

Volume

9

CHURCH IN A CONVICT GOAL
EARLY ADVENTISM ON NORFOLK ISLAND

By Milton Hook



Seventh-day Adventist Heritage Series

Not for Resale

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A Heritage Series: Debut - Adventism Down Under before 1885
By Milton Hook

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr Milton Hook is the author of "Flames Over Battle Creek", a brief history of the early days at the Review and Herald Publishing Association as seen through the eyes of George Amadon, printer's foreman at the institution. Dr Hook's doctoral dissertation researched the pioneering years of the Avondale School, 1894 to 1900, and he has published some of these findings.

He spent three years as a mission director in Papua New Guinea. His teaching years include primary, secondary and college level experience, especially in Bible subjects, in Australia, New Zealand and America. He is an ordained minister, married and the father of two sons.

He would welcome any information which may enhance the content of this series.

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“Flog well and do your duty” was tattooed in defiance on his back. He was a hardened felon, always being flogged /for insolence, disobeying orders, and fighting. After each flogging the medical officer would rub his lacerated back with a cake of bluestone (sulphate of copper) or throw a bucket or two of salt water over it. The remedy was just as painful, if not more so, than the flogging. This convict was only one of hundreds detained on Norfolk Island. Another convict was reported to have received two thousand lashes over a period of three years. Convicts who did the lashing were sometimes flogged for not whipping the culprit hard enough.

There were two periods of penal settlement on Norfolk Island, 1788 to 1814, and 1825-1855. Those imprisoned there were generally twice-convicted ones, brutal, incorrigible and mutinous. Bushrangers, counterfeiters, desperados, and those who had lost the will to ever obtain a ticket-of-leave were herded in chain-gangs by day and locked in stone cells under guard at night.

Discipline was swift, harsh, and relentless in those lash-happy days. No one could ever be expected to reform under the circumstances. When a mutiny and breakout occurred in 1836 two were shot dead and seven more later died of gunshot wounds. In addition, thirteen ringleaders were hanged, but not before every one of them knelt and kissed the feet of his executioner and thanked him for deliverance from such a living hell.

One evening in 1846 a gaol warden confiscated the convict's kettles and pannikins, most of which were fashioned by the inmates themselves from salvaged metal. They regarded them as their personal property. The following morning the prisoners erupted in mutiny, killing three constables and an overseer. Once again, thirteen ringleaders were hanged for the outbreak and murders. No defence counsel was granted at their trial. No prison officer was censured for provocation.

Norfolk Island was an ideal spot for a gaol. Small in area and surrounded by vast oceans as a natural barrier, the avenues of escape were greatly reduced, leaving perhaps the pirating of a ship as the best chance. A group of twelve convicts attempted this way of escape in 1842 but five were shot dead and the other seven brought to trial in Sydney, four of them being executed.

After the gaol was abandoned the Pitcairn Islanders were allowed to emigrate en masse in 1856 and they assumed the island was their own. They moved into the houses, cultivated the fields, and even cared for the cemetery. In time they fanned out over the island, establishing family farms and salvaging stones from the gaol buildings to fashion more homes.

A few who were homesick for Pitcairn Island returned there but most of them remained to pioneer farms and small industries. It wasn't easy. The climate was cooler and the soil quite different, but they grew accustomed to the weather and conquered the land. The Reverend George Hunn Nobbs, their pastor on Pitcairn, continued in his role and lead them in their Anglican worship. Indeed, in 1867 the island became the training centre for Melanesian missionaries who returned to their homelands in Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands to establish further Anglican bases during the nineteenth century.

Prior to the death of Nobbs, in 1884, some stirrings of Adventism were manifest in the Norfolk community. One Anglican visitor lamented that some islanders were fascinated by "Second Advent speculations" and "a spirit of prophecy". Perhaps the few on Pitcairn

Island who had begun to read some Adventist literature were already sharing information. Or, maybe, American Adventists had sent literature. However, this spark of interest soon died out.

