Adelaide Club History Group Luncheon 13.9.17

Julian Edmund Tenison Woods 1832 – 1889
Inspirational Pioneering Priest and Polymath

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When twenty-two-year-old Julian Edmund Tenison Woods arrived in South Australia from England via Van Diemen's Land and Victoria in 1855, he anticipated only a short-term, family-oriented extension to an Antipodean interlude. Little did he then know that his coming here to Adelaide would prove to be a significant turning point in a life as pioneering priest and natural scientist that would influence and enrich the lives of countless Australians before he died in Sydney thirty-four years later. Just who was this young man?

Julian was born to Irish parents on the 15th of November 1832 in secluded West Square, Southwark, South London, not far from Shakespeare's Globe Theatre. His Catholic father, James Dominick Woods, son of a Cork ship owner and wine merchant, had been admitted to the London Middle Temple as a barrister, but instead 'occupied a leading position on the literary staff of *The Times*',[1] missing Julian's first few months because he was covering the siege of Antwerp. He was also London correspondent for *The Scottish Standard*, official recorder for East India Company meetings, and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Antiquaries.[2]

Julian's mother, Henrietta St Eloy Tenison, was 'the descendant of a long line of distinguished Church of Ireland and Anglican clergy'.[3] The daughter of Joseph Tenison, an Anglican rector who was deputy governor of County Wicklow and a grand-nephew of Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury, she was also a distant cousin many times removed of John Abel-Smith, [4] the London banker whose family owned property here in Adelaide as well as in the West Indies.[5] Henrietta bore eleven children, three of whom died in infancy. Julian remembered both of his parents with affection and enjoyed growing up in a household alive with children as well as a procession of interesting relatives and visitors.

His formal education between the ages of four and twelve in various Catholic, Wesleyan and Anglican day and boarding schools was sporadic and unsatisfactory.[6] He much preferred being educated at home, where he said he 'used to learn five times as much in a day with his father or with a tutor as with a class and other boys'.[7] He had access to a comprehensive family library, which stimulated his intense intellectual curiosity. He committed to memory discourses in Latin, French and English, and on his own initiative studied Euclid, Algebra and Logic. He also enjoyed art, singing and music. During summer rambles in the country with his father and brothers he developed 'a taste for natural history' and became what he called 'an indefatigable collector of…butterflies, beetles, curious stones, shells, fossils and miscellaneous curios'.[8]

At fourteen Julian was apprenticed to the printer of *The Times* but his heart was not in the business of learning the newspaper game. Although his early religious experience had been ecumenical and minimal, at sixteen he decided that he was 'a Roman Catholic at heart'[9] as well as by baptism and made his First Holy Communion. Two years later, eighteen-year-old Julian left *The Times* and, wishing to devote his life to the Church, entered the Passionist Novitiate in the Cotswolds. He did so with the reluctant consent of his father and the encouragement of the

Reverend Frederick Oakeley, one of the eminent Oxford Anglicans who had converted to Catholicism at this time of religious controversy that intensified with the 1850 restoration of the Catholic Hierarchy after 250 years.

Two years of austere monastic life with the Passionists in England broke Julian's health, already weakened from periodic illnesses, which forced him to leave. He subsequently continued his theological studies at the Marist Novitiate in Toulon, France, and also pursued his interest in geology in the French volcanic district of Auvergne. However, a cholera outbreak and the Crimean War forced his return to London in 1854. He was facing an uncertain future when he met Bishop Willson of Van Diemen's Land, and accepted a position there as lay chaplain for government prisons. As he later recalled: 'In this way one of the great turning points of my life was arranged and decided',[10] but he did not then know he would never set eyes on 'England's green and pleasant land' again.[11]

Julian was twenty-two when he arrived in Hobart Town in January 1855, but after three months he left for the mainland. He later described Tasmania as a 'very beautiful island' [but of this period he added]: 'In no part of the world did [I] ever see a greater contrast between the dispositions of men and the face of nature.'[12] After staying briefly in Melbourne with his eldest brother, Edmund, a journalist for *The Argus*, he proceeded here to Adelaide, home since 1852 of his second-eldest brother, James, thereby making the transition from a dystopian penal colony to the utopian 'paradise of dissent'[13] that was South Australia. James, who was then secretary to the Central Roads Board, lived with his wife Catherine in West Terrace before they moved to Walkerville with their growing brood of children that eventually numbered eight. This prompted brother Edmund's droll query in a letter to Julian: 'Does he ever intend to stop in his obedience to the command "increase and multiply?" '[14]

