The education of the whole person or the development of a fortress mentality?: Carmel College, Carmel: 1960-1962.

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Abstract

This paper examines the religious, educational and social environment of Carmel College, Western Australia during the years 1960 to 1962 to ascertain whether the rhetoric matched the reality of the education offered to the Seventh-day Adventist students during these years. Carmel College was a co-educational Year 8 to 12 institution with an enrolment of 100 to 150 day and boarding students from 1960 to 1962. This paper analyses the religious, educational and social milieu of Seventh-day Adventism from the perspective of the present worldview of a number of Carmel students of the 1960s.

I. Introduction

Seventh-day Adventists claim to operate the largest Protestant school system in the world; a system comprising more than five and a half thousand educational institutions, including eighty five colleges and universities. A Seventh-day Adventist child can be educated in Adventist institutions from primary school to university level with the option of study towards a doctorate in the most traditional areas of learning including medicine and dentistry. In the United States participation rates of Seventh-day Adventists in post compulsory education gradually increased throughout the first half of the century until by 1950 American Seventh-day Adventists had three times as many college graduates and one and a half times as many high school graduates as the general public. The rate of professional and technical qualifications amongst Seventh-day Adventists was four times the national average.[1] Carmel College[2], in Western Australia operates as a secondary school within the Seventh-day Adventist education system.

This study examines the religious, educational, social and physical life of students at Carmel College during the years 1960 to 1962. The paper analyses the 1960s Seventh-day Adventist milieu from

the perspective of a number of Carmel students from the era to ascertain whether the rhetoric matched the reality of the education offered to the Seventh-day Adventist students attending Carmel during these years. Oral interview data, open-ended questionnaire data and personal letters are used to amplify the archival minutes of the College faculty meetings and published materials such as the College Calendars and Student Handbooks.[3]

II. Seventh-day Adventist Theology[4]

Seventh-day Adventists claim to base their beliefs on the Bible which they believe conveys the divinely inspired word of God. Like most other Christians, Adventists believe in the Trinity of God, His immortality, omnipotence, and omnipresence. The Ten Commandments are acknowledged by Adventists as God's instructions to humans to give them guidance to live in peace and harmony. They believe that God created the world in six days and rested on the seventh, the Sabbath. The command to keep the Sabbath, Saturday the seventh day, is of special significance for Adventists.

Seventh-day Adventists, with other Christians believe that Jesus Christ, the Son of God was divinely conceived, born of a woman and lived as a human, subject to the same temptations as humans although He remained sinless. After a period of teaching and preaching He was crucified and died. As God's Son He was resurrected. Seventh-day Adventists believe that the second coming of Jesus is imminent. At the time of His return Jesus will take those who have been deemed worthy by a Pre-Advent Judgment with Him to Heaven. Salvation is offered through acceptance of God and His grace through Jesus. The Holy Spirit draws and enables people to be born anew and begin the process of being restored to God's ideal for humanity. They believe that Christians should live apart from the sinful aspects of the world. Church members are expected to maintain a Christian lifestyle and be responsible for themselves and others with respect to marriage and family, health, life management, tithing and evangelism. Entry to the Church is through adult baptism by immersion modelled on Christ's baptism. Christ's sacrifice is celebrated through Communion quarterly. This service is preceded by a footwashing ceremony performed by members of the same sex upon one another.

The Holy Spirit grants spiritual gifts such as healing, prophecy, evangelism, and charity for the good of the Church and humanity. The

'Gift of Prophecy' is considered to be an identifying mark of the Remnant Church.[5] Seventh-day Adventists believe that Ellen White (1827-1915), one the early Adventist pioneers, was granted this gift. They accept White's visions and writings as being of divine origin. Adventist educational philosophy is based on White's writings and teachings as recorded in such publications as *Education* (1903), *Counsels to parents, teachers and students* (1913) and *Fundamentals of Christian education* (1923).[6]

III. Seventh-day Adventist Educational Philosophy

Historically Seventh-day Adventists developed the belief that the Adventist child should be educated in a Seventh-day Adventist school. Their system of education began with a primary school in the 1870s. Later colleges were developed. In the early twentieth century the colleges focused on tertiary education thereby creating a need for a secondary school system.

Ellen White's educational philosophy, which is based on the Christian principle of the education of the whole person, encourages a system with a denominational bias. Geoffrey Maslen, Education Editor of the Melbourne *Age*, in his *School Ties: Private Schooling in Australia* (1982) briefly outlines the general principles of Adventist educational philosophy.[7]

> On the religious side ... students are encouraged to adopt a mode of life that will demonstrate integrity and loyalty to the spirit of the Ten Commandments which will be demonstrated in such virtues as kindness, unselfishness, patience, long-suffering and charity to all people. The task is to develop characteristics in students which will fit them for service at various levels in the church organisation.
>
> On the intellectual side, the Adventists ... intend to provide a liberal but 'God-centred' professional and vocational education while helping students develop intellectual excellence, demonstrated by the ability to 'think deeply, act skillfully, and not be mere reflectors of other men's thoughts'.
>
> Socially, students are ... encouraged to regard all people of whatever nation, race, and language as worthy of respect and therefore are taught

> to 'manifest Christian attitudes of decency and courtesy in all social relationships'.[8]

Ellen G. White, a significant Seventh-day Adventist leader and the prolific Adventist writer, claims that;

> True education ... has to do with the whole being, and with the whole period of existence possible to man ... It is the harmonious development of the physical, the mental, and the spiritual power. ... it is the work of true education to ... train youth to be thinkers, and not mere reflectors of other men's thought.[9]

This article examines whether the reality of the educational experience for Carmel students in the early 1960s reflected the rhetoric of these ideals.