Apart from the Nobbs family, the other Pitcairners were made up of the Christian, Young, Quintal, McCoy, Adams, Buffett, and Evans families. Complex intermarriage made them a closely knit community, and the feeling of togetherness when pioneering strengthened their sense of identity. For these reasons, there has been a persistent barrier, slowly evaporating, between islander and 'outsider'. It was, therefore, a wise decision of the Seventh-day Adventist missionaries to introduce themselves by means of relatives from Pitcairn.

James Russell McCoy and his youngest sister, Mary Ann McCoy, as well as Heywood Christian, all boarded the PITCAIRN during its first voyage with the idea of sharing their convictions with others, especially their relatives on Norfolk Island. En route they visited the Society Islands, the Cook Islands, Samoa, Tonga and Fiji. As the PITCAIRN neared Norfolk Island on September 30, 1891, a whaleboat of men came out to meet them. The Norfolk Islanders had heard their relatives were on the way.

Christian and the McCoys had left Norfolk Island and returned to Pitcairn when they were youngsters. Of course, during the thirty years or more everyone had matured. They landed on the north side at Cascade Bay. Every one was excited to see them again and swap news. They introduced the American missionaries, Pastor Edward Gates and his wife Ida, as well as Albert Read and his wife Hattie, and the rest of the PITCAIRN party.

On October 3, 1891, the very first Sabbath after their arrival, Gates conducted a worship service in the home of Jane Quintal, the McCoys older sister who had remained behind on Norfolk Island over thirty years beforehand. During his brief stopover Gates held some other public meetings and met with many of the inhabitants.

He then continued on to New Zealand with the PITCAIRN, leaving behind the Reads and McCoys to do further evangelism.

The following month the PITCAIRN returned and during the last weeks of November Gates preached again, both in the Methodist church and Quintal's home. Gates found that Read had sparked some interest so Mary Ann McCoy remained behind for a short time with her relatives to further the mission. With such excellent contacts on Norfolk Island the pioneers were confident of repeating the Pitcairn Island episode. The PITCAIRN made a further brief visit in March 1892.

Pastor John Cole and his wife, Fanny, sailed on the second voyage of the PITCAIRN, arriving on September 9, 1893. Once again the boat stayed only briefly, leaving the Coles to their work.

A small group of interested listeners attended Cole's Sabbath services. At that time he noticed news reports in the American "Signs of the Times" and the "Review and Herald" about Seventh-day Adventists being gaoled in America for working on Sunday. As punishment they were put to work in chain gangs. Adventists being treated like convicts! That alarmed him. Cole explained these reports to his congregation and publicly prayed for his imprisoned fellow believers. Cole reported later, "Some were interested in the Sabbath question before, but this has seemed to rouse them, and they are enquiring and talking about it now as they never did before".

After working for twelve months on the island Cole attended the Ashfield camp meeting in Sydney. There he shared the conviction that a church member from Australia would suit the task on Norfolk and he could then transfer to pioneer elsewhere. For this reason, two couples sailed to Norfolk Island in December 1894, accompanied by Cole. It was planned to transfer Cole to Fiji as soon as a passage became possible. In reality, he did not get away until mid-1895. During that six months the mission leapt ahead as Cole

worked with the two couples, Stephen and Melvina or "Vina" Belden, and Charles and Edith Anderson.

Land ownership was reserved solely for the descendants of the Pitcairners. It was therefore impossible for the missionaries to buy any property. The Beldens, for instance, secured permission to stay in a five-roomed cottage for a \$5 annual token rental. There they worked a small piece of land to support themselves. Cole had found accommodation in a spot called Town Landing. The missionaries also asked if they could build a small church rather than crowding in the private homes for their meetings. After some discussion it was agreed they should have a dilapidated chapel in the convict gaol. The old men of the island objected. So did the Anglican minister, saying it had originally been consecrated as an Anglican chapel and they didn't wish to relinquish it. Younger islanders spoke up in favour and so also did an American resident, Captain Frank Bates, a nephew of an early Advent pioneer, Joseph Bates. The opinion of the younger islanders prevailed.

