread, zwieback, bread pudding.

Wednesday

Breakfast: Breakfast meal porridge, granola, milk, milk toast, nut butter, bread, rolls, gems, stewed peaches, jam, caramel coffee.
Dinner: Tomato soup, croutons, split peas, fresh corn, squash, nut sauce, bread, zwieback, lemon pudding.

Thursday

Breakfast: Breakfast meal porridge, grape toast, granola, nut butter, stewed peaches, honey, bread, rolls, milk.
Dinner: Potato soup, croutons, baked beans, pumpkin, fresh corn, nut sauce, bread, zwieback, apple pie.

¹"A Week's Menus at Avondale School," Bible Echo, May 8, 1899, p. 160.

Friday

Breakfast: Rolled oats, granola, macaroni baked with granola, bread, rolls, gems, stewed apricots, honey.
Dinner: Bean soup, croutons, peas puree, mashed potatoes, turnips, sauce, bread, zwieback, sago pudding.

Sabbath

Breakfast: Oatmeal, granola, fruit toast, bread, biscuits, buns, peaches, honey, milk, caramel coffee.
Dinner: Pea soup, croutons, savoury beans, sliced tomatoes, nuttose, bread, zwieback, peach pie.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC ESSAY

The sources used to construct the history and goals of Avondale College (1894-1900) are largely letter collections, committee minutes, and periodical articles. These are found at four main centers--the Ellen G. White Research Center, Andrews University; the Heritage Room, in the James White Library at Andrews University; the Archives Department in the offices of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Washington, D.C.; and the Ellen G. White Research Center, Washington, D.C.

Ellen G. White Research Center, Andrews University

In view of the fact that E. G. White appears as the principal protagonist for Avondale her writings are of prime importance to understand both the history and goals of the institution. The letters written to her son, J. E. White, are the most candid and therefore not only chronicle events, but also reveal her feelings, attitudes, and plans during the ongoing history.

For the period 1894 to 1900 there are about 1,500 letters and about 850 manuscripts extant from the pen of E. G. White. These are mainly typewritten carbon copies made by her assistants at the time of writing. According to E. G. White's own testimony, once a letter or manuscript was written by her in longhand, her assistants typed it and made hand corrections before returning it to her for rereading. (E. G. White to J. E. White, September 22, 1898, Letter

145, 1898; E. G. White to J. H. Kellogg, October 5, 1898, Letter 84, 1898, EGWRC-AU.) Evidence for this practice is seen occasionally in notations at the end of some copies where script is found such as, "Please read and return. Minnie [Hawkins]." (E. G. White to W. W. Prescott, August 27, 1898, Letter 71, 1898; E. G. White to J. E. White, October 30, 1898, Letter 89, 1898, EGWRC-AU.) Another script added for the same reason is, "I [E. G. White] shall not have to look over this matter again." (E. G. White to W. C. White, August 15, 1897, Letter 145, 1897, EGWRC-AU.) Apparently when editors read and were satisfied with a paragraph they would sometimes run a diagonal line through it and in the margin make the notation, "Ed." (e.g., E. G. White, MS 44, 1896). Many of the copies also have editorial changes in various handwriting styles (e.g., E. G. White, MS 57, 1898; E. G. White, MS 66, 1899). Other manuscripts had corrections and additions made in E. G. White's characteristic handwriting (e.g., E. G. White, MS 115, 1898, EGWRC-AU).

Apart from assisting with the mechanics of editing, E. G. White's assistants collected topical sections from previous letters and manuscripts for rewriting. Therefore there is some duplication throughout the manuscripts. Other material was collected for publication in periodical or book form. Marian Davis, for example, collected material on the life of Jesus which was eventually published in E. G. White's books Desire of Ages and Christ's Object Lessons. (M. Davis to E. G. White, March 10, 1898, EGWRC-DC; E. G. White Diary, MS 65, 1896, EGWRC-AU.) Sarah Peck, being a teacher herself, collected material on the topic of education. (E. G. White to J. E. White, September 22, 1898, Letter 145, 1898; E. G. White Diary,

MS 185, 1898, EGWRC-AU.) For this reason the portions that are published can usually be traced back to their earlier forms in the letters and manuscripts. Research is best conducted in the earlier forms, i.e., the letters and manuscripts, where the historical context remains. These cannot be read as a collection. The researcher must use an index to locate items which are then accessible on request except for some dealing with delicate and personal matters--about twenty letters in the period 1894 to 1900--which the curator will read and report on if the content applies significantly to the research topic.