IV. Student Life

a. Academic

In the early 1960s Carmel College was a co-educational Year 8 to Year 12 institution with enrolments of 93 day and boarding students in 1960 and 128 in both 1961 and 1962. Students enrolled in seven different courses. Students enrolled in subjects leading to the Western Australian Leaving Certificate could study a pattern of subjects that enabled them to matriculate to the University of Western Australia. In addition a Seventh-day Adventist religious subject was compulsory for all students each year.[10]

Students also studied a Business Course, which included secretarial units and Business/Accounting units. The Business course of seventeen units covered three years. In 1962 an Accountancy Certificate Course was introduced. It covered the Stage 1 subjects for the Australian Society of Accountants Examinations.[11]

A Bible Instructor Course for young ladies could be commenced at Carmel and completed by a further year, involving five units, at the Australasian Missionary College (now Avondale College) in Cooranbong, New South Wales. This course was an Adventist qualification containing basically denominational theology. Only a few enrolled in the course and there was only one graduate between 1960

and 1962.[12] Similarly a Home Economics Course of fourteen units was offered but the course contained three years of general academic subjects with only four distinctive Home Science units; Domestic Science, Foods and Cookery and Dressmaking 1 and 2, taught within the program.[13] A two year Manual Arts Course of ten units contained five related to manual arts, including agriculture and farm mechanics units. It attracted only four graduates during the period under review.[14]

The College was basically akin to a small State senior high school with compulsory Seventh-day Adventist religion units, of low academic content, added to the curriculum. However the College also attempted to cater for the less academically inclined student, both male and female, by offering Secretarial, Bible Instructors, Manual Arts and Domestic Science Courses. These courses, especially the Bible Instructors Course, possessed a strong Seventh-day Adventist flavour and thus lacked currency in the wider community.

Graduation from Carmel depended, for those in the academic stream, on a pass in any four Leaving Certificate units and a pass in the religion units. This course was quaintly called the Theological-normal course. Graduation in other courses depended on a pass in the required units of the course and the religious units. Special Seventh-day Adventist Certificates were awarded under the title of the West Australian Missionary College Diploma and the Trans-Commonwealth Union of Seventh-day Adventists Certificate for those graduating from Carmel. Even the Principal wondered if such documents, especially for those who had matriculated to the University of Western Australia, were of any real value.[15]

Few students graduated from Carmel in the 1960s. For example, in 1960 there were eleven graduates, six from the Leaving Certificate course and five from Business. In 1961 twenty graduated with one student graduating from three courses, ten from the Leaving Certificate, four each from Business and Domestic Science, three from Manual Arts and one from the Bible Instructor course. In 1962 twenty three graduated, nine from the Theological-normal, seven from Business, six from Domestic Science and one from the Manual Arts course. The percentage of graduates proportionate to the total student body increased from twelve to eighteen percent between 1960 and 1962.

The number of graduates was low for several reasons. First, the internal examinations for the Leaving Certificate candidates, upon which graduation depended, were set and marked at a standard roughly equivalent to the State examinations. Those struggling through their

courses throughout the year could not reach this standard. Second, a number of students attended Carmel for one or two years without any intention of graduating. Often parents merely wished their children to gain the benefit of the 'experience' at an Adventist College. Some 'sentenced' their children to Carmel rather than sending them on a voluntary basis. Parents of children with academic potential usually chose the State education system for their more able children. Moreover financial difficulties often caused mature age students to withdraw during their course to gain employment to finance their College experience. Often they did not return to complete the course.[16]

An academic hierarchy tended to exist among the students at Carmel in the early 1960s related to the prestige that courses possessed within the wider community. Students studying the Leaving course with a configuration of subjects that allowed them to matriculate to the University of Western Australia formed an elite group. The few students thus enrolled usually intended to study medicine at the University of Western Australia. There was a strong belief that if one was not 'called' to the Gospel Ministry of the Church then the supposed caring profession of Medicine rather than Law was more in keeping with the mission of God's special people. Medicine was the glamour course for young Seventh-day Adventists. Lower down the hierarchical ladder was the 'ministry' of teaching and nursing. The best Matriculation student in Western Australia in 1961 was a Seventh-day Adventist studying at Perth Modern School. This student intended to study Medicine and his example influenced other young Adventists; including those studying at Carmel. The academic hierarchy at Carmel reflected the attitudes of the wider Australian society of the 1960s.

Students at Carmel, in the main, were not academically minded. There existed an element of anti-intellectualism among Adventists. Academic prowess or success in public examinations was not the primary focus of Seventh-day Adventist educators.[17] Spirituality or rather religiosity was considered by the Adventist community to be vital for the life experience of Adventist youth. While the Adventist community is basically committed to the value of education, in the 1960s it was somewhat fearful of tertiary education. A university education could easily lead Adventist youth to reject the Church and its truth.[18] They accepted that some might have to attend such institutions to gain training in Medicine and in the 'amoral' profession of Law. Teachers and nurses did not need a non-Adventist education; the former could be educated at the Australasian Missionary College in

Cooranbong, while the latter could be trained at the Sydney Adventist Sanitarium and Hospital in Wahroonga.[19] In the main, higher degrees were thought unnecessary because they were required by only a few within the organisation of the Church.

The academic record of Carmel students in the Western Australian Junior and Leaving examinations was not outstanding. For example, in the 1962 Leaving Certificate mathematics examinations eleven papers were attempted with only two passes obtained, both by the same person. One Carmel candidate received 5 per cent for the 1962 mathematics B paper. Most Leaving candidates did not attempt mathematics or science subjects except biology. In the 1962 biology class three Carmel candidates who competed with one another throughout the year gained 50, 51 and 52 percent in the Leaving Certificate examination. The one who received a mark of 50 'rebuked' the other two for wasting one and two per cent respectively of their effort on the examination.