Cole, Belden, and Anderson went to inspect the gaol chapel. Walking through the open archway known as Gallows Gate and across the old compound to the far corner of the high prison wall they found the remains of the chapel. It was a shell of crumbling stone with the floor and roof long-time removed for buildings elsewhere. The men had received \$100 from the Foreign Mission Board in America in addition to \$30 from Australian friends. They felt these monies would be sufficient to restore the old convict gaol.

The New Year (1895) found the builders burning lime for replastering the chapel walls, gathering timber, and cutting wooden shingles for the roof. Charles Baron came from Lord Howe Island to assist for four months. Slowly the building was restored to shipshape order. They were still working on it in 1896. The finishing touches included the painting of mottos on the interior plastered walls, and the installation of seats, with a small portable organ. Around the outside corner of the gaol they built an attractive

fence and gate. This provided entrance to the church through a porch on the rear wall of the gaol.

Before Cole embarked for Fiji, in mid-1895, he conducted three baptisms and organised the church. First to be baptised were Alfred and Emily Nobbs. On Friday, May 17, Cole conducted the service in the rocky shallows of Slaughter Bay, just a stone's throw from their chapel in the convict gaol. Then on the following Wednesday, May 22, he gathered the regular group of worshippers together in his own home and organised the Norfolk Island church. The Beldens offered their letters of transfer from Sydney at the same time. Thus, two couples, the Nobbs and Beldens formed the charter baptised membership. On the same day Cole baptised Sarah Christian. Therefore, technically, she was a charter member also. On Friday, May 31, some others were baptised, including Helen and Lizzie McCoy. These two sisters were daughters of Alfred Nobbs and had married McCoy brothers. The two men were nephews of Mary Ann McCoy and later became Seventh-day Adventists too. Mary Ann McCoy's witness bore more fruit when her two older sisters, Jane Quintal and Mary Snell, were baptised later.

Alfred Nobbs was the public school teacher on the island and the son of the deceased Anglican minister, George Hunn Nobbs. His baptism in particular created a sensation and the Anglican fraternity moved against the Adventists. A deputation interviewed a captain, then off-shore, to see if he was willing to deport the missionaries from the island, but the captain would have nothing to do with the scheme. It was also proposed to flog Cole through the town (shades of convict days). Belden was warned by the Chief Magistrate not to work on Sundays and the police kept a watchful eye on other Adventists also. Some action was taken against Nobbs himself. When he refused to teach the Anglican catechism in his school he was promptly fired and another teacher replaced him. All this agitation subsided somewhat when the Coles soon after managed to get passage on a ship going to Fiji.

Ellen White wrote about Cole as a man who had a "slow, tame manner of work". A few months before she expressed that opinion there was published in a church magazine a portion of a letter Cole had written saying, "I feel quite different about the Island work now than I did before I came to this field [Norfolk Island]. Then I had no particular burden for the Islands, but now it is the most important place in the world to me". Cole's enthusiasm apparently quickened. As he was leaving Norfolk Island it was reported in the church press that both he and his wife had "worked faithfully and perseveringly".

Anderson and Nobbs continued to lead out as elders in the church. Later, when Anderson returned to Australia, Belden replaced him. Two more folk were baptised in 1897. They were Mary (McCoy) Snell on March 5, and Evelyn (Christian) Jackson on September 19. Sidney Nobbs, twenty-eight-year-old son of Alfred, was baptised on October 21, 1899. There were no other additions to the membership until 1906. Sabbath School membership had risen into the thirties by that time.

From the time Cole left in 1895, until 1906, the church was without a resident minister. Nobbs, visiting the camp meeting in Armadale, Victoria, in October 1895, requested church administration to appoint a minister. His plea was fruitless. The Beldens, both then in their sixties, were considered sufficient leadership. However, even though "Vina" Belden did considerable work caring for the sick, Stephen found he had to spend large portions of his time farming in order to sustain themselves. Furthermore, as an 'outsider', he found he was not popular. Willie White reported Belden grew critical of the Islanders. Indeed, at first Nobbs and Belden were somewhat contentious. However, they became the best of friends before they passed away (both in 1906 and both, coincidentally, with painful cancerous growths on their faces).

