

## Rooted in Tradition: Father Julian Tenison Woods and the Sisters of St. Joseph 1866-1872.

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### Introduction

When Julian Tenison Woods brought the fledgling Sisters of St Joseph, just two of them, to Adelaide on 23 June 1867, 127 years ago today, he faced an immediate double task. He had to convince the clergy and the laity that these Sisters were religious within the tradition of the Church even though they appeared very different from religious in Ireland such as the Sisters of Mercy and the Presentation Sisters. Likewise he needed to encourage the Sisters to see themselves as part of the great religious tradition of the Church and to assure them that they had a future full of hope. This paper explores ways by which he worked to accomplish these ends.

### Background

Woods came to Adelaide in April 1867 as Director General of Catholic Education, Inspector of Schools, and Secretary to L. B. Sheil, the newly consecrated Bishop.<sup>1</sup> Prior to Woods' arrival many of his fellow priests had had little personal contact with him. Ordained priest at St. Patrick's Church, West Terrace, on 4 January 1857 by Francis Murphy, first Bishop of Adelaide<sup>2</sup>, Woods served in the Penola Mission in the south-east of South Australia for the next decade. During his ten years in the bush he had visited Adelaide only at infrequent intervals.

At a public level however most of the priests would have known something of him for he had earned recognition for his scientific and literary works. His book, *Geological Observations in South Australia* (1862), received high praise both in overseas and colonial reviews and his two volume *History of the Discovery and Exploration of Australia* (1865) gained a favourable reception. He contributed too, to scientific journals and wrote articles for the local press especially the Melbourne *Australasian*.<sup>3</sup>

When news of his transfer from Penola to Adelaide became public, the Adelaide *Register* praised Woods as one of the most accomplished gentlemen of the colony, as a clergyman 'respected by all', as 'beloved by those of his own communion' and as 'a thoroughly genial and catholic spirit anxious to do good'.<sup>4</sup> *The Border Watch*, the paper of the South East, always a fan of Woods, went much further. It stated that 'a Bishopric, even the Popedom is predicted for him'.<sup>5</sup> This public recognition and adulation was surely an obstacle, perhaps even counter-productive, for this English priest in his relationship to his fellow priests especially those of Irish origin.

Moreover by the time his portrait had appeared, (with seven others) in the *Illustrated Australian News* in July 1867, under the heading 'Portraits of Celebrated Living Australians in Science, Literature and Arts'<sup>6</sup>, Woods had further set himself apart as a founder of a religious order. Part of his solution to establishing a system of Catholic education was the Sisterhood of St. Joseph, co-founded by himself and Mary MacKillop in Penola in 1866. These Sisters were eventually to take responsibility for many of the schools and Woods spoke openly of his plans for them.<sup>7</sup> The reality of the Sisters of St. Joseph on 2 July 1867 when they commenced teaching in Adelaide was four members - Mary MacKillop, Rose Cunningham and Ellen McMullen in Adelaide and a somewhat uncertain Blanche Amsinck, an English convert, in Mount Gambier.

In addition, though Sheil supported Woods and had made him directly responsible to himself in all matters pertaining to education, Fr John Smyth, the vicar general of the diocese, was sceptical about the Sisterhood of St. Joseph. He feared it was doomed to failure and many of the clergy shared his concern.<sup>8</sup>

I have no doubt that Woods used the pulpit and other public occasions to inform people of the work of the Sisters but we have little record of such. Where we do have a source of information is the Catholic monthly paper which began publication in Adelaide in September 1867. It survived with a gap of a few months under a number of names until at least April 1873.

Archdeacon Russell and Father Reynolds launched the serial as the *Southern Cross and Catholic Herald*. Woods contributed largely to it and eventually took over as editor.<sup>9</sup> The *Southern Cross* ceased in October 1869 in the wake of a new Catholic weekly the *Irish Harp*. Woods began the *Chaplet and Advocate of the Children of Mary* in May 1870. In April the following year he changed the format and in line with a slight difference in purpose renamed it the *Chaplet and Southern Cross: Advocate of the Children of Mary*. The differences in these serials are not of importance for the present argument.