There are reasons that may, in part, explain the lack of academic success by Carmel students. College life involved activities that distracted the serious student from studying, for example the morning and evening worship periods, the weekly chapel service, the observation of the seventh-day Sabbath. The early curfew in the evenings with lights turned off in the dormitories at 9.30 pm meant that the serious student could not study late. Exceptions were granted to these rules as examinations drew near.[20] Moreover, the work program engaged students for eight to twenty hours per week. Also, those attempting academic courses could at times be distracted by the easier lifestyle enjoyed by those studying less demanding courses. Some Carmel science classes were combined (Year 11 and 12) to keep class enrolments in the high single numbers. These arrangements frustrated the efforts of some Year 12 students as they were forced to endure the introductory topics being repeated or quickly reviewed for the Year 11 students during the first half of the year. The removal of the teaching of evolution and some 'worldly' literature texts from the syllabus also disadvantaged Carmel students in answering some questions in the State examination papers.[21]

The staff were frequently involved in Chapel services, Sabbath duties and evening study supervision. The teaching program at Carmel suffered because staff were overworked, underpaid and seemingly always on duty. Many had numerous duties at the College. For example, the Science teacher who had lost a leg in a motorcycle accident

in his youth, was required to teach all the mathematics and science classes for years 8 to 12. While the Year 8 and Year 9 classes were combined, Year 10 was separate. In years 11 and 12, he taught mathematics A, mathematics B, biology, chemistry and physics. Often the classes were combined but the topics were diverse and his workload unbelievably excessive.

Serious attempts were made to ensure that students at Carmel studied when they were not in regular classes. The main Chapel area was used as a study area during the week.[22] Each student was allotted a desk. A staff member was on duty at the front and students moved from this area to their classes throughout the day. The library, which was open during these periods, consisted of a room immediately adjacent to this upstairs study/Chapel area.

There were some excellent but isolated results in State examinations at Carmel. For example, in the 1962 Leaving examination one student did so well at German that he was granted an additional pass in English due to his excellent result. Thus he was able to gain a Leaving Certificate. Another student gained one of the highest marks in Agricultural Science in the State. Few of those admitted as candidates to the State examinations failed outright although a few individual subjects were missed. Enthusiasm was expressed over the success of the 1962 Carmel graduation class due to the percentage of graduates who were continuing their education at the Australasian Missionary College to qualify to be Seventh-day Adventist teachers and ministers in order to join 'the Work of the Lord'. However, in the euphoria over some of these results in the small Carmel-Bickley Adventist community, it was forgotten that only one student had matriculated to the University of Western Australia.

Was the academic program of Carmel College helping students develop intellectual excellence, demonstrated by the ability to 'think deeply, act skillfully, and not be mere reflectors of other men's thoughts?'[23]

b. Social

In the 1960s Carmel College was one of the few secondary co-educational boarding schools in Australia. The administration realised that they were responsible for upholding standards of propriety on behalf of their highly conservative Adventist supporters, both with and without children at the school. Thus social interaction at the College

between students of the opposite sex was highly regulated. Strict regulations were in place to ensure that students did not find themselves in compromising circumstances and thus embarrass the College and the Church. Expulsion was the punishment for students found in clandestine meetings.[24]

Social interaction at Carmel was limited to daily contact between students as they moved to classes, places of work and to the dining room. Students of the opposite sex sat at the same table in the dining room but entered and left through separate doors. Students were appointed to a table for four weeks of the term. In this way students were expected to make friends with their table partners.[25]

Students who formed a relationship were restricted to the occasional unexpected meetings as they moved around the campus unless they could share a few moments together on the lawn under the watchful eye of the whole school for the 10 to 15 minutes of morning recess. Some students considered the meetings on the lawn in the view of all neither dignified nor appropriate for those who were endeavouring to form a serious relationship. Games and other activities were held on Saturday evenings. In spite of these restrictions a number of very genuine relationships between students of the opposite sex developed at Carmel and led to marriages that have lasted but other equally serious relationships did not survive.

Students were allowed two days per term to leave the campus on personal, private business. However, one usually had to disclose on the application form the reason so the absence ceased to remain personal or private. Shopping day (Thursday) was alternated between the male and female students. Similarly, weekends were designated as young men's weekend and young ladies' weekend when students were allowed to visit their parents or be guests at the home of other students. A number of students were from interstate (mainly South Australia and Victoria) or from country Western Australia so the opportunities to take these weekends were limited.[26]

Dormitory life often became dreary at a small college partially hidden at the top of a small valley and isolated at the end of a road marked 'Private - No Through Road'. Students at Carmel did not fully realise that the world was changing outside the boundary of the institution. No radios, television, worldly reading matter, card playing, jazz or ragtime music were allowed on campus.[27] In the early 1960s television was in its infancy in Western Australia but it had already been roundly condemned by Seventh-day Adventist preachers.

Seventh-day Adventists have been traditionally opposed to competitive sports and, especially, within their educational institutions. Facilities for competitive sports were lacking at Carmel. The work program was in keeping with White's philosophy of the development of the whole person, spiritually, academically, socially and physically. The latter was to be developed through manual labour. Therefore the property was used for orchards, grazing land and fowl houses rather than playing fields which produced no financial return. A number of students did, however, engage in competitive sport among themselves. Some played table tennis in a series of intense daily battles during recess and after lunch. These were highly competitive events with the scores rarely forgotten.