The only leadership assistance received by Nobbs and Belden prior to the appointment of a resident ordained minister in 1906 were two visits by leading church personnel. First Gates revisited, then Pastor George Starr made a short call.

The Gateses and Hattie Andre came in the summer of 1902/03 on a working holiday. In dismay Gates wrote back to church administration, "With the exception of one man no one had in the least degree begun to make any reforms. All the others used tea, coffee and pork, and some used tobacco. With few exceptions none were paying any tithe". Gates thrust himself into a revival crusade, conducted public meetings, and reorganised the Sabbath School.

Pastor George Starr and his wife, Nellie, spent several weeks visiting early in 1906 before Belden and Nobbs passed away. Starr, too, held a revival campaign for a week in private homes. He gave Wednesday night health lectures in the church, and held Sunday evening services for the public. Starr conducted two baptisms just days before he left on March 14. On his last Sabbath there he baptised Francis Nobbs, youngest son of Alfred, together with Helen McCoy's husband, Stanley, and Maria Fysh. Alfred Nobbs was rebaptised because he was making a fresh dedication in the face of his impending death. Then on March 13 Starr baptised eight more in what turned out to be a double ceremony. He had finished baptising six and all had changed into dry clothing and were mingling with others outside the church when a man rode up on horseback and appeared very upset because he had missed out. "I want to be baptised too", he said. At that point old Joseph Quintal stepped forward also and asked for rebaptism, so Starr led everyone across the beach to Slaughter Bay and conducted a second service.

With the death of Nobbs and Belden in 1906 the leadership shortage became critical. Desperate calls for missionaries were made to Australia and offers of free lodging and land for gardens were made by the islanders. Back in Australia Starr endorsed the dire need to appoint a resident missionary. The choice fell on a South Australian lay preacher and his wife, Harry and Esther Mitchell. They embarked immediately with their infant son, arriving December 6, 1906. Nurse Elizabeth Semple accompanied them also and assisted for two years.

Mitchell quickly observed that the older generation was set in their Anglican ways but the young people were proving to be more responsive. He formed a youth society with a membership of approximately twenty. He frequently visited the island homes with literature and also arranged for welfare clothing to be shipped to the island (the first of this form of Adventist charity to leave Australasian ports). Long overdue repair work was done to make the old stone church more attractive. Additionally, in October 1907 church officials in Australia leased eleven hectares on Stockyard Road among the hills. The property, called "White Wings" and owned by a man who moved to Africa, included a well-built six-roomed home ideal for Mitchell's use. Australasian benefactors in addition to Sabbath School offerings paid the \$500 price tag for the home itself. This was in keeping with a long-range plan to eventually build a church in the central portion of the island because the old convict building by the sea was fast becoming a ruin and an unsuitable environment for worship services.

The mission farm soon boasted bananas, oranges, peaches, loquats and guavas. Mitchell also ran a small dairy herd and did some blacksmithing and farm work to help needy islanders. His work was greatly appreciated. During his stay of four years at least twelve were baptised including Jane (McCoy) Quintal, Mary Ann McCoy's oldest sister.

This was the era, too, when some of the young people were first encouraged to attend the Avondale School and prepare themselves for mission service. Mildred McCoy began at the school in 1907. In 1910 Stanley McCoy's son, Alfred, ventured from the island for this purpose too. He graduated from the Missionary Course in 1914.

Early in 1911 Mitchell returned to Australia on account of his wife's poor health. His successor, Arthur Ferris, arrived on January 7, just before he left. Ferris, like Mitchell, had no missionary training or school diploma but for a few years he had ministered with tent-mission interests in Victoria. His wife, Jessie, with four children at the time (Norman, twins David and Walter, and Esther), arrived on

Norfolk Island with him. The sea was so angry they all received a thorough soaking from the surf as the longboats brought them through the breakers. They narrowly escaped being turned over into the ocean. There is no deep harbour at Norfolk Island. Ships would anchor off-shore while goods and passengers disembarked into the longboats. The day Ferris landed the shipping company decided it was too rough to unload his luggage so they carried it on to Vanuatu and returned it months later.

