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JULIAN TENISON WOODS
Priest, Scientist, Citizen, Founder & Educator

INTRODUCTION

That Julian Tenison Woods was a polymath is evident from the diversity of his interests, accomplishments and achievements. His first biographer, Mary MacKillop, who knew and understood him well, commented on the 'many-sided mind the man must have had'[1] and made the ironic observation that he was 'possessed of the 'great capacity for hard work' once given as 'a synonym for genius'.[2] She also quoted reminiscences of Woods, written by English Quaker James Bonwick, inspector of denominational schools in Victoria during the 1850s:

> It was after inspecting the Portland [R.C.] School [in 1857] that I met at the table of the local Catholic clergyman one of the most accomplished men I ever saw…He had [taken] charge of a mission in a wild part of the [South Australian] bush among a number of Highland Catholic Scotch squatters.
>
> Father Julian E. Tenison Woods…was from his handsome appearance and graceful accomplishments, 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 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.[3]

The ten years Woods spent in the South East, as the Penola-based parish priest of a 75,000 square kilometre mission district, proved to be 'amongst the happiest'[4] of a richly diverse but sometimes difficult life.

FAMILY BACKGROUND

Born on 15 November 1832 in secluded West Square, Southwark, South London, to an Irish Catholic father and an Anglican mother, he was one of eleven children. His mother, Henrietta, daughter of the rector of Donaghmore Glebe, County Wicklow, was descended from a 'long line of Anglican dignitaries'[5] that included an Archbishop of Canterbury. His father, James, son of a Cork wine merchant and shipowner, qualified as a London barrister, then worked as a parliamentary reporter and special correspondent for *The Times*. Woods grew up in a home where he had access to an extensive library, and to lively conversations with family members and a fascinating procession of visitors.

When not being educated at home with a tutor, he attended various Catholic, Anglican and Wesleyan day and boarding schools, which made his early religious experience decidedly ecumenical. However, at the age of sixteen, when he was a printer's apprentice at *The Times*,

he decided that he was 'a Roman Catholic at heart'[6] as well as by baptism and made his First Holy Communion.

PRIEST

At this time Woods met Oxford don, the Reverend Frederick Oakeley, an eminent Anglican convert to Catholicism, under whose influence he developed a 'longing desire' to devote himself 'to the Church'.[7] Consequently, between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four, when he was finally ordained as a diocesan priest in antipodean Adelaide, Woods studied with the Passionists in England, the Marists in France and, after an interlude as lay chaplain to convicts in Van Diemen's Land, with the Jesuits at Sevenhill in South Australia.

It was in March 1857 that twenty-four-year-old Father Woods, accompanied by his brother Terry, sailed for Guichen Bay, which he said, 'might have been on the moon for all that the Adelaide people could tell [him]'. He described the *Boomerang* as 'a small pilot schooner…so unsteady that sleep was impossible', particularly since the gentlemen were allocated the hold, which they shared with 'flour bags, packages and rats'. He described himself as 'a new chum in every sense of the word, able to ride a horse pretty well and that was all.' It did not take him long 'to see all that was to be seen in Robe town', which then had very few stone buildings, but he was astonished by the presence of a large number of Chinese immigrants on their poll tax-free way to the Victorian goldfields. He commented that the 'dreary and melancholy' two-day ride to Penola, in the tracks of 'small struggling parties' of Chinese, could not 'be well imagined'.[8]

As he led what he called 'a true missionary life'[9] Woods spent little time in his presbytery,[10] which also served as a chapel and was later extolled as having been 'the first place in the township where public worship was held…[and] where the first footstep of civilization was stamped on the South Eastern District'.[11] He was 'almost constantly in the saddle, riding from place to place, holding missions, visiting the sick and administering the Sacraments'.[12] Baptismal and marriage registers reflect the distances he travelled as he completed each arduous circuit which, when possible, also included parts of Western Victoria, for example Lake Wallace Station, Edenhope:

> He visited Mount Gambier monthly (which took a week); Robe three monthly (ten days); Portland three monthly (one week) and the Tatiara country six monthly (three weeks), varying each circuit to include every station. The intervening periods he devoted to the eternal and temporal welfare of his Penola flock.
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> In winter he frequently rode for miles with water lapping at his saddle girths and risked drowning in flooded creeks. Summer brought exposure to the burning sun and to the Australian mosquito which he said defied 'any attempt at sleep',[13] and on one long tour 'in killing weather, with precious little meat' he provided 'refreshments for the fleas of about 12 shepherds' huts.'[14] [15]

On these long journeys, which often entailed his 'stretching on the ground with his saddle for a pillow',[16] Woods was dependent on bush hospitality, and he received a warm welcome from squatters and shepherds, Catholics and Protestants alike. He used his musical talents to play for dances after dinner and enjoyed singing as well as bush story-telling. He also recalled a time when every man was a kangaroo hunter, and he was not ashamed to say that he had amused himself in that way too.[17]

Woods celebrated Mass daily throughout his priestly life, regardless of where he was or with whom, for example in Asia during the early 1880s when he occasionally travelled by elephant to pursue his scientific work, accompanied only by its handler. Just by the way, he once 'made a speedy departure (presumably not by elephant) …in the dead of night' to avoid upsetting a rajah who was intent on this cultured Englishman marrying his only daughter. As an amused Mary MacKillop put it when recording this story: 'Rajahs are not to be trifled with;…'[18] In the cause of Woods' pastoral work here in the bush, which was fortunately devoid of match-making rajahs, he built three churches: St Joseph's in Penola, St Mary's Star of the Sea here in Robe, which was also used as a school, and St Teresa's in Mt Gambier.[19]

SCIENTIST

One of the main reasons Woods loved his life as a mission priest in this district, and later on in New South Wales, Queensland and Tasmania, was the opportunity it gave him to pursue his interest in natural science.[20] This had initially been stimulated during childhood 'summer rambles' in the country with his father and brothers, when he became an 'indefatigable collector of…butterflies, beetles, curious stones, shells, fossils and miscellaneous curios'.[21] For a man of Woods' background, as a natural scientist he belonged appropriately to a distinguished European clerical tradition. However, 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 Woods, saw science as 'in accord with his vocation as a priest'.[22] He himself said: 'When out in the far Bush, in the prosecution of my duties, it has been a most delightful employment…to study the great unpublished work of Nature'.[23] This, for him, was all God's creation: 'Whether he searches in earth, or sky, or sea, [man] is everywhere met by the visions of the Illimitable'.[24]

Woods travelled with books, writing materials, a geological hammer and pocket lens tucked into the saddlebags alongside his breviary, Greek Testament and portable altar service.[25] In his *Memoirs*, dictated in the late 1880s during his last pain-wracked years in Sydney, he recalled that with his geological hammer 'he used to work for hours, getting out new specimens revealing some fossil novelty and thus unlocking the grand secrets of Australia's past history. Each specimen as it was exhumed was carefully labelled and taken down to his museum at Penola. Thus, grew up…a wonderful collection of marine fossils.'[26]

Woods contributed to different scientific societies and newspapers. In his pioneering 1862 book, *Geological Observations in South Australia, Principally in the District South-East of Adelaide*, he combines scientific knowledge with his journalistic flair for making such material accessible to a wide range of readers – including me. It is one of my favourite books. Woods was the first to identify the sub-marine origin[27] of the South East with its 'tertiary limestone…[comprising] a mass of fossils cemented together'[28] that were 'deposited in a deep tranquil sea'.[29] He described 'the rich and varied beauties'[30] of the caves at Mosquito Plains near Naracoorte and examined their fossil vertebrates. He concluded that extensive 'inundations took place many times' including those 'which piled up the bones at the foot of stalactites formed during a period of rest'.[31] For him 'these silent caves…scarcely echoing to the footsteps which explore their hidden beauties, have within themselves a wondrous record of this planet's changes'[32] and he would have appreciated the significance of their listing as one of only eleven World Heritage fossil sites.[33]