Soon after his arrival, Julian gained a position as sub-editor and reporter for *The Adelaide Times*. He still yearned for life in a religious order in England or Europe, but since it then seemed impossible, he sought 'some relaxation in society' where, according to his first and most engaging biographer, Mary MacKillop, he was well received:

> He was young, good-looking and very attractive; more than one fair lady bestowed upon him approving glances, and many a pleasant hour was spent in music and singing among those who delighted in his company…
>
> In conversation someone mentioned him, stating that he intended returning to England to re-enter the Passionist Order.
>
> "Oh no," said another, "he will soon forget those fancies. What does a fine fellow like him want going about barefooted? He should get married – there is Miss Z breaking her heart about him."
>
> "But he is poor and far too honorable to be a fortune-hunter."
>
> "Nonsense! She has enough for both, and if she is willing to share it, what more is needed? I believe he will settle down – and what an ornament he will be! We want such men out here, not shut in a monastery wasting his talents."
>
> Some of these remarks at last reached the subject of them. A tempter whispered,

> "Why not settle down? You could do so much good here. Education is carried on as much by good newspapers as by books and lectures. At any rate, it will do no harm to address the lady – you know she likes you."
>
> He certainly knew he was not disagreeable to her; and as he was invited to spend an evening at her home, some distance from the city, he determined he would on that occasion decide the important matter…

However, Julian first sought the counsel of Dr Francis Murphy, the inaugural Catholic Bishop of Adelaide who unsurprisingly, given the dearth of priests in the diocese, advised him to give up the idea of marriage altogether, and that of a 'religious life at present, and retire to the Jesuit College at Sevenhill…to finish his studies preparatory to his ordination as a secular priest'. Julian agreed, and as Mary MacKillop ever so delicately expressed it: 'His departure from Adelaide caused no small surprise to his friends, and Miss Z had the satisfaction of knowing that no human being was preferred to her.'[15]

Having made this decision Julian said he 'lost all desire of returning to Europe and felt…settled down to give his life entirely to the Australian missions'.[16] The pioneering Austrian Jesuits at Sevenhill welcomed him to their humble establishment and to this day, you can see the window of his room from the church, as you soberly wend your way up to the winery cellar door. Julian reviewed 'his whole course of theology and learnt all he could about the administration of the sacraments and the celebration of Mass'. He also did 'a course in geology and mineralogy'[17] that included a horseback journey of 161 kilometres to the north, during which he made geological observations of that little-known region. Julian returned to Adelaide in time for a family Christmas, and on the 4th of January 1857 Bishop Murphy ordained him in the original St Patrick's Church in Grote Street. On a stormy night two months later, accompanied by a younger brother, Terence, who had recently arrived in Adelaide, he boarded the *Boomerang* bound for Robe. His new life as a pioneering missionary priest, in a wild and distant place which he said 'might have been on the moon'[18] for all his Adelaide friends could tell him, was about to unfold.

The ten years Julian spent ministering to his far-flung flock in the 57,000 square-kilometre South Eastern mission district proved to be the happiest of his life: his vocation as a priest melded seamlessly with his passion for science, and his pastoral and civic contributions to the lives of South Easterners were both valued and respected. Although Julian was based in Penola, he was 'almost constantly in the saddle, riding from place to place, holding missions, visiting the sick and administering the Sacraments'.[19] These long journeys often entailed his 'stretching on the ground with his saddle for a pillow'[20] and he recalled one tour 'in killing weather, with precious little meat' when he provided 'refreshment for the fleas of about twelve shepherds' huts'.[21] He relied on bush hospitality, receiving a warm welcome from squatters and shepherds, Catholics and Protestants alike. A Victorian inspector of denominational schools, English Quaker James Bonwick, sheds some light on why this was so:

> …from his handsome appearance and graceful accomplishments, [Father Woods] was the idol of the ladies, but he also won the respect of men, from the field toiler to the governor. His conversation was simply fascinating. His knowledge seemed universal. He played the piano with skill, and he sang expressively. But his genuine goodness, his

> love for his fellows, his devotion to duty were equally apparent. I was never so charmed by any man.[22]

Nor was Mrs Henry [Frances] Jones of Binnum Binnum Station near Naracoorte. For a dinner there she placed Julian on one side of her and the lively Irish doctor 'not far off down the table, so that the cross-fire of wit and humour which she intended should flow between the Rev. Julian and himself should spare her the exertion of keeping the conversation afloat'. [23]

As a natural scientist Julian belonged appropriately to a distinguished European clerical tradition. But it was one little understood within the largely Irish, Australian Catholic church at the time, with the notable exception of the Austrian Jesuits at Sevenhill who, like Julian, saw science as being 'in accord with his vocation as a priest'.[24] Consequently, he always 'travelled with books, writing materials, geological hammer and pocket lens tucked into the saddle-bags alongside his breviary, Greek Testament and portable altar service'.[25] He could well have included a copy of the *The South Australian Register*, which had 'brought [his] name and his interest in science before the public for the first time'[26] on the 30th of July 1857, when it published a letter he wrote to the editor in response to a reported fossil discovery near Blanchetown.

Julian's pioneering book *Geological Observations in South Australia*, published in Melbourne in 1862, was 'the first attempt at a systematic examination of the geology of South Australia…[and] marked a noteworthy achievement in the history of geological endeavour in the colony'.[27] It received approving notices, not only in Australia but also overseas, where reviewers 'stressed the spirit and precision of its style, the accurate and abundant data, the careful and philosophical spirit of its discussions and the suitability of the book for the general public as well as for the specialist geologist'.[28] It is one of my favourite books. In it, Julian described the sub-marine origin of the South East, and the now World Heritage-listed caves at Mosquito Plains and their fossil vertebrates. For him 'these silent caves…[had] within themselves a wondrous record of this planet's changes'.[29] He correctly deduced that the series of limestone ridges between the current Naracoorte Range and Robe 'had formerly been coastlines'.[30] He was the first to describe scientifically the renowned red soil of Coonawarra. He knew that the Victorian volcanic district was 'rather more ancient than the Mount Gambier district, though both had risen in a very recent tertiary period.' [31] He also knew that the eruptions of the Mount Gambier volcano were the most recent and although the lake appeared tranquil 'the igneous agent may still be active below'. His vivid description of an 'eruption' had first been published in *The South Australian Register* on the 1st of October 1857:

> Subterranean rumbles are heard…fire begins to appear, and is sent forth into a bubbling hissing cauldron of molten stone…Huge fragments are hurled into the air to fall into the…seething mass below…But now…the melted walls have cooled and the gentle splashing of the calm and glassy lake is the only echo that is heard from shore to shore.[32]

Julian successfully combined scientific and literary work with what he called his 'duty to God [and his] duty as a good citizen'.[33] In one week, when a fever raged, he answered eighteen sick calls, using his medical skills to assist those in need. He was also Vice-President of the Penola Mechanics Institute, delivering lectures and donating books and scientific papers to its outstanding library. He strongly supported a District Council and the 1865 election of the first

local members of the South Australian Parliament, his friends Adam Lindsay Gordon and John Riddoch, whom he said would enliven a Parliament which 'seemed to have forgotten that it had such a province as the South East'.[34] He provided recommendations for the implementation of a comprehensive drainage system in the district.[35] He was critical of the inefficient mail service and the state of the roads,[36] on one occasion making the ironic comment: 'After having subscribed nearly half a million [pounds] from this district the Government has taken our roads in hand, and we have the privilege of seeing a dozen men shovelling mud into the Dismal Swamp.'[37] Unsurprisingly, he was a separationist and Princeland advocate.