Once or twice a year a College hike was organised. A day or half day of classes was set aside for a 3 or 4 hour walk along the forest roads and paths that surrounded the College. A College picnic was also organised once or twice a year, usually involving a one day trip to a popular beach.[28] It was held on a weekday to avoid the crowds, but some students believed the faculty thereby ensured that Carmel students were not corrupted by interaction with worldly youth.[29]

College students had relatively few opportunities to mix with young people of different religious, cultural or philosophical outlook. Occasionally they visited Perth Adventist Churches but rarely visited non-Seventh-day Adventist institutions, nor did they legitimately visit cinemas or attend dances. Socially, Carmel College was a closed community.

c. Manual Labour

Carmel College life was based on the educational philosophy of Ellen White wherein students were required to mix academic pursuits with manual labour. A contract was arranged with regard to the payment of fees whereby a student would be employed for eight to twenty hours per week.[30] Seldom, if ever, was it possible to pay all fees by on-campus employment. Moreover, a tithe of ten per cent was extracted from wages, to be paid to the Church, before it was credited to one's account. The biblical tithe, supposedly given freely, became an administrative procedure.

Young men were engaged in working on the farm, picking fruit, spraying trees, building fowl houses, making fruit boxes, sweeping and cleaning, changing sprinklers, collecting eggs, sorting fruit and general

work around the farm. They were also engaged in cleaning the campus, weeding the gardens and general maintenance work around the campus buildings, grounds and dormitories. Young women were engaged in activities that supposedly suited their station in life as determined by the societal and Church conventions of the day. They worked in the kitchen preparing meals, or in the laundry washing and ironing the students' clothes or cleaning the young ladies' dormitory and/or the main classroom area. The denominationally owned Sanitarium Health Food Company factory was also an employer of Carmel-Bickley Adventist youth, including students. Students worked packing Weetbix. A few mature male students also loaded trays into the cooking ovens.

The workplace became a place of social interaction between those of the same sex, except in the Sanitarium Health Food Company factory where there was some restrained social interaction between the sexes. The comradeship on the College farm was of a high level. The Farm Manager, Boss as he was affectionately known, was a caring Christian of great goodwill and a warm personality. The farm experience was of greatest benefit to those completing the non-academic courses, those from a farming background, or those with the particular skills necessary to engage fully in the activities of the College farm but the workplace did not offer opportunities for interaction between non-Seventh-day Adventist outsiders and Carmel students. Instead, the interaction was almost entirely between one Adventist and another.

d. Religious

Every weekday morning worship was conducted at 6am in both dormitories. This was often taken by the preceptor or the preceptress and was followed by breakfast before classes began at 7. 30am. Students were expected to have engaged in their own early morning prayer or religious study time immediately after they arose in the morning. Only the most conscientious did so. The first classes of the day were usually timetabled as religious classes. This class was opened with prayer and each student had a Bible on hand during the class period. Few religious classes were conducted without some portion from the Scriptures or the writings of Ellen White being read. A midweek Chapel Service was conducted on a Wednesday. This was conducted in the upstairs hall that doubled as a study area, chapel and on the Sabbath as the Church.

The Sabbath day, Saturday, the seventh-day of the week, was the high religious day. The Friday afternoon was considered to be the

'preparation day' when the campus and dormitory rooms were tidied for the Sabbath. The Sabbath day began with worship conducted by a student before or after the evening meal depending on the time of sunset. This was followed at 7 o'clock by the popular vesper service, a youth service for college students and visitors from the surrounding areas. It began with a rousing rendition of popular hymns. All students were required to attend. The speaker was usually a Perth Seventh-day Adventist minister. Sometimes staff members were invited to take the service.

At 9.30 am on Saturdays the Sabbath School began with a prayer, a hymn and a missionary story. The latter was followed by an offering. Sabbath School teachers supposedly encouraged questions and discussion of portions of Scripture but the classes were conducted primarily as confirmation sessions of Seventh-day Adventist doctrinal and biblical interpretations. No questioning of Adventist belief was encouraged or permitted. It would have been inconceivable for questions critical of Adventist beliefs to have arisen from within such a tightly knit community of virtually identical religious mindsets.

While the senior classes were in progress kindergarden, junior and intermediate classes were also in session. Students were usually involved in conducting or assisting with these classes. In one class a mature age student was appointed to discourage the naughtiness of one or two wayward children, one of whom later became a notorious murderer/rapist.

The Divine Church service, the 'high hour' of the Seventh-day Adventist week, followed the Sabbath School, but preaching in many of these Services did not reach this ideal. The sermons at Carmel were aimed mainly at the adolescent audience. The Carmel College Church was intended as a training ground for the young to enable them to return to their home churches to serve as church elders (males only), deacons and deaconesses, Sabbath School teachers and superintendents, and to be able to conduct prayer meetings and to assist or conduct other religious meetings in their local churches.

On the Sabbath afternoon a Young People's meeting was conducted. This involved some features of a religious meeting, but it was of a lighter nature than the Sabbath School meeting and featured a play, an extended story, a Biblical quiz or a guest speaker. Sometimes the meeting involved visits to neighbouring churches. Occasionally the College attended country churches, for example the Northam Avon Valley Church, to take meetings but the travel involved usually

restricted such visits to a few per year.[31]

The Annual Adventist Appeal for Missions (Ingathering) was an event that engaged students in social and religious activity. The students were allotted a portion of metropolitan Perth to door knock requesting householders to donate to the medical and missionary needs of the Pacific islanders and the Australian aborigines. All monies collected were to be sent to Seventh-day Adventist missions. It was rumoured, however, that irrespective of the amount collected, no extra funding was received above a predetermined amount by the Adventist Pacific Island organisations. This rumour, if believed by the Carmel staff, was not revealed to the students who were encouraged by the thought that each coin or note collected, however small, would help to educate or heal others.