### The Sisters - News Items

As Director General of Education Woods used the monthly meetings of the Central Council of Catholic Education to publicise the progress of the Sisters in the schools. In September 1867, for example, he reported on the opening of the school in Bowden, one of the poorest areas in Adelaide, by the Sisters of St. Joseph. He noted that the nuns had been 'very successful so far' and that a great improvement in the students was already noticeable.<sup>10</sup> The following November, Woods spoke of a new venture by the Sisters. They had opened a school at Yankalilla, a remote district with a scattered Catholic population and no resident priest. 'So far', he commented, 'the trial has been a complete success'.<sup>11</sup>

In issue after issue of the *Southern Cross* the Sisters' schools received high praise. Other news items in this paper highlighted the work of the Sisters in the Refuge, the St. Vincent de Paul orphanage for girls and the House of Providence. Marie Foale has noted the propaganda element in these reports of Woods on the Sisters.<sup>12</sup> Naturally he highlighted the positive and soft-pedalled any negative aspects. After all he was trying to sell a product to the clergy and the laity as well as to the Sisters themselves.

## STORIES

### Doubts about the Sisters

Of more interest is Woods' use of stories to give the Sisters legitimacy. The founding of a religious order in South Australia might seem extraordinary to the people of Adelaide but such foundings had recently occurred/were happening now in many countries. The introduction to an article on Madame d'Houet, foundress of the Order of the Faithful Companions of Jesus, who died only in 1858, told of the marvellous fertility of religious orders of women in the Church. The contemporary orders, almost all active, were designed to alleviate 'almost every possible want in human society'.<sup>13</sup> The implication seemed to be if religious orders could be founded in other countries why not in Adelaide.

One misgiving about the Sisters, held by many, concerned their lack of education. Critics claimed that many uneducated young women had joined the order and would be a burden on the diocese.<sup>14</sup> Woods countered with a story translated from the French especially for the *Southern Cross*. The Memoir of the venerable Mother Marie Rivier (1768-1838) foundress and first superior of the Sisters of the Presentation of Mary addressed this issue of ignorance among the Sisters. Marie Rivier spoke of the struggles of her Sisters. 'We had barely the requisite knowledge; we were obliged to learn the lessons ourselves before we could teach others'.<sup>15</sup>

The story of these Sisters parallels the Josephite story. Their poverty was such that one room had to serve every function - 'kitchen, dining room, school room and bed chamber'. They seemingly had nothing going for them so their success in education clearly indicated that God had supplemented their insufficiency.<sup>16</sup>

The comment at the end of the article deserves to be quoted in full:

Lives like these make us pause and wonder at the mysterious counsels of God. Here was a religious order established by a weak woman, without money or influence, and no one but some poor uneducated peasant girls to help her. Her school sisters are widely spread and are amongst the most powerful aids to education in France in the present day; and this has happened in our own time. Surely God's arm is not shortened and there are yet glorious triumphs still in store for the Church.<sup>17</sup>

What the critics of the Sisters condemned as weakness and as potential failure Woods explained as strength and as part of God's plan. The story also assured the Sisters that others had faced difficulties similar to theirs, had overcome them and had prospered.

### Begging

To support their social works, especially the House of Providence, the Sisters of St. Joseph engaged in the practice of 'begging' - visiting business houses and private homes for donations, usually in kind. This 'begging' caused the clergy and some of the Catholic laity uneasiness and embarrassment and in April 1869 Sheil, under pressure, told Woods that the Sisters must discontinue the practice. This restriction soon had to be lifted because neither Sheil nor the diocese could offer alternative means of support for the charitable works of the Sisters.<sup>18</sup>

Woods had either anticipated objections to the 'begging' practice or picked up murmurings against it while Bishop Sheil was still overseas. He answered the critics through the story of the Sisters of Nazareth an order founded in England by Cardinal Wiseman in 1858, only eight years before the Josephites. The Sisters of Nazareth supported their work for the poor by 'begging' expeditions. Each day they went from Hammersmith to London and around its suburbs collecting 'food, alms, left-off apparel, old linen, furniture, in a word, anything and everything'.<sup>19</sup> 'Begging' had the approval of a Prince of the Church!