Woods deduced that the series of limestone ridges between Coonawarra and Robe 'had formerly been coastlines'.[34] We now know that each major ridge represents a high inter-glacial sea level[35] about 100,000 years apart[36] and it could be an exciting joint project for the Wattle Range and Robe Councils, and Tourism SA, to recognise this with the appropriate signage. Woods thought that the coast behind Cape Dombey, on which the obelisk still stands, presented a 'sublime scene, which for wild beauty would be unequalled in Australia, were it on a little larger scale'.[37] He identified the granite rocks of the Tatiara[38] as being 'palaeozoic in age' but connected to the more recent 'pliocene upheaval of the continent'.[39] Seeing them, he said, carried his mind back to 'a time when the hard stone before him was a melted fiery mass'.[40] He knew that the Western Victorian volcanic district was 'more ancient than the Mount Gambier district, though both [had] risen in a very recent tertiary period'. He also noted that the eruptions of the Mount Gambier volcano were the most recent of all, warning that 'tranquil as it may appear, the igneous agent may still be active below'.[41]

As a priest and scientist Woods grappled with the theories of Charles Lyell on the antiquity of man, and Charles Darwin on evolution and natural selection. In 1863 at the 'Robe Town' Institute he delivered a 'Lecture on the Evidences of Man's Antiquity' entitled 'Not Quite as Old as the Hills',[42] which he thought gave 'a pretty good view of the other side of the question'.[43] However, he admired Darwin's methods of scientific enquiry and had long accepted the evolutionary principle of what he called 'a gradation in creation' when he stated publicly in 1880: 'I can well believe that there is much truth in evolution. If tomorrow the evidence of its occurrence were established on indubitable grounds, it would be one more beautiful illustration of the plan of nature.'[44] He nevertheless rejected Darwin's mechanism of natural selection because it denied God as Creator.[45]

The Royal Society of NSW acknowledged Woods' distinguished contribution to science in 1888 by awarding him its prestigious Clarke Medal. After his death in 1889, the Royal Society of SA president, Professor Ralph Tate, said his life was 'part of the scientific progress and history of Australasia.'[46] Woods appreciated the recognition of scientific contemporaries, but it was the respect and affection he enjoyed in this district, for his contributions, not only as priest and scientist but also as citizen, that he never forgot. [47]

CITIZEN

Much in demand as a public speaker, Woods delivered the inaugural lecture[48] for the Penola Mechanics Institute of which he was a committee member and later vice-president. He also contributed scientific papers and books to its library. He proposed a toast at the 1864 Penola Pastoral Show dinner to 'the Parliament of South Australia', which he said, 'had not any connexion with sheep or wool, unless indeed they considered that the members wandered like lost sheep in forming a ministry or sent their wits wool-gathering in search of an administration'. He preferred to praise Parliament's constituency, saying that 'ten years previously the place where they were seated was a wilderness' and it was they who had made it what it now was 'through toil and struggle'.[49]

Woods strongly supported a District Council and the 1865 election of the first local members of 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'.[50] He provided recommendations for the implementation of a comprehensive drainage system in the district.[51] He was critical of the inefficient mail service and the state of the roads.[52] Unsurprisingly, he was a Princeland advocate: 'Well then, let us try separation.'[53]

Of deepest concern to Woods, 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,[54] 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.'[55] Woods asserted publicly that 'a more hideous crying evil does not exist among Christians', many of whom 'had grown rich on their lands'[56] and he used his medical skills to help those he could. When one 'poor emaciated native in the last stages of disease, dirt and starvation' died in a slab hut near his presbytery, the gentle priest's grief was 'inexpressible'.[57] [58]

FOUNDER AND EDUCATOR

Woods' empathy for the marginalised, the poor, and the isolated, was also integral to his work as a founder and educator, which would ultimately make a difference to the lives of countless Australians. 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 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 longing to serve God by devoting herself 'to poor children…in some very poor order'.[59]

In 1866, when Mary returned to Penola from Portland, where she had gained classroom teaching experience at the Catholic school, she and Woods 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'.[60] The sesqui-centenary of that foundation will be celebrated in Penola, throughout Australia, and overseas, in March 2016. What Mary provided in this school, and for those that followed, was a first-rate secular education imbued with the spirit of Catholicism. Central to it was Woods' and Mary's shared conviction that children should be treated with kindness and love. *In omnibus caritas* – love in all things.