Of deepest concern to Julian, however, was the deplorable condition of the district's Aborigines and how this could be ameliorated. He was well aware that the able-bodied lived industrious lives working in the townships, and on stations as horse-breakers, bullock-drivers,[38] and shepherds. For many, however, European-introduced diseases and particularly alcohol caused 'misery and degradation' which he said the Government system was 'inadequate to alleviate.'[39] He asserted publicly that 'a more hideous crying evil does not exist among Christians', many of whom 'had grown rich on their lands'[40] and he did all he could to help them.

Julian's empathy for the marginalised, the poor, and the isolated, was also integral to his work as a religious founder and educator. He responded creatively to the challenge of providing a Catholic education for isolated bush children whose parents could not afford a governess like Mary MacKillop, whom he met in 1860 when she arrived, as an eighteen-year-old, to teach her wealthy Cameron cousins at Penola Station. He shared with her his dream of a religious order that had the flexibility and independence to meet this challenge and she shared with him her desire to serve God by devoting herself 'to poor children…in some very poor order'.[41]

The time was not then right, but in 1866 when Mary returned to Penola from Portland, where she had gained classroom teaching experience at the Catholic school, she and Julian co-founded the uniquely Australian Institute of the Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart. Mary, the first Sister, later said that 'The work of our dear Institute began at Penola' and 'the first St Joseph's school had its origin in a six-stalled stable'.[42] The sesqui-centenary of that South Australian foundation was celebrated in Penola, throughout Australia, and overseas, in March 2016. What Mary provided in this school, and for the many that followed, was a first-rate secular education imbued with the spirit of Catholicism. Central to it was Julian's and Mary's shared conviction that children should be treated with kindness and love. *In omnibus caritas* – In all things love.

Towards the end of 1866 Bishop Sheil, who had arrived in the Adelaide Club's foundation year of 1863, appointed Julian the first Director General of the first system of Catholic Education in Australia. This necessitated a move to Adelaide for him, and later for Mary, who would be crucial to the Bishop's plan. After his Penola farewell Mass in February 1867 he was presented with an address expressing 'the feelings of love and admiration his parishioners felt for him'.[43] A deputation representing South East residents of all classes and creeds, also thanked him for his support of 'all that was likely to contribute to [the district's] prosperity',[44] and presented him with 100 guineas to purchase scientific materials. He was thirty-four years old.

At an inaugural meeting held in Adelaide a month later, Julian presented a detailed 'outline of the Sheil-Woods Scheme of Catholic Education in South Australia', which would in future be 'carried out by a Director General, a Central Council, and Local Boards'.[45] In effect, Julian shouldered the responsibility for all educational affairs. Under his direction and Sister Mary of the Cross MacKillop's strong and capable leadership, many Josephite schools were opened

throughout South Australia and successfully run using her excellent organisational and teaching 'Method', which Julian disseminated to all Catholic schools. However, he soon faced bitter opposition from penurious, mainly Irish, priests unhappy about 'a Catholic education system run without government aid'. They also resented the pivotal role the independently governed and 'unorthodox Sisters of St Joseph played in implementing it'.[46] These Sisters came from all walks of life, required no dowries, and were certainly not sequestered in convents behind grilles. Nor were they involved only in schools. They made regular visits to 'the Adelaide Gaol, the Adelaide Hospital and the Destitute Asylum', and also ran 'a house of Refuge for women and girls requiring shelter and protection'.[47] Such social work for anyone in need was reported as receiving 'the admiration of all Catholics as well as of Protestants'.[48]

Unfortunately, as Mary MacKillop later explained it, 'the anxiety, the overwork, the many duties he imposed upon himself, as well as those which belonged to his position proved too great a strain.'[49] Julian suffered a breakdown in 1871 and was sent to conduct missions in NSW. This meant that Mary, who had recently returned to Adelaide after establishing Josephite schools in Queensland, now faced alone the vindictive reprisals of Julian's clerical enemies led by Father Horan. The catalyst had been the Sisters at Kapunda reporting to their Director, Father Woods, the abuse of children by Horan's paedophile friend, Father Keating. Julian had immediately reported this to the Vicar General, who acted promptly by sending Keating back to Ireland, where he doubtless continued on his unconscionable way. It was this action that eventually resulted in 'the nasty farce of [Mary's] pseudo-excommunication'[50] by an easily-manipulated Bishop Sheil, on a trumped-up charge of disobedience and rebellion.