### Debts and Divine Providence

Both Woods and Mary MacKillop shared the ideal of absolute poverty. The Sisters of St. Joseph would neither own property nor receive financial assistance from the government.<sup>20</sup> Hand in hand with that commitment went a belief that God would provide for their needs and for the requirement of their work through the generosity of others.

In the article on the Sisters of Nazareth, Woods clearly signalled a reliance on Divine Providence. Lack of money would not deter him or the Sisters attempting to meet the religious needs of the people of South Australia.

Readers! pause for an instant; reflect and admire the ways of Providence and acknowledge the wonders wrought each day by God in favour of asylums for the poor ... Who provides [upwards of 200 persons, all infirm, helpless and destitute] with all the necessities ... of life. It is Providence ... [This immense establishment] has no funds ... Nevertheless, nurseries have been erected, a church has been built, and no debt remains.<sup>21</sup>

Later he showed how far he was prepared to go in his trust of the Providence of God even when prudence dictated otherwise. In mid-1870 he planned extensions to the convent in Franklin Street. As he explained in a letter to Mary MacKillop in Brisbane, he had 'nothing, simply nothing' and debts on everyday running expenses were 'crowding and increasing on every side'.<sup>22</sup> His own savings had already been used and pressure of work prevented him from supplementing his income as he had done in Penola by writing articles for the *Australasian*. Nevertheless he went ahead with his plans. The *Chaplet* of March 1871 reported the blessing and opening of the new Convent Chapel by Bishop Sheil.

In the same issue Woods recounted a story concerning the Little Sisters of the Poor at Roanne, France. They owed 2000 francs on their Convent and Chapel. Not having the means to repay their debt they made a novena to St. Joseph. On the last day of their prayer an unknown lady called and made a donation of exactly 2000 francs. 'This happened only last February and the account of it was sent in a private letter by the Superioress of the Convent to the Editor'.<sup>23</sup>

Woods had been sent to New South Wales by Bishop Sheil in August 1871 and completed his preparation for that month's issue of the *Chaplet* at Bathurst. He had left huge debts in Adelaide and struggled to send money to meet the day to day expenses of the various institutions for which he was responsible - what better than a story of God's providential care. The 'Life of St. Julian of Cuenga' told of an incident when famine gripped the country. As heavy demands exhausted food supplies St. Julian prayed for help and a long mule train laden with abundant provisions arrived. 'Now, it was never known to whom they belong, nor whence they came'.<sup>24</sup> In the September issue the story of the mules appeared again and Woods wrote, 'It was God's gift doubtless, and it was God who showed in this manner how He never entirely abandons those who trust to Him'.<sup>25</sup> Yet again in January 1872 in the context of the mule episode and other incidents, Woods marvelled, 'Divine Providence furnished him [St. Julian] miraculously with means to supply his charities'.<sup>26</sup> Doubtless Woods hoped to inspire others (and himself!) with confidence that all would yet be well and the debts paid.

### Of Visions and Prophecies

Evidence points to Woods having taken over the editorship of the *Southern Cross* in January 1869.<sup>27</sup> The March issue of that year marked a significant change from the type of 'Religious Biography' previously published. Woods moved from the stories of founders of religious orders and other saints and enthusiastically introduced 'God's Mystic City', the life of the Virgin Mary revealed to a Spanish Franciscan Nun, Venerable Mother Mary D'Agreda and written by her in 1655.<sup>28</sup> Woods termed it an 'extraordinary work' and that was somewhat of an understatement as one reader of the *Southern Cross* found.<sup>29</sup> Her extraordinary sanctity demanded that 'anything coming from her pen' be regarded with deepest veneration. Moreover, he explained, the Holy See had subjected the book to a searching scrutiny and declared it 'admirably adapted to inspire [the faithful] with solid devotion towards the holy Mother of God'.<sup>30</sup>

When the *Southern Cross* ceased publication in October 1869, Woods had only published four parts of his abridgment of 'God's Mystic City'.<sup>31</sup> The April 1871 *Chaplet* recorded that 'at request of many subscribers we have consented to reprint and finish 'God's Mystic City'. The first part in next number' [sic].<sup>32</sup> The eight parts ran from May 1871 to January 1872 with none in July 1871.

