



THE SISTERS OF ST. JOSEPH:

THEIR FOUNDATION AND EARLY HISTORY,

1866 - 1893

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
in the Department of History at the  
University of Adelaide, December 1986.

Awarded 16/10/87

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Marie T. Foale.

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ABSTRACT.

Many present-day Australians will have heard of Mary MacKillop and will be aware that Catholic Church authorities are in the process of examining her life and works with a view to having her declared a saint. Significantly fewer will know more than a minimum of detail about the Congregation of the Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart, the Catholic Religious Order in whose establishment and early history she played a key role, or be able to place her or her Order into the social, religious and political context of her time.

This thesis has been written with a view to filling at least a part of that lacuna. Hence, an attempt has been made to discover the socio-economic background to the foundation of the Congregation, with special reference to the question of Catholic education and the means adopted by the Catholic Church to provide Catholic schooling for all Australian Catholic children.

After its foundation in South Australia in 1866, the membership of the Order increased with great rapidity. Most of those who joined it were either colonial-born or bred and came from the lower-middle or working-classes. Who they were, why they decided to become sisters, how they fared while members of the Order and their influence on its growth and development are all questions that have been addressed.

That the Sisters of St Joseph came into conflict with Catholic Church authorities and that Mary MacKillop was excommunicated by the Bishop of Adelaide are all well-known facts. Less well known are the root causes of the conflicts in which she and the sisters became involved and the parts played by the clergy and laity in the foundation, growth and development of the Order.

The story of this small, seemingly insignificant group of colonial women is far from simple and touches upon a number of important issues. These include the quality of ecclesiastical leadership in colonial Australia, the intricacies of Church politics and the all-pervasive presence of Rome, the question of separate Catholic schools for Catholic children and how these should be staffed and financed and, finally, the role of religious women in the life of the Church.

This history begins in 1866 because that year marked the foundation of the Order. The end date, 1893, has been chosen because Archbishop Christopher Reynolds, who had ruled the See of Adelaide for twenty years, died during that year. His passing marked the end of an era in the life of the Catholic Church in South Australia and also in that of the Sisters of St Joseph. Their story has been related chronologically and an attempt has been made to avoid the hagiographical style common to much contemporary writing about Mary MacKillop.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

Five years have elapsed since I began work on this thesis. That it has been completed is due in large measure to the interest and support of a wide network of people and institutions.

I am particularly grateful to the History Department of the University of Adelaide for having allowed me to research a topic in which I have had a lifetime of interest. To successive Chairmen of the History Department, the History Office staff, librarians and archivists in numerous libraries and repositories around this country, I also owe a lasting debt of gratitude. Sister Mary Attracta O.P. late of the Adelaide Catholic Archives, deserves special mention for her unfailing interest and willingness to offer her assistance during the early stages of my research.

To Emeritus Archbishop James Gleeson of Adelaide, who offered me a position as archivist to the Catholic Archdiocese of Adelaide, and Sister Margaret McKenna, Josephite Provincial, who enabled me to accept it, I owe more, perhaps, than to any others. As archivist I have had free access to a much wider range of material than would otherwise have been possible. As well, I recently had the opportunity to work as research assistant to Sister Margaret Press, author of From Our Broken Toil, the recently-published Jubilee 150 history of the Catholic Church in South Australia. In this role I visited

a number of South Australian Catholic parishes. As well, I had many opportunities for discussion with Sister and I feel that I gained a much wider understanding of the early history of South Australia and its people.

Sisters Callista Neagle and Evelyn Pickering, archivists in charge of the Josephite repositories in Adelaide and Sydney respectively, have been unfailingly helpful at all stages of my work, while the sisters who belong to my own Josephite community have given me consistent support. Others whose names come to mind are Brian Condon of the Murray Park Campus of the S.A.C.A.E., Ruth Schumann and Vin Thomas, as well as Jo Martin, who typed and retyped my successive "final" drafts so willingly, and the several proof-readers who came to my rescue in the final stages of the work.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge the help given me by my supervisor, Dr Peter Cahalan. He has persistently challenged me to stand outside the events I have been discussing and to report on them dispassionately and has encouraged and supported my efforts consistently.

ABBREVIATIONS.

ACA	Adelaide Catholic Archives.
<u>A.D.B.</u>	Australian Dictionary of Biography.
<u>Advertiser</u>	<u>The South Australian Advertiser.</u>
AHC	Archives of All Hallows College, Dublin.
ASJ	Archives of the Society of Jesus, Melbourne
ASSJ	Archives of the Sisters of St Joseph, Adelaide & Sydney.
BAA	Brisbane Archdiocesan Archives.
CCSA	Catholic Archives, St Mary's Cathedral, Sydney.
C.E.C.	Catholic Education Council.
<u>Chronicle</u>	<u>The South Australian Chronicle and Weekly Mail.</u>
<u>CM</u>	<u>Catholic Monthly.</u>
<u>CR</u>	<u>Catholic Record.</u>
<u>CSC</u>	<u>Chaplet and Southern Cross.</u>
DDA	Dublin Diocesan Archives, Dublin, Ireland.
FLK	Franciscan Library & Archives, Killiney, Ireland.
GRG	Government Record Group.
<u>HSC</u>	<u>Harp and Southern Cross.</u>
ICA	Archives of the Irish College, Rome.
<u>IH</u>	<u>Irish Harp.</u>
MDA	Maitland Diocesan Archives, Maitland, N.S.W.
MDHC	Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.
MLSA	Mortlock Library of South Australiana.
R followed by a number	Register entry number, Register of the Sisters of St Joseph.
<u>Register</u>	<u>The South Australian Register.</u>
<u>Resource</u> followed by a digit	<u>Resource Material from the Archives of the Sisters of St Joseph, vols. 1-9.</u>

ABBREVIATIONS, continued.

SAA	South Australian Archives. (Public Record Office, South Australia.)
<u>SAGG</u>	<u>South Australian Government Gazette.</u>
<u>SAPD</u>	<u>South Australian Parliamentary Debates.</u>
<u>SAPP</u>	<u>South Australian Parliamentary Papers.</u>
<u>SCCH</u>	<u>Southern Cross and Catholic Herald.</u>
SL	Shipping Lists, Mortlock Library followed by digits indicating year and number, e.g. 52/3 was the third vessel to arrive in 1853.
SOCG	Scritti Originale, Congregazione Generale, Archives of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, Rome.
SRCO	Scritti Referiti Nei Congressi, Oceania, Archives of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, Rome.
SSJ	Sisters of St Joseph
W	Correspondence between the Central Council of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, Paris and Lyons, France, and the bishops and priests of the Adelaide diocese. Copied and translated by Dr James Waldersee, University of Sydney.

NOTE: Unless otherwise indicated, archival material cited in this text forms part of the collection held by the Sisters of St Joseph in their archives at St Joseph's Convent, Mount Street, North Sydney and/or St Joseph's Convent, Kensington, South Australia.

## INTRODUCTION

Manning Clark has written that all history is about conflict - conflict between man and his environment, between social classes and within the hearts of individuals.<sup>1</sup> The story of the Sisters of St Joseph, a small religious order founded in South Australia in the 1860s as a consequence of the Catholic Church's decision to set up its own independent system of education, can be told in terms of such conflict.

Firstly, the physical, social and political environment into which the Institute was born was one where physical hardship was an accepted fact of life. Distance, isolation, poverty and debt were the enemies the sisters had to grapple with as they set out to provide a Catholic education for the children of lower-middle and working class Australian Catholics. The society in which they lived, while basically religious, was often bitterly divided along sectarian lines. Hence its members could not agree as to the proper place of religion in the education of the young and governments were prepared to support only secular schools and institutions.

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1. Manning Clark, A Discovery of Australia, ABC Boyer Lecturers, 1976, pp. 10-11.

Secondly, the founders and first members of this particular religious institute believed that their mission was to the Catholics of the poorer classes. Consequently, they were soon locked in mortal combat with churchmen who believed that the first duty of Catholic educators was to the children of the better off and to the formation of a Catholic elite. The ensuing struggle was long and bitter and is, in some ways, as yet unresolved, for it centred around the basic issues of for whom and what the Church stands, of whether it is meant to bring people to God, regardless of their social or economic situations, or is to be an agent of social change and mobility. The questions addressed in late-nineteenth-century Australia concerned principally the standards of education being offered in the Catholic schools, who were to be its beneficiaries and the training and qualifications to be required of its exponents.

Finally, the story of the Sisters of St Joseph is one of men and women who believed ardently in the Catholic Church and its teachings and who were prepared to work for their preservation even at great personal cost. They agreed in principle that these sisters had a valuable contribution to make towards the life of the Church but disagreed, sometimes even violently, over the practical details of how they should best make that contribution. The ensuing conflict between individuals and groups was often the visible manifestation of the inner conflicts and soul-searching they were enduring as they sought to resolve their difficulty.

The Sisters of St Joseph were a small and comparatively insignificant group in terms of Australian society as a whole. However, their story warrants the telling because of the far-reaching importance of many of the issues raised as a consequence of their decision to be as poor as the people among whom they lived and worked, to confine their mission to the poorer classes of society and to have a form of internal government which crossed colonial and diocesan borders and was largely independent of the local hierarchy. The sisters' struggle for autonomy in a male-dominated hierarchical Church touched upon and reflected many of the conflicts then wracking the wider Church both in Australia and overseas. These included the struggle between liberalism and ultramontanism, Catholic attitudes towards social class and social mobility and the Church's struggle for survival in a pluralist society.

The Sisters of St Joseph began their work in South Australia. Therefore, it is necessary to begin this history with a discussion of the socio-economic factors which rendered their presence there not only possible but also necessary for the life and well-being of the Church in that colony.

## CHAPTER 1.

### GENESIS OF AN ORDER.



Father Julian Edmund Tenison Woods, Catholic priest, and Mary MacKillop, (Mother Mary of the Cross), took the first tentative steps towards the foundation of a new Catholic religious order or institute,<sup>1</sup> the Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart, at Penola in South Australia in 1866.<sup>2</sup> Their intention was to provide Catholic education for the children of the poor, especially those living in country districts, and to care for orphans and other destitute persons.<sup>3</sup> This institute soon became firmly established in the colony and, despite some initial difficulties, spread to other parts of Australia and to New Zealand within the space of a few years.<sup>4</sup> By 1890 it had gained the definitive

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1. The term "Institute" is used to designate a religious order whose members take simple vows and engage in active works such as teaching, nursing or social welfare work, outside their convents, as opposed to those orders where the nuns take solemn vows and live cloistered lives inside their monasteries. In their Constitutions and other official documentation the Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart use the terms "Institute" and "Congregation" interchangeably. In this thesis the term "Institute" will be used most frequently.
  2. MacKillop, circular letter to the sisters, 4 March 1891, Mother Mary's circulars, Sisters of St Joseph, North Sydney, 1876, p.168. The Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart follow MacKillop in regarding 19 March 1866 as the date of the foundation of the Institute. Woods, "Memoirs," handwritten Manuscript, originally dictated to Miss Anne Bulger in Sydney between December 1877 and January 1889, and copied by Sister Mary John for the Sisters of the Perpetual Adoration, Brisbane, (Hayes collection, University of Queensland Library), Book 2, p. 38, indicated that Woods dated the foundation of the Institute from the time he completed its first Rules, that is, in about May 1867.
  3. J.E.T. Woods, "Rules of the Institute of St Joseph," Resource 3, January 1980, p.1
  4. See Appendix I for details of the spread of the Institute.

approval of the Catholic Church,<sup>5</sup> and had found a distinctive place within the structures of the Australasian Church as an institute with a special concern for the members of the lower classes of society in both the city and outback.<sup>6</sup> Education always remained the sisters' prime task but they also undertook social welfare work, especially among distressed women and children.<sup>7</sup>

Mary MacKillop claimed that the Institute of St Joseph was founded to meet the needs of Australian Catholics at a time when no other religious were available for this work.<sup>8</sup> Why, it may be asked, was the establishment of a new religious order warranted when a number of British and European orders provided similar services and several had already opened houses in Australia? In fact, by 1860 every colony except South Australia could boast at least one convent with its associated schools and charitable institutions.<sup>9</sup> Most of the sisters concerned were from overseas and had willingly accepted the invitation to come to the colonies. Therefore, the explanation for the fact that none had as yet settled in South Australia must lie

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5. Decree of Approbation, erecting the Institute into a Regular Congregation of Pontifical Right with a Mother House in Sydney, issued at Rome by the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, 25 July 1888. Original held in CCAS, Sydney.
  6. MacKillop, "Brief Sketch of the Institute, Resource 3, pp. 61-72. "Our Charities, no. 4, The Sisters of St Joseph," Austral Light, Vol 1, no. 7, July 1900.
  7. Woods, "Rules," Resource 3, p. 1.
  8. MacKillop, "Necessity for the Institute," August 1873, Resource 3, p. 50.
  9. Patrick O'Farrell, The Catholic Church and Community in Australia, Nelson, Australia, 1977, pp.121-122 and 175-178.

elsewhere. It is not hard to discover and may be explained in terms of the nature of the South Australian colonial experiment itself, of the small proportion of Catholics there and of the position of those Catholics on the social scale.

A significant proportion of the first settlers were dissenters who believed that all should enjoy religious equality and freedom before the law.<sup>10</sup> These men resisted the idea of having a politically dominant church in the colony and supported the notion that the members of each denomination should provide for their own churches and pastors by means of voluntary subscriptions.<sup>11</sup>

Other settlers considered that some public money should be devoted to religious purposes. These won a short-lived victory when, in 1847-1848, Governor Robe legislated to provide government aid to religion and education.<sup>12</sup> One consequence of Robe's move was that the colony suffered its first serious wave of sectarian bitterness, but the situation persisted only until 1851 when the newly elected Legislative Council took office.<sup>13</sup> It abolished all state aid to religion and established, instead, a

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10. Douglas Pike, Paradise of Dissent, M.U.P. 1967, pp. 59, 64, 115-117 and 249; "Founding a Utopia," Melbourne Studies in Education, 1957-1958, p. 51.

11. Pike, "A Society Without Grandparents," Melbourne Studies in Education, 1957-1958, pp. 57-58; "Founding a Utopia," p. 51.

12. Pike, Paradise, pp. 359-377.

13. *ibid.* pp. 249 & 364; "A Society Without Grandparents," pp. 57-58.

state-controlled system of non-sectarian secular education.<sup>14</sup> Under the provisions of the Education Act then passed, schools were to provide "good secular instruction, based on the Christian religion" but were to avoid "all theological and controversial differences on discipline and doctrine." The use of any form of denominational catechism was forbidden, and only those teachers who abided by the government regulations were to be licensed to teach and receive payment from the government Board of Education.<sup>15</sup>

This Act hit the Catholics particularly hard. They were a small group, comprising a mere 6% of the total population in 1845 and approximately 10% in 1860.<sup>16</sup> However, it was not only their poor numerical strength that disadvantaged them. Rather, it was their low socio-economic status. Until the 1860s most of them were recently arrived Irish labourers and their families, who were struggling to establish themselves in the colony.<sup>17</sup> There is no evidence to suggest that a greater proportion of Catholics than of members of other

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14. South Australian Statutes, no. 20 of 1851. Pike, "A Society without Grandparents," p. 58; Paradise, p. 423. The writer explains how Hanson, the Advocate General, ruled that stipends and buildings grants to the churches could not continue without new legislation being passed, and thus effectively put an end to State Aid to religion.

15. South Australian Statutes, no. 20 of 1851, articles 2 and 5.

16. South Australian Statistical Registers, 1845 & 1866, "Religions of the People."

17. Rosemary Owens, "Problems of the Catholic Church in South Australia, 1865-1875," B.A. Adelaide, 1972, pp. 9-10. Helen M. Sheedy, "The Sisters of St Joseph and Education in South Australia, 1867-1874," B.A. Adelaide, 1969, p. 15.

denominations was destitute, but it is certain that most Catholics belonged to the lower middle and working classes.<sup>18</sup> Only a handful of them were professional men and none at all was to be found in the upper echelons of colonial society.<sup>19</sup> Consequently, their financial contributions towards the support of the Church were small and the Catholic Church in South Australia was hard pressed to find sufficient priests and places of worship for its people.<sup>20</sup> Even the gold rushes of the 1850s, which brought increased wealth to the Church in Victoria and New South Wales, caused great hardship in this colony when they drained it of much of its adult male population, Catholic and otherwise. Francis Murphy,<sup>21</sup> Adelaide's

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18. Murphy to the Central Council for the Propagation of the Faith, 1 December 1847, wrote: "There are exactly twelve Catholics who are middle class merchants; all the rest are labourers," W. G.G. O'Collins SJ, ed. Patrick McMahon Glynn. Letters to his Family, 1874-1927, Polding Press, Melbourne, 1974, pp. 56 & 100. SAPP, 1867, no. 50, "Brighton Industrial School," and 1868, no. 91, "Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on the Destitute Poor," Appendix to Evidence, p. ii. Woods to MacKillop, 20 January 1869.
19. SAPP, 1861, no. 131, "Report of the Select Committee on Education," q. 556. Owens, op cit. p. 10.
20. Murphy to the Propagation of the Faith, 18 September 1849, W. His people's poverty and their inability to contribute sufficient funds for the support of the clergy and the erection of churches is a theme running through all Murphy's correspondence with this society, 27 May 1844 - 7 November 1857, W. Pike, Paradise, pp. 264, 355 and 379.
21. Osmund Thorpe, "Francis Murphy," in D. Pike, ed. Australian Dictionary of Biography, Volume 2, 1788-1850, pp. 269-270, states that Murphy was born on 20 May 1795 at Navan, Co. Meath, Ireland, studied at Maynooth, was ordained a priest in 1825, volunteered for the English mission and worked in Bradford and Liverpool until 1837. He then sought leave to go to Australia for five years, reached Sydney in June 1838, became vicar general of that diocese in 1841, and was appointed to Adelaide in 1843. He was consecrated bishop in September 1844 and reached his See in November 1844. He then had a staff of one, and no buildings of any kind. He died on 26 April 1858, by which time there were 12 priests, 12 churches, 6 chapels, 2 schools and a cathedral under construction.

first Catholic bishop, lost several of his clergy because they could not subsist on the meagre offerings of their now diminished congregations and he was unable to supplement their incomes from other sources.<sup>22</sup> The voluntary system was fine in theory, but, when it was put into practice, the Catholic Church was severely disadvantaged because of the poverty of its members.

In an attempt to alleviate his financial difficulties, Murphy sent his vicar general, Father Michael Ryan,<sup>23</sup> to the goldfields for six months during 1852. His mission was to attend to the spiritual needs of the miners and, even more importantly, to win at least £800 worth of gold for his bishop.<sup>24</sup> Ryan succeeded in his quest and Murphy was able to meet his more pressing commitments and even commence the building of his cathedral church in Adelaide, although he still had nothing to put aside for

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22. Murphy to the Propagation of the Faith, 27 February 1852 wrote that he had lost four priests for want of support, W. Thomas Caldwell, O.S.B., Diary, ACA, left Willunga after all his congregation except "two elderly women and one lame dog" had gone to the diggings. Murphy to Backhaus, 1852, cited in J. Hussey, Henry Backhaus, St Killian's Press, Bendigo, 1982, p. 54. "Annual Letters of the Austrian Province of the Society of Jesus, 1863," tr. P.J. Dalton SJ, p.1 of typescript, ASJ.

23. Michael Ryan, an Irishman, came to Australia at about the same times as Murphy. He worked in New South Wales until 1844 when he accompanied Murphy to Adelaide as his sole companion and vicar general. Ryan worked in the diocese for the next twenty years, was vicar general or administrator for most of that time, and died at Kapunda on 24 August 1865.

24. Brian Condon, ed. The Journal of Francis Murphy, First Catholic Bishop of Adelaide, vol. 2, Magill Campus, Adelaide C.A.E. 1983, pp. 247, 272-273, entries for 29 April, 3 and 18 November 1852. Murphy to Ryan, 6 June and 2 August 1852, ACA, Murphy Papers, Series 1.

the future.<sup>25</sup> Like most of its adherents, the Catholic Church in South Australia was forced to live precariously, subsisting from day to day on the small voluntary offerings of those adherents and another sixty years were to elapse before it became financially secure.<sup>26</sup>

Murphy worked hard to meet the spiritual needs of his impoverished people. He resembled the hierarchy elsewhere in Australia and overseas in that he believed that education belonged to the Church and that it was his duty to provide schools where the children might be instructed in the knowledge of God and the practice of their religion, as well as in the necessary secular subjects.<sup>27</sup> Therefore, he invited several Catholic lay teachers from Sydney to Adelaide between 1844 and 1848 and set them up in schools in or near the city.<sup>28</sup> Until 1851 he paid their stipends from his limited church funds and the short-lived government subsidy. Then the 1851 Education Act and the gold rushes, coming together as they

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25. Condon, ed. op cit. pp. 251-252, 255, 261, 265 and 272, being entries for 6 & 7 July, 9 August, 15 September, 19 & 28 October 1852. Murphy to Ryan, 2 August 1852. "Annual Letters of the Austrian Province of the Society of Jesus," 1877-1882, pp. 36 & 41 of typescript, ASJ.
26. John O'Reily, First Annual Report on the Liabilities of the Archdiocese of Adelaide, Adelaide, 1896, pp. 1-5. Robert Spence, Seventeenth Report on the Liabilities of the Archdiocese of Adelaide, Adelaide, 1915, p. 2. ACA.
27. P. MacSuibhne, ed. Paul Cullen and his Contemporaries, Leinster Leader, Naas, Co. Kildare, vol. 1, 1961, pp. 226-227, vol. 2, 1962, pp. 85-91. G. Haines, ed. The Eye of Faith, The Pastoral Letters of John Bede Polding, Lowden Press, Victoria, 1978, pp. 261-268.
28. Condon, ed. op cit. pp. 81, 97, 111-112, 119-138 passim, 155-164 passim.

did, rendered it impossible for him to continue paying these teachers and maintaining his Catholic schools. Murphy did not let this turn of events discourage him from his intention of having Catholic teachers instructing Catholic children. Hence, instead of closing his schools and dismissing the teachers, he had them apply to the government Board of Education for licences to teach.<sup>29</sup> This meant that they were now obliged to work within the framework of the Board's regulations, especially those concerning the reading of the scripture and the avoidance of any form of sectarian religious instruction during school hours.<sup>30</sup> However, it seems that both the teachers and the bishop were able to evade the law in this regard, for Murphy continued to look upon these schools as Catholic and he was known to have taught in the one at St Patrick's Church, West Terrace, Adelaide, on a number of occasions.<sup>31</sup>

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29. Many of the journal entries cited above concern the payment of teachers. There is no mention of any payments after 1851. Annual Report of the Central Board of Education, SAGG 19 August 1852, lists David and Anne Cremin of Adelaide and Thomas O'Brien of Dry Creek among the teachers who had recently obtained licenses. Register, 6 October 1856, recorded David's death. Anne continued to run her school in Waymouth Street until April 1868: Minutes, Central Board of Education, SAA GRG 50/1/4, 20 April 1868. O'Brien remained under the Board until mid 1869 when he placed himself under the auspices of the Catholic Education Council, SCCH, 20 June 1869. Murphy in his "Annual Returns to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith," listed the number of Catholic schools as follows: 1849 - 4; 1851 - 3; 1852 - 2; 1853 - 0; 1854 - 1857, 1 only. It is difficult to ascertain which schools he included here, and hence, to be certain of the category into which he placed those run by O'Brien and the Cremins.

30. SAGG 19 August 1852, p. 509. South Australian Statutes, No. 20 of 1851, Article 2.

31. Wilfrid Ryan SJ, "The Story of Catholic Education in South Australia," Australian Catholic Education Congress, Adelaide, November 8th-15th 1936, Advocate Press, Melbourne, 1937, p. 94.

Despite Murphy's efforts to establish Catholic schools in his diocese, there were never more than seven that could lay claim to the title and only two of these survived his death in April 1858.<sup>32</sup> Because of his limited means he was unable to give them any real system or organisation and, once the teachers were on the government payroll, he had little real control over them. He has been blamed in some quarters for having done too little in the cause of Catholic education and, in particular, for not having taken a sufficiently firm stand over the question of state aid for denominational schools.<sup>33</sup> The fact of the matter was that he and his people were too poor to found and maintain independent Catholic schools under the voluntary system.<sup>34</sup> For the same reason they were unable to bring religious sisters from overseas to establish schools for the upper classes. Murphy did make two attempts to attract sisters to South Australia, but it seems that they found the prospect of working in his poor diocese too discouraging and declined his invitation.<sup>35</sup>

Priests, too, passed the colony by because they saw that it could offer them few prospects of making a good living.<sup>36</sup> Schoolmasters wanted adequate remuneration

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32. Geoghegan to Goold, 17 December 1859, ACA.

33. Ryan, *op cit.* pp. 91-96.

34. James Waldersee, A Grain of Mustard Seed, Chevalier Press, Sydney, 1986, pp. 100-101. Murphy to the Propagation of the Faith, annual letters, 1844-1857.