Towards the end of 1866 Woods' appointment as the first Director General of Catholic Education in South Australia, necessitated a move to Adelaide. He preached his farewell sermon in February 1867 'to the tears and sobs of his people'[61] and was presented with an address expressing 'the feelings of love and admiration his parishioners felt for him'.[62] 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',[63] and presented him with 100 guineas for the purpose of purchasing scientific materials. He was thirty-four years old.

Woods' four years in Adelaide proved difficult. He faced bitter opposition from penurious priests unhappy about 'a Catholic education system run without government aid', as well as 'the pivotal role the unorthodox Sisters of St Joseph played in implementing it'.[64] Under Mary's leadership, many Josephite schools were opened throughout the state and successfully run using her organisational and teaching 'Method'. The Sisters' social work with the distressed and needy was also exemplary. However, for Woods, anxiety and a workload that allowed no time for science, resulted in a breakdown. He left Adelaide in 1871 to return to the more balanced lifestyle of a mission priest in NSW, and Mary returned from Brisbane via

Penola to face the vindictive reprisals of his enemies, which led to 'the nasty farce of her pseudo-excommunication'.[65]

The Sisters were thrown out onto the streets of Adelaide, albeit temporarily, which ultimately led to a change to Woods' original rule of poverty, made in Rome with Mary's reluctant but pragmatic agreement. He never accepted the Vatican directive that the Sisters should own property and it was this, in particular, that caused a rift between them. An anguished Mary sacrificed her 'dear good Father's affection' to her own strong 'sense of duty'[66] and an equally determined Woods painfully but resolutely distanced himself from a wise and close friend who understood him as no other would ever be allowed to again.[67]

During Woods' mission work in the eastern states and Tasmania, 'his scientific output was prolific and his reputation as a colonial scientist grew'. Between 1883 and 1886 he undertook geological work for the British government in Malaya, Borneo, Malacca and the Philippines, and travelled further afield to China and Japan before returning to Port Darwin. 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 7 October 1889, a month before his fifty-seventh birthday.

DEATH AND LEGACY

During Woods' last 'three years of slow torture', which he bore with 'remarkable fortitude',[68] Mary MacKillop visited 'the gentle learned priest'[69] who had inspired her in Penola almost thirty years previously, and she attended his Requiem Mass along with family and friends, Sisters of St Joseph, clergymen, and scientific colleagues. As she so eloquently expressed it in her 1909 biography:

> Truly, the jesting words of Father Smyth, written over thirty years before to Father Woods, were verified. He did become one of the "*literati* who leave their names on the century in which they live". Certainly, when personages who have occupied far more important positions are forgotten, *his* name will be held in affectionate remembrance.'[70]

And so, it is, here in Robe today. 3138w

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[1] Mother Mary of the Cross MacKillop, *Julian Tenison Woods A Life*, [Manuscript 1902; first edition 1997]. Canonisation edition, 2010, p50. Hereafter cited as Mary MacKillop, *Julian Tenison Woods A Life*.
[2] Mary MacKillop, *Julian Tenison Woods A Life*, p94
[3] Mary MacKillop, *Julian Tenison Woods A Life*, p32
[4] Woods, *Memoirs, Book II,* p19
[5] Woods, *Memoirs, Book I,* p2
[6] Woods, *Memoirs, Book I,* p46
[7] Woods, *Memoirs, Book I,* p65
[8] Woods, *Ten Years in the Bush*, Lecture, Penola Mechanics Institute, 19.12.1866
[9] Woods, *Memoirs, Book II,* p13
[10] *Portland Guardian*, 15.5.1850, advertisement, Anderson's Store the 'new presbytery'
[11] *Border Watch*, 1873
[12] Mary MacKillop, *Julian Tenison Woods A Life,* p29
[13] Mary MacKillop, *Julian Tenison Woods A Life,* p36. She is quoting Woods.
[14] Woods to William Archer, Penola, 5.4.65
[15] Muller, Margaret, *Penola Ten Years in the Bush and Beyond*, Woods exhibition text booklet, Mary MacKillop Penola Centre, 2014 edition. Panel 6: A True Missionary Life. Circuit: Woods, *Memoirs, Vol.I*, p14.