In January 1869, two months before the first appearance of 'God's Mystic City', Woods wrote to Mary MacKillop mentioning that Sister Angela 'had been visited again in a trying manner' and goes on to describe supposed visitations by the devil.<sup>33</sup> During 1869 and 1870 letters to Mary MacKillop contained graphic details of the 'mystical experiences' of Sister Ignatius (Mary Jane O'Brien), Sister Angela (Catherine Carroll) and others. Woods too wrote of his own experiences. He used expressions such as 'I remember so little' and his descriptions seem to be mainly of his dreams.<sup>34</sup>

The timing of the 1869 series of 'God's Mystic City' was significant. The series followed hard on the reported beginning of the visions and prophecies supposedly received by some of the Sisters. Woods used stories to show that the way of life of the Sisters of St. Joseph was rooted in the tradition of the Church. Here he employed the revelations given to Mother Mary D'Agreda to point out that mystical experiences, visions and prophecies have been gifts present in the Church in every age.

As the visions and prophecies of the nuns continued and necessarily became public knowledge, the antagonism of the priests towards Woods gathered momentum. When the consecrated hosts 'disappeared' from the convent chapel tabernacle on 12 April 1870 clerical opposition reached an all time high. An inquiry into the matter took place the following August.<sup>35</sup> It found Sister Angela, one of the visionary nuns, the culprit. Woods did not accept the verdict and refused to remove Angela

from her position as Mistress of Novices.<sup>36</sup>

Woods continued to write of mystical experiences regardless of clerical opposition. Interspersed in the *Chaplet* of 1871 and 1872 were stories of contemporaries suffering from the stigma<sup>37</sup> and of people of the nineteenth century uttering prophecies some of which had already been fulfilled.<sup>38</sup> Woods in April 1872 even devoted an editorial to the subject of recent prophecies. He wrote 'there can be no doubt that many of the great events that have happened lately - and they have been as great as any the world has seen - have been clearly foretold by holy persons in the Church of God'.<sup>39</sup> He reported too an apparition of the Blessed Virgin which occurred in France in mid-January when France suffered from its infidelity to God. Details of the apparition came from *Revue du Monde Catholique* 'the most able and influential ecclesiastical organ in France ... [it] has the countenance and support of the clergy and episcopate generally'.<sup>40</sup> The inference was quite clear; if marvellous happenings were taking place elsewhere in the world then they could take place in South Australia.

### The Triumph of Institutes

In January 1871 Woods wrote to Mary MacKillop in Brisbane telling her that persecution was 'pretty active and strong just now'. He confessed to being afraid at times but felt consoled that no scandal had occurred because of the hidden nature of the persecution.<sup>41</sup> There can be no doubt that the Sisters of St. Joseph were in a vulnerable position and the extent of clerical opposition to them and to Woods, partly provoked by the latter, was becoming evident. The Jesuit priest, Father Hinteroecker, who preached at the opening of the Convent Chapel in March 1871 warned would-be persecutors of the Sisters. The work of the Sisters 'looked to him like a work of God'. Therefore those persons who were inclined to oppose it should 'take heed lest they were found to be fighting against God'.<sup>42</sup> The dismissal of the Franciscan priest, Father Keating of Kapunda, from the diocese as a result of the report of the Sisters to Woods had made an enemy of his fellow Franciscan, the influential Father Charles Horan.<sup>43</sup> Later Horan organised the 'Anti-Josephite Memorial' which was presented to Bishop Sheil on 2 February 1871, the day after his return from overseas. Woods rightly saw it as against himself as well as against the Sisters of St Joseph.<sup>44</sup> Among other things the priest signatories complained:

- . the Sisters did not provide a satisfactory education
- . in far-off districts they made no provision for boys
- . the Sisters deferred to Woods and treated all other priests as nonentities
- . 'young girls, ignorant young girls' were accepted into the convent
- . at least three-quarters of the actual community were incapable of teaching and thus a potential burden on the diocese.<sup>45</sup>