35. Condon, *op cit.* vol. 2, p. 401, entry for 9 December 1856. Murphy to Cullen, Dublin, 13 December 1855, DDA.

for their work and went to settlements where there was a chance of obtaining it.<sup>37</sup> Hence, for South Australia's Catholics, financial poverty also meant spiritual poverty and many of them were in danger of losing their faith, not by deliberate choice, but by a gradual attrition resulting from their having too infrequent contact with their pastors and too few opportunities to attend to their spiritual duties.<sup>38</sup> This situation was a continuing source of worry to Murphy, who did what he was able, given his circumstances. His greatest contribution to the life of the Church in the colony was that, by the force of his personality and the quality of his interaction with all members of the community, he won the respect of Catholics and non-Catholics alike and, as a consequence, opened the way for a more peaceful integration of Catholics into colonial society than they had experienced in either Victoria or New South Wales and for a fair degree of religious tolerance among the settlers as a whole.<sup>39</sup>

Murphy's successor, Patrick Bonaventure Geoghegan,<sup>40</sup>

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36. Geoghegan to Goold, 11 April 1861, ACA.
37. Geoghegan to the Propagation of the Faith, 19 November 1861, W.
38. MacKillop, "Necessity for the Institute," Resource 3, pp. 50-53; "Life of Rev. J.E.T. Woods," Resource 6, p. 37. Geoghegan, Pastoral Letter No. III, Adelaide, 2 January 1862, passim; "Diocesan Report to the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda Fide, Rome," 1863, p. 23. ACA.
39. Frederick Byrne, History of the Catholic Church in South Australia, J.P. Hansen, Adelaide, 1914, p. 99, ACA. Catholic laymen to the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda Fide, Rome, 5 December 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1332.
40. Osmund Thorpe, "Patrick Bonaventure Geoghegan," in D. Pike, ed. Australian Dictionary of Biography. vol. 4, pp. 240-241. Geoghegan was born in Dublin on 7 March 1805. Orphaned at an early

who arrived in Adelaide in October 1859, viewed the situation differently. Both men had volunteered for the Australian mission at about the same time and had arrived in Sydney during 1838. They subsequently became lifelong friends, even though their experiences at home and in the colonies were widely different.<sup>41</sup> Murphy had spent six years in New South Wales before he took up his appointment to Adelaide and, for part of that time, was vicar general to Bishop Polding of Sydney.<sup>42</sup> Geoghegan, for his part, was stationed in Melbourne from shortly after his arrival in Australia until his elevation to the episcopate twenty years later. Victorian Catholics were then more numerous and generally better off than their South Australian counterparts and the Church there was more financially secure because, until 1862, the government contributed towards the support of both clergy and schools. Thus, in 1859, the year the new bishop moved to Adelaide, the Catholic Church in Victoria received £10,000 as its share of the government's grant-in-aid for religion.<sup>43</sup>

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age he was placed in a Protestant orphanage from which he was taken by a Franciscan priest and reared as a Catholic. He joined the Franciscans and was ordained a priest in 1835, volunteered for the Australian mission, spent a short time at Bathurst, New South Wales, went to Port Phillip (Melbourne) in 1838, became Bishop of Adelaide in 1859, went to Europe in 1862, and died in Dublin of cancer of the throat on 9 May 1864.

41. Thorpe, "Geoghegan", ADB, vol 4, p. 241. Murphy and Geoghegan corresponded regularly during their time in Australia. ACA and MDHC hold copies of many of their letters.
42. Thorpe, "Francis Murphy," ADB, vol. 2, p. 270.
43. Frances O'Kane, A Path is Set, M.U.P. 1976, p. 120. Geoghegan to Woodlock, All Hallows College, Dublin, 24 February 1861, in Brian Condon ed. Letters supporting an Edition of the Journal of Francis Murphy, First Catholic Bishop of Adelaide, 1844-1958, Magill Campus, Adelaide C.A.E. 1982, pages unnumbered.

Coming, as he did, from such a background, Geoghegan was appalled at the situation he found in his new See and complained bitterly of the Church's poverty as demonstrated by its "deplorable lack of priests" and its almost non-existent Catholic school system.<sup>44</sup> In his view, religious tolerance caused indifference, which was bad enough at the best of times and was particularly dangerous in South Australia. There, so he believed, the government had established and was supporting a system of "State Protestant Schools" with the sole aim of proselytising the Catholic children from the faith of their baptism.<sup>45</sup> What was more, he believed that the Catholics, who then comprised approximately one eighth of the population, were being unduly penalised because they contributed an equivalent proportion of the revenue allocated for education and yet were unable conscientiously to avail themselves of the education being offered by the State. He maintained that the whole system was manifestly unjust and that the State owed the Catholics one eighth of the sum annually expended on education for the support and maintenance of their own

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44. *ibid*, 25 July 1860. Geoghegan to Goold, 17 December 1859, ACA. Geoghegan, Pastoral No. III, 1862. These are but a few samples of letters where Geoghegan expressed his feelings about the situation he found in South Australia. Education and the shortage of priests were recurring themes throughout his correspondence during this period.

45. Geoghegan, Pastoral Letter of Patrick Bonaventure, by Divine Grace and Favour of the Apostolic See, Bishop of Adelaide, to the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese, on the Education of Catholic Children, G. Dehane, Adelaide, 1860, p. 3 and *passim*. Geoghegan to Goold, 5 December 1860, ACA.

schools.<sup>46</sup>

In his anxiety to resolve this difficulty, Geoghegan decided to confront both his people and the government with the facts of the case, as he saw them, and demand renewed government assistance for denominational schools. To this end, he addressed a strongly worded Pastoral Letter to the clergy and laity of South Australia,<sup>47</sup> elaborating on the dangers of the existing state system of education.<sup>48</sup> He commanded all Catholics to sever every connection with it and stated that he would rather have the children untaught than placed in a situation where their faith might be compromised.<sup>49</sup> He implored his priests to establish independent Catholic schools, regardless of the cost, and to agitate for a better deal from the government by organising meetings and drawing up petitions for presentation to parliament.<sup>50</sup>

Geoghegan did not stay long in South Australia. His poor health was adversely affected by the climate. He seemed unable to accept the poverty and other disadvantages suffered by the Church there and he did not relate well with his people, who, for their part, compared him with his "sainted predecessor"<sup>51</sup> and found him

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46. Geoghegan, op cit. pp. 5 & 14.

47. See fn. 45 above for details.

48. Geoghegan, op cit. pp. 1-8.

49. *ibid.* p. 13.

50. *ibid.* p. 16. Geoghegan to Goold, 28 January 1861, MDHC.

51. Geoghegan to Goold, 15 September 1860, 5 December 1860, MDHC.

wanting. Just over two years after his arrival in Adelaide he applied to Rome for a transfer to the proposed new Diocese of Goulburn in southern New South Wales, on the grounds that the conditions there, especially the climate, would be more amenable to his health and general well-being.<sup>52</sup> Then, in February 1862, he left Adelaide to make his ad limina visit to Rome. While overseas his health deteriorated alarmingly and he died in Dublin on 9 May 1864, within weeks of his having received due notification that his request for a change of See had been granted.<sup>53</sup>

This bishop's stay in South Australia was short but, during the time he spent there, he succeeded in appealing to his people's pride and sense of group identity as Irish and Catholic and in raising their consciousness to a level where at least some of them were prepared to do something about the Catholic education of their children. Soon after the publication of the Pastoral Letter in September 1860, several local pastors called their congregations together to arrange for the establishment and maintenance of their own independent schools<sup>54</sup> and within a matter of months no fewer than six of these had begun operations in widely separated parts of the colony.<sup>55</sup> During 1860

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52. James Quinn, Brisbane, to Cullen, Dublin, 19 May 1862, article 29, in Condon, ed. Letters, 1982. Frances O'Donoghue, The Bishop of Botany Bay, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1982, p. 135.

53. Thorpe, "Geoghegan," ADE, vol. 4, p. 241.

54. Advertiser, 29 September and 9 October 1860, reported meetings held at Kooringa, Clare and Willunga.

55. The schools in question were at Penola, St John's, via Kapunda, Norwood, Marion and East and West Adelaide.

and subsequent years the Catholics drew up and presented at least four separate petitions to parliament, each carrying more than 2,000 signatures.<sup>56</sup> (This figure is quite high, given that there were then only about 16,000 Catholics in the colony, including women and children.)<sup>57</sup> In the first of their petitions, the people asked that, since they could not participate in the existing educational system for conscientious reasons, they be given their "just" share of all moneys allocated by the government for the purposes of education.<sup>58</sup> When this approach failed, they changed their line of argument and insisted, instead, that the "state grant for teaching religion in schools" be abolished and that all educational ventures be supported by voluntary subscriptions.<sup>59</sup>

At first, if the Advertiser can be regarded as a genuine gauge of public feeling, many non-Catholics were inclined to sympathise with the Catholic position, to consider the possible justice of their claim and to demonstrate a willingness to compromise.<sup>60</sup> However, the terms of the second Roman Catholic petition, as presented in July 1861, made it quite clear that, as far as the

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56. SAPP, 1860, no. 78; 1861, no. 96; 1862, no. 115; 1863, no. 84.

57. The 1861 census did not divide the people along religious lines. The figure cited here is based upon the Catholics' claim that they formed about one eighth of the total population. In 1861 that stood at 126,830.

58. SAPP, 1860, no. 78.

59. SAPP, 1861, no. 96. The Catholics maintained the same line of argument in all subsequent petitions.

60. Advertiser, 20 September 1860, Leading article.

Catholics were concerned, compromise was out of the question, and that the Catholic clergy would be satisfied with nothing less than complete control of their own denominational schools.<sup>61</sup> One writer, at a loss to understand why "good men of different denominations" could not "cordially and usefully act together," regretted the Catholic decision to refuse co-operation with the Central Board of Education. He claimed that he was embarrassed at Catholic intransigence which thwarted the Board's efforts to secure "full and equal justice alike for Catholic and Protestant in this free country." At the same time, he claimed that Protestants were willing to continue working for the "civil and religious rights" of their "Catholic fellow colonists."<sup>62</sup>

At this juncture the government appointed a Select Committee to inquire into the workings of the 1851 Education Act, with particular reference to those clauses around which the present controversy was centred.<sup>63</sup> This committee, which met during the winter of 1861, called witnesses from the principal religious denominations and the Central Board of Education.<sup>64</sup> Geoghegan did not appear in person but sent his vicar general, Michael Ryan, instead. Ryan was questioned at

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61. SAPP, 1861, no. 96.

62. Advertiser, 22 July 1861, Open Column.

63. SAPP, 1861, No. 131, "Report of a Select Committee on a System of Education," 23 August 1861.

64. Ibid. Evidence pp. 1-31.

length on the Catholic position but his answers, which were generally rather vague, did little to advance the Catholic cause.<sup>65</sup> On the other hand, most of the other witnesses presented quite strong arguments in favour of maintaining the present state of affairs.<sup>66</sup>

Consequently, in its report, handed down on 23 August 1861, the committee found that there was "no ground for supposing that any attempt had been made to introduce sectarian teaching into schools assisted by the government" and that, since only Roman Catholics had objected to the existing arrangements, there was no reason for believing that there had been any violation of the Act in those particulars.<sup>67</sup>

The Select Committee's findings destroyed any hope the Catholics might have entertained that the government would give them special consideration and also demonstrated their weakness as a political force. However, they, or at least their leaders, did not allow the government's refusal to grant them financial assistance to lessen their determination to provide a thoroughly Catholic education for the Catholic children. The clergy reacted with a new sense of vigour, even of embattlement, while the laity seemed more aware of their identity as a distinct group in colonial society and began to regard their separate schools as status symbols. It is quite remarkable that,

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65. *ibid.* Evidence, pp. 22-25, qq. 400-438.

66. *ibid.* pp. 1-31, *passim*.

67. *ibid.* Report, p. 2, par. 12.

once it had begun, the movement towards the establishment of independent Catholic schools gathered its own momentum and carried on without further pressure from above. Geoghegan left the diocese just six months after the publication of the Select Committee's findings and Adelaide was to remain without a resident bishop for four and a half years.<sup>68</sup> Yet, in that time, the number of Catholic schools in the colony almost trebled. There were eight when the bishop departed, twice as many by the following year and twenty-three in August 1866<sup>69</sup> when Geoghegan's successor and Adelaide's third bishop, Laurence Bonaventure Sheil,<sup>70</sup> took possession of the See.

Sheil found the clergy of this poor diocese struggling to educate its children independently of the state because they believed that the children's faith would be endangered in the existing government schools. He saw that the Church was being hampered in its efforts by its perennial shortage of funds and, consequently, that many of the clergy were unable to obtain the services of

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68. During the 15 years and 6 months that elapsed between Murphy's death, 26 April 1858 and the consecration of Adelaide's fourth bishop, Christopher Reynolds, on 2 November 1873, a bishop was actually residing in Adelaide for a total of approximately 4 years and 6 months. See Appendix II for details.

69. SCCH, 20 June 1869, p. 337, Report of Meeting of C.E.C.

70. Ian J. Bickerton, "Laurence Bonaventure Sheil," D. Pike ed. Australian Dictionary of Biography, vol. 6, p. 116. Sheil was born at Wexford, Ireland on 24 December 1815, joined the Franciscans at an early age, studied at St Isidore's College, Rome, was ordained priest in 1839 and taught theology and philosophy at the college for several years before returning to Ireland and taking up parish work. He was recruited for the Australian mission by Goold of Melbourne and arrived in Victoria in February 1853. He worked in Victoria until he became Bishop of Adelaide in 1866. He died at Willunga, South Australia, on 1 March 1872, aged 56 years.

properly qualified teachers because they could not pay them adequate wages.<sup>71</sup> He noted, too, that teacher incompetence meant that, in most schools, there was no properly organised system of teaching. The situation was frequently exacerbated by substandard buildings and equipment,<sup>72</sup> and only about a quarter of all Catholic children of school-going age were being catered for in the schools.<sup>73</sup> As well, he found that a number of Catholic teachers held licences to teach from the government Board of Education and were on its payroll<sup>74</sup> and that some of the clergy, especially the Jesuits, in whose districts most such teachers were to be found, looked upon these schools as being Catholic. They visited them on a regular basis and took the pupils for religious instruction during school hours,<sup>75</sup> even though, according to the law, only secular instruction should have been given during that time.

Another weakness of the Catholic school system, if it

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71. Ryan to Geoghegan, 26 November 1862, ACA. Geoghegan to the Propagation of the Faith, 26 April 1861 & 26 November 1862, W.
72. Advertiser, 6 June 1867, Report of Meeting of C.E.C.
73. South Australian Census, 1871, Religions of the People, Table II, indicated that there were then 13,162 Catholic children under the age of 14 years. This was the first time that the returns were divided according to age. SCCH, 20 June 1869, Report of Meeting of C.E.C. Here Woods claimed that during 1868 Catholic schools catered for 1,030 children. Even if only half the Catholic children were of school-going age, this means that less than a quarter of their number actually attended a Catholic school during that year.
74. Advertiser, 5 June 1867, Report of Meeting of Catholic Education Council. Register, 8 June 1867, leading article.
75. "Annual Letters, 1863," p. 1 of typescript, ASJ.

merited such a title, was that, as a body, the clergy had no clearly defined educational policy, particularly regarding the standards of teaching that should be imparted in the schools and who, in fact, should benefit from them. Thus, Father Patrick Russell<sup>76</sup> of Adelaide was lamenting the fact that there was as yet no convent school in the city to provide a superior education for the real or potential young Catholic ladies there.<sup>77</sup> At the same time the Jesuits in the mid-north were trying to raise standards and provide schooling for the children of the poorer classes by employing licenced teachers and placing their schools under the auspices of the Central Board of Education. In the south-eastern district of the colony, Father Julian Woods was worrying over the ignorance of the children on the station properties scattered across his large mission area and dreaming of founding a religious order whose members would be able to teach them enough religious and secular knowledge to fit them for their station in life.<sup>78</sup>

These people represented three differing views on the aims and purposes of Catholic education, namely, that it

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76. Patrick Russell was born in Ireland on 1 April 1829, studied for the priesthood in Rome, was ordained on 22 March 1856, arrived in Adelaide in March 1858, served in the diocese for 44 years and died on 20 June 1902. As a Student of Propaganda College he was expected to write at least biennially to his alma mater and report on his doings on his mission.

77. Russell to Propaganda, Rome, 16 July 1862, SRCO vol. 7, ff. 570-573; 26 November 1864, f. 1306; 20 March 1866, vol. 8, ff. 420-424. One of the recurring themes in these letters was that of the need for nuns and brothers to come to the diocese.

78. Woods, "Memoirs," book 2, pp. 22-23.

should enable its recipients to make their way up the social ladder, that it should broaden their view of life or that it should fit them for their station in life. Of particular importance for the eventual development of a system of Catholic education in South Australia was the fact that most of the Irish clergy occupied the first position while Woods supported the third.<sup>79</sup> The Jesuits, who seem to have taken a pragmatic approach to the whole question, stood somewhere between these two extremes. They used every means available to ensure that all children received a thorough grounding in their religion and in the basic literacy and numeracy skills and offered an advanced course in the classics to "the sons of Catholic parents" who attended their college and boarding school at Sevenhill.<sup>80</sup>

Such was the situation when Sheil became Bishop of Adelaide in August 1866. He had had previous experience as a teacher and was interested in the current Catholic education debate. Hence he was ready to listen to Julian Woods, who attended his consecration in Melbourne on 15 August and, who, immediately afterwards, told of his dream of founding a new religious order of women to provide Catholic schools for the children of the South East.<sup>81</sup>

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79. Memorial presented to Sheil by eleven Adelaide clergy, February 1871. ACA.

80. "Annual Letters," pp. 2 & 5 of typescript, ASJ. Advertiser, 29 December 1859, p. 1: Prospectus, St. Aloysius College Sevenhill.

81. Woods to MacKillop, 30 August and 16 September 1866.

Woods' charge was one of the poorest and most extensive mission areas in South Australia and yet, he and his assistant, Father Daniel Fitzgibbon,<sup>82</sup> had been quick to accept the challenge offered them by Geoghegan in his Pastoral Letter of 1860. They opened their first school at Mount Gambier in January 1861, at a time when the mission was scarcely able to support them both, much less provide sufficient income for a teacher as well.<sup>83</sup> The hardships encountered by the clergy in the more central districts were compounded in the South East because of its distance from the larger centres of settlement. As they tried to fulfill their bishop's mandate Woods and Fitzgibbon faced a number of serious problems. These included the overall cost of the venture, the poor qualifications and rapid turnover among the teachers they did succeed in engaging.<sup>84</sup> As well, they found it impossible to provide schools for all the children in the area<sup>85</sup> and that even the best of the Catholic teachers available was scarcely competent to impart religious instruction to the standard required by Geoghegan.<sup>86</sup>

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82. Daniel Fitzgibbon was born in county Limerick, Ireland, on 15 May 1833, studied in Ireland and Rome, was ordained priest in 1856, reached Adelaide in 1859 and went almost immediately to the South East. After about a year there, he took charge of the Mount Gambier district, and, except for several months during 1873, spent the rest of his life there. He died on 17 June 1876, aged 43 years.

83. Geoghegan to Woods, January 1861. Ryan to Geoghegan, 26 May 1862. Woods to Geoghegan, 5 August 1863. ACA.

84. Woods to Geoghegan, 26 October and 17 December 1862. ACA.

85. Woods, "Memoirs," book 2, pp. 24-25.

86. Geoghegan, Pastoral Letter, p. 13.

Woods considered possible alternatives, one of which was the importation of religious sisters from overseas.<sup>87</sup> The idea was a good one, as far as it went, because nuns could generally be expected to be better educated, to be prepared to live more cheaply and to have a more permanent commitment to their work than their lay counterparts. In practical terms, however, its execution was impossible because, quite simply, he did not have enough money to pay the sisters' fares to Australia or to set them up on his mission.<sup>88</sup> Woods was not easily discouraged and, as he traversed the area worrying over the situation, he hit upon the ingenious idea of founding his own religious order specifically to meet the needs of the children of the Tatiara.<sup>89</sup> The idea once formulated, he immediately looked about for some way of putting it into execution. By the time of Sheil's episcopal consecration, the Institute of the Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart existed in embryo in Penola, in the person of Mary MacKillop, a young school teacher from Portland in Victoria, whose aid he had enlisted. The bishop's approval was all that was required for it to come to birth.

This new order was needed because the Catholic Church

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87. Woods, op cit. p. 25.

88. Ryan to Geoghegan, 26 May 1862, ACA, wrote that Woods had written asking that either he or Fitzgibbon be removed from the South East because they were not receiving enough to support them both and the prospects were not good because several of the better off families intended leaving the district.

89. Woods, op cit, pp. 26-28.

in South Australia was committed to providing Catholic education for its children but was too poor to afford the proper upkeep of its schools under lay teachers or to bring religious from overseas in sufficient numbers to meet its current needs. In addition the general scatter of the Catholic population throughout the colony prevented many children from having access to existing schools or to any form of religious instruction. The Church's response to that need was the Institute of the Sisters of St Joseph because those two exceptional individuals, Mary MacKillop and Julian Tenison Woods, happened to be there and to be in touch with the local situation. Their Institute was the South Australian Catholic Church's answer to the voluntarists' policy of self-support for religion and religious institutions. Its story, while interesting in its own right, forms part of the larger story of the Church's refusal to accept a form of education which separated the religious from the secular, its struggle to establish and maintain its own voluntary system of education and its determination to decide for itself what should be taught in its schools and who should benefit from them.

## CHAPTER 2

### FOUNDATION OF THE INSTITUTE, 1866 - 1867

The Institute of the Sisters of St Joseph came into being at Penola because that township lay at the centre of Woods' mission area and because MacKillop, the teacher at his local Catholic school, was prepared to throw in her lot with him in this new venture. The needs of the area gave rise to the idea of a new religious order, but the personalities of its two founders and the outcome of their continued interaction over a period of years decided its future character and shape.

Woods, who was born in London in 1832,<sup>1</sup> was a highly gifted man with sufficient drive to enable him to bring his dream of a new order to reality. He came from a middle class background and had considerable literary and scientific attainments, as well as a varied experience of religious life, before he reached South Australia in 1855.<sup>2</sup> Of particular importance for the present study was the influence on Woods' religious development of Fathers Faber and Oakeley, two converts to Catholicism who had entered the Church by way of the Oxford Movement.<sup>3</sup> These men tended to stress the feeling side of religion, with its concomitant of extravagant devotions and unquestioning obedience to the authority of Rome, and to

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1. Margaret Press, Julian Tenison Woods, Catholic Theological Faculty Sydney, 1979, p. 14. Woods, "Memoirs," p. 3.
  2. Press, op cit. chapter 2, pp. 30-44.
  3. *ibid.* pp. 22-24. T.S. Bokenkotter, "Oxford Movement", in New Catholic Encyclopedia, McGraw Hill, New York, 1966, vol. 10, pp. 844-847.

neglect the serious study of philosophy and theology and other aspects of sound scholarship.<sup>4</sup>

Woods' theological training prior to his ordination to the priesthood in 1857 was neither systematic nor prolonged. Rather, except for the short periods he spent with the Passionist priests in England, the Marists in France and the Jesuits at Sevenhill in South Australia, he gained most of his learning through his own reading.<sup>5</sup> Thus, he was largely self-taught and self-guided regarding spiritual and theological matters and taught and practised a form of asceticism closely resembling the one he had learnt from Faber and his associates. Consequently, he did not have the training or experience necessary for the highly specialised work of spiritual direction and was unprepared for the difficulties likely to be encountered during its course.<sup>6</sup>

While Woods gained many of his ideas about asceticism and the spiritual life from his early associations in England and France, he gained some of those about how nuns should live and behave from his meeting with a group of them, probably Sisters of St Joseph of Puy, in the

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4. Josef L. Altholz, The Liberal Catholic Movement in England, Burns, Oats, London, 1962, pp. 25, 131 & 135.
  5. Woods, "Memoirs," pp. 133-180, MacKillop, "Life of Rev. J.E.T. Woods," 1903, Resource 6, P. 10. Francis Poelzl SJ, "History of the Mission in South Australia of the Austro-Hungarian Province of the Society of Jesus, 1848-1898," translated from the German by P.J. Dalton SJ. pp. 9-10, ASJ.
  6. George O'Neill SJ, Life of the Rev. J.E.T. Woods, Pellegrini, Sydney, 1929, pp. 142, 173-174.

Auvergne region of southern France in 1853.<sup>7</sup> Thirty years later he claimed that the memory of those nuns had inspired him to found his own religious order in Australia and to decide that its members should be drawn from among the lower classes of society and should serve the poor in a spirit of poverty and humility. He recalled that there was no "fine ladyism" among those French sisters, whose education and standard of living closely resembled that of the people among whom they lived and worked and that they were much loved by all with whom they came in contact.<sup>8</sup> He claimed that, at the time of first meeting them, he had felt instinctively that, if nuns were to work effectively among the poor, they themselves should be members of the working classes.<sup>9</sup> Whether he actually reached that conclusion while still in France is a moot point, but he had certainly done so by the time he and Mary MacKillop came to found the Sisters of St Joseph. Hence that seemingly chance encounter in the south of France had far-reaching consequences for the Catholic Church in Australia.

Woods' experience in the Tatiara had convinced him of the difficulty of running a truly Catholic school with only lay staff. He had become increasingly aware of the impossibility of providing adequate religious and secular instruction for the children of the shepherds and

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7. Woods, "Memoirs," pp. 162-163.

8. *ibid.* p. 163.

9. *ibid.*

labourers living on the widely separated station properties in his vast mission area. As he "brooded"<sup>10</sup> over his problems he remembered the sisters of the Auvergne and wondered if he might be able to set up a similar group in South Australia. At first the idea seemed "so wild ... so utterly impracticable," that he "scarcely dared hope for it and scarcely ever spoke of it to anyone."<sup>11</sup> Then, in 1861, nineteen-year-old MacKillop came from Victoria to work on her uncle's station near Penola and things began to fall into place.<sup>12</sup>

Mary, the daughter of Scottish immigrants Alexander MacKillop and his wife Flora MacDonald, was born in Melbourne in January 1842.<sup>13</sup> She was baptised in St Francis Church, Melbourne, by Father Patrick Geoghegan,<sup>14</sup> who, as Adelaide's second bishop, was to set the scene for the foundation of the proposed new institute by his insistence that Catholics eschew the colony's government schools and establish their own instead. Her father, a failed candidate for the priesthood, had studied in Rome for some years and quite early in life Mary determined to repair his "shame" by

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10. *ibid.* book 2, p. 26.

11. *ibid.* p. 27.

12. George O'Neill SJ Life of Mother Mary of the Cross, Pellegrini, Sydney, 1931, p. 15. Osmund Thorpe CP. Mary McKillop Burns, Oats, London, 1957, p. 12 and fn. 1, p. 282. The uncle was Alexander Cameron, whose wife, Margaret, was a sister to Alexander MacKillop.