The E. G. White letters and manuscripts generally carry dates, but where these are missing curators have provided estimates based on external and internal evidence. These estimations are usually accurate, one exception being MS 69, 1894, given as "early 1894," when, in fact, a better estimate based on internal evidence is December 1894. E. G. White made diary entries each year she was at Avondale. These often prove helpful for substantiating estimated dates on letters and manuscripts. The original diaries are kept in Washington, D. C., and typewritten transcriptions are available in the manuscript collection at Berrien Springs.

Apparently at the time of E. G. White's death (July 16, 1915) a book manuscript dealing with her years in Australia was in preparation. This manuscript, in four volumes, and entitled "Experiences in Australia," is a collection of E. G. White letters, manuscripts, and articles from the years 1891 to 1899. Some of the sections are inappropriate for book publication. It is evidently a compilation by G. B. Starr for in volume 4, p. 235, appears the

notation "June 21, 1915--G.B.S.--Ed." In his handwriting the compilation is embellished with Australian experiences, particularly some from Queensland, with which he was familiar.

A photocopy of the Certificate of Title for E. G. White's Avondale property is found in the Document Files. So also is a photocopy of the large Memory Album written by friends and acquaintances of E. G. White just prior to her return voyage to America in 1900. This is a productive source for the Christian names or initials of many individuals mentioned in her letters by surname only. Recollections of A. G. Daniells, W. C. White, Sarah Peck, and others are also found in the Document Files. These add little to the story of Avondale and are sometimes misleading when checked against better evidence.

The Haskell collection includes about one hundred letters written by Stephen and Hetty Haskell while in Australia. The originals are held in Washington, D.C., but photocopies are available at Andrews University. Haskell had a penchant for omitting dates on his letters, instead making notations such as "Friday morning" or "Tuesday afternoon," et cetera. This habit makes it difficult to accurately arrange his letters chronologically. Nevertheless, an attempt was made to do this, but a few letters still remain hard to date with any certainty. Typographical errors in the dates are also present. For example, on the basis of context, address, and style of type, the March 18, 1898 letter should be regarded as March 18, 1899.

A third collection in the research center is composed of about thirty letters written by Cassius and Ella Hughes to their

parents. The originals were in possession of their daughter, Dr. Emma Hughes of California, until she kindly donated them to Avondale College as a result of the suggestion made by this researcher. Copies of the originals were made for Dr. Hughes and Andrews University. These letters are from the more interesting period, that is, 1897 and 1898, when considerable privation was experienced at Avondale as the farm and buildings were being established. Their letters are highly descriptive of the estate and enable the reader to some extent to visualize and relive the pioneer days. A twelve-year-old recollection by Cassius Hughes of the 1900 games crisis must be treated with customary reservations. The recollections of Ella Hughes must be regarded with even more caution.

The research center also has copies of E. G. White, Christian Education, (1893), Supplement to Christian Education, ([1894]), and E. G. White, Special Testimonies on Education, ([1897]). None of these were reprinted in their identical form. These published sources are excerpts from E. G. White manuscripts and are largely divested of historical context except for the original date of writing. The Seventh-day Adventist Yearbooks (1886-1894), and General Conference Bulletins (1895-1901) are available in the research center, too. They provide statistical data and reports, generally given by W. C. White.

The Heritage Room, James White Library,
Andrews University

Considerable material is stored in this center in the form of denominational committee minutes and periodicals that are helpful

to an understanding of Avondale's history and goals. These minutes are characteristically terse and the periodical articles generally laudatory of successes only. For these reasons they must be more fully explained and balanced with better data in the letter collections.

Photocopies of the Australasian Union Conference minutes are complete from the first meeting in 1894 to the end of the 1899 session. The originals are at the office of the Australasian Division of Seventh-day Adventists, Wahroonga, New South Wales. These begin with the minutes taken at the formation of the first union conference within the denomination, and thereafter comprise minutes taken at the first three biennial sessions (1895, 1897, and 1899). The executive committee met at times between these general sessions but only a few of these minutes have survived as preserved among the papers of W. C. White.

Photocopies of the Avondale School Board minutes are also available. Some front pages of the original manuscript, which is kept at the Avondale College library, are missing, but the remaining section begins with the meeting of December 18, 1896.

The 1899 Avondale Faculty minutes are the earliest of the faculty minutes which have survived. The originals of these, also in the Avondale College library, are in such a fragile and faint condition that they cannot be easily photocopied. They were read onto a cassette recording which is available in the Heritage Room.

The Bible Echo and Signs of the Times (1894-1900) was the first periodical published by Seventh-day Adventists in Australia. During the period under study A. G. Daniells was at first editor,

followed by W. A. Colcord, and then Robert Hare. The periodical is helpful for its articles on education, local conference committee meeting reports, Avondale school news, and obituaries. The Heritage Room has a microfilm copy of all extant issues as housed in the Melbourne Public Library, Victoria, this being the best available collection, although there are some gaps in it. In 1903 this periodical was renamed the Australasian Signs of the Times.