Once again Woods had anticipated correctly. Two stories had appeared in the December 1870 *Chaplet*. The first told of the Sisters of Charity in Turkey and how they had advanced the Church in the East. At first not only did they meet with opposition from the Turks and 'schismatical Greeks' but also 'sad to say' from Catholics themselves. They became 'school teachers, physicians, surgeons and apothecaries' though they were for the most part poor country girls. They have exemplified the truth of scripture that 'God has chosen the weak and simple of the world to confound the strong'.<sup>46</sup>

The congregation of the Holy Souls which began in Paris in January 1856 also encountered many trials in its early days. People accused the Sisters of being lazy and wanting to avoid work. Even many priests opposed them and predicted that the order would either come to nothing or it would be suppressed because it would fail to gain approval from Rome. In spite of all it prospered. 'Weak and feeble, it has often had to bend beneath the storm, but like a reed that suffered no harm, and has grown rapidly and well'.<sup>47</sup> Woods always saw opposition as a sign of Divine approval and as a prelude to vindication.

## Excommunication and Dispersal

Woods systematically answered questions/criticisms regarding the Sisters of St. Joseph through stories of founders of religious orders and other saints published in the *Southern Cross* and the *Chaplet*. He defended and attempted to justify too the 'visionary' and 'prophetic' episodes at the time they were happening and beyond. On the most traumatic event in the short history of the Josephites however, the excommunication of Mary MacKillop and the dispersal of many of the Sisters, he remained publicly silent. The *Chaplet* mentioned nothing until the notice of the rescinding of the decree of excommunication.<sup>48</sup>

Woods had been sent from Adelaide to Sydney in early August and was safely out of the way when Mary's excommunication took place on 22 September 1871. Whether the bishops, Polding in Sydney and Quinn in Bathurst deliberately kept Woods away from Adelaide during the next eleven months is not clear but they certainly ensured he had a full program of missions and retreats to occupy him. Even if he had returned his health was so poor he may have been a hindrance rather than a help to the Sisters. His letters to Mary MacKillop from Sydney and elsewhere during this period raise concern as to his mental state.<sup>49</sup>

In November 1871 Woods wrote to Mary McKillop from Sydney. 'You know how much my silence and absence has been misunderstood and caused such hard things to be said'.<sup>50</sup> His failure to come to the defence of the Sisters during the ex-communication period may seem inconsistent; it may even seem cowardly - but I believe it is in keeping with the way he acted throughout his time in Adelaide. Woods regarded personal attacks on others and the giving of scandal as great evils. Ideas, not persons, could be attacked. Silence provided the best defence against personal attack.<sup>51</sup> Some time after 10 October 1871 he wrote to Mary MacKillop:

I saw an article in the *Irish Harp* today which gave me awful pain. Who is it that thus makes our scandals public? What grieved me was the bitter tone adopted towards the Bishop and what was said about Frs Horan and Nowlan . . . such proceedings in truth caused me more grief than all the rest put together.<sup>52</sup>

One crucial difference between attacks on the Sisters regarding their way of life, their level of education and so on and the excommunication is that the former were domestic in the sense that they were kept in the family of the Church. The latter became the property of wider society and once it became public Woods' hands were tied.

Some three weeks after the excommunication of Mary MacKillop, Bishop Quinn of Bathurst wrote to Woods. Quinn had received a letter of justification from Bishop Sheil and quoted it in his letter to Woods. Sheil had explained that he had examined the Sisters and found many 'utterly incompetent to teach'. When he proposed to classify them into 'Lay Sisters' and 'Teaching Sisters' they refused to accept such a division.<sup>53</sup> From their beginning all Sisters of St. Joseph whatever their background had been equal.

Sheil removed the excommunication on 22 February 1872. Woods duly reported it in the February *Chaplet*. In the same issue he defended the Josephites' stance on one class of Sisters. Marie of St. Euphasia, Superioress of the Convent of Our Lady of Charity at Tours, founded the Order of the Good Shepherd. It expanded rapidly and received papal approbation in 1835. Women of all classes joined and, noted Woods, 'peasants, servants and ladies of quality' lived together as equals. What particularly marked this order was 'the spirit of family' which pervaded it.<sup>54</sup> Three years earlier in the article on the Sisters of Nazareth Woods had explained that these Sisters had neither 'lay sisters nor servants in any capacity in their houses'. All the Sisters carried out with 'pleasure and affection' their works of charity.<sup>55</sup>