13. Register of the Sisters, ASSJ, R1.

14. Baptismal Register, St Francis Church, Melbourne, entry no. 492.

devoting herself to the service of the Church as a nun.<sup>15</sup> She imbibed a deep and lasting affection for the Church and for everything Roman from this man, who never fitted easily into the work-a-day world of men and who, as a consequence, was unable to prevent his family from sliding from a position of relative affluence to one of near destitution.<sup>16</sup> Thus young Mary, although well-born in class terms, had first-hand experience of the rigours of poverty. Because of her father's inability to provide adequately for his wife and family, she was obliged to go out to work at the age of fourteen and, with time, the family came to rely heavily on her for both financial and moral support. She worked as a governess on a number of station properties, including her uncle's at Penola, and also spent some time as a forewoman in a Melbourne business house.<sup>17</sup> Then, in 1863, she gained a position as a teacher in the Catholic denominational school at Portland in Western Victoria.<sup>18</sup>

Her years at Portland were difficult because of family pressures and the constant worry of unpaid debts. In an effort to improve their financial position she undertook to establish a boarding school for girls but the venture failed for a number of reasons. The principal one was

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15. MacKillop to Monsignor Tobias Kirby, Irish College, Rome, Ascension Thursday, 1873, ASSJ.

16. Thorpe, op cit. pp. 5-7.

17. MacKillop to Kirby, Ascension Thursday, p. 2. O'Neill, McKillop, pp. 11-13.

18. MacKillop to Kirby, Ascension Thursday, 1873, p. 4. Thorpe, op cit. p. 284, fn. 8.

that she lost her position in the Catholic school after the headmaster allegedly resorted to deceit in order to gain a good mark from the school inspector and her father made public issue of the affair.<sup>19</sup> (At that time Victorian schools operated under the system of payment by results, and teachers' salaries depended on the standard of their pupils' work.)<sup>20</sup> No other family members had employment at this time, the boarding school was not paying its way and local shopkeepers were threatening to withhold credit from such impecunious customers.<sup>21</sup> MacKillop still wished to become a nun, but in the circumstances, the likelihood of her being able to leave home and enter a convent seemed remote indeed.

However, she did not lose all hope because, ever since her stay in Penola in 1861, Woods had kept in touch with her.<sup>22</sup> He had early recognised the possibility that she might be the person through whom his dream of founding a new religious institute would become a reality and so had directed her in her efforts to lead a more spiritual life and had counselled her in her troubles.<sup>23</sup> This, Woods'

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19. *ibid.* p. 285, fn. 8.

20. D.H. Rankin, M.A. The History of the Development of Education in Victoria, 1836-1936, Arrow Printery, Melbourne, 1939, p.93. Under this system, a head teacher or an assistant received two thirds of his salary at a fixed rate and the other one third in proportion to the results obtained by the pupils of the school at the annual examination.

21. Thorpe, *op cit.*, pp. 24-25.

22. A number of the letters written by Woods to MacKillop and she to him during this period are still extant, ASSJ.

23. Woods to MacKillop, 18 February, 30 April, July and 30 August 1863,

first incursion into the realm of spiritual direction, was an important one for both MacKillop and the institute they were soon to found. He considered himself an expert spiritual adviser and acted with a confidence born of his short and varied experience of the religious life in England and France and of the reading, especially of the lives of the saints, that he had done since coming to Australia.<sup>24</sup> McKillop, for her part, had little more than a passing acquaintance with the Sisters of Mercy, who had been in Melbourne since 1857,<sup>25</sup> and any ideas she might have had about other religious orders came from books or hearsay. Hence, she was prepared to acknowledge Woods' superiority in this area and to accept his guidance. At the same time, her own native common sense and the solid grounding in her religion that her parents had given her, enabled her to take what was best from Woods' instruction, to build her spiritual life on faith rather than feeling and hence, to avoid the pitfalls which were to ensnare some of his less mature or well instructed disciples of the future.

Thanks, then, to Woods' support and encouragement and her own strong faith, MacKillop persevered in her

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9 June, 9 July and November 1864, 11 July 1865. These letters contained both encouragement and reproof and indicated that Woods expected her to be honest with him and with herself.

24. Woods, "Memoirs," p. 28. Woods noted that he felt "extraordinary pleasure" in reading the lives of saints who had founded religious orders, and had a special predilection for Saints Ignatius Loyola, Philip Neri and Teresa of Avila and also for the foundress of the Little Sisters of the Poor, Jeanne Jugan, who was still living at the time at which he was writing.

25. Margaret M. Pawsey, The Demon of Discord, M.U.P. 1982, p. 15.

intention throughout that trying time, hoping and praying all the while that she would eventually be able to embrace the religious life.<sup>26</sup> The opportunity for which she had been waiting occurred towards the end of 1865, when the teacher in the Catholic school at Penola resigned her position and Woods invited MacKillop and her younger sister, Annie, to come from Portland and take charge of it.<sup>27</sup> He suggested that they manage it according to his ideas, especially that they accept every child who came seeking admission, regardless of whether the parents could pay fees or not, and also that they try to subsist on such fees and gifts as the children and their parents might offer them. Under these conditions it would have been impossible for MacKillop to save enough to meet their current financial commitments, and so it was only when Woods assured her that he would guarantee their payment that she agreed to go to Penola, where she took up residence in January 1866.<sup>28</sup>

Now a mature twenty-four years old, she was almost ready to commit herself to becoming the foundation member of Woods' new institute. By 19 March, the day on which the Catholic Church pays special honour to the memory of St Joseph, the husband of Mary and foster father of Jesus, she had reached her decision and took the first small but significant step towards becoming a Sister of St Joseph.

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26. MacKillop to Kirby, Ascension Thursday, 1873.

27. Thorpe, *op cit.* p. 26.

28. *ibid.* p. 28.

On that day, which she subsequently regarded as the one which marked the actual foundation of the Institute, she adopted a simple black dress in place of her more fashionable clothes and began living according to a rule of life laid down for her by Woods.<sup>29</sup> This was a small step, but one pregnant with possibilities for the future. In March 1891, when the Institute was well established with over 300 members,<sup>30</sup> she wrote:

Twenty-five years ago we first kept up St Joseph's day as the special feast of our proposed Institute and little did either of us then dream of what was to spring from so small a beginning ... Our poor Father [Woods] was happy that day, and so was I, but we said little beyond wondering whom God would call to assist us - and how he would make his way clear.

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Neither Julian Woods nor Mary MacKillop was wont to spend time wondering while there was work to be done. Their immediate concern was the local school, to which MacKillop attended under Woods' watchful eye. Her years of experience as governess and school teacher stood her in good stead and before long everyone was impressed with the standard of her teaching and the way she managed the school.<sup>32</sup> Having once organised it to her satisfaction she undertook the important task of drawing up a curriculum and programme of lessons for the different classes.

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29. Sister Mechtilde Woods, "History of the Institute," M/S, n.d. but from internal evidence, ca. 1920, pp. 14-15, ASSJ.

30. Register of the Sisters, ASSJ.

31. MacKillop, Circular to the Sisters, 4 March 1891, Circulars, p. 168.

32. Thorpe, op cit. p. 20.

She was a good teacher who prepared her lessons well but cannot be described as an innovator where curriculum and teaching methods are concerned. However, that was scarcely necessary at a time when most of the children likely to attend her school had had little or no previous schooling and came from homes where the parents were illiterate. As a rule, such children did not attend school regularly or for long.<sup>33</sup> MacKillop's aim was that they be taught to read, write and cipher well enough for them to read and understand an ordinary newspaper, write simple letters correctly and manage their financial affairs satisfactorily.<sup>34</sup> Teachers needed to make the best use of all available time and her method was eminently suited to this end. She used the monitorial system, which required that the children learn from their books and repeat each lesson by rote in answer to the teachers' questions, devoting four days each week to direct teaching and setting Fridays aside for revision and recapitulation of the week's work.<sup>35</sup>

In following this practice she resembled many of her contemporaries. However, she did claim to differ from them where standards were concerned, holding that she expected a higher standard of work from her pupils than was demanded in any of the schools she had seen in

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33. Ronald Fogarty, Catholic Education in Australia, 1806-1950, M.U.P. 1959, pp. 108-109 and p. 109, fn. 57. Woods, "Circular on the Object of the Institute," Resource 3, p. 33.

34. Register, 7 March 1868, leading article: "Roman Catholic Education."

35. *ibid.* Woods, Directory and Order of Discipline, Adelaide, ca. 1870, p. 85.

Victoria, but that it was not too high.<sup>36</sup> It is now impossible to gauge whether her claims on this score were justified, but there is no doubt that she ran a good school at Penola and, later on, in Adelaide.<sup>37</sup>

Her real uniqueness lay in the way she integrated the religious and the secular in her teaching.<sup>38</sup> She set out to enable the children to learn "reading and writing, arithmetic and history, and whatever else ... thought desirable ... as Roman Catholic children learning these things," by placing them in a situation where they were "constantly breathing the atmosphere of their religion."<sup>39</sup> Prayer and religious instruction held pride of place in the curriculum and she made the best of every opportunity for "training the children to piety."<sup>40</sup> The recitation of prayers and the singing of hymns featured in the daily time-table. However, because she had a strong, natural understanding of children's needs, she took care that prayers were "not too long,"<sup>41</sup> and that the various feasts of the Church's calendar were highlighted by special celebrations and "treats."<sup>42</sup> All

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36. MacKillop to Woods, 27 May 1867.

37. Thorpe, *op cit.* p. 44. Advertiser, 15 August 1867, Report of Meeting of Catholic Education Council. SCCH, 19 October 1867, Report of Meeting of C.E.C. Register, 7 March 1868, "Roman Catholic Education."

38. Woods, Directory, 1870, pp. 84-86. See Appendix III for time-table and brief outline of the syllabus.

39. Geoghegan, Pastoral Letter, 1860, p. 8.

40. Woods, "Rules," Resource 3, p. 5.

41. Woods, Directory, 1870, p. 87.

42. *ibid.* p. 88.

were designed to give the children a sense of identity as Catholics and to help them perceive that religion was part of life and not something reserved for church on one particular day of each week.

The philosophy of education, to which Woods and MacKillop subscribed and which underlay MacKillop's teaching, was one which conformed with the directives of the Australian bishops and contemporary papal teachings, especially those contained in the encyclical "Quanta Cura" and the "Syllabus of Errors,"<sup>43</sup> with their condemnation of nineteenth-century secular liberalism. This philosophy was ultramontane and conservative, based on devotion and an unquestioning acceptance of the Church's teachings rather than on intellectual training. As children of their times, from their particular backgrounds, Woods and MacKillop could scarcely have been expected to have viewed the matter differently.

Thus, the aims of a Catholic school, as spelt out by them in the Rules of the Institute of St Joseph composed in 1867 were: first, to impress upon the children religious maxims and rules of conduct, to eradicate their faults and form their characters and to prepare them for the reception of the Sacraments of the Church; second, to

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43. E.E.Y. Hales, Pio Nono, Eyre and Spottiswood, London, 1954, pp. 255-262. William, Bishop of Clifton, Remarks on the Encyclical of December 8, 1864, an address of the Bishop of Clifton to the clergy and faithful of his diocese, reprinted by Archbishop of Sydney, n.d. but probably c. late 1860s, pp. 1-4. Anne Fremantle, The Papal Encyclicals in their Historical Context, Mentor, New York, 1958, pp. 135-153.

make them learn and see that they understood what they learnt and, third, "to leave nothing untried, as a matter of justice to the parents, [to ensure] that the children might progress in worldly learning." Woods next insisted that the sisters - and, by inference, all who taught in Catholic schools - were "bound as a duty they owe[d] to God and their neighbour" to work towards the achievement of these aims. Finally, he urged them to remember that the Church could only succeed in keeping "its hold against the wicked, secular instruction of the world by offering a superior education."<sup>44</sup>

Yet, for all this, Woods remained true to his English middle-class background. He held that the poor could neither learn much, nor for long, and that they should be taught to be content with their lot, to do "their Father's Will" and so to avoid those vices and that discontent which had been known to lead people into crime and rebellion.<sup>45</sup> In short, he resembled many of his contemporaries in that his idea of social mobility was a gradualist one. Yet, as his treatment of the Sisters of St Joseph was to show, he did not set out deliberately to put the poor down. MacKillop, likewise, believed that the poor should not be educated beyond their station, but for different and more practical reasons. She claimed to have known young girls who were exposed for a time to middle class ways and values and consequently became social

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44. Woods, "Rules," Resource 3, pp. 13-14.

45. Woods, "Circular on the Object of the Institute," Resource 3, pp. 33-34.

misfits. No longer at home among their own people, and not a part of that class whose airs and graces they had unwittingly adopted, they had become restless and dissatisfied and were unable to maintain their proper position, much less improve it. To use her own words:

They became ashamed of their parents and, where they did not go step by step to open ruin, they fell very little short of it and were anything but what Catholic young women should be. 46

Woods looked at the poor from above, as did many of his philanthropic contemporaries. MacKillop, because of her own previous experience of poverty, knew many of their fears and aspirations at first hand. She wished to protect them from unnecessary hurt as they struggled to improve their lot and she believed that they should learn to accept where they were before they took their first tentative steps upwards. Therefore, she excluded subjects such as music, languages and painting from her curriculum and concentrated on the three Rs, to which she added plain and fancy needlework for the girls and elementary bookkeeping for the older boys.<sup>47</sup>

There is no doubt at all that both Woods and MacKillop planned to offer the best possible education to poor Catholic children, according to the methods and standards of the day. However, they were hindered from achieving their end on several counts, the most serious of which was their perennial shortage of finance. South Australia's

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46. MacKillop, "Necessity for the Institute," Resource 3, p. 59.

47. Woods, Directory, p. 84.

Catholics were, to quote Geoghegan, "the poorest of the poor."<sup>48</sup> Consequently, in 1866, most of the colony's existing Catholic schools were substandard, while a number of seemingly able Catholic teachers taught in government schools in order to make a decent living and support their families. At the same time, neither MacKillop nor Woods had any financial security. During his ten years in the South East, Woods had faced a constant struggle in order to make ends meet and it seems unlikely that he would have survived at all except for the proceeds from his writings.<sup>49</sup> The MacKillops had lived from hand to mouth for many years and every penny that Mary had ever earned had gone into supporting them and paying their debts.

Poverty was as real for these two people as it was for most of the Catholic families of the colony. Yet they persisted in dreaming of educating all the children of those poor families, gratuitously if necessary, without financial assistance from the government or any other outside source.<sup>50</sup> To attain this end, they made a decision which was to be crucial for the future of both Catholic education in South Australia and the proposed new religious institute. Any who joined this institute were to be prepared to live among and like the poor whom they were serving. They were to own neither houses, land nor money in their own right and were to subsist solely on

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48. Geoghegan, Pastoral Letter, 1860, p. 16.

49. Ryan to Geoghegan, 26 May & 22 June 1862.

50. Woods to the Sisters, "Circular on the Object of the Institute," Resource 3, p. 32.

such school fees as they might be given and the gratuitous offerings of the local people.<sup>51</sup> There were several reasons behind this decision. It would enable sisters to open schools in places where the local Catholics could not afford to support lay teachers or provide suitable dwellings for them. It would free the sisters to be a mobile task force, able to come into and leave different places according as they were needed, without being hindered by the ties of property ownership which had limited the mobility of more traditional orders. Finally, it would prevent their neglecting the poor, for whose benefit the Institute was being founded, in favour of the rich.<sup>52</sup>

Woods and MacKillop made much of this poverty, sublimating it from an economic necessity to an evangelical virtue and training all who later joined their institute to do the same.<sup>53</sup> One can only wonder whether, in spite of their own experiences of the rigours of poverty, they realised that they were actually laying the members of their institute open to the kind of treatment often meted out to the poor and that the kind of poverty they were advocating could hinder rather than help the good they hoped to do. Even if they did consider such a possibility, it would have seemed remote indeed in the

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51. Woods, "Rules" Resource 3, pp. 4-5, 18-19. Woods to MacKillop, 23 August 1870.

52. Woods, "Rules," Resource 3, p. 5. MacKillop, "Necessity for the Institute," Resource 3, p. 55.

53. Woods "Letters concerning the Object of the Institute," Resource 3, pp. 29-31. Woods, "Circular," Resource 3, pp. 31-35, passim.

excitement of the moment, when both were so fired with enthusiasm for their ideal of bringing a Catholic education to the children of the poor, that they were prepared to risk everything to make it a reality.

In 1866, the idea of the institute was still little more than an untried dream, with only one person, Mary MacKillop herself, prepared to work for its realisation. Penola, where she intended starting, was a small, unimportant township hundreds of miles from the large centres of population. The future of the project was uncertain and was rendered even more so because a new bishop was expected in the diocese later that year.<sup>54</sup> This man's approval was essential if the proposed institute was to have any official status and if MacKillop, and any who might subsequently join her, were to be permitted to work in the diocese as religious.<sup>55</sup> Hence, Woods made it his business to go to Melbourne for Sheil's episcopal consecration on 15 August and to seek an early interview with the new bishop.<sup>56</sup>

What transpired there far exceeded Woods' wildest hopes and dreams. Sheil seems to have been so impressed with the enthusiasm of the young English priest that he tacitly approved the idea of the foundation of the new

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54. This bishop was Sheil, whose consecration was planned for 15 August 1866. Advertiser, 21 August 1866.

55. T.L. Bouscaren SJ & A.C. Ellis SJ, Canon Law. Text and Commentary, Bruce, Milwaukee, 1957, p. 229, canon 492. The Code of Canon Law, English Translation, Collins, 1983, canons 579, 594 & 494.

56. Woods to MacKillop, 30 August 1866.

sisterhood, although some of his ideas as to how it should be run differed from Woods'.<sup>57</sup> He also decided at once to give Woods charge of Catholic education in the Adelaide diocese.<sup>58</sup> Therefore, he asked the priest to be Director General of Catholic Education and Inspector of Schools, and also to go with him to Adelaide as his private secretary and personal chaplain.<sup>59</sup> Woods could only rejoice at the position in which he so unexpectedly found himself.<sup>60</sup> He had the bishop's blessing on the proposed new institute, which was as much as he had dared hope for. As well the ways and means of making his dream of providing Catholic schooling for all the Catholic children of the colony a reality with the minimum of trouble and delay were now within his reach.

For Woods personally, this change of direction meant that he would have to leave Penola and his friends and associates of ten years' standing and move to the city. Therefore, although aware of the advantages that would probably accrue from that move, he contemplated the future with mixed feelings. In particular, he had reason to believe that his fellow clergy might not all support him as whole-heartedly as he would have wished. The Vicar General, Father John Smyth,<sup>61</sup> who had been involved in

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57. *ibid.*

58. Woods to MacKillop, 12 & 19 September 1866.

59. Woods to MacKillop, 19 September 1866.

60. *ibid.*

61. IH, Obituary of Father John Smyth, 7 July 1870, stated that Smyth was born in Ireland in 1824, studied for the priesthood in

the administration of the diocese ever since Geoghegan's departure for Ireland in 1862, was also in Melbourne for Sheil's consecration. He had known Woods for the past ten years and had learnt to fear his enthusiasms as "fires of straw."<sup>62</sup> He was not impressed with the idea of establishing a new religious institute in order to meet the diocese's current educational problems and, to use Woods' expression, threw "deluges of cold water" upon it.<sup>63</sup> As it happened, this dousing served to augment, rather than quell, the blaze of Woods' enthusiasm for he regarded "crosses" - the term he used to describe any difficulties he encountered in the course of his ministry - as sure signs of divine approval, and hence as encouragement to press on with even greater determination than before.<sup>64</sup>

Smyth and Woods, who were to be the priests most closely associated with Sheil during the early part of his episcopate, were men of very different stamp. Father Joseph Tappeiner SJ, who had been in the colony since

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Propaganda College, Rome, was ordained in 1852, reached Adelaide with Father Peter Hughes in 1853 and served in the city/metropolitan area for the rest of his life. He was an excellent preacher, and was generally respected by both clergy and laity. He was assistant vicar general to Ryan, 1862-1865, and became administrator in 1865 when Ryan died. Smyth died on 30 June 1870, aged 46 years.

62. Woods to MacKillop, 23 August 1866.

63. *ibid.*

64. *ibid.* 19 September 1866. This theme occurs frequently during Woods letters to MacKillop, 1870-1871. Sixty-five from this period are still extant.

1852,<sup>65</sup> knew both men well. He wrote that Smyth was reliable, prudent and cautious, with a strong preference for the familiar and the maintenance of the status quo.<sup>66</sup> On the other hand Woods, who became the bishop's more favoured confidante during the period under discussion, tended to "despise human prudence" and to "rush into battle everywhere," when he believed that any good was to be achieved.<sup>67</sup> According to Tappeiner, these two complemented each other and therefore, generally speaking, "management was satisfactory"<sup>68</sup> where their affairs were concerned.

Laurence Bonaventure Sheil, their new leader, was an Irish Franciscan who had been working in Victoria since 1853. He has been described as amiable, urbane,<sup>69</sup> zealous and scholarly, a man more at home among his books than in an administrative position. He had had both pastoral and administrative experience while in Victoria, having spent six years as president of St Patrick's College in Melbourne and secretary of the Catholic

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65. Poelzl, "History," p. 50, records that Joseph Tappeiner was born in the Austrian Tyrol in 1820, entered the Jesuits in 1841, was ordained priest on 25 June 1848 and came to South Australia in 1852. He worked at Sevenhill until 1870, then moved to the newly established Jesuit mission at Norwood, where he died on 10 February 1882, aged 62 years.

66. Tappeiner to his General, Rome, October 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, ff. 1426-1437, tr, Father J Opie, p. 8.

67. *ibid.*

68. *ibid.*

69. Advertiser, 20 August 1866, copied an item stressing Sheil's urbanity from the Ballarat Star, date not given.

Education Board of Victoria and seven as priest-in-charge of the thriving gold-mining district of Ballarat.<sup>70</sup> At St Patrick's, time had gradually revealed his administrative ineptitude. After an auspicious start, enrolments had steadily declined until, at the end of six years, the place was hopelessly in debt.<sup>71</sup> He was obliged to resign and, leaving his successor to clear the mess, accepted the Ballarat appointment.<sup>72</sup> There, in a more pastoral role with assistants who were able to manage the finances, he was more successful and seems to have been genuinely appreciated by the people.<sup>73</sup>

The evidence suggests that he was overly trusting by nature and a poor judge of character,<sup>74</sup> he was easily influenced by those closest to him at any given time,<sup>75</sup> and was unable to recognise an impending crisis until it had come to a head.<sup>76</sup> He also suffered from chronic ill-health, which often unfitted him for attending to his

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70. Bickerton, "Sheil," A.D.B. vol. 8, p. 116.

71. Report of the Diocese of Melbourne, SRCO, vol. 6, 1858-1860, f. 32, noted that: "Father Sheil is president of a scholastic institution called a college - conducted in so indifferent and unsatisfactory a manner that respectable Catholic youth have been withdrawn from it and others prevented from going." Father John Barry to Propaganda, Rome, SRCO vol. 7, f. 535, stated that enrolments were down to 25 and the place in debt to the tune of £2,800.

72. Pawsey, op cit. p. 155, fn. 4.

73. Register, 22 August 1866, copied an item from the Ballarat Star, reporting on Sheil's farewell from Ballarat.

74. Patrick Russell to Murray, Maitland, n.d. but, by internal evidence, c. early 1872.

75. Tappeiner to his General, p. 8. Woods to MacKillop, 30 August 1866.

76. Pawsey, op cit. p. 67. Sheil to Smyth, 15 January 1870, "Strictly Private."

affairs.<sup>77</sup> Such a man was scarcely a suitable candidate for a bishopric, especially in the harsh conditions of the time, and hence, to quote his panegyrist; "The day that saw him nominated bishop ... was the saddest day of his life for his personal happiness and peace."<sup>78</sup>

In 1866, when Sheil accepted his appointment to Adelaide, he found himself at the head of a diocese manned by a group of hardworking and loyal priests and, although lacking in financial resources, free from debt.<sup>79</sup> More than four years had elapsed since his predecessor's departure and both clergy and laity eagerly anticipated his arrival. They welcomed him warmly and he responded by evincing his pastoral concern for their welfare.<sup>80</sup> Within six months he had visited every mission district in the diocese, opened several new churches and administered the Sacrament of Confirmation to 1,437 adults and children in 22 separate ceremonies.<sup>81</sup> The people seemed

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77. Sheil to Smyth from Rome, 19 March & 1 June 1870 and also Goold to Fitzpatrick, 5, 11, 16 and 18 May, Goold Papers, MDHC, all refer to Sheil's poor health. Tappeiner, op cit. pp. 8-9, states that Sheil suffered from stomach weakness and "mental confusion," attributed the latter to his having suffered sunstroke while still in Victoria. Jim Fitzgerald OFM, "Too Kind and Gentle to Succeed," in Franciscan Newsletter, no. 142, March-May 1986, claims that he may also have had diabetes. Fitzgibbon to Barnabo, 13 August 1869, SRCO vol. 9, 1869-1872, ff. 312-313, and Cullen to Murray, 20 February 1872, MDA, both inferred that Sheil's troubles stemmed from an addiction to alcohol.

78. Charles Horan OSF, Funeral Oration on the Right Rev. Dr. Sheil OSF, Adelaide, 1872, p. 5.

79. Byrne, op cit. p. 183.

80. Advertiser, 14 & 17 September 1866. Register, 17 September 1866. Both papers gave lengthy accounts of the bishop's installation in his cathedral and reproduced the loyal addresses presented to him.

81. Register of Confirmations, 1866-1875, ACA. Kapunda Herald, 29 March 1867, p. 6.

delighted and went to great lengths to demonstrate their loyalty to him and the Church he represented.<sup>82</sup> Then, in April 1867, he left for Europe in response to a call from the Pope<sup>83</sup> and, thereafter, the diocese saw very little of him. In fact, he spent less than half of his five-and-a-half-year episcopate in residence in South Australia.<sup>84</sup> His prolonged absences served only to exaggerate the effects of his administrative ineptitude and to lay the way open for the development of clerical factionalism and lay disunity.

Nevertheless, as the following table indicates, the Church in South Australia expanded quite remarkably during Sheil's episcopate.

TABLE I: EXPANSION OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH  
IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA, 1866 - 1871.