Ferris won the respect of the islanders with his restless energy and practical ability. He proved to be an excellent replacement for Mitchell. He was there less than twelve months before he received an invitation to conduct meetings on Lord Howe Island. This he did during the summer of 1911/12. His absence was filled by Pastor Calvin Parker and his wife, Myrtle, in addition to newly-weds Harold and Clara Carr. These two couples were en route to pioneer Vanuatu. They originally planned on staying only two months. They prolonged their visit to allow Ferris to develop the mission on Lord Howe Island. Later, stormy weather forced their boat connection to steam on without stopping at Norfolk Island so they remained even longer (six months altogether).

The Carrs, being Sydney Sanitarium nursing graduates, held classes in hydrotherapy treatments. Parker devoted his time to Bible studies in the homes and revival meetings in the old gaol church. Indicative of the standards he set, there followed a reform to vegetarianism. Sabbath-keeping habits also received a boost. One man was quoted as saying, "I will never shave [my face] or black my boots on Sabbath again". We presume he made these preparations on Friday afternoons and went to church on Sabbath morning with shiny boots and a less than shiny chin.

On the Sabbath of June 1 Parker rebaptised Francis Nobbs. At the same time his wife, Ruth (Christian) Nobbs, was baptised for the first time, together with two of their daughters, Helena or "Ena" and Elsie. Francis' older brother, Ben, and nine others (mainly younger people) were baptised too. On the following Wednesday one more

was hurriedly baptised before he departed the next day. This special service was held for old Emily Quintal, the widow of Joseph. She regretted not taking her stand when her late husband had been among the first to worship with the Seventh-day Adventists.

Eight new members baptised during the First World War years were mostly youth. These included fourteen-year-old Norman Ferris and his twelve-year-old brothers, twins David and Walter. The following year (1917) these boys spent a day each week helping their father prepare logs for the planned new church.

The lease on the former convict church was coming to an end and so was the roof. It had deteriorated to a fair-weather church, leaking so badly that organ, rostrum, seats, and floor were thoroughly showered in downpours. Church members had to huddle in corners on rainy Sabbaths. When they considered the cost of repairs and the fact that members had to travel so far to that near-deserted part of the island they concluded it was time to build in a more central location.

Emily Quintal donated six huge Norfolk Island pine trees on her property to be logged for the new church timber. Ferris and his young boys felled these, pit-sawing the logs into manageable sizes. Then church members hauled them off to the sawmill to be reduced further. To raise money for nails, paint, windows and other materials, Jessie Ferris organised two sales of wares. For these public markets, members brought in sea-shells, crochet work, hand-painted cushions, fruit and vegetables, and homemade bread and cakes. Jessie herself sold some island scenes she had painted. Arthur and the boys made sets of garden furniture and donated these to the sales.

Property was secured on Cascade Road towards the centre of the island and a simple-style weatherboard structure was erected on it. Entrance doors with covering porches were incorporated half-way along the building and the roof was covered with wooden split shingles, iron being too expensive. A small room was added at the

back of the rostrum for Sabbath School purposes. It took Ferris more than twelve months to complete it. When Pastor Andrew Stewart and his wife, Jean, were visiting en route to Vanuatu Ferris decided it would be appropriate to have him dedicate the building.

Everyone scurried around doing the finishing touches prior to the dedication. Last minute painting was done, the furniture from the old church was moved, and everything was scrubbed and polished. On Friday evening, May 2, 1919, Stewart took the dedication service.

Early Sabbath morning on May 3 all went to Slaughter Bay again for a baptism service. There, Ferris baptised seven young women, including his own thirteen-year-old, Esther. They all then returned to the new church. The candidates, together with the remaining faithful members, took part in a rededication service. This culminated with the traditional signing of the covenant. Those who signed were the Ferris family, the newly baptised young women, and ten faithful islanders who yet remained. "We thought it advisable", wrote Ferris, "to take this step, because many of the members whose names were on the church role [sic] were not living up to the rules of the Advent Church, particularly on the point of Christian Temperance".