[16] Woods, *Memoirs, Book II*, p15
[17] Muller, Margaret, 'Saddle for a Pillow', RM Williams *Outback,* ed. Mark Muller, November-December 2004
[18] Mary MacKillop, *Julian Tenison Woods A Life,* p226
[19] Woods, *Memoirs, Book II*, p20
[20] 'Natural science is a branch of science concerned with the description, prediction, and understanding of natural phenomena, based on observational and empirical evidence.' Wikipedia.
[21] Woods, *Memoirs, Book II*, p21
[22] Player, Anne V rsj, *Julian Tenison Woods 1832–1889: Interaction of Science and Religion*, MA thesis, ANU, 1990. The text for the Woods exhibition in the Mary MacKillop Penola Centre is dedicated to Anne, who has since completed a PhD, and two more Masters degrees, each on different subjects.
[23] Woods, *Geological Observations in South Australia,* 1862, p11
[24] Woods, *Geological Observations in South Australia,* 1862, p352
[25] Muller, Margaret, *Penola Ten Years in the Bush and Beyond*, Woods exhibition text booklet, Mary MacKillop Penola Centre, 2014 edition. Panel 7 Scientist: Fossils and Caves
[26] Woods *Memoirs, Book II,* p18
[27] Rymill, Peter, 'The Geology of Coonawarra', unpublished typescript, 1982. See Rymill Coonawarra website.
[28] Woods, *Geological Observations in South Australia,* 1862, p61
[29] Woods, *Geological Observations in South Australia,* 1862, p89
[30] Woods, *Geological Observations in South Australia,* 1862, p322
[31] Woods, *Geological Observations in South Australia,* 1862, p346
[32] Woods, *Geological Observations in South Australia,* 1862, p350
[33] 'World Heritage', National Parks SA, Naracoorte Caves website
[34] Woods, *Geological Observations in South Australia,* 1862, p192
[35] Schwebel DA, 'Quaternary Dune Systems', in *Natural History of the South East,* Northfield SA, 1983, p16
[36] 'Milankovitch Cycles and Glaciation'. Three dominant cycles. 1 Eccentricity: shape of the earth's **orbit** around the sun (100,000 years).2 Axial **tilt**: inclination of the earth's axis in relation to its plane of orbit around the sun. (41,000 years).3 Precession: the earth's slow **wobble** as it spins on its axis (23,000 years). http://www.indiana.edu/~geol105/images/gaia_chapter_4/milankovitch.htm
[37] Woods, *Geological Observations in South Australia,* 1862, p153
[38] For example, Christmas Rocks near Willalooka
[39] Woods, *Geology and Mineralogy of the South Eastern District,* 1866, p21
[40] Woods, *Geological Observations in South Australia,* 1862, p13
[41] Woods, *Geological Observations in South Australia,* 1862, p290, p257
[42] Darwin, Charles, *The Origin of Species,* 1858. Charles Lyell, *Antiquity of Man*, 1863. Richard Hanson, (Chief Justice of SA): lecture, 'Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man', Robe and Mount Gambier, May 1863. Woods' Robe lecture 'Not Quite as Old as the Hills' was in response to the latter and was dedicated to the Gawler Institute, of which Woods was 'the first honorary life member' (*The Border Watch* 13.11.1863). At the formation of the Robe Institute 'the Rules of the Gawler Institute were adopted almost *verbatim.*' There is also a reference to prizes, including one for 'the best collection of one sort of shell' given by Woods, who 'also kindly adjudged the prizes on behalf of the Committee', *The Border Watch,* 27.1.1866.
[43] Letter to William Archer, Victorian Government statistician and actuary, and an accomplished microscopist.
[44] Woods, *President's Address*, Linnaean Society NSW, 1880
[45] Muller, Margaret, *Penola Ten Years in the Bush and Beyond*, Woods exhibition text booklet, Mary MacKillop Penola Centre, 2014 edition. Panel 17 Reconciliation of Science and Religion.
[46] Tate, Ralph, *Annual Report*, Royal Society of SA, 1889-90. Also, the Elder professor of natural science at the University of Adelaide, Tate acknowledged Woods' pioneering work in geology, botany, palaeontology and zoology.
[47] Woods, *Memoirs, Book II,* p21. 'Never again did he realise the experience of those happy ten years, which were full of the most joyful recollections.' Just before he left in 1867, he had said: 'If ever any people deserve gratitude…at the hands of another, the settlers of the South Eastern District deserve it from me…I have received kindness from one and all whether squatters or shepherds. Woods, *Ten Years in the Bush*, Lecture, Penola Mechanics Institute, 19.12.1866
[48] *The Border Watch* His topic was 'The advantages of Mechanics' Institutes', which was 'rendered most amusing by the interesting anecdotes interspersed through it'. Penola Correspondent, 15.5.1863.
[49] *The Border Watch,* Mount Gambier, 19.8.1864
[50] *The Border Watch,* Mount Gambier, 12.8.1865