	<u>1866</u>	<u>1871</u>	<u>INCREASE</u>	
Catholic Population	23,284	28,688	4,984	85
Priests	17	30	13	86
Centres with Resident Priests	11	16	5	
Churches	27	46	19	
Catholic Schools	23	65	42	
Catholic Colleges	1	2	1	
Children in Catholic Schools	c. 1,100	c. 3,500	c. 2,500	87
Religious Orders of Women	-	2	2	
Religious Sisters	-	118	118	88
Charitable Institutions	1	3	2	

On the face of it, this was a fine record for the short space of five years. However, two important points need to be noted. Firstly, in 1865 the diocese had a credit balance of £752 - 14s. By 1872 the situation had changed dramatically and it was then burdened with a crippling debt of over £12,000.<sup>89</sup> Secondly, much of the expansion was due to the energy and initiative of the clergy, especially the Director General of Catholic Education and Inspector of Schools (Woods), and it occurred almost in spite of the bishop.

Woods moved to Adelaide in April 1867, ready to bring the existing Catholic schools into some semblance of order and full of ideas as to their future organisation and management. His task was a daunting one, given the sceptical attitude of some of the clergy to the idea of Catholic schools managing independently of government

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82. Poelzl, op cit, p. 22. Kapunda Herald, 29 March 1867, p. 6.
83. Byrne, op cit. p. 193. Register, 29 April 1867, Report of Meeting of Roman Catholics on the Education Question.
84. See Appendix I for details.
85. South Australian Census Returns: Religions of the People, 1866 & 1871.
86. Unless otherwise indicated, the information in this table has been drawn from: SCCH, 19 October 1867, p. 16; 30 October 1869, pp. 398-400.
87. SCCH, 20 June 1869, p. 337: Report of Meeting of C.E.C.
88. CSC, 27 May 1871, p. 217, indicates that there were 8 Dominican sisters in the diocese. Register of the Sisters, ASSJ, gives the number of Sisters of St Joseph as 110.
89. Cullen & Wigley, Solicitors, 19 September 1873, in a document entitled "Property of the Roman Catholic Church," calculated the church's indebtedness as £12,812 - 12s, ACA S25/2. Byrne, op cit. p. 183.

assistance, the poor standards of many of the existing schools and the fact that less than one quarter of all Catholic children of school-going age were currently enrolled in Catholic schools.<sup>90</sup>

He and Sheil together drew up a scheme for the management and support of an organised system of Catholic education and presented it to a public meeting on 26 April 1867,<sup>91</sup> just three days before the bishop embarked for Europe. According to this plan, the Director General of Education was to be directly responsible to the bishop for the regulation of all matters pertaining to schools. He was to be assisted in this task by Local Boards of Education, each comprising several lay men under the leadership of their pastors, and by a Central Council of Education made up of an equal number of clerical and lay members, all of whom were to be appointed by the bishop. The Central Council was to be responsible for the selection of localities where schools should be established, the regulation of their conduct, the appointment and classification of teachers and the distribution of moneys from a proposed new central fund.

Local Boards were to oversee the running of the schools in their area and see to the collection of funds for their support. The Director General was to arrange

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90. SCCH, 20 June 1869, p. 337: Report of Meeting of C.E.C. Woods, "Report of the State of Catholic Education in the diocese," m/s prepared for Sheil early 1871, ACA, Woods papers, S19/1.

91. Register, 29 April 1867, p. 3. Advertiser, 24 April 1867, p. 2.

for the setting up of these boards, certify to the fitness of teachers, visit and examine all schools in the diocese, report on sites and approve plans for proposed new school buildings. In short, he was "charged with all the details of the department of education in the diocese, and be its responsible head, appointed by the Bishop and removable at his good pleasure." An appeal for funds was to be made and a special collection taken up in the churches on a designated Sunday of each year.<sup>92</sup>

On paper, this system of organisation and funding appeared excellent and the meeting endorsed it enthusiastically. It now remained for the Director General to make it work. Woods had already experienced Smyth's lack of enthusiasm for his plans, especially those relating to his proposed new teaching order of sisters, and was aware that other priests were also opposed to his ideas. Therefore, in an attempt to forestall future difficulties, he contrived to have Sheil confirm his mandate as Director General of Education and Inspector of Schools in such a way that no-one, not even the Smyth, who was to be the bishop's vice-regent during his absence, could interfere in matters relating to education or, as a consequence, in the affairs of the Sisters of St Joseph.<sup>93</sup>

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92. Advertiser, 24 April 1867, p. 3, published a copy of a circular outlining Sheil's and Woods' scheme. This has been reproduced in Fogarty, *op cit*, Appendix III, pp. 486-487 and also in Press, *op cit*. pp. 207-208.

93. Woods to MacKillop, 27 May 1867.

Woods immediately set to work with a will, secure in the knowledge that he had episcopal authority and hence, the freedom to act without interference from any quarter. He announced publicly that he intended the Sisters of St Joseph to form the backbone of the new system.<sup>94</sup> According to Woods, some of the clergy were horrified when they learnt that MacKillop and several of her prospective companions were colonial born. "What," they asked him, "can you expect from colonial girls without any knowledge of a religious life and with no one to train them?" [sic]<sup>95</sup> Woods felt that he knew precisely what could be expected of them and was quite sure that he had had enough experience of religious life to be able to train them. He pressed on with his plans for bringing MacKillop and at least one other potential sister to Adelaide by the end of June, so that they could demonstrate how a Catholic school should be run and help train the lay teachers.

In the meantime another difficulty regarding the proposed new institute surfaced in Adelaide. It was the realisation that most of Woods' contemporaries associated nuns with the upper classes of society and believed that they should lead secluded lives in large buildings surrounded by extensive grounds. To their minds, sisters generally remained inside their convents and such services as they offered to the people were dispensed from institutions attached to those same convents. Sisters

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94. Woods to MacKillop, 27 May 1867. Advertiser, 6 June 1867, Report of meeting of C.E.C.

95. Woods to MacKillop, 12 June 1867.

were seldom seen in public and, on the rare occasions when they did venture out, they returned to their convent homes with a minimum of delay. There was always a certain aura of mystery about nuns. Their assumed names cloaked their real identities from all but their superiors and a few close associates, and very few from among either the clergy or the laity knew anything of their families or the backgrounds from which they had come. The sisters' all-enveloping clothes and their isolated existence tended to cut them off from the outside world and make them appear as something different and special, deserving of the greatest respect and reverence from more ordinary mortals.

Hence it came as a shock to the more sophisticated among the Catholics of Adelaide to discover that the members of the proposed new institute were to be drawn from among the very ordinary members of the local Catholic community.<sup>96</sup> The only pre-requisite for entry into the institute was to be "a good pious life and an unblemished reputation."<sup>97</sup> Education, social position and financial security were not considered important for sisters, whose aim was to "remain unknown and poor."<sup>98</sup> The Adelaide clergy had difficulty accepting that ordinary girls, even some who could neither read nor write, should be admitted as sisters on an equal footing with better educated or

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96. *ibid.*

97. Woods, "Rules," Resource 3, p. 7.

98. *ibid.* p. 3.

more socially advantaged women.<sup>99</sup> Other factors which concerned the clergy were that Woods intended these sisters to live in houses similar to those occupied by the ordinary people of the neighbourhood, to rent rather than own their dwellings, to travel around quite openly, sometimes even alone, in the performance of their duties and to be governed in a manner that differed markedly from that common in contemporary Ireland.

In that country, the bishop of each diocese was the highest superior and final court of appeal for all religious communities established in his territory. These communities were generally large, self-supporting, self-perpetuating and autonomous.<sup>100</sup> Hence they differed greatly from the tiny communities of two or three members being planned by Woods and MacKillop. Of their very nature, such small groups could be neither self-supporting nor self-perpetuating and, because they were likely to be located in widely separated localities, their members would need the support of the total group if they were to persevere with their work for the children.<sup>101</sup> For these reasons, Woods and MacKillop settled for a centralised form of government for their institute, based on that in vogue in a number of contemporary French religious congregations where a

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99. Memorial complaining of Sisters of St Joseph and their conduct, presented to Sheil by Adelaide priests, February 1871, ACA, S12/4b.

100. M.R. McGinley, Roads to Sion, Presentation Sisters of Australia, 1983, pp. 30-31.

101. MacKillop, "Necessity for the Institute," August 1873, Resource 3, pp. 57-58.

Superioress General had authority over all the houses and members, regardless of whether they were situated in one or several dioceses.<sup>102</sup>

Thus the Sisters of St Joseph were to differ from the nuns known to most of the Irish clergy in the colony in several important ways, and therein lay the root of many of the problems encountered by Woods and the Institute during its first two decades. Yet, Woods was not so revolutionary in his ideas as to want to do away with all the trappings which identified nineteenth-century nuns. He wanted his sisters to wear a habit that was "becomingly religious in appearance"<sup>103</sup> and distinguished them from the rest of the populace. Fortunately for them, he had enough sense to keep out of the particularly feminine preserve of dress and allowed MacKillop and her first companions to decide what they should wear.<sup>104</sup>

Because the only nuns she had ever seen were the Sisters of Mercy in Melbourne and because Ellen McMullen, the first Adelaide resident to join the Institute, had been a member of that Order in Ireland for a short time,<sup>105</sup> the religious habit that these women designed

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102. Woods, "Rules," Resource 3, pp. 19-20. MacKillop, "Statement on the Rule and the General Superior," May/June 1873, Resource 3, pp. 46-49.

103. Woods to MacKillop, 21 May 1867.

104. *ibid.* 27 May 1867.

105. O'Neill, Woods, p. 145. O'Neill appears to be the only source which states this fact, and he does not indicate his source. Other writers merely state that Ellen McMullen was a teacher in a private school in the city.

for themselves bore quite a close resemblance to the one worn by the Sisters of Mercy. The principal differences between the two lay in the quality and colour of the material used rather than in the style chosen. The Sisters of St Joseph were to be poor and so needed a cheap fabric. What they chose was alpaca or some other similar stuff, which ranged in colour from almost black to a brownish-grey fleck, "pepper and salt" as they called it, although their official colour was always brown.<sup>106</sup> (It was the colour of the sisters' habits that gave rise to the descriptive term "Brown Josephites" which has been applied to them frequently over the years.)

The members of the new institute were to dress like nuns of other contemporary religious orders but were to differ from them in many aspects of their lives and work. However, when it came to the essentials of the religious life - the observance of the three vows of religion, the spiritual life and community living - the Josephites were to be the same as members of other religious institutes.<sup>107</sup> No-one questioned those essentials. It was the way Woods and MacKillop adapted the religious life to suit the Australian environment that was to give rise to future conflict. Thus, the sisters' poverty, their

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106. Woods, "Rules," Resource 3, p. 6. Mechtilde Woods, "History", p. 18.

107. All members of religious orders take vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, thereby renouncing the free use of their possessions, marriage and family life and the right to make independent decisions concerning the running of their lives. They live in community and take part in certain religious exercises, e.g. the recitation of parts of the Divine Office.

mobility, their living in groups of two or three in places where a priest seldom visited, their independence of clerical control and their refusal to admit of class distinctions within their ranks or to cater for the needs of the rich, irked some of their contemporaries, especially among the bishops and priests.

These difficulties still lay in the future when, during the weeks immediately following Sheil's departure from the diocese, Woods set about finalising arrangements for bringing his "Sisters" from Penola to Adelaide to play their part in his scheme of Catholic education.<sup>108</sup> He also began examining, classifying and reorganising the Catholic schools under the control of the clergy, examining the teachers, issuing certificates of competence to those who merited them and remedying any abuses that came to his notice.<sup>109</sup> A number of his contemporaries disagreed with his ideas and methods, but a little tact on his part might have defused the potentially volatile situation which quickly developed. However, tact was not one of Woods' strong points and he dismissed three young women teachers on the grounds of incompetence. He informed them that he would reconsider their applications for licences to teach in Catholic schools only after they had spent some time working as pupil teachers under the

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108. Woods to MacKillop. Between 9 May and 12 June he wrote to her 12 times. In each letter he gave further details of his plans for her coming to Adelaide.

109. Advertiser, 6 June 1867, Report of meeting of C.E.C.

Sisters of St Joseph.<sup>110</sup> This was cold comfort indeed, at a time when they were obliged to subsist without their former income and without any firm assurance as to when these Sisters of St Joseph, of whom they had heard so much, might actually appear on the Adelaide scene.

Next, he drew the attention of the members of government Board of Education to the fact that the masters in four licensed schools were breaching state regulations regarding the teaching of the Catholic catechism and the reading of the Bible during school hours. He accused the state inspectors of having connived at those breaches of regulation.<sup>111</sup> These schools, had all been built by Catholics on their own land, and were regarded by them as being denominational.<sup>112</sup> What most irked Woods was that the government was paying these teachers' salaries, while in other areas the Catholic people had to find the sum required to pay their teachers.<sup>113</sup> He considered that, if a concession was to be made, then it should be made in favour of all Catholic schools, and not for one or two alone, "at the caprice of a particular inspector." If, on the other hand, the Board "could not, or would not, modify its rules," then it should insist on their being enforced in every case, "to prevent dissatisfaction arising from

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110. Woods to MacKillop, 27 May 1867.

111. Register, 23 May 1867, report of meeting of Central Board of Education .

112. Advertiser, 6 June 1867, Report of meeting of C.E.C.

113. *ibid.*

what seemed like favoritism."<sup>114</sup>

As might have been expected, the teachers in question reacted angrily to this threat to their income. Joseph Fogg of Kooringa (Burra) claimed that he had always read the Douai version of the Bible and taught the catechism after school hours with the knowledge and full consent of his pastor, Father Joseph Polk SJ.<sup>115</sup> Felix McLaren of Undalya, whose pupils were all Catholics, insisted that he taught the catechism outside the regulation hours and omitted to read the Bible because the parents requested it.<sup>116</sup> Denis Horan of Farrell's Flat denied having read the Bible during school hours. He explained that he had taught the Catholic catechism after school and on Saturdays and that he closed the school each day with the recitation of certain specific prayers.<sup>117</sup> Walter Crosby of Armagh, near Clare, the fourth of the teachers concerned, felt that Woods' accusations were most unjust because, as he expressed it:

It was with the advice of our much lamented and most venerable Bishop Murphy, that I first applied for the grant, and it was His Lordship himself who, with his own hands, gave me the very Bible now read in my school .... Other clergymen revered by us all, for their piety and learning,

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114. *ibid.*

115. Minutes of meetings of the Central Board of Education, SAA, GRG 50/1/4, minute 9024.

116. Advertiser, 30 May 1867, open column, letter from Felix McLaren.

117. Register, 8 June 1867, leading article, "The Secular Teachings of the Education Board."

with whom I have frequently conversed, have always been, and are so still, in favour of the grant, as long as no partiality is shown by the Board to any denomination. 118

The members of the Board of Education were upset. The school inspectors were incensed at the aspersions cast upon their professional integrity by Woods and denied emphatically that they had, either directly or indirectly, openly or tacitly, ever sanctioned any such breaches of regulation.<sup>119</sup> The editor of the Register, viewing the matter as an outsider, decided that the admissions of the masters proved either that the inspectors had "winked at denominational teaching" or that the system of inspection was so imperfect that the rules of the Board could be violated with impunity and urged its members to be more vigilant in future.<sup>120</sup>

Woods had stirred up a hornets' nest because he believed that all priests and teachers connected with the new Catholic education system should operate according to the same set of rules. To all appearances his behaviour was harsh and tactless, but it was not arbitrary. Where a matter of principle was at stake, he would not compromise. In this case, he seems to have believed that justice had been violated because schools licensed by the

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118. Advertiser, 8 June 1867, open column, letter from W.T. Crosby, Armagh.

119. *ibid*, 5 June 1867, Report of meeting of Education Board.

120. Register, 8 June 1867, leading article.

government could not offer the children the kind of integrated Catholic education he believed was their due and because some parents had to contribute towards the teachers' wages while the government provided stipends for others.<sup>121</sup>

Government aid, as such, was not Woods' problem. Rather, he rejected it in the cases cited above because of the conditions surrounding its acceptance and would willingly have been party to any scheme under which it was given freely and unconditionally. Therefore, in a final effort to gain financial assistance from the government, he and the members of the Council of Catholic Education petitioned parliament to change the existing system of educational funding to one of payment by results. As they doubtless expected, the requested changes were not forthcoming.<sup>122</sup>

Woods also believed that, in justice to the children and their parents, a school should attain certain minimum standards. Consequently, he insisted that teachers incapable of providing instruction to the required level should discontinue working in the schools until such time as they had acquired the necessary competence.<sup>123</sup> Where

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121. Advertiser, 6 June & 4 July 1867, reports of meetings of C.E.C.

122. ibid. 4 July & 15 August 1867. MacKillop, "Life of Woods", Resource 6, p. 69.

123. Advertiser, 6 June 1867.

they did conform to his regulations and managed their schools satisfactorily, he gave them every encouragement and support.<sup>124</sup>

While Woods was thus engaged in organising the schools of the diocese, and stirring up opposition on every side by his hasty actions, MacKillop was waiting quietly in Penola for him to call her to Adelaide. Because he had kept her informed of events there, she was aware that his task was proving more difficult than he had anticipated<sup>125</sup> and that he had not given in under pressure because all his hopes for the success of his scheme were pinned on her and the embryonic Institute of St Joseph.<sup>126</sup> Therefore, she was keen to go to Adelaide, even as she still wondered whom God would call to assist her. Besides herself, there were as yet only two other young women committed to joining the Institute.<sup>127</sup>

Woods' call came in mid-June 1867 and she and one companion, Rose Cunningham, reached the city on Sunday, 23 June.<sup>128</sup> They were immediately joined by Ellen McMullen, a teacher from a local Catholic school, and,

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124. SCCH, 20 September 1867, p. 10, report of examination of Virginia school.

125. Woods to MacKillop, 8 June 1867.

126. *ibid.* 5 June 1867.

127. These women were Rose Cunningham, R3, and Blanche Amsinck, R2.

128. Register, 25 June 1867.

under Woods' guidance, all three of them embarked upon a final week of preparation for their work. Then, on the morning of 2 July, MacKillop and Rose donned the distinctive habit of the Sisters of St Joseph for the first time and they and Ellen, who was still a postulant, sallied forth to take charge of the St Francis Xavier's Cathedral Hall School in the centre of the city.<sup>129</sup> The time of theorising was over and that of action, of putting into practice the ideas they had discussed and pondered during the past several years, had come.

The road that had brought Woods and MacKillop to that day had been long and difficult. MacKillop's journey had been hampered by family worries and financial problems but she had persevered because of Woods' support and encouragement and her own belief in the genuineness of her call to serve the children of the poor as a nun. Woods, for his part, had travelled by way of his early experiences in England and France and his ten years in the South East of South Australia, where he had come to the determination to found a new religious institute so that the children of the region might have an opportunity to learn their religion.

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129. Thorpe, *op cit.* p. 290, fn. II/3

The work began in Adelaide because Sheil, its new bishop, had captured some of Woods' enthusiasm for Catholic education and had given him charge of this branch of diocesan life. The initial phase of Woods' work in the city had not run smoothly because of his impetuosity and tactlessness and because some of his ideas about Catholic education differed from those held by his clerical confreres. Its future and that of the Sisters of St Joseph were contingent upon his and MacKillop's being able to put their ideas into practice and to win their opponents' support. Hence, the impression the new sisters made during their first days at the school in the cathedral hall was of the utmost importance.

### CHAPTER 3

#### UNDER WAY, 1867-1869

Mary MacKillop and her two companions entered upon the Adelaide scene on 2 July 1867. Thanks to Woods' advance publicity and his general behaviour since his arrival in the capital, priests and people awaited them with mixed feelings. Parents were not prepared to send their children to the Cathedral Hall School until they had some guarantee that the sisters could teach properly.<sup>1</sup> The clergy, whose recent experiences with the Director General of Catholic Education had given them cause to mistrust his enthusiasms and to fear for the viability of projects commenced under his auspices, likewise withheld their support for the time.<sup>2</sup>

Results, however, soon indicated that these women did indeed know how to teach and managed a school well. Onlookers were impressed with the way they inculcated neatness and cleanliness in the children, so that even the poorest had "a general look of tidiness and freshness about them that [was] very pleasing."<sup>3</sup> They also noted that MacKillop and her helpers maintained good order in spite of the large numbers, made singing an integral and enjoyable part of each day's work and had devised a satisfactory and appealing system of rewards for good

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1. MacKillop, "Life of Woods," Resource 6, pp. 66-67.

2. Woods to MacKillop, 12 June 1867.

3. Register, 7 March 1868, leading article, "Roman Catholic Education."

conduct and application.<sup>4</sup> Within a matter of weeks even the sisters' sharpest critics felt constrained to commend them for the quality of their work.<sup>5</sup> Parental satisfaction was indicated by the fact that enrolments increased dramatically. There were about 60 children in attendance when the sisters first went to the Hall.<sup>6</sup> Within six weeks their number had more than doubled<sup>7</sup> and, by the end of the year, had passed the 200 mark.<sup>8</sup> The fact that MacKillop helped poor parents clothe their children and did not demand fees from any who could not pay also contributed towards the increased enrolment.<sup>9</sup>

The Sisters of St Joseph ran their school according to the rules and timetable which MacKillop had devised and put into practice at Penola, with its carefully regulated arrangement of lessons for the different classes. Woods, who had had no previous teaching experience and relied on her expertise in this area, decided that all schools should follow her programme and timetable. Therefore, he

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4. *ibid.*

5. Russell to Barnabo, 28 August 1867, SRCO vol. 8, ff. 907-908. Sheil to Smyth from Dublin, 24 December 1867, ACA S3.

6. Mechtilde Woods, "History", p.20, ASSJ.

7. Advertiser, 15 August 1867, Report of meeting of C.E.C. Woods reported that the Sisters of St Joseph now had 145 pupils.

8. SCCH, 20 January 1868, p. 64, report of meeting of C.E.C. Woods now reported the enrolment as being 205. MacKillop, "Life of Woods," Resource 6, p. 50.

9. SCCH, 20 September 1867, p. 9, carries an appeal from the SSJ for material and cast off clothing, which they planned to make up for the destitute children who were kept from attending the school for want of proper clothes.

had copies of it printed and distributed to every school under his charge and checked on its application during his regular visits of inspection. He regarded the Hall as a model school, where inexperienced female teachers could be trained in the arts of teaching and school management.<sup>10</sup> While, ostensibly, his motive was that these young women should improve their competence as teachers, it seems quite clear that he also hoped that some of them would join the Institute.<sup>11</sup>

It is now difficult to assess the real success of those early Josephite schools, especially the Hall, because most available reports of inspections and annual examinations were written by Woods or at his direction. Consequently, they highlighted the good being done and did not comment on any weaknesses in the system.<sup>12</sup> The same may be said of the first school "treats" or picnics which the children enjoyed,<sup>13</sup> and the highly colourful procession in which the children from the metropolitan Catholic schools took part. In this procession, which was held on 8 December 1867, the school children marched from St Patrick's Church, West Terrace, to the Cathedral in

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10. Advertiser, 4 July 1867, Report of meeting of C.E.C.

11. Advertiser, 6 June 1867. Woods to MacKillop, 27 May 1867.

12. Advertiser, 15 August 1867, examination of Mrs Power's school, West Terrace. SCCH, 20 January 1868, p. 65, "School Examinations." The monthly reports of the C.E.C. meetings also carried accounts of the various schools Woods had examined since the previous meeting, and, again, concentrated on the good rather than the bad.

13. SCCH, 19 October 1867, p. 17. MacKillop, "Life of Woods," Resource 6, p. 69.

Wakefield Street, singing hymns and reciting various prayers as they went along. It was the first demonstration of its kind ever held in Adelaide and, according to Woods, "left the most favourable impression on all classes." MacKillop and her sisters, who, doubtless, had played an important role in its organisation, also took their place among the marchers.<sup>14</sup> Thus, for the first time, they were seen publicly as forming an integral part of Woods' new system of Catholic Education.

That public opinion was changing in their favour was probably the least of the sisters' concerns during the latter half of 1867, because they were so busy that they had very little time to stop and worry about such matters. From 5 a.m. until 10 p.m. their day was mapped out with set times for religious exercises and devotions, household chores, school duties, study and lesson preparation and the visitation of the families of the school children and the sick, with only a short space for relaxation and recreation.<sup>15</sup> Further, since all of them (the foundress herself included) were still novices in the religious life, they had to devote a great deal of time and energy to learning how to think and behave as nuns. This proved particularly difficult because they felt torn

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14. SCCH, 20 December 1867, pp. 47-48. This particular event received more than two columns of print and was described in great detail.

15. Woods, "Rules," Resource 3, pp. 8-12, article 5: "Of Employments;" pp. 12-16, article 6: "Of the daily Duties;" pp. 17-18, article 8: "Of the Meals."

between their anxiety to adapt the religious life to suit colonial conditions and their own and everyone else's preconceived ideas as to how nuns should behave. As well, they had no established traditions and customs to fall back upon in cases of doubt and no elders to "distil for them the matured wisdom of the past."<sup>16</sup>

In this situation, enthusiasm and willingness to work hard were not enough. Beginners all, they needed a sure hand to guide them and turned to Woods for assistance. He was much more conscious than they of the tide of public opinion, especially among the Catholic community, and did all in his power to ensure that people saw the sisters in the best possible light.<sup>17</sup> Therefore he laboured hard at their religious formation in an effort to ensure that their behaviour conformed to that expected of nuns in "the home countries."<sup>18</sup> He, too, approached his task willingly and enthusiastically but, like the sisters, lacked the wisdom and maturity that comes from experience. Because of his own lack of early training, he tended to stress the importance of feelings in the spiritual life and encouraged his pupils to expect extraordinary manifestations of God's favour before they had gained a thorough understanding of the more ordinary ways of prayer and religious living. This approach was particularly dangerous because, with few exceptions, his

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16. Pike, "A Society without Grandparents," p. 57.

17 MacKillop, "Life of Woods," Resource 6, pp. 66-67.

18. *ibid.* p. 68.

pupils had only a very limited knowledge and understanding of the principal truths of their religion, and none at all of the finer points of theology. Hence, before long, some of the more impressionable among them began to express their devotion in extravagant and even bizarre ways, and to attract unfavourable attention towards themselves and the Institute.<sup>19</sup>

This is not to deny that many others, including MacKillop, matured well under Woods' guidance and made a significant contribution to the life of the Australasian Church. Perhaps, the real cause for wonder is that the Institute survived at all, given the circumstances surrounding its foundation, and especially the haste with which Woods admitted young women into its membership, invested them in the habit and sent them out, armed with only a rule book and a time table,<sup>20</sup> to open new schools, sometimes at great distances from their central house in Adelaide.