With the Norfolk Island church completed, plans were made to transfer Ferris to another spot where his practical skills could be utilized. Arrangements for his replacement were also finalised. Richard and Miriam Adams, who had worked four years on Pitcairn Island, were appointed to serve the Pitcairners' cousins. They were both Sydney Sanitarium graduates and came with the hope that their nursing expertise would enable them to be self-supporting while caring for the church interests. They arrived on October 20, 1919.

Ferris did not transfer to Lord Howe Island until early February 1920. Therefore, there was at least a three-month overlap which enabled Adams to orientate himself and make a smooth transition into church leadership. On January 15 and 16, before Ferris left, two little baptisms were held. These separate services were for Flora Quintal

and Phoebe Evans. For the first time they were held in relative seclusion on the mission property, utilising a picturesque stream suited for the occasion.

Membership statistics had nose dived about 1915 and had continued to drop during the building of the new church. One cause for the slump was the fact that a high proportion of the youth baptised by Parker in 1912 did not maintain their membership. The slide continued into the Adams era, reaching a low of fifteen baptised members in 1923-24. Very little news coverage about the Norfolk Island church appeared in the church papers during the 1920's. There were no baptisms from the time Ferris left in 1920 until he returned on a visit in 1928. In all fairness it must be recognised that the Adamses were primarily nurses, not Bible workers, and therefore struggled against great odds from the start.

Leadership in the church increasingly fell onto the shoulders of Sidney Nobbs. When Sidney went to Sydney about 1924 to do health-food cafe work the mantle fell onto George Wise who had come to Norfolk Island in 1921 for the sake of his wife's health. Both Nobbs and Wise served as elders in the Norfolk Island church. The Adamses, on the other hand, gradually eased out of leadership, securing their own cottage and plot of ground. By 1925 they were operating a rest home and hydrotherapy business. However, their loyalty and part-time efforts to nurture the church never waned. About 1928 they were forced to return to Australia as Richard's health deteriorated. He passed away in 1931.

Ferris, stationed on Lord Howe Island, made periodic visits to Norfolk Island. He stayed for three weeks in 1927 and returned again in 1928. His visits were supplemented with one by Pastor Robert Hare and his wife, Henrietta, from October to December 1928. Hare baptised eight candidates at Slaughter Bay on Sunday afternoon, December 16. It was the first baptism in eight years.

Another baptism took place in 1931. Ferris visited in June and one Sabbath afternoon baptised Cecil Eastwood and Walter Starr in

Emily Bay, adjacent to their traditional baptismal site. Another highlight of the visit was the first Seventh-day Adventist wedding on the Island. The Adventist Church was decorated tastefully and on Wednesday, June 24, Cyril Nobbs and Joyce McPhail were married with Ferris officiating.

Sidney Nobbs, who had settled on Lord Howe Island, returned for a visit in early 1932 and conducted a small baptismal service in Emily Bay. In late August of the same year Ferris and his wife made a two-month visit also. This was the occasion of the very first so called "camp meeting" on Norfolk Island. Beginning on October 6 in stormy weather, they held four meetings each day for ten days in the church. Members camped in six family tents pitched in the church grounds so that it would be convenient to attend all the meetings. The public were invited and did respond as the weather improved.

A second camp meeting was held in January 1934. Ferris and his wife had arrived in November 1933 for a three-month visit and much preparation went into the planning of the camp. A shortage of family tents at the time forced them to rent "Girlie" Christian's cottage nearby in order to house ten people. Special meetings were held for the children on the verandah of this home. Viola Rogers, from the Australasian Union Conference Office, was visiting her sister, Rene Wise, and she gave instructions about Sabbath School work. Nobbs, from Lord Howe Island, was present again and assisted Ferris by preaching at some of the evening meetings. Ferris conducted another baptism in the bay as a fitting climax to the camp meeting.

Apart from regular communion services it was the camp meetings and special visits by Ferris and others which generated a sense of unity and identity. Slowly, throughout the late 1920's and on into the 1930's, the spiritual life of the church revived. In February 1935 Pastor William Douglas Smith and his wife, Louisa, arrived as newly-assigned leaders of the Norfolk Island church. Their appointment heralded a new era. For too long the membership had struggled to maintain their witness, feeling they were somewhat neglected by not

owning a resident minister. Smith's appointment was the first in an unbroken chain of ministers extending to the present.