After the death of Sheil Woods wrote a story which showed the Sisters acted correctly and the bishop did not. In the context of an article on Sisterhoods of St. Joseph he explained that once a bishop had

accepted and approved the rules of an institute he did not further interfere with them 'except with the consent of the religious themselves'. Woods gave two reasons why a bishop cannot change the rules without consultation and acceptance. Firstly if Sisters have joined the order on certain conditions it would be unjust 'to make changes materially affecting their state of life without consulting their feelings. Secondly because the permanency of every religious body depends upon stability of the rules'.<sup>56</sup>

In this article Woods also gave a description of the 'mother of all the Josephites', the Sisters of St. Joseph of Puy who 'took their origin' in 1651. These Sisters of St. Joseph embraced all the exercises of charity and mercy. They established hospitals, houses of refuge for penitent women and primary schools in outlying districts. They visited the sick and prisoners, instructed them and prayed with them and begged money for their needs.<sup>57</sup> The Sisters of St. Joseph in Adelaide had certainly tried to follow this great tradition.

The Apostolic Commissioners, Bishops Murphy of Hobart and Matthew Quinn of Bathurst, appointed by Rome to examine the affairs of Adelaide diocese arrived in Adelaide on 30 May 1872. They found the Sisters of St. Joseph innocent of all charges. After an absence of 11 months Woods had also returned on 16 June 1872 to give evidence. He was welcomed by his friends.

He used the editorial of the *Chaplet* of June 1872 to mention the unhappy division in the South Australian Church 'for the first time, and we trust, the last time'. The *Chaplet* had not entered the debate because, he explained, its office was one 'of religion and its healing influence and it would be a sad anomaly for [it] to be a weapon of offence'. Woods hoped that all concerned would 'endeavour with earnest hearts to forgive and forget and to love one another'.<sup>58</sup>

One last word appeared in the same *Chaplet* - the story of the Order of Beguines. They were numerous in the Germany of the 14th Century. Some of these religious became involved with the 'extravagant opinions of the Mystic brethren and sisters of the free spirit'. Many persecuted them. Even after the Pope 'intervened on behalf of those who were true to the doctrine of the Church' they continued to be insulted. They had many enemies among the clergy. 'They were troubled on every side yet not distressed; ... persecuted but not forsaken'.<sup>59</sup> The same could truly be said of Mary MacKillop and the Sisters of St. Joseph.

## Conclusion

Today we live in the world dominated by the visual image. Woods lived in a world of the word. His background in journalism enabled him to use effectively his skill with words in the service of the Josephites. In South Australia this Sisterhood under the inspiration of Mary MacKillop and Woods had responded creatively to an environment vastly different from conditions in the old world. It developed into a form of religious life which suited the needs generated by the isolation, the vast distances and the scattered populations of the Australian colonies.

This way of religious life with its dependence on Divine Providence and all that entailed, its close identification with the poor, the type and the equality of its members and so on conflicted with ideas of religious life held by the people of Adelaide and beyond. The temporary aberration of the visionary episodes, encouraged and defended by Woods, necessarily added to its strangeness.

To show the legitimacy of the religious response of the Sisterhood of St. Joseph, Woods employed the time-honoured method of story telling. Both the stories he selected and the ones he wrote, enabled him, in a manner befitting a priest and English gentleman, to defend the Sisters from their critics and their enemies. The stories demonstrated to all, the clergy, laity and the Sisters themselves, that the way of life of the Sisters of St. Joseph, though unfamiliar, followed Church precedent; it was firmly rooted in tradition.