On 2 July 1867, the day the sisters began their work in Adelaide, the Institute comprised four members, three of whom were in Adelaide, while the fourth was at Mount Gambier.<sup>21</sup> As yet, only two had been invested in the Josephite habit. The other two were "postulants": persons who were living and working with the sisters with a view

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19. Thorpe, *op cit.* pp. 69-71. Press, *op cit.* pp. 90-91.

20. Mechtilde Woods, "History," pp. 43-44.

21. Sisters' Book of References, ASSJ, entries 1-4.

to joining their ranks.<sup>22</sup> The newest postulant, Ellen McMullen, who adopted the religious name of Sister Josephine,<sup>23</sup> was a colonist of at least eight years' standing, and an experienced teacher.<sup>24</sup> She was also a very religious woman and had previously devoted her spare time to caring for the cathedral. It was there that she first met Woods, heard of the Institute and volunteered to join it. At his request, she arranged accommodation for Mary MacKillop and Rose Cunningham in a small cottage in Grote Street, and waited there to welcome them on the evening of 23 June 1867.<sup>25</sup> Josephine, who was intelligent and well-read,<sup>26</sup> proved a strong and stable member of the Institute and in later years held a number

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22. A trainee sister goes through two distinct stages before she becomes a full member of a religious institute. These are the postulancy, which generally lasts from six to twelve months, and the novitiate which spans a full year. During this time the person has the opportunity to decide whether she wishes to remain in the institute or not, while the superiors judge her suitability for membership. At the end of the novitiate the novice makes the three vows of religion and becomes a professed sister.
23. Ellen McMullen, R4, the daughter of Patrick McMullen and Honora O'Donovan, was born in Cork, Ireland, in August 1832. She entered the Josephites in June 1867, was professed in August 1868 and died in North Sydney in April 1904, aged 71 years. Shipping lists, 54/6, MLSA indicate that her brother Michael and family migrated to South Australia in 1854. Michael's eldest daughter, Anne, R.47, became a Josephite in 1868.
24. Adelaide Baptismal Register B, entry no. 3999, ACA, indicates that Ellen was sponsor for Michael's son, Barry, born on 21 April 1859. This suggests, but does not prove definitely, that she was in Adelaide by then. Her name cannot be traced on the Shipping lists, MLSA. SC, 12 May 1904, p. 302, "Death of Sister Josephine," and Woods to MacKillop, 24 May 1867, both speak of her teaching ability.
25. MacKillop, "Life of Woods," Resource 6, p. 62. SC, 13 May 1904, p. 302.
26. A number of Josephine's letters to MacKillop are still extant. These include at least twelve written from Queensland between September 1875 and July 1877.

of responsible positions in it.<sup>27</sup> Woods did well when he encouraged women of her stamp to become Sisters of St Joseph, but he acted less wisely in some other cases.

One such was Rose Cunningham.<sup>28</sup> It is now easy to say that the young Irish governess should never have become a sister, because it seems that she was showing some signs of mental disturbance even before she left the South East for Adelaide. Woods, however, did not recognise her symptoms, especially her chronic state of indecision. Considering her a prospective candidate for the new Institute, he invited her to leave her current place of employment and go to Penola to teach with Mary MacKillop. She accepted his invitation and then agonised over whether she should stay there or go home to her mother in Ireland.<sup>29</sup> Both Woods and MacKillop pressed her to stay and, after a time, she yielded and agreed to accompany MacKillop to Adelaide.<sup>30</sup>

Rose, who appeared conscientious and reliable, found

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27. SC, 13 May 1904, p. 302. Report of the fourth and fifth General Chapters of the SSJ, March 1896 and January 1899. MacKillop to Josephine, 17 & 25 August and 21 September 1875. Josephine was Provincial in Queensland 1875-1880, in Armidale, N.S.W. 1896-1899 and a member of the General Council, 1899-1904.

28. Rose Cunningham, R3, was born in Westmeath, Ireland, on 24 June 1845. Her parents' names were not recorded in the Register of the Sisters, ASSJ. She entered the Institute on 3 May 1867 and was professed on 24 May 1868. The first reference to her occurs in a letter addressed to her by MacKillop on 30 January 1867.

29. MacKillop to Woods, 2, 13 and 29 April 1867.

30. Woods to MacKillop, 10 April 1867, wrote: "I have written her a long letter and begged her to remain for a time at least."

community living difficult<sup>31</sup> and, by mid 1870, had become so disturbed that she had to be removed from her position as a teacher and placed under almost constant surveillance.<sup>32</sup> Eventually, on 19 July 1871, she was certified insane and admitted to the Adelaide Lunatic Asylum. Her condition was diagnosed as "chronic delusional mania" and she remained in the asylum until her death forty-seven years later.<sup>33</sup> Given the scant medical records of her case<sup>34</sup> and the general reticence of her contemporaries to discuss mental illness, it is now impossible to gauge the real nature or seriousness of Rose's condition or to decide whether, in different circumstances, her illness might have been less severe or prolonged. What does seem certain is that her chronic indecision in 1867 was a symptom of her mental state and that, had it been recognised then, both she and the Institute might have been saved a great deal of suffering and embarrassment.<sup>35</sup>

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31. Sr Francis Fitzgerald to MacKillop, Gawler, ca. June 1868, reported that Rose was refusing to co-operate in small matters in the convent and asked to be relieved of her position as local superior because of the problems she was encountering with Rose.
  32. Woods to MacKillop, 20 June, 5 & 12 July, 1 August and 27 September 1870. Teresa MacDonald to MacKillop, 28 November 1870, reported that Rose was very bad indeed and had to be watched constantly.
  33. Death Book, Parkside Mental Hospital, SAA GRG 34/120, gives date of admission as 19 July 1871, mental disorder as Chronic Delusional Mania and date of death as 2 October 1918.
  34. G.T. Gleeson, First Constable, Rose Park Police Station, 3 October 1918, in Coroner's Report to Police, 1918, SAA GRG 1/44, stated that the only recorded medical examination Rose was ever given took place in July 1885, when Doctor Cleland diagnosed her condition of 'Dementia'.
  35. Woods to MacKillop, 20 May 1870. Russel to Barnabo, 15 August 1870, SRCO vol. 9, ff. 660-672, included a report stating that he and several local priests believed that Rose was an impostor.

London born Blanche Amsinck was the fourth member of that initial group, and the second to commit herself to becoming a Sister of St Joseph. The daughter of the union of a British naval captain and a former lady-in-waiting to Queen Victoria, she went to Melbourne with her father when a young woman.<sup>36</sup> While there she joined the Catholic Church, whereupon her family disinherited her and left her to fend for herself. She found work as a governess in Western Victoria and, through Julia Fitzgerald (her employer's sister), met Woods and MacKillop.<sup>37</sup>

After some time and a considerable struggle with herself, Blanche consented to becoming a Sister of St Joseph and, towards the end of 1866, left her position to join MacKillop at Penola. Blanche, known in religion as Sister Francis Xavier,<sup>38</sup> was a very cultured lady<sup>39</sup> and an able teacher. It was she who replaced MacKillop as

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36. O'Neill, McKillop, p. 28. A Sister of St Joseph, Life of Mother Mary, Foundress of the Sisterhood of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart, Westmead Boys' Home, Sydney, 1916, p. 11. Blanche was still living when these books were written.

37. R.V. Billis & A.S. Kenyon, Pastoral Pioneers of Port Phillip, Stockland Press, Melbourne, 1974, p. 255. In January 1985 in an interview, Misses M. and V. Graham, Portland, Victoria, informed the writer that Blanche was governess at Mullagh Station, near Harrow in Western Victoria. The station was owned by John Bryan Fitzgerald, brother to Julia, and Blanche's pupils were four Birmingham girls, the children of Mrs Fitzgerald's first marriage. The Misses Graham are granddaughters to one of the Birmingham girls.

38. Woods to MacKillop, 23 August 1866. Blanche, R2, was daughter to Captain Henry Amsinck R.N. and Charlotte, nee Wilson. She decided to join the Institute on 21 November 1866 and, because of her longer stay in the South East, was not invested in the habit until 8 December 1867. She was professed on 19 March 1868 and died in Sydney in August 1939, aged 96 years.

39. Misses Graham, Portland, January 1985.

teacher-in-charge of the Cathedral Hall School when the latter's duties as superior of the burgeoning community obliged her to relinquish that post.<sup>40</sup> Blanche proved a loyal member of the Institute which she served for 73 years, although at times her upper-class Englishness caused tension in a household most of whose members came from lower-middle or working-class Irish or Irish-Australian backgrounds.<sup>41</sup>

The membership of the Institute did not remain static for long. By the end of the year 1867 there were ten sisters.<sup>42</sup> Of the six newcomers, two, namely Julia Fitzgerald (Sister Francis)<sup>43</sup> and Mary Wright (Sister Clare),<sup>44</sup> came from among Woods' disciples in Western Victoria, while the other four were from Adelaide. Two, Mary Wright and Honora Fitzgerald (Sister John Baptist),<sup>45</sup> were colonial born; Julia Fitzgerald and

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40. Woods to MacKillop, 5 May 1868.

41. MacKillop to Woods, 5 November 1869 and also another, n.d. but, by internal evidence, later in the same month.

42. Register of the Sisters, ASSJ, R1-R10

43. Julia Fitzgerald, Sister Francis of the Five wounds, R7, was born in Co. Kerry, Ireland, in October 1836 to Brian Fitzgerald and Mary Finn. She entered the Institute in Adelaide in October 1867 and was professed in November 1868. She died in Sydney in January 1924, aged 87 years.

44. Mary Wright, Sister Clare, R5, was the eldest child of George Wright and Mary Fitzgerald of Portland, Victoria. She joined the Institute in July 1867 and was professed in August 1868. She left the Institute in March 1881.

45. Honora Fitzgerald, Sister John Baptist, R6, was not a relative of Julia, fn. 43 above. She was born in Sydney in June 1844 to John Fitzgerald and Margaret Duhig and, according to the Hodge Index, MLSA, came to Adelaide with her parents and family in October 1848. She entered the Institute in August 1867, was professed in September 1868 and died in Adelaide in June 1930, aged 84 years.

Catherine Lonergan (Sister Joseph),<sup>46</sup> came from Ireland; while Margaret MacDonald (Sister Teresa)<sup>47</sup> was Scottish and Emily Hayman (Sister Gertrude) hailed from Bristol in England.<sup>48</sup> These last two migrated to the colony with their families during the 1850s.<sup>49</sup> Julia went first to New South Wales with her family and thence to Western Victoria,<sup>50</sup> while Catherine, of whom little is known beyond her place of birth, was possibly the first "servant girl" to become a Sister of St Joseph.

Of that first group, then, four were Irish, two English and one Scottish while the other three, including Mary MacKillop, were Australian born. She, Blanche Amsinck, Julia Fitzgerald and Ellen McMullen came from families of higher social status than the rest, although

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46. Catherine Lonergan, Sister Joseph, R9 came from Westmeath, Ireland. Neither her birth date nor her parents' names were recorded in the Register of the Sisters. She entered the Institute in November 1867, was professed in December 1868 and died in Adelaide on 30 December 1886.
47. Margaret MacDonald, Sister Teresa, R8, daughter of Martin MacDonald and Jane Young, was born in Inverness-shire, Scotland, on 21 October 1840 or 1842. She entered the Institute on 15 October 1867, was professed on Christmas Day 1868 and died at Bathurst on 13 January 1876.
48. Emily Hayman, Sister Gertrude, R10, daughter of Hugh William Hayman and Emily Bishop, was born in Bristol, England, on 9 November 1846. She entered the Institute on 8 December 1867, was professed in February 1869 and died in Sydney in February 1929, aged 82 years.
49. Shipping lists, 55/8, MLSA, indicate that the Haymans came to Adelaide on the "John Banks" in 1855. According to R. Higgins, who is researching the Higgins family tree, Martin MacDonald and family went to Western Australia on the "Babrina". He was to be an overseer for the convicts. The family was at Guildford in 1854 and came to South Australia in 1857. Martin took up land at Kulpara, near Kadina.
50. Misses Graham, Portland, Victoria, January 1985.

the MacKillops had fallen on hard times and knew the rigours of poverty well. Most of them had had at least a moderate education, and the five from the South East had also had some initial preparation for the step they were taking. All were of mature age: Emily at 21 being the youngest, and 35 year-old Ellen the oldest.

This first group of recruits was somewhat atypical because, by mid-1871, the proportion of Irish and Irish Australians among the sisters had increased to almost 90% of the total. At the same time their average age had fallen from 26 years and 2 months in December 1867 to 24 and 6 months in August 1871, when the ten sisters mentioned above were all four years older.<sup>51</sup> The rate of recruitment in those early years and the kind of girls who joined the Institute were important factors in its development and in the criticism that was later levelled against it.

Figure I below indicates the rate of the Institute's numerical growth between July 1867 and August 1871, when 124 of the 127 women who had entered it were still sisters.<sup>52</sup> New members arrived at a more or less steady rate until the latter half of 1870, when their numbers tapered off quite noticeably. During that six-month period only eight new postulants arrived, as against 22 in

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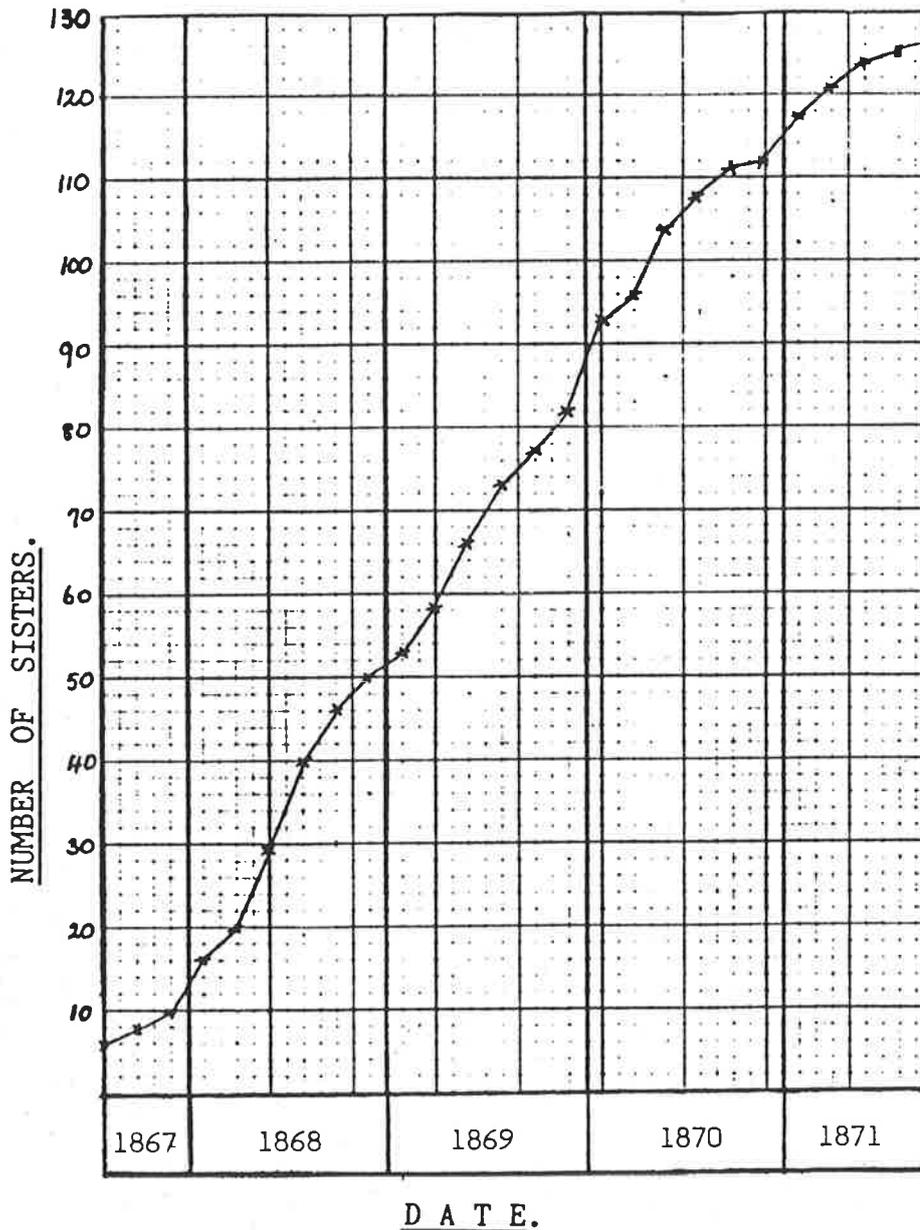
51. Results obtained using data obtained from the Register of the Sisters, R1-127.

52. Three novices, Priscilla Giles, R39, Annie Fitzpatrick, R24 and Mary Griffin, R58, left within a few months of their entry.

the first half of the year. There was a slight improvement at the beginning of 1871, when thirteen new recruits came in by the end of July. However, South Australian sources dried up at that point and the only other women to enter between then and the following May were three whom Woods sent from New South Wales to Adelaide in October.<sup>53</sup>

FIGURE I: NUMERICAL GROWTH OF THE INSTITUTE BETWEEN  
JUNE 1867 & AUGUST 1871.

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This rapid increase in numbers was quite remarkable and seems to have occurred for several reasons. Firstly, Woods' infectious brand of enthusiasm attracted others to follow any cause that he had espoused.<sup>55</sup> In this case, he placed before young women the highest religious and spiritual values in such a way that they felt constrained to leave homes, families and marriage prospects and embrace a life that had little to offer by way of reward or human comfort. Some parents also became infected with his enthusiasm and encouraged their daughters to devote themselves to the service of the Church as Sisters of St Joseph. A few even went so far as to urge a second one to do likewise.<sup>56</sup> Others opposed their daughters' wish to become nuns on the grounds of the hardships they would have to endure, the loss of income their going would mean to the family, the uncertainty of the Institute's future and the possibility that they might be hurt should the new venture end in failure.<sup>57</sup> Nevertheless, parental objections could not stay the flood of aspirants who made

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53. Register of the Sisters, R122-124.

54. Register of the Sisters, R1-130, omitting R122-124 & 129, because these sisters arrived after August 1871.

55. Fitzgibbon to Barnabo, 10 February 1864, SRCO vol. 7, ff. 1055-1056. Byrne, op cit, p. 200.

56. Mrs Rebecca O'Brien, Dry Creek to MacKillop, 1 December 1870, was rejoicing because her second daughter, Eliza, R104, had entered several weeks earlier and was now Sister Francesca. She went on to say that she hoped that her two younger daughters would also enter the Institute when they were old enough. According to the Register of the Sisters, between 1867 and 1871 there were 14 instances where two members of the same family entered.

57. There is a Josephite oral tradition that some mothers went to great lengths to prevent their daughters coming under Woods' influence and joining the Institute.

their way into St Joseph's Convent during the next three years.

Secondly, neither Woods nor MacKillop required that postulants bring dowries with them. Consequently, penniless working girls could enter the Institute as easily as their wealthier peers.<sup>58</sup> It was later alleged that some servant girls became sisters in order to escape from the drudgery of their current employment and that many such girls were admitted in spite of their lack of proper qualifications.<sup>59</sup> That some servants did become Sisters of St Joseph is well attested, although it is now impossible to ascertain their exact number.<sup>60</sup> It is also certain that, as the membership of the Institute increased, the proportion of better educated women among the sisters fell. Several very accomplished women entered during 1867 and 1868, but these were the exception rather than the rule. (It is quite significant that the sisters

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58. Woods, "Rules, : Resource 3, p. 19. MacKillop, "Observations on the Rule," Resource 3, p. 43. The dowry was generally a substantial sum of money which a postulant brought into a religious community with her. It was invested and the income derived from it was used to support the sister. If she left the community it was returned to her intact.

59. Horan, Funeral Oration, p. 10.

60. These included Sisters Alphonsus, Margaret Drislane, R45; Benedict, Mary Phelan, R30; Dominica, Mary Hart, R32; Philippa, Johanna O'Callaghan, R40; Thecla, Catherine Harding, R37; and Veronica, Margaret Martin, R13, all of whom were listed as servants on the Shipping Lists. See Appendix IV for details of sisters' arrivals in Adelaide. SC, 19 May 1905, p. 313, states that Benedict was a cousin to Father James Quinlan who served in South Australia, 1868-1880. Monica to MacKillop, 27 August 1868, reported that Johannah O'Callaghan had given her mistress two weeks' notice because she intended entering the Josephites. Cash Book, St Vincent de Paul's Orphanage, 1866-1876, lists Catherine Harding as a servant there until 31 August 1868.

who occupied the most important positions in the Institute during the next three decades came from among this group.)<sup>61</sup>

Woods himself, for all his instinctive desire that the sisters be drawn from the same social groupings as the people they served, later regretted that so few educated women had entered the Institute during its foundation years.<sup>62</sup> Initially, however, lack of education or social standing was no bar to a girl's being admitted. In fact, the most notable characteristic of the first sisters, taken as a group, was their ordinariness. Sixty-seven, or just over half of the 127 young women, who became Josephites between the foundation and September 1871, were either born or reared in the colonies.<sup>63</sup> They and their families were well known to many in the local community. There was no mystique about the English railway engineer who habitually dropped his aitches,<sup>64</sup> a

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61. These included Grace Walsh, Sister Bernard, R22, whose father, John Walsh of Galway, Ireland, was a successful lawyer. She was born there in October 1838, entered the Institute in May 1868, became its second Mother General in 1885 and died while still office in August 1898. Another was Anna Phillips, Sister Monica, R21, a native of Co. Mayo, Ireland. A Sister of St Joseph, Life of Mother Mary, Sydney 1916, p. 11, claims that at the time of the "Union" her grandfather had refused a peerage and hence, that there was a popular saying in the west of Ireland that "The Phillips were greater than Lords." Monica served as provincial and mistress of novices in South Australia for many years between 1872 and her death in April 1914.

62. Woods, "Memoirs," book 2, p. 38.

63. Register of the Sisters, R1-130.

64. Hugh William Hayman, father of Gertrude, R10. Boothby's Adelaide Almanack, 1865 and 1871, list Hayman as an engineer and give his address as North Terrace. SC, 20 May 1904, obituary of Timothy Loneragan, Hayman's son-in-law, stated that Hayman was the late

former shepherd who drove a bullock team in Penola,<sup>65</sup> a contract worker for the city council<sup>66</sup> or a widow who ran a small school in Wymouth Street.<sup>67</sup> The Irish farm labourers who had managed to save enough to buy land in the newly-surveyed northern counties and raised large families there were well known in the Clare, Saddleworth or Kapunda areas, to name but a few.<sup>68</sup> Gawler, Salisbury, Macclesfield, Willunga, Morphett Vale, Dry Creek, Penola and Mount Gambier were home to others of those first aspirants to the Josephite life<sup>69</sup> and few, if any, of the inhabitants of these towns could have been described as other than ordinary.

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superintendent of the Railway Locomotive Department. Josephite tradition has it that Gertrude dropped her aitches until the end of her days.

65. William Britt, father of Jane Frances, R25. When Jane was baptised on 18 February 1852, Adelaide Baptismal Register, A1416, the family lived at Seymour's Station where her father was a shepherd. They moved to Penola before their third child was baptised in April 1858, Penola Register P36. When the fourth and later children, (there were eight altogether), were baptised, P104 & 108, and P2/10, 65 & 105, Britt's occupation was entered as teamster.
66. John Conway, father of Colette, R90. Boothby's Almanack, 1871, lists him as a carter of Mill Street. In September 1984 Mrs Ruth Conway, widow of John's grandson, told the author that Conway had horses and drays and did contract work for the city council.
67. Anne Cremin, Mother of Bridget, R12. cf. Chapter 1, fn. 30 for details.
68. These included Bernard Smyth of Kapunda, father of Sister Raymond, R81, Philip McNamara of Clare, father of Hilda, R108 and Mechtilde, R128; George Holland of Clare, father of Francesca, R125; James O'Loughlin of Kapunda, father of Isidore, R69; Timothy Howley, father of Andrea, R64, and Calasanctius, R67, and Richard Quinlan of Armagh, near Clare, father of Hyacinth, R33, and Michael, R60.
69. Gawler: Sisters Raphael McKeown, R32, and Lawrence O'Brien, R51; Salisbury: Sister Aloysius O'Leary, R19; Macclesfield: Sister Martha Ryan, R34; Willunga: Sister Augustine Brady, R75; Morphett Vale: Sister Bernardine Ledwith, R65; Dry Creek: Sisters Ignatius and Francesca O'Brien, R11 & 104; Mt Gambier: Sister Celestine Hudson, R100; Penola: Sister Jane Frances Britt, R25.

Ordinary is also the word that might best describe the nineteen or twenty young women who came to South Australia unaccompanied by family or relatives and who subsequently became Josephites.<sup>70</sup> Of this number, fourteen were almost certainly in service when they decided to enter<sup>71</sup> and at least one arrived in 1855, when the furore over the immigration of Irish servant girls was at its height.<sup>72</sup> As yet it has been impossible to trace the date of arrival of the remaining 38 or to discover whether they came with their families or as single immigrants. However, it is likely that this group comprised at least some Irish orphans who came to the colony as servants. The following tables indicate the places of birth of the sisters in question and show whether those from overseas came with their families or alone.

TABLE II: PLACES OF BIRTH OF SISTERS WHO ENTERED BEFORE  
SEPTEMBER 1871<sup>73</sup>

<u>Australia</u>	<u>Ireland</u>	<u>Other</u>
S.A. 24	81	England 5
Vic. 5		Scotland 2
N.S.W. 5		Germany 1
Tas. 2		East Indies 1
W.A. 1		
TOTAL <u>37</u>	<u>81</u>	<u>9</u>

70. Shipping Lists, MLSA.

71. cf. fn. 60 above.