The church membership on Norfolk Island has fluctuated over the years. Never did the Adventist message sweep the Island as it did on Pitcairn. There were marked differences. For example, Pitcairn was an Anglican outpost without an ordained resident minister when John Tay called. But Norfolk was an Anglican centre with ordained men actively training more leadership for the Pacific arena. Those on Norfolk who showed the slightest interest in Seventh-day Adventism always had to run the gauntlet of family and church persecution. It took extraordinary courage to link up with a minority. Adventism's early missionaries repeatedly made the observation that many Norfolk Islanders believed the Saturday Sabbath to be correct but lacked heart and boldness to follow their convictions. Nevertheless, when the bitter antagonism of the 1890's died out it was replaced by a growing respect for the Seventh-day Adventist Church in all branches of the island community.

Major sources for this booklet are the "Bible Echo and Signs of the Times", the "Home Missionary", the "Australasian Record", the Norfolk Island Church Membership Record Book, Margaret Hazzard's 1978 book, "Convicts and Commandants of Norfolk Island 1788-1855", Dalkin's 1981 book "Colonial Era Cemetery of Norfolk Island", Harry Shapiro's 1929 geneological research entitled "Descendants of the Mutineers of the Bounty", the updated pictorial booklet "Old Norfolk Town" by K. and K. A. Davies, and the author's personal collection of pioneer data.

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- 1 **Debut** - Adventism Down Under before 1885
- 2 **Entry into the Australian Colonies** – Beginning of Adventism in Australia
- 3 **Letters to Aussie Colonials** - Case studies from the E G White letters
- 4 **Land of the Long White Cloud** - Beginning of Adventism in New Zealand
- 5 **Letters to Kiwi Colonials** - Case studies from the E G White letters
- 6 **Printing and Selling** - Early Adventist Publishing Work in Australia
- 7 **Dame of the Deep** - The Six Voyages of the Pitcairn
- 8 **Sequel to a Mutiny** - Early on Pitcairn Island
- 9 **Church in a Convict Gaol** - Early Adventism on Norfolk Island
- 10 **On the Rim of a Volcano** - Early Adventism on Lord Howe Island
- 11 **A Temporary Training School** - The Australian Bible School in Melbourne
- 12 **An Experiment at Cooranbong** - Pioneering Avondale College
- 13 **Little Schools for Little People** - Early Adventist Primary Schools in Australasia
- 14 **People of Ao-Te-Aroa** - The Adventist Mission to Maoris
- 15 **Rescue Homes and Remedies with Water** - Adventist Benevolent work in Australia
- 16 **Hospital on a Hilltop** - Pioneering the Sydney Sanitarium
- 17 **Cultivating Vegetarianism** - Pioneering the Sanitarium Health Food Company
- 18 **Lotu Savasava** - Early Adventism in Fiji
- 19 **Te Maramarama** - Early Adventism in French Polynesia
- 20 **Tuatua Mou** - Early Adventism in the Cook Islands
- 21 **Talafekau Mo'oni** - Early Adventism in Tonga and Niue
- 22 **Lotu Aso Fitu** - Early Adventism in Samoa
- 23 **An Oriental Foster Child** - Adventism in South-east Asia before 1912
- 24 **Beyond the Zig-Zag** - Pioneering Carmel College in Western Australia
- 25 **Pukekura and Oroua** - Pioneering Longburn College in New Zealand
- 26 **Descendants of the Dreamtime** - The Adventist Mission to the Australian Aborigines
- 27 **Lotu Bilong Sevenday** - Early Adventism in Papua New Guinea
- 28 **A Mission Among Murderers** - Early Adventism in Vanuatu
- 29 **Vina Juapa Rane** - Early-Adventism in the Solomon Islands
- 30 **Pioneering in Paradise** - Early Adventism in New Caledonia
- 31 **War Zone Scramble** - Stories of Escape During World War
- 32 **A Late Expansion** - Early Adventism in Kiribati and Tuvalu