Mary and forty-seven of her Sisters were thrown, destitute, onto the streets of Adelaide. They received support from incensed members of the Catholic laity, including James and Catherine Woods, whose daughter Ellen was a Sister of St Joseph, and also the Jesuits at Norwood. Others who continued to provide practical and financial assistance were Jewish MP Emmanuel Solomon, and particularly Joanna and Robert Barr Smith, who became long-term benefactors to the Josephites. For Joanna, it was far more personal than this. Many years later, she would write a poignant and heart-felt letter to wheelchair-bound Mother Mary MacKillop in Sydney:

> Oh, my dear friend, I wish I could see you again or hear your voice. Living or dying, my beloved friend, I am ever the same to you and am proud to look back on nearly 40 years of unbroken friendship. My husband and I send dearest love.[51]

After five months, from his deathbed, Bishop Sheil 'acknowledged the injustice of his conduct'[52] and reinstated Mary and her Sisters. However, part of the fall-out from the Adelaide excommunication debacle ultimately led to a Vatican directive that the Sisters must own property. Julian never accepted this crucial change to his original rule of poverty, with which Mary, who had gone to Rome seeking Papal approval of the Josephite Rule, had reluctantly but pragmatically agreed. It was this issue, in particular, that caused a rift between them. An anguished Mary subsequently sacrificed her 'dear good Father's affection' to her own strong 'sense of duty'[53] and an equally determined Julian painfully but resolutely distanced himself from a wise and close friend who understood him as no other would ever be allowed to again.[54]

Once he resumed the more independent lifestyle of missionary work in New South Wales and Queensland, Julian's revitalised interest in science provided essential balance. He crossed to Tasmania in 1874 and his first scientific paper in seven years marked 'an impressive re-entry into the colonial scientific community'.[55] Wherever he spoke – and this included sermons – he drew large crowds. He had also begun gathering recruits for the newly-founded Diocesan Sisters of St Joseph in Bathurst, amending his original Josephite rule of central governance to

satisfy the territorial imperatives of Bishop Matthew Quinn and latterly other bishops who wanted episcopal control of the Sisters.

In 1883, with offers of mission work declining, Julian's life took a completely new direction when he exchanged a horse for an elephant in accepting a British Government commission to examine the geology of the Malay Peninsula. This offer came through the Jesuit-educated governor, Sir Frederick Weld, whom he had first met here in Adelaide in 1869.[56] After completing that work, Julian explored Borneo, Malacca and the Phillipines for the British Admiralty, and it was acknowledged that the accurate information he provided about 'the coal resources of the Eastern seas which might become available in time of war [with Russia]…increased the strength of the English navy in that part of the world, by a force better than half-a-dozen good-sized frigates'.[57] And although not quite in the James Bond league, on one occasion Julian was forced to make 'a speedy departure in the dead of night' to avoid upsetting a rajah intent on this cultured Catholic priest marrying his only daughter. As Mary MacKillop succinctly put it when recording this story: 'Rajahs are not to be trifled with…'[58]

Julian subsequently travelled extensively in China and Japan before returning to Port Darwin in June 1886 after almost three years in Asia. He then investigated the geology and mineralogy of the Northern Territory for the South Australian government before returning to Sydney, where he died from the effects of paralysis on the 7th of October 1889, a month before his fifty-seventh birthday. His Requiem Mass in St Mary's Cathedral was attended by family and friends; Sisters of St Joseph, including Mother Mary MacKillop; members of the clergy; and scientific colleagues from the Australian Museum, the Linnean Society and the Royal Society, which the previous year had awarded Julian its prestigious Clarke Medal.