72. Sister Thecla, Catherine Harding, R65. Shipping Lists, 55/34, MLSA, list a Catherine Harding, aged 23, as a servant who travelled to South Australia on the "Victoria Regina," which arrived in Port Adelaide on 13 November 1855.

73. Register of the Sisters, R1-127, ASSJ.

TABLE III: TRAVEL ARRANGEMENTS OF OVERSEAS BORN SISTERS<sup>74</sup>

	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Came with families	27	6	33
Came alone	19	-	19
Not known	35	3	38

The rapid growth of the Institute seemed to augur well for its future, but this, coupled with the cosmopolitan nature of its membership, gave rise to a number of problems. Among the more serious of these was the difficulty inherent in trying to form a large number of women of different ages, social backgrounds and previous experience into a cohesive group, especially when the membership of that group was in a constant state of flux. Woods and MacKillop sought to overcome this difficulty insisting that, since all had chosen the Josephite way of life with its strict form of poverty and since the poor were to be their special charge, the more accomplished among them should deliberately "make a sacrifice of any taste and strive to forget any knowledge they [might] have got" and place themselves on a level with their less cultivated companions.<sup>75</sup> They forbade the sisters to talk about their families and early experiences and, in particular, to refrain from discussing their former financial and social positions and were adamant that there

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74. *ibid.* Shipping Lists, 1840-1870, MLSA; Baptismal Registers, 1842-1860, ACA. See Appendix IV for details.

75. MacKillop, "Necessity for the Institute," Resource 3, pp. 59-60.

should be only one grade or class among the sisters.<sup>76</sup>  
 All sisters were to share equally in the duties and responsibilities of their community living, including the performance of those menial household tasks generally allotted to servants.<sup>77</sup>

Other difficulties occurred because there was a very wide range of ages represented among them and some sisters were very young. Fifty, or 41% of all entrants during the four years in question, were aged 20 years or less at the time of their arrival while 14, or 11.5% of the total were aged 30 or over.<sup>78</sup> At the extremes of the scale were a girl of 13 years and 6 months and a 40 year old woman.<sup>79</sup> Figure II below, which shows the age of each sister on the day of her entry and the mean and median ages of the entrants for each year and for the entire group, indicates this point clearly. Only those who were invested in the habit have been included, because the names of any who withdrew from the Institute while still postulants were not entered into the "Register of the

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76. MacKillop, A Book of Instructions for the Use of the Sisters of St Joseph. Westmead Boys' Home, Sydney, 1907, p. 36. The first edition of this little book was printed and distributed to the sisters in about 1870.

77. Woods, "Rules," Resource 3, passim. MacKillop, "Observations on the Rule," Resource 3, p. 39, point 2.

78. Register of the Sisters, R1-127.

79. Sister Celestine, Mary Anne Hudson, R100, was born on 25 August 1856 and entered on 27 February 1870, at 13 years and six months. So far all efforts to trace her birth or baptism date have proved fruitless. At the other end of the scale was Sister Mary Xavier, Helena Coglin, who was born in April 1830 and entered in 1870.

Sisters." There is now no way of knowing who these women were, how many they were or how long they stayed with the sisters, beyond the occasional reference to one or other of them in the surviving correspondence of the period.<sup>80</sup> Except in one or two cases, which are mentioned in this correspondence, there is no evidence to establish why they decided that life as a Sister of St Joseph was not for them.<sup>81</sup> Because of the brevity of their stay - generally less than three months - they had little or no impact on the development of the Institute and so do not require further attention at this point.

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80. The following are references to sisters whose names do not occur in the Register. Clare, Kapunda, to MacKillop, 21 October 1868: "Sister Felicitas is not very strong." Clare to MacKillop from Yankalilla, n.d. but late 1867: "Sister Agnes is sick." Agatha Nolan to MacKillop from Moonta, 29 June 1870: "My dear sister Ellen, is still at Penola. Her name is Sister Francis Borgia." Joseph Mary Dwyer to MacKillop from Hectorville, 4 July 1870: "I am now teaching at Hectorville with Sister Anthony." John Baptist Fitzgerald, Burra, to MacKillop, 6 July 1870: "Sister M. Modesta and Sister Barbara, a postulant, are with me." Agnes to MacKillop, Penola, 15 August 1870: "You will be pleased to hear of Marg McCormack entering."
81. Bonaventure to MacKillop, 25 September 1870, related that Father O'Connor believed Ellen Nolan was unsuitable for the Institute. She went home soon afterwards. Clare to MacKillop, from Yankalilla, late 1867, reported that Sister Agnes was sick and would have to go home to her mother as soon as she was well enough. Clare was sorry about this because "she would have made a good sister."



The problems associated with the religious formation of the sisters were compounded by the pressure of work and the high expectations which the clergy and the laity had of these inexperienced young women simply because they wore a religious habit. The needs of the diocese were real and, in his anxiety to meet the more pressing of them, Woods allowed expediency to dictate his behaviour. Thus, he sometimes waived the rule requiring a three month trial period for postulants and invested them in the habit within weeks of their entry into the Josephite community.<sup>83</sup>

He likened the Institute to an army and its members to soldiers who should be put into uniform as soon as they enlisted so that everyone would recognise that they were in the service of their country, or, as in this case, of Christ and the Church.<sup>84</sup> What he failed to realise was that his metaphor had only limited application to the religious life. It entailed a life commitment whereas, in most cases, the young man enlisting in the army intended his service to be of only limited duration and was generally impelled by motives very different from those which brought a young woman to the door of a convent. Father Director, as the sisters called him, would have done better to have compared their period of initial formation to a courtship and given each new recruit the time she needed to come to an understanding of the life

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85. Register of the Sisters, ASSJ.

86. *ibid.* See Appendix V for detailed breakdown of these figures.

she was embracing before he allowed her to make her intention public by donning the habit.

Undue haste in those early stages of the Institute's life made for instability later, when the novelty had worn off and fidelity to the rule and the Josephite way of life became more difficult. Thirty-eight, or almost one third of the first 127 sisters to wear the Josephite habit, subsequently left the Institute and 26, or nearly two thirds of that number, were aged 21 or less when they joined it.<sup>85</sup> The reasons for their departure were many and varied but there is little reason to doubt that for a significant proportion of them, especially the more youthful, greater freedom of decision regarding their entry and a less pressured, more carefully organised period of training might have saved them and the Institute a great deal of hurt and pain.

The highest proportion of those who subsequently left the Institute came from among the youngest to enter. Twenty-six, or 38% of those aged 21 or less departed, as compared with nine, or 17% of those over 21 at the time of entry.<sup>86</sup> At the same time, some who entered while very young persevered as sisters and made a significant contribution towards the life of the Institute. These included Sisters Laurence (Veronica O'Brien of Gawler)<sup>87</sup>

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87. Veronica O'Brien, Sister Lawrence, R51, daughter of Michael O'Brien and Mary McEwen, was born in Ireland in December 1853. She joined the Josephites in February 1869, shortly after her fifteenth birthday, was professed in July 1870, went to Queensland in February 1872 and returned to South Australia in 1877. She was

and Mechtilde (Ellen Woods, daughter of Father Woods' brother James).<sup>88</sup> Laurence, in particular, evinced a degree of maturity and common sense well beyond her fifteen years and, after many years of service in both South Australia and Queensland, became the third Superior General of the Sisters of St Joseph.<sup>89</sup>

It is also worthy of note that seventeen, or 45% of all departures from the group under review came from among those who entered the Institute during 1868, while the proportion was considerably less for the years 1869-1871.<sup>90</sup> This gives rise to the questions of whether the novelty of the idea of a poor religious order, founded in the colony, and Woods' enthusiasm for it attracted many of these people into it and whether, in fact, they were suited to the kind of life they then embraced. Some almost certainly were not, and one such

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Superior General from 1918-1931 and then retired to Adelaide where she died in 1945 aged 91 years.

88. Ellen Henrietta Woods, Sister Mechtilde, R59, the daughter of James Dominic Woods and Catherine Griffin, was born in Adelaide in September 1854. She entered the Josephites in April 1866 at the age of 14 years and 7 months and soon afterwards lost her sight. She was professed in September 1870 and spent most of her life in Adelaide where she was occupied in giving religious instruction to adults and children. She died on July 1928 aged 74 years.
89. SC, 31 August 1945, Obituary of Mother Laurence.
90. Register of the Sisters, ASSJ. See Appendix VI for a detailed breakdown of these figures.
91. Priscilla Giles, Sister Nicholas, R39, was the daughter of Edward Giles and Elizabeth Anna Hole of Noarlunga, who registered her birth on 24 March 1849 with the Adelaide Registry Office, bk. 2, no. 127. She was baptised a Catholic by Woods on 3 January 1868, Adelaide Baptismal Register H.

was Priscilla Giles,<sup>91</sup> whose convent career lasted six months and who caused quite a stir in Adelaide circles when she alleged that she had had to be rescued from it by force.<sup>92</sup> It seems that 19 year-old Giles, a recent convert to Catholicism, ran away from home to join the sisters in September 1868. Her stay with them was uneventful, but the Adelaide secular press made the most of her so-called escape,<sup>93</sup> much to the discomfiture of the local Catholics, especially the bishop and clergy.<sup>94</sup>

The various conflicting accounts of this "Convent Case" make an accurate reconstruction of events surrounding it quite impossible.<sup>95</sup> Giles herself appears to have had so little knowledge of convents, religious orders or Catholic schools, that her most serious allegations about convent life concerned the supposed mistreatment of non-Catholic children attending the newly-opened Dominican Select School in Franklin

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92. Register, 20 March 1869. Letter from Miss Giles to the Editor.

93. Register, 20, 22 & 23 March 1869 carried quite lengthy items regarding this case. On 27 March it devoted its leading article, "The Convent Detention Case," to the affair, published numerous letters in its Open Column on 23, 24, 25, 26, 27 & 30 March, and 1, 3, 5, 8, 9, 10 & 15 April and another leader, "The Late Convent Case," on 23 April. The Advertiser carried similar material but was less generous with editorial space. The Northern Argus, 26 March 1869, devoted a short article to it, while Pasquin, 3 April 1869, p. 109 and Adelaide Punch, 25 March 1869, p. 81, refused to take the affair seriously. Punch, p. 88, announced that he had just heard that the editor of the Register had been forcibly detained in a convent at North Adelaide.

94. Woods to MacKillop, 2 & 20 April 1869.

95. Woods' statements, as reported in the Register, and his own defence of himself, SCCH, 20 April 1869, pp. 301-302, differ from Giles' in a number of details.

Street,<sup>96</sup> which had no connection whatever with the Sisters of St Joseph. Beyond their alleged refusal to allow her access to her family, she made no other accusations against the sisters. This is quite remarkable, given the nature of the case and the fact that the newspapers were waiting, ready to pounce at the first hint of scandal. The inspection of convents, with a view to rescuing hapless females immured there against their will, became an issue for a time,<sup>97</sup> but after several weeks the affair faded from public memory. As far as Woods and the Josephites were concerned it was an unfortunate incident that could have been avoided had Woods been more careful in his selection of postulants and taken steps to ensure that they understood the implications of the step they were contemplating.

Two other novices also left the Institute at about this time,<sup>98</sup> thus bringing to three the number of trainee sisters to leave it during its first three years. Of this record no-one could complain because it was only to be expected that a small number of beginning religious should decide that the life was not for them and return to their families and friends. What gave greater cause for concern was the fact that there were eighteen casualties of the turmoil of 1871-1872 and that another seventeen of the sisters who entered the Institute before August 1871

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96. Register, 23 March 1869, "The Adelaide Convent Case."

97. Register, 27 March 1869, Leading article; 9 & 13 April, Open Column.

98. cf. fn. 52 above.

departed from it during the next decade.<sup>99</sup> More will be said later of these sisters and their reasons for leaving the religious life.

The problems which emerged during this period were many and varied and were not easily resolved. Perhaps the most serious of all, and certainly the one that laid the Institute open to the most criticism, grew out of the fact that its primary work was education and that many of the sisters had had little or no teacher training before they were sent out to manage classes of their own. Initially, Woods and MacKillop had intended that all postulants spend at least three months at the Cathedral Hall School, teaching under MacKillop's supervision.<sup>100</sup> However, this plan had to be abandoned almost immediately. There was so much to be done and so little money available that Woods felt compelled to send sisters out to take charge of schools with the minimum of delay. Thus, at the beginning of September 1867, just two months after the Institute had been established in Adelaide, he appointed two of its six members to take charge of the Catholic school at suburban Bowden, about three kilometres from the city.<sup>101</sup> These sisters continued residing at their Grote Street convent and enjoying the community life there. However, all the members of the Institute remained under the same roof only until late October when their dispersion began.

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99. Register of the Sisters, ASSJ.

100. Woods to MacKillop, 24 May 1867. Woods, "Rules," Resource 3, p. 7. Advertiser, 6 June 1867, Report of meeting of C.E.C.

101. SCCH, 20 September 1867, p. 10, Report of meeting of C.E.C.

The first to move out were those sent to open a school at Yankalilla, a small country town about 75 kilometres from Adelaide. Woods appointed Clare Wright and Francis Fitzgerald to go there and set up the Institute's first branch house.<sup>102</sup> The priest in charge of the area, Father Theodore Bongäerts, lived over thirty kilometres away at Willunga. He and the local people undertook to provide the necessary buildings and amenities and thus began what must have seemed a revolutionary experiment to those used to the ways of overseas religious orders. Here were two sisters, with scarcely more than a few weeks' experience of the religious life, in a tiny, isolated settlement without a resident priest and with only limited means of communication with their central house in Adelaide.<sup>103</sup> They occupied a small cottage that was indistinguishable from those belonging to the local settlers, suffered the same physical and spiritual deprivations as they and relied on them for subsistence.<sup>104</sup>

The Yankalilla experiment succeeded because the sisters involved were both mature women with previous teaching experience. Both had had a long association with Woods in the South East and consequently, had some

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102. SCCH, 19 October 1867, p. 16; Diocese of Adelaide; p. 18, Report of meeting of C.E.C. Sisters' Book of References, p. 1, ASSJ.

103. SCCH, 19 October 1867, p. 10; 20 November 1867, p. 35, report of meeting of C.E.C. Francis Fitzgerald to MacKillop, 2 January 1868.

104. John Baptist Fitzgerald to MacKillop, 13 May 1868; SCCH, 20 November 1867, p. 35.

preparation for the religious life. Both had lived in the country before and knew the joys and hardships of country life at first hand. In addition they were long used to having Mass and the Sacraments at widely separated and irregular intervals.<sup>105</sup> Not all who came after them had had the same preparation for Josephite life as these two, but like them, most were keen to live up to the trust placed in them by their superiors and the expectations of the local people.<sup>106</sup>

What happened at Yankalilla proved that the Josephite dream entertained by both Woods and MacKillop was practicable and encouraged them to establish further houses in country areas, regardless of their distance from the larger towns or the easy availability of Mass or the Sacraments. The clergy watched developments with growing interest. Then as soon as they were satisfied that the sisters could manage a class satisfactorily and cost less than lay teachers to maintain, several asked for Josephite foundations in their areas, some of which were quite a long way from Adelaide.<sup>107</sup> Thus, in January 1868, two sisters went to Kapunda, where enrolments soon exceeded

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105. Mechtilde Woods, "History," pp. 19, 43-44.

106. Augustine Keogh to MacKillop, 22 October 1868; Joseph Lonergan to MacKillop, June (or possibly later) 1868; Philomena Galvin to MacKillop, 26 August 1868; Gertrude Hayman to MacKillop, June 1868; Francis Fitzgerald to MacKillop from Gawler, 23 April 1868, reported their surprise when two women knelt in the streets for the sisters' blessing. Seventeen year old Agnes Smith wrote at least 19 letters to MacKillop from Penola during 1868, as well as several to Woods. All are chatty in style and tell of her work and experiences at Penola as well as of her efforts to become a good sister.

107. Mechtilde Woods, "History," p. 43.

the hundred mark.<sup>108</sup> Next came Gawler, where they opened a school in April.<sup>109</sup> In May, two went to Penola and another two took charge of the St Vincent de Paul's Orphanage in Adelaide.<sup>110</sup> In June, it was Macclesfield in the Adelaide Hills<sup>111</sup> and in July, Port Adelaide.<sup>112</sup>

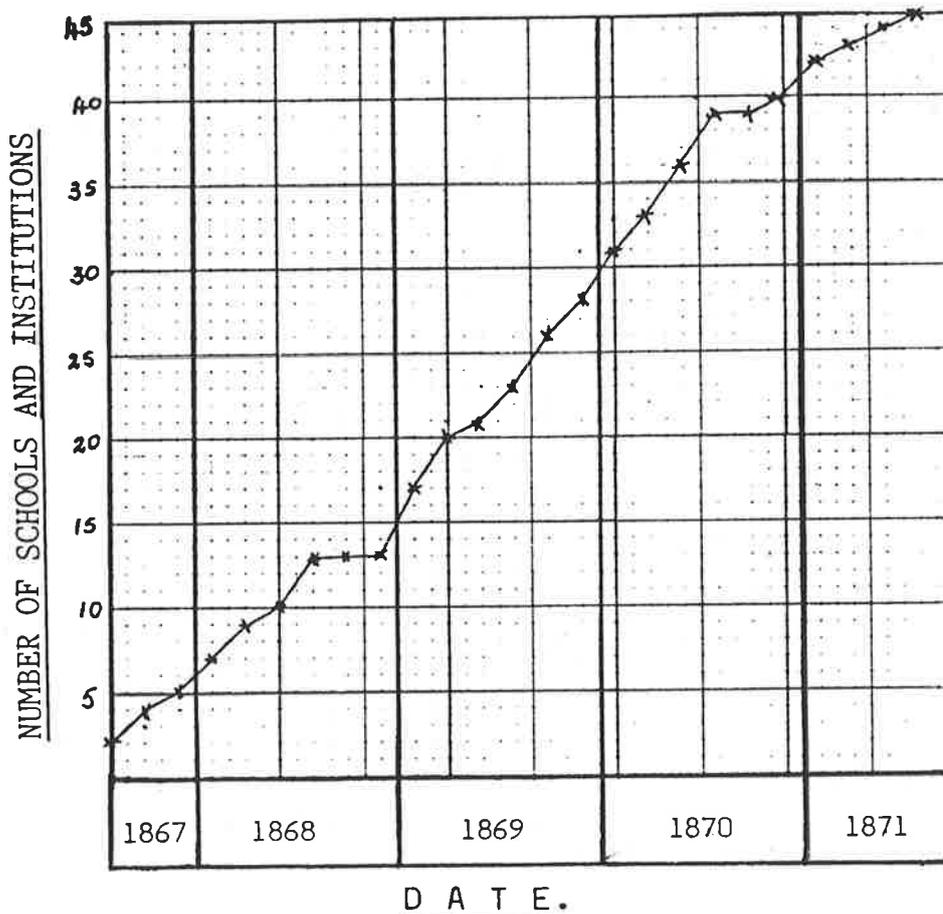
There were then 30 sisters, only three of whom had as yet made their religious vows and almost all of whom had had less than twelve months experience of the religious life.<sup>113</sup> This inexperienced group was responsible for the management of eight schools and two charitable

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108. Clare Wright to MacKillop from Kapunda, 15 February 1868. SCCH 20 January 1868, p. 64. reports that SSJ now at Kapunda and the attendance is estimated at 100. *ibid.* 20 February 1868, p. 80, reports that the Kapunda school now has 130 children on the roll and that the number is likely to increase.
109. SCCH 20 May 1868, p. 128, reports that the Gawler school is now in the hands of the sisters and that there are ninety children on the roll. Gawler Baptismal Register, Gawler Parish House, has an entry on the fly leaf in Reynolds' hand (he was then the parish priest) as follows: "The Sisters of St Joseph arrived on the feast of Sts. Soter and Caius PP. MM. Commenced duties on 27th. The Little Sister being Sister Francis and Sister Rose of the M.H. Sacrament with a pupil teacher." [sic] (i.e. they arrived on 22 April.)
110. SCCH 20 May 1868, p. 128. Agnes Smith to MacKillop from Penola, 9 May 1868. Woods to MacKillop, 28 & 30 April 1868. Woods sent these letters to MacKillop who had gone with Teresa MacDonald and Agnes Smith to set them up at Penola. He concluded the second with the remark that the "Orphanage must be our work now, and Macclesfield afterwards." Woods to MacKillop, 5 May 1868, commented that Sister Joseph was doing well at the Orphanage.
111. Monica Phillips to MacKillop from Macclesfield, 9 June 1868. This was the first of a series of letters written from Macclesfield. SCCH, 20 May 1868, p. 128: "Penola is now under the charge of the Sisters and the Port and Macclesfield will be taken by them without further delay than can be avoided."
112. *ibid.* 20 July 1868, p. 167, Report of C.E.C. meeting of Tuesday 4 July. Here the statement was made that the sisters were taking charge of the Port school on the following Monday, i.e. 10 July 1868.
113. Register of the Sisters. Sisters' Book of References, ASSJ.

institutions.<sup>114</sup> Already, they were being spread too thinly, but the expansion did not stop. Figure III below indicates the rate of increase in the number of schools and institutions under their charge between July 1867 and August 1871, by which time 123 sisters were responsible for the management of 47 schools and institutions, and the ratio of three sisters per school or institution as at July 1868 had fallen to 2.6 for each.

FIGURE III: GROWTH IN THE NUMBERS OF SCHOOLS AND INSTITUTIONS UNDER THE SISTERS OF ST JOSEPH BETWEEN 1867 & AUGUST 1871.

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114. The schools in question have already been listed in the text, as has the orphanage. The other institution was the Catholic Female Refuge which the sisters began supervising in December 1867, SCCH, 20 December 1867, p.49.

Given the rapid dispersal of the sisters and the fact that so few of them had undergone a properly co-ordinated course in teacher training, MacKillop found it necessary to abandon classroom teaching. Instead, she spent her time travelling from school to school, helping the sisters with the preparation and presentation of their lessons.<sup>116</sup> In each instance, she provided such assistance as was immediately required and then, because she could not stay for long, made it mandatory that they spend time each evening preparing the next day's classes and that they adhere strictly to the set curriculum and time-table.<sup>117</sup> Her wisdom in following this line of action soon became obvious. In spite of their lack of early education and training, many of the sisters became skilled teachers and were able to manage quite large classes successfully.<sup>118</sup> Early in 1872, MacKillop classified the members of the Institute as at September 1871 into teaching and non-teaching sisters, and further divided the teachers according to the school grades they

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115. SCCH, August 1867 - October 1869, reports of meetings of C.E.C. Woods to MacKillop, passim, especially his letters of 1870; MacKillop, reports of examination of northern schools, June-July 1871, ASSJ. CSC, 27 May 1871, pp. 216-217.

116. Woods to MacKillop, 5 May 1868 & 2 April 1869.

117. Woods, "Rules," Resource 3, pp. 14, 18 & 22; "Circular on the Object of the Institute," Resource 3, p. 34; Directory and Order of Discipline, p. 90. MacKillop, "Observations on the Rule," Resource 3, p. 44.

118. MacKillop to Woods, 2 November 1869 and 22 January 1872. Written evidence presented to the Apostolic Commission, June 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1393.

were capable of teaching as follows:<sup>119</sup>

<u>TEACHING</u>	Fifth Class	18
	Fourth Class	36
	Third Class	32
	Second Class	18
	First Class	8
<u>NON-TEACHING</u>		<u>8</u>
<u>OVERALL TOTAL</u>		<u>120</u>

The non-teaching sisters were all engaged in the several charitable institutions whose care had fallen upon Josephite shoulders soon after the Institute's establishment in Adelaide. In fact, MacKillop and her first companions had scarcely settled into their Grote Street convent when they realised that many of the poor in Adelaide required assistance of a kind not generally dispensed in a classroom. Thus, when they noticed that some children were staying away from school because they were ashamed of their untidy clothes, the sisters organised ways and means of obtaining suitable ones for them at little or no cost.<sup>120</sup>

Josephite involvement in social welfare work began when Woods took MacKillop and her first companions to visit the Adelaide Gaol, the Adelaide Hospital and the Destitute Asylum with a view to their offering spiritual

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119. *ibid.*

120. *SCCH*, 20 September 1867, p. 9, carried an appeal from MacKillop to the people of Adelaide for assistance in providing suitable clothes for these children.

and, where practicable, material assistance to the inmates.<sup>121</sup> As a result of his initiative, two sisters visited these institutions each week. They soon became interested in the welfare of the inmates, especially the young female prisoners in the Adelaide Gaol, whose prospects of leading better or more productive lives after their release from custody were few. The sisters voiced their concern to Archdeacon Patrick Russell, who was then in charge of the Adelaide mission. He appreciated the urgency of the situation and took immediate steps to establish a House of Refuge for women and girls requiring shelter and protection. He invited the Sisters of St Joseph to supervise this new institution for the time, although he hoped that eventually the bishop would bring Good Shepherd sisters from Ireland to manage it.<sup>122</sup> Seventy years were to elapse before those sisters came and the Josephites' temporary commitment to this work lasted for the best part of a century.<sup>123</sup> When they first entered upon it in December 1867 only two of their number were more than thirty years old. Hence they were scarcely experienced enough to handle the sort of person likely to seek admission there. Nevertheless, they did not give in easily and gradually learned what should be done from hard experience.<sup>124</sup>

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121. Mechtilde Woods, "History," pp. 16 & 25.

122. SCCH, 20 November 1867, p. 32.

123. Refuge File, ASSJ, indicates that the SSJ continued at the Refuge until 31 October 1963, when the Daughters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul took charge of it.

124. SCCH, 20 March 1869, p. 290; IH, 6 April 1872, p. 4.

Another charitable venture came the sisters' way when, due to events quite outside its control, the Catholic St Vincent de Paul's Orphanage became overcrowded during 1867 and 1868.<sup>125</sup> The members of its committee of management decided to resolve their dilemma by placing the orphan girls in a separate institution in the city and asking the Sisters of St Joseph to supervise it.<sup>126</sup> Thus, early in 1868 the sisters entered upon another new work. It was a demanding one but their experience with children stood them in good stead and they managed this institution most satisfactorily.