On occasion the young men or women would take long walks on Sabbath afternoons but in opposite directions. Swimming and other sport activities were not allowed on the Sabbath so walking became a favoured exercise.

The religious life of Carmel students was rigidly controlled. Attendance at Chapel, Sabbath School and Church meetings was compulsory.[32] Seventh-day Adventist beliefs were continually taught in school classes, religious classes and worship, and even covertly during some social events. The theology taught at the College, especially the eschatology, was intense for young people with immature minds who lacked the experiences of life. [33] The soteriology was legalistic, however, the staff in their everyday dealings with, and attitudes towards the student body were undoubtedly Christian, even if somewhat sociologically and religiously naive. Unfortunately the restrictions placed on students at Carmel College and the rigid sectarian theology taught appeared to encourage the development of a fortress mentality amongst the students rather than the intended Adventist educational philosophy.

V. Principal and Staff

The staff were grossly overworked, underpaid and under qualified. Only one staff member held an Australian university degree and some teachers had little if any teacher training. In spite of this some were excellent teachers. Any student who wanted to excel was given every opportunity by the faculty. One teacher was ready to give assistance on Sunday afternoons and evenings if necessary. Extra classes were also

arranged with those who were involved in the Year 12 science and maths examinations. Unfortunately results in public examinations did not always match the effort expended.

The Principal, Pastor Raimund Reye, was of German parentage with missionary experience in the Samoan Islands.[34] He spoke German fluently and taught the subject to small classes at the year 12 level. He also taught the two Year 11 and 12 religion classes. Reye was a father figure at the institution who referred to the student body and staff as the College 'family'.[35] He was a benevolent authority figure. Always kindly, though on occasion outwardly stern, his manner belied an extremely warm hearted man who was at times under intense pressure.[36] On occasion he relieved the pressure of work by privately spending long periods overlooking ship movements at Fremantle and chatting to German speaking crews.[37] He was also a firm disciplinarian who did not wish to see the solidarity of his College family destroyed or troubled by the disobedience of one or two disruptive students. He caned male students after the faculty voted for such action.[38] But he could also be generous as suggested by the possibly apocryphal story of his interview with two mature students who cooked a number of stolen College fowls to relieve the boredom of the vegetarian diet served at the College. He appeared to be sympathetic to their lust for a change of diet and dismissed the young men with a mild rebuke, however, the next month they both found on their personal financial accounts an entry for five dressed fowl charged at top commercial rates.

Reye was not an educator, nor was he a trained teacher but rather a Seventh-day Adventist minister; a missionary and former evangelist. He did not realise the full significance of the need for Carmel students to prepare for participation in the non-Adventist world by gaining examination successes. Spirituality was the major requirement he wished to instil in the minds and hearts of his students. However, he was aided in his educational decision making by a Deputy and a number of staff who realised, to some degree, the importance of an academic curriculum paralleling the Western Australian State education system.[39] Even the Seventh-day Adventist tertiary institution, the Australasian Missionary College, insisted on a Leaving Certificate for entry to degree programs and pressure from the parents of academically able Adventist young people ensured that the College catered for this clientele.[40]

The educational practices at Carmel were similar to those of a Melbourne Seventh-day Adventist school as revealed by Geoffrey Maslen in the 1980s:

> everything is under the teachers' control and that there is little opportunity for the students to exercise much choice over what they learn makes them passive, rather than active, recipients of what the schools provide. Certainly, there are few signs of individualised instruction; little evidence that students are gaining confidence in the outcomes of any self-initiated efforts at learning. But then how can they learn to think deeply, act skilfully, not be 'mere reflectors of other men's thoughts' when everything in the classroom is pre-packaged, pre-digested, and served up to them in small, teacher-determined doses. How can they learn to understand the principles of democracy when the schools are run as oligarchies, with clear lines of hierarchical control, where there is little contribution from the students ....[41]

In reality the staff of Carmel College wittingly or unwittingly encouraged a fortress mentality amongst the students rather than individual development.

VI. Successes

Parents were often reminded through literature and sermons that State schools were irreligious and even atheist. Ellen White had emphasised the need for Adventist young people to receive a Seventh-day Adventist education to protect them from the evils of the world and this mentality has been a feature of Adventist educational philosophy since its inception in the nineteenth century.

Some parents prayed that their children would serve the Church and the world by becoming the leaders of the Church in the next generation as ministers or teachers or as lay persons in local churches. They hoped that the Seventh-day Adventist imperative to warn the world that the end time was present would feature in the mind-set of their children and exhibit itself in a missionary outlook to the non-Adventist world. Other parents merely looked to the College for a Christian education in which their children were educated to the extent of their abilities. Most parents were pleased that their children were developing an Adventist outlook, but they were condemned by McLaren's lament;

> unfortunately, the average parent is all too ready to leap at the throat of the teacher if his offspring betray any mind of his own, instead of writing to his local member if he does not.[42]

The College assisted a number of mature age students to gain a secondary qualification in an environment where they were not necessarily misfits due to their religion or age. It also catered for an increasing number of non-academic students. In this area of curricula development the College was highly successful.

The Carmel program combined, with a measure of skill and success, the features of a junior Bible college, a junior and senior academic secondary school, a business college, a junior technical school and a junior agricultural institution.[43] The philosophy of Adventist educators since the first half of the twentieth century accepted that every Adventist child was entitled to an Adventist education. This educational philosophy was supported by the Church administration in the 1960s. Many students perceived the College community as a family, they appreciated the efforts of the faculty on their behalf and they still retain very fond memories of their Carmel days.[44] In short, judged by the criteria of its religious philosophy the institution was successful.