## Paper 6: Rooted in Tradition: Father Woods and the Sisters (of St Joseph).

1. Woods to MacKillop, 19 September 1866, 10 April, 1867, Mary MacKillop Archives. (Hereafter MMA).
2. B. Condon (Ed.), *The Journal of Francis Murphy First Catholic Bishop of Adelaide*, Magill Campus, SACAE, 1983, p.104.
3. A. V. Player, 'Julian Tenison Woods 1832-1889: The Interaction of Science and Religion', M.A. Thesis, ANU, 1990, pp.320-322.
4. *Register*, 28 August 1866.
5. *Border Watch*, 29 August 1866.
6. *Illustrated Australian News*, 27 July 1867.
7. Woods to MacKillop, 13 May 1867, MMA.
8. Woods to MacKillop, 19 September 1866, 27 May 1867, 12 June 1867, MMA. Smyth came to support Woods and his education endeavours. His untimely death on the 30th June 1870 was a great blow to Woods.
9. Mary MacKillop, *Life of Rev. J.E.T. Woods* (1903). Resource material from the Archives of the Sisters of St. Joseph of the Sacred Heart Issue no.6, August, 1981. p. 67.
10. *Southern Cross and Catholic Herald* (hereafter SCCH) September 1867, p.9.
11. *ibid*, November 1867, p.35.
12. M. Foale, *The Josephite Story*, St. Joseph's Generalate, Sydney, 1989, p.29.
13. *SCCH*, February 1868, p.88.
14. Foale, *op cit*, pp.35-36, p.99.
15. *SCCH*, December 1867, p.52.
16. *ibid*, p.53.
17. *ibid*, p.54.
18. Woods to MacKillop, 5 April 1869. MMA.
19. *SCCH*, August 1868, p.185.
20. Foale, *op cit*, p.18.
21. *SCCH*, August 1868, pp.185-86.
22. Woods to MacKillop 11 April, 1869, 20 June 1870, MMA.
23. *Chaplet*, March 1871, p.183.
24. *ibid*, August 1871, p.259.
25. *ibid*, September 1871, p.274.
26. *ibid*, January 1872, p.338.
27. *SCCH*, January 1869, p.257.
28. *ibid*, March 1869, p.296.
29. 'E.B.' in a letter to the Editor published in the June issue of the Southern Cross declared 'that blank astonishment would faintly express result produced' by the May episode of 'God's Mystic City' on a group of Catholics of his acquaintance. He wanted to know whether it should be regarded as religious fiction with a purpose something akin to Pilgrims Progress or a 'fair respectable biography'. Woods replied that 'this history' was more than 'a mere allegorical narration' but 'not on a level with objects of faith'. His reply to 'E.B.' leaves no doubt as to his full acceptance of the 'revelations' but probably did not help 'E.B.' and his friends in their dilemma.
30. *SCCH*, March 1869, p.296.
31. *ibid*, March, May, July, October 1869.
32. *Chaplet*, April 1871, p.200.
33. Woods to MacKillop, 20 January 1869, MMA.
34. *ibid*, 2 April 1869, 28 March, 11 April, 20 June 1870, MMA. These letters are examples only. Over twenty letters mentioning visions and/or prophecies have survived.
35. *ibid*, 12 August 1870, MMA.
36. Foale, *op cit*, p.211; see also Woods to MacKillop 16 April 1872.
  
37. *Chaplet*, April 1871, p.201; September 1871, p.284.
38. *ibid*, October 1871, pp.292-93; December 1871, p.327.
39. *ibid*, April 1872, p.392.
40. *ibid*, November 1871, pp.310-11.
41. Woods to MacKillop, 18 January 1871, MMA.
42. *Chaplet*, March 1871, p.186.
43. Woods to MacKillop, 11 April 1870, MMA.
44. *ibid*, 7 February 1871, MMA.
45. Foale, *op cit*, pp.70-74, pp.210-215. Woods said thirteen priests had signed the address.
46. *Chaplet*, December 1870, p.135.
47. *ibid*, p.134.
48. *ibid*, February 1872, p.366.
49. Woods to MacKillop, 29 September, 10 October, 14 November, 27 November, 8 December 1871, MMA.
50. *ibid*, 22 November 1871, MMA.
51. *Chaplet*, June 1871, pp.235-36.
52. Woods to MacKillop, undated fragment. From internal evidence after 10 October 1871, MMA.
53. Quinn to Woods, 12 October 1871, MMA.
54. *Chaplet*, February 1872 pp.356-57.
55. *SCCH*, August 1868, p.185.
56. *Chaplet*, April 1872, p.398.
57. *ibid*, p.397.
58. *ibid*, June 1872 p.424.
59. *ibid*, p.428.