Not content with the sisters' involvement in these two institutions, Woods, whose zeal tended to run ahead of his resources, decided that something should be done to alleviate the sufferings of the several elderly Catholic women in the Destitute Asylum, any young girls whose faith or virtue were in danger, and the many homeless children in the city who were ineligible for admission to the orphanage. The outcome of his concern was a House of Providence, so called because it had no fixed income or organised means of support but relied, instead, on the Providence of God for its continued existence.<sup>127</sup>

Neither the name nor the idea was original to Woods. He had almost certainly seen the House of Providence at Ars,

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125. Marie Foale, "Think of the Ravens," BA, Adelaide, 1981, pp. 27-28.

126. SCCH, 20 January 1868, p. 64; 20 January 1869, p. 128. Woods to MacKillop, 30 April and 5 May 1868.

127. SCCH, 20 February 1869, p. 227.

in France, when St John Vianney was the curé there, and had noted its success despite its lack of visible means of support.<sup>128</sup> Consequently, he decided that the Adelaide Providence should be a purely Josephite venture and should manage without outside assistance of any kind. This small institution, which came into being in June 1868, occupied rented premises in the city proper. In spite of its precarious financial arrangements, it was the only Josephite institution that was not troubled by debt. The voluntary donations of the public, any fees proffered by the inmates - generally minimal - and the proceeds of the sisters' begging trips provided sufficient for all.<sup>129</sup>

The term "begging", which appears here for the first time, is one that holds an important place in Josephite history and traditions. In practice, it meant that on most weekdays two sisters went to various shops, hotels, business houses and private dwellings in and around Adelaide asking for gifts of money or kind for the support of their charges.<sup>130</sup> Since middle class Victorian Protestants had a natural sympathy for philanthropic ventures, since social welfare activities tended to cut across religious divides and since the dominant Adelaide

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128. Review of L'Abbe A. Monnin, Le Cure d'Ars" 2 vols., Paris 1861, in Dublin Review, New Series vol. 1, no. 2, October 1863, pp. 322-355. The issue of this periodical held in the ACA has Woods' book plate on the fly leaf and several of the pages have been annotated in his hand.

129. Foale, op. cit. pp. 38-47.

130. Mchtilde Woods, "History," p. 32. Tappeiner to his Superior General, 30 October 1872, SOCG 1873 vol. 1000, ff. 1426-1435, p. 11 of Opie translation.

establishment of that period does not seem to have been particularly anti-Catholic, the sisters seldom returned home empty-handed. In fact, they found that they could rely more surely on the Protestants than the Catholic for support.<sup>131</sup> These latter, especially the clergy, were frankly embarrassed at the sight of sisters carrying baskets through the streets and complained to the bishop with a view to having the practice stopped.<sup>132</sup> It seems likely, too, that these complaints were part of the priests' reaction to the "Convent Case", since they were laid at about the same time as that story broke in the local dailies.<sup>133</sup>

Begging was a practice that dated back to Saint Francis of Assisi in the twelfth century and at least two nineteenth-century religious congregations of women, the Little Sisters of the Poor<sup>135</sup> and the Sisters of Nazareth, had adopted it.<sup>134</sup> These two groups, the one French and the other English, were noted for their trust in the Providence of God and for their begging excursions

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131. *ibid.*

132. Sheil to Woods, 3 April 1869, Woods to MacKillop, 5 April 1869.

133. The Convent Case was at its height between 20 March and 10 April 1869. See fn. 93 above.

134. SCCH 20 August 1868, pp. 184-186. This Institute was founded in 1852 by Cardinal Manning, Archbishop of Westminster, to provide residential care for the poor of both sexes and of all ages.

135. Rev. A. Leroy, History of the Little Sisters of the Poor, R & T Washbourne, London 1906. This Institute was founded in France by Jeanne Jugan in 1839, for the sole purpose of providing residential care for the aged poor. The work proved very popular and by 1870 there were Little Sisters of the Poor working in many European countries and also in North America.

outside their convent walls. Woods certainly knew of both.<sup>136</sup> Therefore he had a good precedent for sending the Josephites out into Adelaide's streets to get what help they could from the charity of its citizens. An even more cogent reason for his doing so was that none of the Catholic charitable institutions had fixed incomes. Hence they needed the fruits of the sisters' begging if they were to remain operational.

Most of those who complained of the sisters' begging were Irish. In their country nearly all convents were endowed and most sisters brought dowries into the convent with them.<sup>137</sup> Sheil, who was already upset over the Convent Case, yielded to clerical pressure and, without making due inquiry into the true state of affairs, ordered Woods to have the begging stop at once, even though the sisters and their charges did not have sufficient food on hand for their immediate needs.<sup>138</sup> Fortunately for them the restriction remained in force for only a short time. Once Sheil realised how dependent the different institutions were on the results of the begging, he lifted the ban and the sisters resumed the practice.<sup>139</sup>

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136. SCCH 20 August 1868, pp. 184-186, article by Woods on the Sisters of Nazareth. Woods, "Memoirs", book 2, p. 28. Here Woods stated that he had read the life of the foundress of the Little Sisters of the Poor many times.

137. MacGinley, Roads to Sion, pp. 28-29.

138. Woods to MacKillop, 5 April 1869.

139. O'Neill, Woods, pp. 151-152.

The fourth and by far the smallest and most short-lived of the institutions run by the sisters was known as the Solitude of Mary. It was an extension of the Refuge in that penitent women, known as Magdalens, were its main object. These women followed a simple rule of life under the sisters' supervision and supported themselves by doing needlework and caring for elderly paying guests. Although the Josephites were involved in the running and management of the Solitude, the Magdalens always looked upon Woods as their father and founder. Consequently, after his departure from Adelaide in 1872, they gradually lost all incentive to persevere in their chosen way of life and eventually abandoned it altogether.<sup>140</sup>

The Josephite involvement in the field of social welfare brought them into contact with orphans, destitute persons of all ages, especially women, and so-called "fallen" women. They generally dispensed their charitable care quite indiscriminately to all who came to their institutions. However, at times they felt torn between their own desire to succour everyone seeking assistance and the expectations of the local Catholic establishment.<sup>141</sup> A case in point was that of the Refuge, where, initially, they admitted any distressed women who came there, irrespective of their race or

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140. MacKillop to Woods, 29 October 1869, 9 October 1875, 18 August 1877. Woods to MacKillop, 28 November 1869.

141. Horan, *op cit.* pp. 6-7 & 10-11. Elizabeth Etheridge to MacKillop, 5 December 1870.

religion. These included girls fresh from the gaol, known prostitutes and young women in need of protection, and the sisters placed no restrictions on the length of their stay.<sup>142</sup> However, with time, their emphasis changed and the respectability of their clients gradually became an important issue. By the turn of the century, prostitutes and former prisoners were excluded altogether. Only unmarried mothers awaiting the birth of their first child were admitted and all others, even Catholics, had to find shelter elsewhere.<sup>143</sup>

The social welfare component of the Josephite's work quickly became an important one, even though they took it up almost by default. They always saw it as being secondary to their involvement in education and considered their commitment to it a temporary one to be relinquished as soon as sisters belonging to Orders founded specifically for that purpose should arrive in Adelaide.<sup>144</sup> As it happened, many years were to pass before any such sisters reached South Australia and by then social welfare work had become so much a part of the Josephite way of life that there was no question of their

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142. Annual Report of the Catholic Female Refuge, 1867-1868, 16 July 1868, ASSJ. Refuge Files, ASSJ. IH, 6 April 1872. Adelaide Observer, 5 August 1876.

143. Archbishop John O'Reily, The Catholic Refuge, Fullarton, Adelaide, 1902, p. 12. O'Reily to Canon Andrews, 3 April 1906, O'Reily Correspondence 1906, ACA.

144. Woods, "Rules," Resource 3, p. 4, article 1; pp. 24-25, article 14. MacKillop, "Necessity for the Institute," Resource 3, pp. 60-61.

withdrawing from it altogether.<sup>145</sup> Initially, some conflict of interest developed between its demands and those of the schools. The work in the institutions was very demanding and it became necessary to place experienced people in the key positions in each. The sisters most suited to those positions were the older and more capable teachers and so, for a time, the schools were disadvantaged.<sup>146</sup> Before long, however, several of the younger sisters emerged as leaders in this field and the school sisters were freed to return to their classrooms.

Among the more outstanding of the sisters who worked in the different charitable institutions was Sister Elizabeth, (Susan Etheridge).<sup>147</sup> Locally-born Elizabeth entered the Josephites shortly after her eighteenth birthday. She had had only limited schooling but evinced a real empathy and understanding for her aged charges at the Providence, where she spent most of her long

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145. CR, 7 & 14 May 1880 reported the arrival of the Sisters of Mercy. "Angas Street Jottings," m/s n.d. Archives of the Convent of Mercy, Angas Street, Adelaide, indicate that these sisters relieved the Josephites of the care of servant girls, who then formed the bulk of those seeking shelter at the Providence. Elizabeth Etheridge, statement n.d. but about 1900, corroborates this evidence, ACA. This was the only change that occurred in this area until about 1940, when the Good Shepherd Sisters finally arrived in Adelaide.

146. Several teaching sisters involved in this work were Francis Fitzgerald, John Baptist Fitzgerald and Joseph Lonergan, none of whom remained in it for more than a few years.

147. Elizabeth, R20, daughter of Anthony Etheridge and Mary Gibbons, was born at Port Adelaide on 15 April 1850. She entered the Institute in May 1868, was professed in June 1869, and died at St Joseph's Convent, Kensington, in March 1912, aged 62 years. Teresa MacDonald to MacKillop, 12 June 1870.

life.<sup>148</sup> With time, Elizabeth and the Providence became almost synonymous and she, together with Sister Hilda (Bridget McNamara from Clare in the South Australian mid-north),<sup>149</sup> gave the place a character all its own. These women and their peers, who spent their lives at the Orphanage and the Refuge, never made the headlines, yet each in her own way contributed a great deal towards the welfare of the less privileged. Elizabeth cared for the aged residents at the Providence, while Hilda's strong point was her ability to handle the numerous down-and-out men who used to call there in search of a meal. She became something of a legend in the west end of the city of Adelaide and was much regretted when finally obliged to relinquish her work because of advancing age and ill health.<sup>150</sup> Sister Thecla, (Catherine Harding), worked as a servant at St Vincent de Paul's Orphanage, Walkerville, when it was under lay management. She joined the Josephites soon after they took charge of the orphans in 1868 and spent her life unobtrusively looking after these children.<sup>151</sup> Another woman of similar character was Sister Bernardine, (Margaret Ledwith from Morphett

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148. Elizabeth to MacKillop, 10 July & 5 December 1870. These letters are a delight to read, although the spelling and syntax do not measure up to standard English usage.

149. Hilda, R108, daughter of Philip McNamara and Mary Scott, was born at Clare in December 1852. She entered the Institute in November 1870, was professed in July 1872, worked as a teacher for about 18 years and moved to the Providence in about 1890. She remained there for the best part of the next forty years, then retired to St Joseph's, Kensington, where she died in July 1939, aged 86 years.

150. SC, 21 July 1939, Obituary of Sister Hilda. Oral traditions of the Sisters of St Joseph .

151. Thecla entered the Institute in August 1868, was professed in December 1869, and worked at the Orphanage until 1890, when she moved to Kensington, where she died in February 1907.

Vale), whose life's work was the care of the girls at the Refuge.<sup>152</sup> These and the other sisters who joined the Institute during that early critical period contributed much towards the moulding of its character and the shaping of the direction it should take in the future.

While the charitable institutions were becoming firmly established, important developments were taking place on the school scene. Among these was the decision taken by the Catholic Education Council to build a Poor School at the western end of Franklin Street in the city for those children whose parents were unable to pay fees.<sup>153</sup> It was seen by its initiators as a means of preventing the sisters from being imposed upon by people who could well afford to pay for their children's education. As Archdeacon Russell reasoned:

If such were obliged to send their children to a poor school, they would soon find the requisite fees, and only the deserving be objects of charity.

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The question of whether such a school should be established brought into focus to the issues of who should benefit from the Catholic education being offered in the diocese and whether existing social class divisions should

152. Bernardine, R65, daughter of James Ledwith and Anne Mulligan, was born at Morphett Vale on 4 May 1846. She entered the Institute on 18 June 1869, was professed on 15 October 1870, and spent most of her life at the Refuge where she died on 3 October 1917.

153. Register, 1 April 1869, "Laying the Foundation Stone of St Joseph's Poor School." SCCH, 20 June 1869, p. 337.

154. SCCH, 20 March 1869, p. 289, report of meeting of C.E.C.

be reinforced.<sup>155</sup> Some asked whether workingmen's children should be given the same opportunities as those from higher class families by being allowed to attend the same schools as they, only free of charge if necessary. Others believed that members of the various social groups should be segregated and taught in a manner befitting their station.<sup>156</sup> In principle, neither Woods nor MacKillop agreed with such segregation. However, they agreed to go ahead with the free school when they discovered that a large number of poor children living in the west end of the city were receiving no schooling at all because their parents were unable to pay fees.<sup>157</sup>

During the debate preceding the establishment of the Poor School, the question of how the sisters were being supported also came under consideration. Woods assured the members of the Catholic Education Council that they were self-supporting and were costing the diocese nothing. He went on to say that he hoped that the Catholics of the colony would soon see their way clear to assist the sisters financially, adding that they neither asked nor received anything beyond their school

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155. Russell, who was probably the only Irish priest then in Adelaide who came from the Irish middle class, supported such reinforcement of class divisions. Elizabeth Etheridge to MacKillop, 5 December 1870, reported that he had sanctioned a change of Sunday Mass times at St Patrick's, West Terrace. Those too poor to contribute to the collection were to attend the early Masses, while those able to pay were to come at 11 o'clock when there was always a sermon.

156. SCCH, 20 November 1868, p. 226.

157. SCCH, 20 June 1869, p. 337.

fees.<sup>158</sup> The sisters subsisted under these conditions because they lived very frugally. However, their situation was precarious indeed because they had no resources upon which to fall back in time of necessity. In spite of this, Woods quite happily announced that they would take the responsibility for the £600 due on the new school and would "rely for its repayment on their own efforts in collecting, and the annual collection which His Lordship was about to allow them."<sup>159</sup> The last annual collection for the schools had netted little more than £50.<sup>160</sup> Hence Woods' hopes on this score were unrealistic, to say the least. Yet he seems never to have doubted that the money would come flowing in and that the buildings would be paid for within a short time.

Woods also seems to have been unaware that the question of the sisters' support was becoming a vexed one, and this for several reasons. The first was that the sisters were expending large sums on travel. Both Woods and MacKillop believed that the Institute could only survive if its members remained united in their ideals and in their interpretation of the rule of life they had adopted. Therefore, following their dispersion and the diversification of their works, the two founders required that all sisters stationed in branch houses maintain regular contact with the central or Mother House, as they

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158. SCCH, 20 November 1868, p. 227.

159. SCCH, 20 March 1869, p. 289.

160. SCCH, 29 September 1868, p. 199.

called it. They were to do this by frequent exchange of letters,<sup>161</sup> by returning to the Mother House during the school holidays<sup>162</sup> and by sending postulants or novices stationed in the country back there for their investiture in the habit and first profession.<sup>163</sup> All these activities, especially the necessary journeys, cost money and this had to be found by the community of which the sister was a member. Consequently, the sisters had to scrimp and save in order to have enough for their fares to the city.<sup>164</sup> They suffered hardship when they had to undertake the journey only once a year. Their position became worse when, for any reason, sisters had to go to Adelaide more often, especially as they had adopted the European custom of always going about in twos.

A second and related difficulty was that often sisters

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161. Woods, "Rules," Resource 3, p. 20. About 90 letters written by the different sisters to MacKillop during 1868 are still extant, as are a number of their diaries. Few letters from 1869 have survived, but there is a large number from 1870.

162. MacKillop, "Necessity for the Institute," Resource 3, pp. 57-58. Woods to MacKillop, 4 January & 27 June 1870. Both stressed the importance of the time spent together as an aid to unity and a source of encouragement and strength.

163. This happened frequently during this period, because most sisters were still novices or postulants. Macclesfield was opened by a novice, Gertrude Hayman, and a postulant, Monica Phillips. At Penola there were two novices, Teresa MacDonald and Agnes Smith, and most other country places were similarly staffed. Gertrude Hayman to MacKillop, June 1868, refers to Monica's having gone to Adelaide for her investiture. Sisters' Book of References, ASSJ, confirms this statement.

164. Aloysius O'Leary to MacKillop, 13 December 1868. Ignatius O'Brien to MacKillop, 18 July 1870, remarked that the sisters from Robe were unable to come to Adelaide for the retreat as "they could not get the means." Agnes Smith to MacKillop from Penola, 15 August 1870.

had to be moved from one school to another. This happened because the numbers of schools for which they were responsible increased from three to 23 during the years 1868-1869,<sup>165</sup> because the dates when individual schools were opened were widely separated and spanned the entire two-year period,<sup>166</sup> and because Woods required that there be least one experienced teacher in each school.<sup>167</sup> Transfers also had to be made because of illness, because sisters could not manage the children satisfactorily or because they were unhappy in the community in which they were placed.<sup>168</sup>

When the sisters had no money to defray necessary travelling expenses, they sometimes asked local benefactors for assistance. Since these people did not always discriminate between the local church and the sisters, they tended to give them the money usually put aside for church collections. It is easy to imagine the chagrin of a pastor, perhaps already annoyed at having

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165. SCCH, 30 October 1869, pp. 398-401: State of the Diocese.

166. SCCH, September 1867 - October 1869: reports of regular meetings of C.E.C.

167. Clare Wright to MacKillop from Kapunda, 4 June 1868. Woods to MacKillop, 5 January 1870. Sisters' Book of References, ASSJ.

168. There is quite an amount of evidence that in 1868 a number of sisters were moved because of illness. This includes: Monica to MacKillop from Willunga, 2 September 1868; John Baptist Fitzgerald to MacKillop from Yankalilla, 3 May 1868; Gertrude Hayman to MacKillop from Macclesfield, 20 August 1868; Philomena Galvin to MacKillop from Macclesfield, 26 August 1868. The Sisters' Book of References gives many indications of moves that were made because of the opening of new schools. One case where a sister could not manage the children and was removed from the school in question was that of Bonaventure Mahoney, of Penola. Bonaventure to MacKillop, 26 September 1870.

gained an incompetent teacher in place of an able one, when he found that his usually small collection was even smaller because of the sisters.<sup>169</sup> Clergy annoyed in this way were quick to complain about the amount of travelling the sisters did and any adverse effects of their seemingly continuous movement on the schools.<sup>170</sup>

Thus, although Woods and MacKillop almost certainly did not realise it at the time, their idyllic dream of a community of religious sisters totally supported by the alms of the people had begun to crumble before harsh economic reality. The sisters were, in fact, becoming a burden to the diocese. Woods clung tenaciously to his ideal of religious poverty and refused to consider that the sisters might need at least a minimum of financial security if they were to survive, that, given the "extremely depressed state of the times,"<sup>171</sup> they were creating a drain on the church's limited funds and that this situation would persist for as long as they had no independent means of their own.

The question of the sisters' support was a serious one which required realistic handling. Woods was neither willing nor able for this. Hence he pressed ahead with

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169. Bernard Walsh to MacKillop, from Kapunda, 24 November 1870.

170. MacKillop to Woods, 2 November 1869. Bernard Walsh to MacKillop, 18 August 1870. Ambrose Nowlan OSA to Barnabo, 9 September 1872, SRCO vol. 9, f. 1515. Tappeiner to his General, 30 October 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, ff. 1426-1435, p. 11 of Opie translation.

171. SCCH, 29 September 1868, p. 199: Report of meeting of C.E.C.

the erection of the Poor School, with its attached accommodation for the sisters, confident that the money required would be raised quickly and easily.<sup>172</sup> The fact that he sank all his personal savings into this venture<sup>173</sup> neither resolved the difficulty nor gave the sisters security of tenure in the new building. It was and would remain church property which could be occupied only at the bishop's pleasure.

Only a few months previously the sisters had vacated another church-owned house at short notice. This move took place shortly before the arrival of the community of Dominican nuns whom Sheil brought with him from Ireland in December 1868.<sup>174</sup> It seems that the bishop had neglected to inform his vicar general of their coming and that, as a result, Smyth was caught unprepared for their imminent arrival. He resolved his dilemma by accepting MacKillop's offer to have the Josephites vacate the two cottages they then occupied in favour of the newcomers.<sup>175</sup> MacKillop and her sisters moved to a small, rented place in nearby Gouger Street, where they

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172. SCCH, 20 March 1869, p. 289; 20 June 1869, p. 337. Register, 1 April 1869, "Laying the Foundation Stone of St Joseph's Poor School."

173. Mechtilde Woods, "History," p. 45, states that Woods sank £800 into this project. Woods, written evidence to the Apostolic Commission, 19 June 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1424.

174. Mechtilde Woods, "History," p. 44. SCCH, 20 December 1868, p. 241.

175. Mechtilde Woods, op cit. p. 44. Aloysius O'Leary to MacKillop, 23 November 1868; Joseph Mary Fitzgerald to MacKillop, 28 November 1868; Francis Fitzgerald to MacKillop, 5 December 1868. It seems that Woods also asked Mrs Power, the lay teacher in charge of the school at West Terrace, to vacate her school in favour of the newcomers.

were so overcrowded that some of them had to sleep on the floor.<sup>176</sup> This situation persisted for over two months, after which time Sheil offered them a house in Franklin Street, adjacent to the one now occupied by the Dominicans.<sup>177</sup>

This building also proved too small for the sixteen member community.<sup>178</sup> Hence Woods' decision to build them extra living quarters and a chapel above the Poor School.<sup>179</sup> This new building was ready for occupation in June 1869. Until then they carried on as best they could, while the Dominican Nuns next door, aware of the inconvenience their coming had caused the Sisters of St Joseph, had a distinct feeling that they were unwelcome interlopers on the Adelaide scene.<sup>180</sup> Because of the lack of proper preparation for these sisters' arrival, Josephite-Dominican relations began on an unhappy note. Subsequent events outside the control of either party coupled with the fact that they lived next-door to each other, did little to improve the situation.<sup>181</sup> Figure

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176. SCCH, 22 January 1869, p. 257, reports that the sisters had their annual retreat in a house lent them by the Hon. E. Solomon. The Gouger Street premises could not accommodate the 44 sisters present on that occasion. Thorpe, McKillop p. 294, fn. 4.

177. Mechtilde Woods, "History," pp. 44-45.

178. MacKillop, "Life of Woods," Resource 6, p. 89.

179. SCCH, 20 April 1869, p. 303.

180. Sister M. Attracta Murphy O.P. "Annals of Holy Cross Province, 1868-1906," m/s, Dominican Convent, Cabra, Clarence Park, 1960, p. 11.

181. The story of the first Dominican community in Adelaide and its struggle for survival in the harsh colonial environment is one that has yet to be written.

IV below indicates clearly the close proximity of the Dominican and Josephite convents to each other and of both to the bishop' house and St Patrick's Church.<sup>182</sup>

In spite of their many difficulties, the Josephites, seem to have been giving satisfaction at this time.<sup>183</sup> Once Sheil had recovered from his annoyance over the Convent Case and the clergy's complaints over the sisters' begging, he appeared to be pleased with the contribution they were making towards Catholic education in the colony.<sup>184</sup> Others, too, were satisfied with their achievements, especially in the area of religious instruction. These included the Jesuits, who indicated that they preferred sisters to lay teachers.<sup>185</sup> Another was Father William Kennedy, the priest-in-charge of the Kadina - Wallaroo mission area who refused to accept any but Josephites when the lay teachers in his two schools resigned at the end of 1868. The sisters went there early in the following year and his strong, supportive friendship over the years indicated his continuing satisfaction with them and their work.<sup>186</sup>

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182. Drawing based on information contained in the Smith Survey of the City of Adelaide, 1879-1880, Sheet no. 52, Archives of Adelaide City Council. Reproduced with permission of Adelaide City Council Archivist.

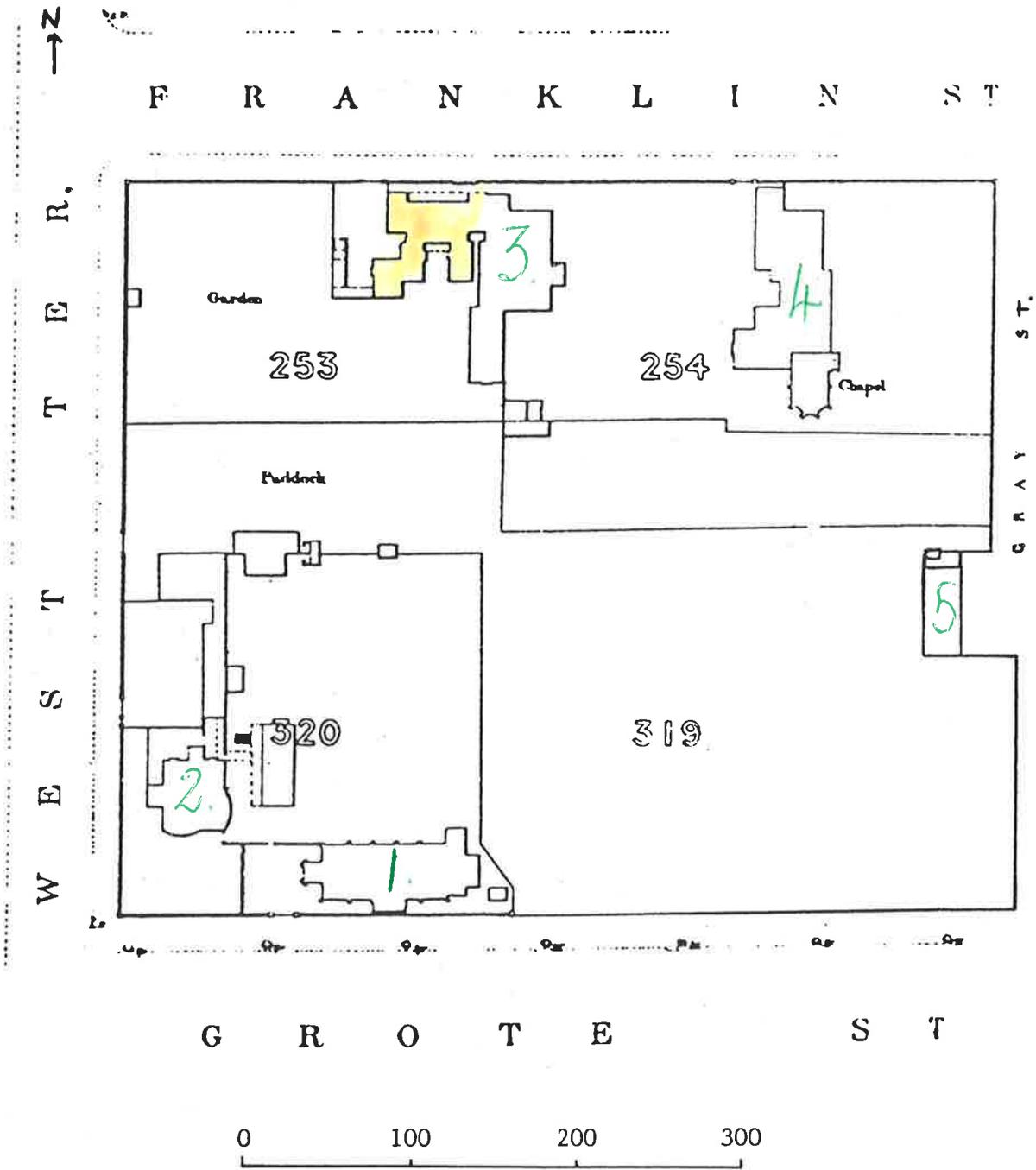
183. SCCH, 20 June 1869, p. 335-336.