VII. Indoctrination

The Principal and staff did not intentionally seek to harm any student with their educational philosophy but they were somewhat socially and educationally naive. Most were products of an Adventist socio-religious environment, being educated or employed in an Adventist institution, or isolated in a small Seventh-day Adventist community and accepted the fortress mentality and the fear of the surrounding worldly community. They did not, or could not, predict the ill effects, if any, of their endeavours on their students in future years.

Adventists indoctrinated their young people in a number of subtle and not so subtle ways. At Carmel the compulsory religion class was central to the development of a narrow Adventist belief structure. While much of the content of these classes was acceptable to mainstream Protestant thought questionable Adventist interpretations permeated the units. Even the introductory religion classes in New Testament and Old Testament history were not general Bible classes; the teachers interpreted and presented Scripture and ancient history according to the principles and beliefs of Adventism. The Year 11 and

12 religion classes contained doctrinal and theological interpretations that were unashamedly and peculiarly Seventh-day Adventist. The passages of scripture used were open only to a single correct interpretation. All higher biblical criticism was evidence of an apostate theology. Some interpretations were extreme; for example, the Roman Catholic Church possessed the Mark of the Beast and non-Catholic Churches were part of apostate Protestantism. Triumphantly, Adventism preached that the Seventh-day Sabbath and thus the Seventh-day Adventist Church had eschatological significance. The Seventh-day Adventist Church was God's special Remnant Church of the apocalyptic book of Revelation.[45]

While a minority of students in the privacy of their rooms occasionally expressed varied minor religious opinions, few public displays of divergent religious thinking occurred during the early 1960s at Carmel. The students accepted the highly legalistic and authoritarian religious and behavioural control because the Church possessed the truth of God. It followed that students believed that Church rules and regulations were sound interpretations of biblical instruction for the guidance of young Christians. This attitude to authority developed from a belief in Adventist specialness which was based on their unique keeping of the Seventh-day Sabbath and the manifestation within their midst of the 'Spirit of Prophecy'. Adventists claim theirs is a 'Movement of Destiny' with a Prophet and a message of destiny.[46] Such intense religious beliefs generate a lack of motivation to question fundamental truths especially amongst Adventist adolescents.

VIII. Control and Conformity

Obedience to the rules of the College were rigidly upheld. Punishment for serious breaches involved a number of days of 'hard labour', or being house bound to the College during weekend leave or College picnic days. Expulsion was reserved for the most serious offences.[47] Picking lemons for a certain number of hours for the young men was considered hard labour.[48] The labour was not difficult, only monotonous and somewhat uncomfortable. Those who were expelled were quickly removed from the campus and were not allowed to return even for the Sabbath church services.[49] Some of the misdeeds of a minority of students were indeed criminal and clearly warranted expulsion.[50]

The punishments were well known and usually accepted without dissent by the student body. A male student seen by a faculty member

out walking with a female student after dark did not bother to wait for the result of a faculty meeting. He packed his bags and immediately left the Campus.[51] The only criticism of faculty policy was over the severity of the discipline meted out to offending students. Usually the student body believed that those who were punished received their due reward. Occasionally some argued that the penalties were too light. For example, some dissension was expressed when students taken into custody by the police were allowed to return to the College as an act of Christian kindness. There was also dissension when a highly popular student with learning disabilities was to be sent home.[52] The Faculty reneged on the decision but it is highly unlikely that their change of mind was due to student mumblings.[53]

Conformity to the rules of the College was enhanced by isolating the students from outside, worldly influences. No radios were allowed at the institution to ensure that students could study in an atmosphere free of noise and 'worldly' music. Film attendance, most novels, comics and wild parties were forbidden and only one newspaper was supplied to each of the dormitories. In short, non-Adventist worldly influences were kept to an absolute minimum.

Maslen, who found the same phenomena at a Melbourne Adventist School some twenty years later, claimed that despite the rhetoric, the hidden curriculum of such schools was really about indoctrination, conformity, and acceptance of the will of the church.[54]

IX. Conclusion

This snapshot of Carmel College, from 1960 to 1962 reveals a Seventh-day Adventist Church institution operated by a Christian faculty which was greatly appreciated by most students. They staff attended to the educational, spiritual, social and physical needs of the students while the College program catered for those with academic ability as well as for those with business and technical skills. It also offered mature age students a second chance to gain an education. A highly developed program of paid manual labour enabled students to pay for a proportion of their fees and to balance their academic and physical activities. The College accomplished these varied tasks with a measure of well deserved success.

The student body was well prepared by their experience to lead the Seventh-day Adventist Church within Western Australia and beyond into the future. Many students greatly benefited from their

education at Carmel College and most remained within the confines of Seventh-day Adventism in adult life.

The faculty was poorly rewarded financially for its dedication. They were on duty for long hours and taught across many curricula areas. They were also poorly educated and trained for the task at hand. They were, however, 'concerned to preserve their identity, their symbols and shared experiences in a social and religious community which gave cosmic meaning to their lives and enabled them to be (as Scripture puts it) in but not of the world'.[55] Judged by criteria based on Adventist lifestyles of the era they were highly successful.