Professor Ralph Tate, inaugural Elder Chair of Natural Science at the University of Adelaide and first President of the Royal Society of South Australia, who would himself receive the Clarke Medal in 1893, responded with eloquence to Julian's death:

> No heavier loss has this year befallen the Scientific Societies of Australasian naturalists, than the death of this naturalist. Not only was he one of the foremost Australian naturalists, but to many of us he was far more as a dear personal friend, a delightful companion and a skilled adviser…He lent valuable aid to [the Royal Society of South Australia] at a critical period of its career by infusing a higher scientific character to its proceedings…As a small tribute of respect to one who has done so much for the good of religion and laboured so vigorously for the science he loved, and also for the community in general…a memorial tombstone has been erected over his grave [in Waverley Cemetery] by public subscription. [59]

Equally eloquent was Mary MacKillop, who had taken strawberries to Julian during his final illness:

> How appropriate is the last resting place of this gentle learned priest and naturalist!...There on the hillside, overlooking the Pacific which washes far below the rocky cemetery, and murmurs a perpetual requiem in its own soul-stirring music, the mortal remains of Father J. E. Tenison Woods await the resurrection.
>
> May he rest in peace. Amen.[60]

[1] James Dominick Woods Jr, *The Rev. J.E Tenison Woods*, Adelaide, 28.8.1901. James produced this memoir for Mother Mary of the Cross MacKillop, when she was preparing her excellent 1903 biography *Julian Tenison Woods A Life*. Later made available for research as a typescript, this was finally published as a book in 1997.
[2] Isabel Hepburn rsj, *No Ordinary Man: Life and Letters of Julian E. Tenison Woods,* Wanganui, 1979, pp 14, 16
[3] Margaret Press rsj, 'Who was Julian Woods, really?', Woods Seminar, Naracoorte, 6.8.1989
[4] John M. Bishop researched the relationship between Henrietta Maria St. Eloy (nee Tenison) Woods (ca. 1796-1847) and John Abel Smith (1802-1871). Her great-grandmother Mary (née Smith) Tenison (1711-1749) was a 1st cousin of his grandfather Abel Smith (1717-1788). John's father John (1767-1842) was a brother of Robert Smith, 1st Baron Carrington (1750-1838). Adelaide, July 2017.
[5] Margaret Press rsj, *Julian Tenison Woods: 'Father Founder'*, Collins Dove, N Blackburn Victoria, 1994, p10
[6] Margaret Muller, *Penola – Ten Years in the Bush and Beyond,* Woods exhibition text, Mary MacKillop Penola Centre, 2000. Panel 2 Education and Work.
[7] Julian Tenison Woods, *Memoirs Vol 1,* Sydney, unpublished typescript of memoirs dictated to and transcribed by Miss Anne Bulger, Sydney 1887 – 1889, Mary MacKillop Penola Centre, p13
[8] Julian Tenison Woods, *Memoirs Vol 1,* p21
[9] Julian Tenison Woods, *Memoirs Vol 1,* p46
[10] Julian Tenison Woods, *Memoirs Vol 1,* p
[11] William Blake, 'Jerusalem'
[12] Julian Tenison Woods, *Memoirs Vol 2,* p5
[13] Douglas Pike, *Paradise of dissent: South Australia 1829 – 1857*, MUP, 1967
[14] Edward Woods, letter to Julian Tenison Woods, Melbourne, 16.6.1858
[15] Mary MacKillop, *Julian Tenison Woods A Life,* extracted from pp17 – 19
[16] Julian Tenison Woods, *Memoirs Vol 2,* p7
[17] Julian Tenison Woods, *Memoirs Vol 2,* p11
[18] Julian Tenison Woods, Lecture 'Ten Years in the Bush', Penola 19.12.1866
[19] Mary MacKillop, *Julian Tenison Woods A Life,* p29
[20] Woods, *Memoirs, Vol 2*, p15
[21] Woods, Letter to William Archer, Penola, 5.4.1865
[22] James Bonwick, quoted by Mary MacKillop, *Julian Tenison Woods A Life,* p32
[23] Mrs Henry Jones, *Broad Outlines of Long Years in Australia* London, 1878, p209
[24] Anne V Player rsj, *Julian Tenison Woods 1832 – 1889: Interaction of Science and Religion*, MA thesis, ANU, 1990
[25] Margaret Muller, *Penola – Ten Years in the Bush and Beyond,* Woods exhibition text, Mary MacKillop Penola Centre, 2000. Panel 7 Scientist: Fossils and Caves.
[26] Anne V Player rsj, *Julian Tenison Woods 1832 –1889 : Interaction of Science and Religion*, 1990, p11
[27] Anne V Player rsj, *Julian Tenison Woods 1832 –1889 : Interaction of Science and Religion*, 1990, p18
[28] Anne V Player rsj, *Julian Tenison Woods 1832 –1889 : Interaction of Science and Religion*, 1990, p18
[29] Rev. Julian Edmund Woods, *Geological Observations in South Australia,* 1862, p350
[30] Rev. Julian Edmund Woods, *Geological Observations in South Australia,* 1862, p215
[31]Rev. Julian Edmund Woods, *Geological Observations in South Australia,* 1862, p290, p257
[32] *South Australian Register,* 1 10.1857
[33] Julian Tenison Woods *Memoirs Vol I,* p87
[34] *The Border Watch,* Mount Gambier, 12.8.1865
[35] Margaret Muller, *Penola Ten Years in the Bush and Beyond*, Woods exhibition text booklet, Mary MacKillop Penola Centre, 2014 edition. Panel 10 A Good Citizen.
[36] Julian ET Woods, letter to the editor *The Border Watch,* Mount Gambier, 8.10.1864. Written from Penola and dated 2.10.1864 and published under the heading 'The New Valuations'.
[37] *The Border Watch,* Mount Gambier, 8.10.1864
[38] Quarterly report on Guichen Bay aborigines, *The Border Watch,* Mount Gambier, 4.8.1866. The average wage for such station work was 10 shillings per week.
[39] Woods, Letter to Father John Smyth, Penola, 3.5.1866
[40] *The Border Watch,* Mount Gambier, 16.2.1867
[41] Mary MacKillop, letter to Bishop Sheil, 10.9.1871
[42] Mary MacKillop, letter to Monsignor Kirby, Rome, 22.5.1873. Mary MacKillop, 'History of the Congregation 1866 – 1900'.