The office of the Australasian Division of Seventh-day Adventists possesses rare originals of twenty-five of the thirty-six issues of the Gleaner (1895-1897) and photocopies of these are available in the Heritage Room. This monthly periodical was published primarily as a newsheet for the denominational book canvassers in Australasia. The first eighteen issues were typewritten and duplicated without paging, but from July 1896 on, they were regular printed issues with numbered pages. They contain news items and reports relevant to the Avondale school, for many of the first students were book canvassers. This periodical was superseded by the Union Conference Record (1898-1900).

American denominational periodicals such as the Advent Review and Sabbath Herald (1894-1900) and Youth's Instructor (1894-1900) carried many articles written by the Avondale pioneers concerning the educational goals and methods being used at the time. News reports on Avondale generally appeared first in the Australian periodicals, although this was not always the case, and sometimes reports appeared exclusively in the American periodicals.

General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists,
Archives Department, Washington, D.C.

The voluminous amount of material in this center is comprised largely of minute books and letter collections. The General Conference Executive Committee minutes and the Secretariat Incoming and Outgoing Letters do not yield very much that is relevant to Avondale. It was the General Conference president himself and the Foreign Mission Board who had the most direct dealings with Avondale on a long-term basis. Therefore the Presidential Incoming and Outgoing Letters, and the minutes of the Foreign Mission Board are profitable resources. The Presidential Incoming Letters also contain statistical and financial tables, an original of the St. Kilda school prospectus (1892), an advertisement sheet for the Ashfield Health Home in Sydney, and other serendipitous items which were evidently letter inserts from Australia.

General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists,
Ellen G. White Research Center,
Washington, D.C.

Apart from the letter and manuscript collections which are found also at the E. G. White Research Center, Andrews University, the Ellen G. White Research Center, Washington, D.C., contains much additional material extremely useful for the study topic.

The original E. G. White diaries are accessible if the transcriptions need to be checked for accuracy. The early issues of the Union Conference Record (1898-1900) are found there bound in volumes. These contain many articles relevant to the history of Avondale which enunciate the educational goals as expressed by E. G. White, W. C. White, C. B. Hughes, E. R. Palmer, and others.

An original copy of the Avondale School for Christian Workers Calendar (1899) is also on file.

W. C. White was a prodigious letter writer. Carbon copies of his letters during the years 1894-1900 are held in chronological order in letter books 5 to 15. Throughout his absence from Australia in 1897 the letters lose much relevance but the remainder are very enlightening and serve as a complimentary source to the E. G. White letters.

The W. C. White letters appear to be his own work, with one exception in this period. In letter book 8 under the supplied date August 10, 1895, is the unsigned typewritten article, "History of Avondale School." The writer says he settled on the estate in April, 1895, and he and L. N. Lawrence directed two teams of young men clearing the land. Much of the article describes the workings of the sawmill. On the basis of internal evidence like this the author can be none other than Metcalfe Hare, not W. C. White. All building operations are described up to the erection of Herman Hall, but College Hall is not described, therefore the manuscript was evidently written about 1898.

Collections of excerpts from the W. C. White letters were made periodically. A one-volume effort, "Locating and Founding of Avondale School," was made in 1931. A three-volume set, "Letters and Documents Relating to the Avondale School" (n.d.), was apparently made later. Another three-volume set, which includes material from other writers also, was made in 1955 and entitled, "Historical Materials." These are also available at the E. G. White Research Center, Andrews University, but it is better to use the full letters

in Washington, D.C., rather than the excerpts out of their context.

A little known and slightly used collection is the miscellaneous letter collection composed of thousands of incoming letters to the White family. One letter in this collection is addressed to Harold Bree, of New Zealand, and dated June 17, 1896. The letter is incorrectly attributed to Cassius Hughes who was still in America in 1896. The author says he grew up in North New Zealand. He tells of the 1895 winter weather conditions at Avondale and reveals an intimate knowledge of the sawmill on the estate. This internal evidence led to the conclusion that the author is really Metcalfe Hare, who came from the same area as Harold Bree, was on the Avondale estate during the 1895 winter, and operated the sawmill.

This miscellaneous letter collection is an exciting one and should be more readily available, for on numerous occasions it contains letters which fill out the dialogue between the Whites and others. Research in the past has used the E. G. White collection much like a running monologue on historical events. The W. C. White letter books and the miscellaneous letter collection provide countless examples where either incoming letters have prompted E. G. White's replies or other letters speak of responses to her letters. Thus the interchanges of correspondence are made more complete, a much broader understanding of the situation is gained, and greater historical accuracy is achieved.

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