Another perspective indicates that Carmel College developed within the student body a narrow, conservative, sectarian mindset. Few worldly influences passed the College gates. The location of the institution and the lack of media input via television, radio, motion pictures and the printed page ensured that non-Adventist influences were kept to a minimum. The intensity of the religion taught at Carmel aided theological indoctrination and permeated all aspects of Carmel life in the early 1960s. Seventh-day Adventist young people were ill equipped to debate different religious, socio-economic or philosophical issues. In direct opposition to Adventist educational philosophy, they were trained to be followers of the thoughts of others rather than independent thinkers. They were not in any way radical except in regard to some of their religious viewpoints, for example the keeping of the seventh-day Sabbath and the imminent return of Jesus. Their politics were liberal, their dress conservative, their lifestyles restrictive and their thought patterns predictable. They were taught to be anti-papist, anti-communist, anti-union and wary in general of non-Adventists. They possessed, in the main, a Protestant work ethic. Most were not intellectual though some were obviously restricted by their socio-economic situation, their fundamentalist upbringing and their parents' attitude to education. Maslen quotes an Adventist school principal claiming that '... the Adventist schools seem to have developed a fortress mentality, in which their task is to protect the students from the outside world while carefully inducting them into the community of believers.'[56]

John Knight, an ex-Seventh-day Adventist, claims that the consequences of fundamentalism for education are extensive:

> First, for the good of the young and the well-being of society, all forms of error must be excluded from the curriculum. Evolution, humanism, sex education, faulty textbooks and courses and any suggestion that the economic, political or social systems of the homeland are less than ideal are rejected. There will indeed be a focus upon 'the basics' rather than values clarification, creative writing or discovery learning. Such a schooling will value purity, simplicity and morality over intelligence, critical thinking or open education. It will also be highly ethnocentric and monocultural, conflating patriotism and religion.
>
> Second, in pedagogy, social accountability will be valued over professional freedom. Liberal/progressive, 'child-centred', 'open' or inquiry methods are anathema ... 'Allowing children to work things out for themselves means they can get the wrong answers.'
>
> Third, such a position provides a rationale for political intervention in education. While some separatist groups such as SDAs ..., will maintain their own school, hire and fire their own teachers, and control their own curriculum, other fundamentalists (for the same ends) will seek to control the public education system. They will argue that a nominally Christian country should have Christian teachers, prayers, Bible teaching, pure courses, right morality.[57]

The education offered at Carmel College in the early 1960s has touched, for good and for ill, the lives of those who were part of the experience. In some respects a Carmel education appeared to be designed to produce a Seventh-day Adventist fundamentalist outlook that was incapable of change, irrespective of the evidence to the contrary. Mackie, an early principal of Sydney Teachers' College, complained some years earlier of the views expressed by one of his colleagues; 'He wants children to be brought up in such a way as to be incapable, later on, of ceasing to be democrats, even though they desire to do so. I do not agree with any such view.'[58] Thus some ex-Carmel students remain deeply committed to their fundamentalist Seventh-day Adventist views and lifestyle. Other ex-students remain loosely attached to Adventism wishing with Dostoevsky 'to be there when everyone suddenly understands what it has all been for.'[59]

In spite of the restrictive influences at Carmel College a number of the staff and students of the 1960s have 'extracted' themselves from the Church. They found the flight from Adventism emotionally and

spiritually difficult. Many left during the serious theological upheaval within Adventism in the 1980s. They found the Carmel experience not to be as claimed. Instead of the education of the whole person they were encouraged to develop a fortress mentality.[60] They discovered, in the words of Carl Jung, that their belief structure that was true in the morning of life was not necessarily so by the afternoon.[61]

NOTES

1. John Knight, The Educational implications of Fundamentalism: A case study, *Collected Papers of the National Conference of the Australian Association for Research in Education: collected papers, volume 1*, November, 1984, p.423; see also General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, *Population Sampling Report of Seventh-day Adventists in the United States*, Washington, D C., General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1952.
2. In the 1960s the institution was known as the West Australian Missionary College (WAMC).
3. Oral history tapes and questionnaires of interviews with Carmel College students and Faculty members held by John R. Godfrey, Mullaloo; Minutes of Faculty Meeting, WAMC, Carmel College Boxes 1960-1962, Archives of the Western Australian Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Perth; WAMC, *Calendar(s) 1960, 1961, 1963*, Perth, Mullins Pty. Ltd. Printers, c.1959, c.1960, c.1962; WAMC, Graduation Programme(s), 1960, 1961, 1962; WAMC, *Student Handbook*, Warburton, Victoria, Signs Publishing Company, c. 1960.
4. This section is based on the outline of Adventist beliefs in J. E. J. Rule, Vegetarianism in Seventh-day Adventist home economics classes: a conceptual analysis, M.A. thesis, Deakin University, 1994; see also Ministerial Association of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, *Seventh-day Adventists Believe . . . A Biblical Exposition of 27 Fundamental Doctrines*, Washington, DC, Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1988.
5. King James Bible, Revelation 19: 10.
6. Ellen G. White, *Education*, Mountain View: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1903; Ellen G. White, *Counsels to parents, teachers and students*, Mountain View: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1913; and Ellen G. White, (1923), *Fundamentals of Christian education*, Mountain View: Pacific Press Publishing Association.
7. Geoffrey Maslen, *School Ties, Private Schooling in Australia*, North Ryde, Methuen Australia, 1982, see also Rule, 1994, pp. 47-50.
8. Maslen, 1982, p. 202 (with minor format changes).
9. Ellen G. White, (1903), *Education*, Mountain View: Pacific Press Publishing Association, pp.13 & 17.
10. WAMC, *Calendar(s) 1960, 1961, 1963.*
11. WAMC, *Calendar 1963*, p. 16.
12. WAMC, Graduation Programme(s), 1960, 1961, 1962.
13. WAMC, *Calendar 1961*, p. 17.
14. WAMC, Graduation Programme(s), 1960, 1961, 1962.