[51] Margaret Muller, *Penola Ten Years in the Bush and Beyond*, Woods exhibition text booklet, Mary MacKillop Penola Centre, **2**014 edition. Panel 10 A Good Citizen.
[52] 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'. 'After having subscribed nearly a half a million from this district, the Government has taken our roads in hand, and we have the inestimable privilege of seeing a dozen men shovelling mud into the Dismal Swamp.'
[53] 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'.
[54] *The Border Watch*, Quarterly report on Guichen Bay aborigines, Mount Gambier, 4.8.1866. The average wage for such station work was 10 shillings per week.
[55] Woods, Letter to Father John Smyth, Penola, 3.5.1866
[56] *The Border Watch,* Mount Gambier, 16.2.1867
[57] Woods, Letter to Father John Smyth, Penola, 27.6.1866. Mary MacKillop also told the story of 'a fine, intelligent' Aboriginal man who died before Woods could reach him: 'Tommy, baptised in desire, had gone to Him "Who made of one blood all the nations of the earth"'. Mary MacKillop, *Julian Tenison Woods A Life,* p70.
[58] Muller, Margaret, *Penola Ten Years in the Bush and Beyond*, Woods exhibition text booklet, Mary MacKillop Penola Centre, 2014 edition. Panel 10 A Good Citizen.
[59] Mary MacKillop, letter to Bishop Sheil, 10.9.1871
[60] Mary MacKillop, letter to Monsignor Kirby, Rome, 22.5.1873. Mary MacKillop, 'History of the Congregation 1866 – 1900'.
[61] Mary MacKillop, *Julian Tenison Woods A Life,* p81
[62] Woods exhibition text booklet *Penola Ten Years in the Bush and Beyond*, Mary MacKillop Penola Centre, 2014 edition. Panel 11 Educator and Founder.
[63] *The Border Watch,* Mount Gambier, 16.2.1867
[64] Muller, Margaret, *Penola Ten Years in the Bush and Beyond*, Woods exhibition text booklet, Mary MacKillop Penola Centre, 2014 edition. Panel 11 Educator and Founder.
[65] Paul Gardiner sj, 'The Cause of Our Australian Saint', *Jesuit Life*, 2010, p3
[66] Mary MacKillop, letter to Sister Josephine [Ellen] McMullen, Port Lincoln, 27.1.1877
[67] Muller, Margaret, *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. The central and diocesan Sisters of St Joseph are now 'fused' (to use the Vatican term) as one congregation. The Lochinvar Sisters have retained their autonomy but work together with the Sisterhood of St Joseph. Another of Woods' enduring religious foundations is the Sisters of Perpetual Adoration in Brisbane. They are now under the care and governance of the Sisters of St Joseph.
[68] Mary MacKillop, *Julian Tenison Woods A Life,* p234
[69] Mary MacKillop, *Julian Tenison Woods A Life,* p288
[70] Mary MacKillop, *Julian Tenison Woods A Life,* p237