[43] Margaret Muller, *Penola Ten Years in the Bush and Beyond*, Woods exhibition text booklet, Mary MacKillop Penola Centre, 2014 edition. Panel 11 Educator and Founder.
[44] *The Border Watch,* Mount Gambier, 16.2.1867
[45] Circular letter presented by Father Tenison Woods and reported in the *South Australian Register,* 29.4.1867
[46] Margaret Muller, *Penola Ten Years in the Bush and Beyond*, Woods exhibition text booklet, Mary MacKillop Penola Centre, 2014 edition. Panel 12 Under the Shadow of a Cross.
[47] Marie Foale rsj, *The Josephite Story Mary MacKillop and the Sisters of St Joseph 1866 – 1893,* Sydney 1989, pp44,45
[48] *Irish Harp and Farmers' Herald*, 1.10.1871, p6
[49] Mary MacKillop, *Julian Tenison Woods A Life*, p151
[50] Paul Gardiner sj, 'The Cause of Our Australian Saint', *Jesuit Life*, 2010, p3
[51] Letter from Joanna Barr Smith to Mary MacKillop, Adelaide, 17.7.1907
[52] Mary MacKillop, letter to her mother, Flora, Adelaide, 26.2.1872
[53] Mary MacKillop, letter to Sister Josephine [Ellen] McMullen, Port Lincoln, 27.1.1877
[54] Margaret Muller, *Penola Ten Years in the Bush and Beyond*, Woods exhibition text booklet, Mary MacKillop Penola Centre, 2014 edition. Panel 13 Separate Ways. Woods' subsequent amendment to the original rule of central governance to allow episcopal control of the newly-founded Diocesan Sisters of St Joseph in Bathurst, was another source of dissension.
[55] Anne V Player rsj, *Julian Tenison Woods 1832 – 1889: Interaction of Science and Religion*, 1990, p42
[56] Previously Governor of Western Australia, Weld was on his way to take up his position as Governor of Tasmania, when he met Woods. They became friends during Woods' missionary years in Tasmania from 1874.
[57] Mary MacKillop quotes this in *Julian Tenison Woods A Life*, p224
[58] Mary MacKillop, *Julian Tenison Woods A Life*, p226
[59] *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of South Australia 1889-90*
[60] Mary MacKillop, *Julian Tenison Woods A Life*, p238