15. R. Reye to J. Godfrey, Personal Communication, c. March 1963.
16. Minutes of Faculty Meeting, 1 August, 1962.
17. T. G. Lloyd, Adventists and "Worldly" Examinations and Degrees: 1915 - 1950, a paper presented at the Seventh-day Adventist Historians' Association Conference, Sydney, 1988.
18. Knight, 1984, p. 423.
19. WAMC, *Calendar 1961*, pp. 3, 4, 14, 15 & 18.
20. See for example Minutes of Faculty Meeting, 28 June, 1961.
21. Knight, 1984, p.423.
22. WAMC, *Handbook*, c. 1960, p. 10.
23. Maslen, 1982, p. 202
24. Minutes of Faculty Meeting, 10 July, 1961.
25. WAMC, *Handbook*, p 5.
26. WAMC, *Handbook*, pp. 8-9.
27. WAMC, *Handbook*, p. 4.
28. Minutes of Faculty Meeting, 21 March, 1962.
29. Minutes of Faculty Meeting, 23 October, 1961, see also 29 March, 1961.
30. See WAMC, Classification Forms, Carmel College Boxes 1960-1962.
31. Minutes of Faculty Meeting, 12 October, 1960, see also 20 September, 1961.
32. WAMC, *Handbook*, pp. 9, 10, 13.
33. cf. R Ellis, *The Nostradamus Kid*, Ronin Films, 1993 and Desmond Ford, *Physicians of the Soul*, Nashville, Southern Publishing Association, 1980, pp. 104-5. See also Daniel Batt, 'Desire and the end of the world' *On Being*, November 1993, p. 55; Vivienne Skinner, 'Death and other fantasies, *The Gazette*, vol. 20, no. 4; Bob Ellis, 'Mullumbimby Mon Amour . . . O Lamb of God, I come! I come! ' in Michael Boddy and Robert Ellis, *The Legend of King O'Malley*, Melbourne, Angus and Robertson, pp. xiii-xix; Ron Banks, '"Improbable" anti-hero recollects 60s campus life and religious angst', *West Australian*, 16 December, 1993; and Sarah Palmer, 'What made Ellis direct his dry wit on to himself?' *West Australian*, 16 December, 1993.
34. see David E. Hay, *The Isles no longer wait*, Nukualofa, Tonga, Author, 1988; Arnold C. Reye, Raimund Reye: the war years, 1939-1945, unpublished paper, August 1985; and Interview Arnold C. Reye with J. Godfrey, Sydney, 9 December, 1993.
35. see Minutes of Faculty Meeting, 17 August, 1960.
36. M. Rowe to J. Godfrey, Personal Letter, 4 June, 1994; J. & G. Pennifold to J. Godfrey, Personal Letter, 5 June 1994; J. Anderson to J. Godfrey, Personal Letter, 11 June 1994; A. Bullas to J. Godfrey, Personal Letter, 15 June 1994; K. Fairall to J. Godfrey, Personal Letter, 16 July, 1994; M. Derry to J. Godfrey, Personal Letter, 31 July, 1994; G. Perry to J. Godfrey, Personal Letter, 5 August, 1994 and Minutes of Faculty Meeting, 1960 to 1962.
37. Interview R. Spoor with J. Godfrey at Sydney, 9 December, 1993.
38. Minutes of Faculty Meeting, 2 April, 1960; 29 March, 1961.
39. Interview Spoor.
40. WAMC, *Calendar 1961*, pp. 15-16.
41. Maslen, p. 202.
42. John McLaren, *Our troubled schools*, Melbourne, Cheshire, 1968.

43. Interview with Gordon and Val Dixon-Box at Glen Waverley, 5 December 1993.
44. Rowe to Godfrey, 1994; Pennifold to Godfrey, 1994; Anderson to Godfrey, 1994; Bullas to Godfrey, 1994; Fairall to Godfrey, 1994; Derry to Godfrey, 1994; Perry to Godfrey, 1994 and Minutes of Faculty Meeting, 1960 to 1962.
45. King James Bible, Revelation 12: 17 and 14: 6-12.
46. L. E. Froom, *Movement of Destiny*, Washington, Review and Herald Publishing Company, 1971.
47. see Minutes of Faculty Meeting, 7 August, 1960; 29 March, 1961; 10 July 1961 & 3 June 1962.
48. Minutes of Faculty Meeting, 23 July 1962.
49. Minutes of Faculty Meeting, 28 September, 1962.
50. Minutes of Faculty Meeting, 28 September, 1962.
51. Anonymous Interviewee to J. Godfrey, Personal Communication, 1993.
52. Minutes of Faculty Meeting, 8 June, 1962.
53. Minutes of Faculty Meeting, 5 September, 1962.
54. Maslen, p. 203.
55. Knight, 1984, p. 424; cf. John Knight, 'Fundamentalism and Education: a case-study in social ambiguity', *Discourse*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1985.
56. Maslen, p. 203.
57. Knight, 1984, p. 425.
58. Alexander Mackie, 'The Education needs of today", in W. G. K. Duncan, *Educating for a Democracy*, Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1936, p. 31.
59 Quoted in C. M. H. Clark, *Select Documents in Australian History 1851-1900*, Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1977, p. ii.
60. see White, *Education*, 1903, pp.13 & 17.
61. see P Harry Ballis, 'Wounded Healers-Adventist pastors and expastors', *Adventist Professional*, vol. 4, no. 3, pp. 28-32; *Adventist Professional, vol.* 6, no. 3; John R. Godfrey, '"And the school dog is not the school dog": the dilemma of writing religious biography' *Education Research and Perspectives*, vol. 26, no. 1, pp. 66-77, 1999; and John R. Godfrey, 'Weetbix in the Washing Machine', *Good News Australia*, no. 5, pp. 8-9, 1993.