184. *ibid.*

185. Father Anton Strele SJ, "Historia Domus," Sevenhill 1869, tr. by P.J. Dalton SJ, p. 12 of typescript, ASJ.

186. SCCH, 20 November 1868, p. 226, report of meeting of C.E.C.

FIGURE IV: MAP SHOWING LOCATIONS OF BUILDINGS ON CHURCH PROPERTY, WEST TERRACE, ADELAIDE.



Scale: 1 inch = 100 feet.  
 [100 feet = 30.48 metres.]

- KEY:**
1. St Patrick's Church.
  2. Bishop's House.
  3. Dominican Convent and School, December 1868 onwards. (Shaded section was that occupied by the Josephites during 1868.)
  4. Josephite Convent and Poor School.
  5. St Patrick's Boys' School.

The bishop, the sisters and the wider Catholic community all received a boost to their faith and self-image when Fredrick Weld, an English Catholic who was governor of Western Australia, visited the colony.<sup>187</sup> Weld later wrote of his experiences in the following terms:

At Adelaide I had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of Bishop Sheil. I there saw more indications of the progress of religion than I have before witnessed in this part of the world. I was struck forcibly with the holy poverty, the devotedness and the real hard work done by the nuns of St Joseph and surprised at the number of persons who join an order which appears to me to recall all one has read in the saints' lives of the commencement of those great institutions which have worked so much for the church. I assure Your Eminence that I expect some very great result from this humble beginning. I was indeed much pleased in many ways in South Australia. I saw churches and schools rising, although the Catholics received no assistance from<sup>188</sup> government for education. [sic]

Thus a visitor could see the positive side of all that was happening in South Australia, even as rumblings about the sisters' ability as teachers and the cost of their support were beginning to disturb the peace of the local Church.<sup>189</sup>

By the end of 1869 a perceptive observer might have noticed that Woods was very much overworked and was showing signs of the strain that his many duties as

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187. SCCH, 20 August 1869, p. 367. Mechtilde Woods, "History," pp. 45-56.

188. Weld to Barnabo, from Government House, Perth, 30 January 1870, SRCO vol. 9, f. 478.

189. SCCH, 30 October 1869, p. 398.

Inspector of Schools, spiritual director of the Sisters of St Joseph and assistant priest in the Adelaide mission were placing upon him.<sup>190</sup> Consequently, he was now less fit to attend to the schools, especially in country areas, and he ceased holding regular meetings of the Catholic Education Council.<sup>191</sup> He also neglected to test the genuineness of the religious experiences that several mystically-inclined young sisters claimed to be enjoying and, instead, encouraged them to believe that they were specially chosen souls who were called to follow an extraordinary path to holiness.<sup>192</sup> MacKillop saw the dangers inherent in allowing young women <sup>with</sup> only a very limited knowledge of the basic tenets of their faith to dabble in mysticism. However, she was unable to offset Woods' influence on these sisters or guide them towards a balanced understanding of the religious life.<sup>193</sup> In October 1869, Sheil departed for Europe to attend the Vatican Council<sup>194</sup> and six weeks later, she herself set off for Queensland.<sup>195</sup> Both were to be away for more than a year.

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190. Woods to MacKillop, 16 January & 21 June 1870.

191. SCCH, 20 June 1869, pp. 337-338, gives an account of the last recorded meeting of the C.E.C. No further references to it appear in any contemporary newspapers and it seems that, after that date, Woods assumed sole responsibility for all matters pertaining to the schools.

192. Woods to MacKillop, 20 January 1869.

193. MacKillop to Woods, 5, 9, 18 & 19 November 1869.

194. SCCH, 30 October 1869, p. 401.

195. Catholic Herald and Monthly Summary, 20 January 1870, p. 22. Woods to MacKillop, 9 December 1869.

MacKillop's Queensland journey came about because Woods had accompanied Sheil to the Provincial Synod of the Australian bishops in Melbourne in the previous April. While there, he had widely publicised the South Australia solution to the problem of Catholic education, which was then exercising the minds of the Australian hierarchy.<sup>196</sup> At least two bishops, Polding of Sydney and James Quinn of Brisbane, saw that it had possibilities for their respective dioceses. Polding had already sought detailed information about the Adelaide scheme.<sup>197</sup> Quinn now went a step further and asked for Sisters of St Joseph to go and take charge of Catholic schools in the poorer areas of his vast diocese of Queensland.<sup>198</sup> Sheil, delighted that another bishop should be interested in a work begun in his diocese, readily acceded to Quinn's request. He not only authorised Woods to make the foundation. He also instructed him to send MacKillop with the sisters and have her stay in Brisbane for a year.<sup>199</sup>

The timing of Quinn's request was unfortunate for, by the time it reached Adelaide, both bishops were on the high seas on their way to Rome and the Vatican Council. Hence they were not in a position to discuss the move and

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196. SCCH, 20 May 1869, pp. 318-321. Woods to MacKillop from Melbourne, 20 & 27 April 1869.

197. SCCH, 20 November 1867, p. 35, report of meeting of C.E.C.

198. Quinn to Woods, 18 October 1869.

199. Sheil appended a note to Quinn's letter cited above and concluded with the words: "Take Sister Mary and begin the good work."

its ramifications with the people most concerned: Woods, MacKillop and Dr John Cani, vicar general of the Queensland diocese. Each prelate seems to have had his own understanding of how the Institute should function, and to have taken it for granted that it would take root in Brisbane without any difficulty at all. Both seemed unaware that this foundation would stretch the already too-thinly-spread Josephite resources almost beyond their limits and expose the sisters to the hardships of loneliness and isolation in an even harsher environment than the one they already knew in South Australia. It would also deprive the Adelaide community of the presence of its foundress and superior at a time when it could ill afford to lose her. For their part, neither Woods nor MacKillop questioned the bishop's command and she and four sisters left Adelaide for Brisbane without demur on 8 December 1869.

By then the Institute had been on trial in Adelaide for two and a half years. It had 82 members, including 36 professed sisters, 35 novices and 11 postulants,<sup>200</sup> was responsible for 23 schools and four charitable institutions in South Australia and had dispatched its first foundation to another colony. The sisters, most of whom came from among the ordinary people of South Australia, were generally enthusiastic for the life they had chosen, and were striving to master the school programme prepared for them by MacKillop. However, a

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200. Register of the Sisters, ASSJ.

number of problems had already surfaced and, unless these were resolved satisfactorily, the future of the Institute was in jeopardy.

These included clerical dissatisfaction with certain aspects of the sisters' behaviour, especially their begging, their set methods of school management and their frequent journeying from one convent to another. As well, some priests were annoyed because Woods, in his anxiety to have the work of Catholic education spread to all parts of the colony, had accepted too readily any young women who applied to enter, without a proper inquiry into their antecedents and was now encouraging some of them to believe that they were the recipients of extraordinary divine favours. Further, because of their rapid dispersion, some sisters had missed out on a proper religious and professional training and hence, had failed to grasp the full implications of their membership of a religious institute. Finally, the sisters were really poor. Without property or any form of fixed income, they relied for their subsistence on the uncertain school fees and the results of their begging. Consequently, their support was becoming a real burden to the clergy in whose districts they had convents.

Their position was serious. However, Woods remained optimistic and refused to consider the possibility that his opponents might have had good cause to be dissatisfied. Instead, he regarded any trouble he

encountered as a sure sign that all was well and refused to heed any warnings or advice offered him. In spite of their problems, the Josephites were already evincing a spirit and an approach to their work that set them apart from contemporary religious institutes. Their membership was more cosmopolitan and their interests were more wide-ranging than those of other Institutes with houses in Australia, and they had already proved that the Josephite dream of providing Catholic education for the poor children of Australian cities and country towns could be brought to reality.

At the same time, despite the originality of the idea of sending sisters in very small groups to isolated places, where they had only infrequent access to the consolations of their religion, and their identification with the people among whom they lived and worked, the Institute of St Joseph was derived from the European Orders of the day. Its founders' thinking was not as adaptive as it might seem because tradition dies hard, especially in a new country. People want to transplant as much of the old to the new as they can and to make it as much like "home" as possible. Thus, Catholic settlers still had the Mass, where priests wore vestments brought from the old country. The sacred ceremonial and church buildings might have been less elaborate, but they bore a sufficient resemblance to what the colonists were familiar with to enable them to feel comfortable in the church.

In their desire to preserve the familiar, some colonists became conservative almost to the point of being reactionary and clung to the old with all their strength. These people wanted their nuns to be like the ones they had known in the old world and the sisters themselves seem to have taken this for granted. Consequently, they set out on their Australian mission garbed in a way that was quite unsuited to the climate and clinging to practices proper to large monastic institutions, even at the price of less efficiency and of occasional grave inconvenience to themselves and others. Even so, they were sufficiently different to cause a stir. Some Catholics looked down upon them because they moved about outside the cloister and did not conform to these people's preconceived ideas of religious,<sup>201</sup> while a number of bishops and priests exerted a great deal of energy in trying to bring them into line with their European counterparts. Just how far they succeeded will become apparent as this story unfolds.

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201. MacKillop, "Life of Woods," Resource 6, p.98.

## CHAPTER 4

### GATHERING CLOUDS, 1870

By the time 1869 gave way to 1870 Mary MacKillop and her five companions were in Brisbane, at least a fortnight's travelling time away from Adelaide and Sheil was safely ensconced in St Isidore's College in Rome, which was to be his home base for the next six months.<sup>1</sup> Both leaders were now too far from Adelaide to be able to intervene effectively in its affairs, but this does not seem to have worried Sheil because he had the utmost confidence in John Smyth, his vicar general. He knew that Smyth had administered the diocese well during 1867-1868 and could see no reason why he should not do so again.<sup>2</sup> For her part, MacKillop realised the importance of her being the leader of the Queensland foundation but was less confident than Sheil that all would be well in Adelaide during her prolonged absence.<sup>3</sup>

Time was to prove that MacKillop's fears were well founded. Diocesan affairs did not run as smoothly as they had during Smyth's previous administration because, firstly, there had been many changes among the clergy since April 1867 when Sheil left for his first overseas

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1. MacKillop to Woods, from Convent of Mercy, Brisbane, 2 January 1870. Her five companions were: Mary Wright, Sister Clare, R5; Bridget Keogh, Sister Augustine, R29; Julia O'Sullivan, Sister Francis de Sales, R27; Bridget Maginness, Sister Teresa, R71 and Agnes Byrne, Sister Gertrude, R82. Sheil to Reville, Ireland, from St Isidore's College, Rome, 22 December 1869, FLK E34, no. 40.
  2. SCCH, 22 January 1869, p. 258: Account of a presentation made to Smyth by the clergy in appreciation of his good work during Sheil's absence.
  3. MacKillop to Woods, 4 March 1870.

trip. Secondly, the Institute of St Joseph was afflicted with unexpectedly severe growing pains during this period. Thirdly, the whole Catholic education scene had changed quite dramatically and the Catholic Church was now responsible for more than 40 schools, all of which operated independently of the government. Finally, on 30 June 1870, John Smyth succumbed to a paralytic stroke and the diocese was left virtually leaderless for a time.<sup>4</sup>

In April 1867, sixteen secular priests and seven Jesuits farewelled Sheil as he embarked for Europe. During his absence, three of the youngest of the secular priests died and one moved to another diocese,<sup>5</sup> while several newcomers, all of whom were Irish, arrived in Adelaide.<sup>6</sup> Most of these men had come at Sheil's invitation for he had recruited seventeen priests and three students while travelling in Ireland in 1867-1868. Fourteen had reached Adelaide by the time of his return in December 1868, and the other six came within the next two

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4. IH, 7 July 1870. Woods to MacKillop, 5 July 1870.

5. These were Fathers Jeremiah Moynahan, d. 21 December 1867, reported in SCCH, 20 January 1868, p. 66; Thomas Dowling, d. 20 June 1868, reported in SCCH, 20 June 1868, p. 142; Thomas Hyland, d. 13 April 1868, SCCH, 20 April 1868, p. 111. T. Linane ed. From Abel to Zundolovich, Torquay, Victoria. n.d. vol. 1, p. 60, indicates that Father Shinnick left South Australia and went to Queensland in 1867.

6. SCCH, 20 November 1867, p. 32, arrival of T. Murphy; 20 April 1868, p. 111, arrival of O'Rourke OFM, Nolan OSA, Quinlan and a deacon, C. McCluskey; 20 August 1868, p. 181, arrival of Henderson OFM Cap; 20 December 1868, p. 241 reported that C. Horan OFM, Joseph Murphy OFM, John J. Roche, James Maher and a deacon, Patrick Corcoran had arrived home with Sheil; 20 October 1868, p. 211, announced the arrival of Michael Kennedy and John Carden.

years.<sup>7</sup> He was well pleased with his efforts and felt certain that his diocese would now be better provided with priests than any other in Australia.<sup>8</sup> However, disappointment awaited him. Three of his new recruits resigned and left the diocese within weeks of their arrival. Then, soon after his return home, he found it necessary to dismiss a priest who had served in South Australia for more than ten years.<sup>9</sup>

This loss of priests came as a heavy blow to Sheil. He would have been even more upset had he known that only six of his twenty recruits were to remain in the Adelaide diocese for the rest of their lives; that nine of them, after more or less stormy careers in South Australia, were to transfer to other Australian or overseas dioceses and

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7. SCCH, 20 June 1869, reported arrival of Ambrose Patrick Keating OFM; the Catholic Herald and Monthly Summary, January 1870, p. 22, that of B. Nevin; Linane, op cit. vol 2, p. 50, gives December 1870 as the arrival date of Robert Cleary; Bonaventure to MacKillop from Penola, 25 September 1870, told of recent arrival of John O'Sullivan; Sheil to Reville, 27 May 1871, FLK E34 no. 37, spoke of the recent arrival of Patrick Byrne and the student McCarthy. Patrick Kehoe arrived some time late in 1871.
8. Sheil to Smyth, from Dublin, 24 December 1867. Sheil to Woods, 24 April 1868, ACA S4, 1.
9. Footprints, vol. 2, no. 1, p. 28, note that Carden stayed in Adelaide for only a few months and left for New Zealand before October 1869. IH, 10 February 1872, indicates that Joseph Murphy OFM stayed for only a few weeks. Cardinal Cullen, Dublin, to T. Kirby, Irish College, Rome, 28 June 1872, SRCO vol. 9, ff. 1200-1202, states that O'Rourke left the priesthood within days of his arrival. Father Simon Carew arrived in Adelaide on 21 November 1857, Condon, ed. Journal of Francis Murphy, vol. 2, p. 416. Carew suffered from chronic ill health and, while he was at Penola, Woods complained him to Smyth, on 24 December 1865 and 25 January 1866. Smyth sent him to Mount Gambier, and it was from there that he sailed for Europe on 30 January 1869, after having been dismissed by Sheil for failing to attend to his duties properly.

that the other five, including a student who declined ordination, were to disappear from the scene virtually without trace.<sup>10</sup>

Instability among the clergy may be attributed, in part at least, to Sheil's poor judgment of character and to the fact that he had accepted at least two of the newcomers against the advice of Irish bishops.<sup>11</sup> However, it may also have occurred because the period under discussion was one when bishops from all round the world paid regular visits to Ireland in search of clergy for their missions and when many Irish priests went to the colonies with a view to providing for the support of their parents and families at home. Consequently, potential missionaries declined invitations to the poor Adelaide diocese and some who eventually went there had already been passed over by bishops from more prosperous regions. It followed that some who came were unsuited to life in

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10. These were J.J. O'Sullivan, who died on 10 January 1874, HSC, 16 January 1874; J. Quinlan, d. 15 April 1880, CR, 23 April 1880; C. McCluskey, d. April 1888, CM, 12 April 1888; P. Kehoe, d. 28 January 1879, Deceased Priests' List, ACA; J. Maher, d. 20 December 1905, SC, 22 December 1905; B. Nevin, d. 1 September 1920, SC, 3 September 1920.

Those who left the diocese to serve elsewhere included Horan, Nowlan, Corcoran, Cleary, M. Kennedy, T. Murphy, Henderson, Carden, Keating. See Appendix VII for details.

Those whose movements cannot be traced with certainty include P.J. Byrne; O'Rourke, who left the priesthood; J. Murphy, who disappeared without trace; Roche, who died at Norwood on 10 April 1882, after having spent some time away from the diocese, and McCarthy, who was never ordained.

11. Cullen to Kirby, 28 June 1872, SRCO vol. 9, ff. 1200-1202.

the colonies.<sup>12</sup> At the same time, it must be remembered that, if priests were to survive under colonial conditions, they needed a certain ruggedness and individuality of character and that these were the very qualities most likely to bring them into conflict with their ecclesiastical superiors.<sup>13</sup>

At the beginning of 1870 most of the priests in the diocese were young, active and energetic and seem to have been ready to face the challenges and hardships of colonial life. They needed a strong leader to help channel their youthful energy to where it would achieve the greatest good. Initially, Smyth commanded their respect and kept diocesan affairs running on a more or less even keel. However, some of the younger men gradually gravitated towards the handsome and well spoken Franciscan, Charles Horan,<sup>14</sup> and began to chafe under the restraints imposed upon them by the vicar general and existing diocesan arrangements. In particular, they resented the fact that Woods had such complete control over all aspects of Catholic education and soon came to regard the proliferation of small Catholic schools throughout the colony as an unnecessary burden upon

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12. Tappeiner to his General, 30 October 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, ff. 1426-1437, pp. 1-2 of Opie translation. Russell to Murray, n.d. but from internal evidence, 1872, while Murray was visiting Ireland.

13. O'Farrell, Catholic Church and Community, pp. 115-116 and 198.

14. Tappeiner to his General, p. 4. Sheil to Reville, 3 March 1869, FLK E34 no. 38. IH, 25 March 1871, p. 8; 20 May 1871, p. 5. Kapunda Herald, 20 and 27 May 1870.

themselves and their people.<sup>15</sup>

Horan and his fellow Franciscan, Patrick Keating, had come to the diocese at Sheil's invitation and with a view to founding a permanent Franciscan community there. Sheil gave them charge of Kapunda, one of the largest and most important Catholic mission areas in the diocese and was said to have promised Horan "a higher dignity" and marked him as his successor.<sup>16</sup> Horan and Keating allegedly behaved as if they occupied a privileged position and were, to a certain extent at least, outside the vicar general's jurisdiction.<sup>17</sup> They were accused of neglecting their parochial duties, overstepping the bounds of propriety and engaging in behaviour demeaning to their state.<sup>18</sup>

The sisters then stationed at Kapunda reported their alleged misdemeanours to Woods who informed Smyth of what was going on.<sup>19</sup> The exact nature and objective seriousness of their offences are far from clear, but Smyth considered them sufficiently grave to warrant

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15. Byrne, History, p. 216. Woods to MacKillop, 15 July 1870.

16. Tappeiner to his General, p. 4.

17. *ibid.* M. Quinn to Barnabo, 17 June 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1325.

18. Woods to MacKillop, 11 & 19 April 1870. Russell to Murray, n.d. but 1872.

19. Woods to MacKillop, 19 April 1870. Angela Carroll to MacKillop, May 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1283.

Keating's summary dismissal from the diocese.<sup>20</sup> The vicar general's fear of upsetting his absent bishop supposedly prevented his sending Horan away as well.<sup>21</sup> Whether the bishop was upset or not is off the record, but Horan certainly was. In his anger he vowed to avenge his confrere by destroying those through whom word of the affair had reached the vicar general's ears, that is, Woods and the Sisters of St Joseph.<sup>22</sup>

For a time Smyth stood in the breach between Horan and the objects of his vengeance. Smyth and Woods had been friends for years and, even when their relationship became strained because of Woods' apparently inept management of the schools and the sisters, the vicar general never faltered in his public support of these ventures.<sup>23</sup> However, with Smyth's death on 30 June, just three weeks

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20. Woods to MacKillop, 11 & 19 April 1870, stated that he had been informed of certain "things" which were of such gravity that Smyth had been obliged to send Keating away. Russell to Murray, 1872, said that Horan and Keating were guilty of "gross immorality." *IH*, 10 February 1872, corroborated this statement, but none of these writers ever stated the exact nature of the offence, so that the reader is left to imagine the worst. Woods, "Memoirs," book 2, p. 65. Reynolds to Barnabo, 23 May 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, ff. 1317-1322. *Kapunda Herald*, 10 June 1870, stated that Keating had left there on 7 June, and regretted that his hasty departure had prevented the local people from giving him an appropriate farewell and presentation.

21. Tappeiner to his General, p. 4.

22. Report of the Apostolic Commissioners, D. Murphy & M. Quinn, regarding Bishop Sheil and the Sisters of St Joseph, 10 July 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, ff. 1361-1362. Woods, "Memoirs," book 2, p. 32. Woods to Angela Carroll, 15 February 1872 wrote: "He is my enemy and has tried to gain your confidence the more effectively to destroy me."

23. From 1862-1866, Woods wrote to Smyth at least 17 times, and Smyth replied at least twice, ACA S19/2. Woods to MacKillop, 15 July 1870.

after Keating's departure, the situation changed dramatically. In the confusion that ensued in the now leaderless diocese, some of the clergy who were dissatisfied with Woods and the sisters saw an opportunity for bringing the school system and the Institute into line with their thinking. Horan soon emerged as ~~the~~ leader of this group.

The sisters were unwittingly drawn into this conflict between Woods and his fellow clergy and quickly realised how much they were missing MacKillop's calm presence among them.<sup>24</sup> This happened even though her place as superior was filled by a deputy or provincial, as she was called, in the person of 29 year old Teresa MacDonald.<sup>25</sup> Teresa was a woman of integrity but she lacked confidence in her ability as a leader and hence, was unable to inspire the same confidence in others as MacKillop did.<sup>26</sup> At the same time, matters might not have reached a low point so soon if Woods had allowed her to be superior in fact as well as in name.<sup>27</sup>

Woods was the founder of the Institute and it seems

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24. About 80 of the letters addressed to MacKillop by different sisters are still extant. The nature of their content makes this point.
25. cf. Chapter 3, fn. 47. Sisters' Book of References, entry no. 8. MacKillop to Woods, 3 December 1871.
26. Teresa to MacKillop, 13 February, 12 March, 12 June, 3 July, 11 July, 28 August and 28 November 1870.
27. MacKillop to Woods, 6 August 1870 and 3 December 1871. Woods to MacKillop, 12 July & 27 September 1870. Bernard Walsh to MacKillop, 18 August 1870.

that Sheil had made him its ecclesiastical superior and director when he gave him sole authority over the schools in 1867.<sup>28</sup> Hence, his role was to assist, counsel and direct Teresa in the exercise of her authority while she, for her part, was to be accountable to him for her government of the Institute.<sup>29</sup> However, once MacKillop was gone, Woods concentrated all power in his own hands.<sup>30</sup> The sisters were confused and had no means of obtaining redress because their rule was very ambiguous regarding the important question of the government of the Institute. Consequently, no-one could be certain where the proper lines of authority lay and what were the rights and duties of the different superiors.

Further confusion arose because Section V of the rule, "Of Employments," contained the statement: "The Bishop shall in every case be the superior,"<sup>31</sup> while Section X, "Of Obedience," read in part: "The Sister Guardian General .... assisted in her office by two sisters as consultors ... shall have authority over all the houses in the Institute."<sup>32</sup> Hence, the rule appeared to give the Institute two superiors and failed to define the limits of

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28. Woods, "Rules," Resource 3, p. 19.

29. Callahan, op cit. p. 13.

30. Woods to MacKillop, 31 January 1871. MacKillop to Woods, 3 December 1871. Tappeiner to his General, p. 13.

31. Woods, "Rules," Resource 3, p. 8.

32. *ibid.* p. 19. The title "Sister Guardian General," was the one chosen by Woods and MacKillop for the Superior General of the Institute.

each one's authority or their mutual relationships. It followed that, even in the most favorable circumstances, some confusion of roles was almost inevitable and that conflict could be the only outcome when the bishop and the Sister Guardian General were both strongminded people with equally firm but divergent views as to the nature and extent of each one's authority over the Institute and its members.

In the present instance trouble developed between Teresa and the sisters on the one hand and Woods on the other, because he took over the roles of general superior and provincial and eventually reached a point where he believed that he held these offices by divine appointment. He defended his behaviour towards the sisters on the grounds that he was "the exponent of the Will of God, ... their superior ... and the priest appointed to direct them" and therefore, that he could not be mistaken in his dealings with them.<sup>33</sup> Consequently he regulated their affairs without due reference to Teresa, whom he sent to reside at the Refuge in the outer suburb of Mitcham.<sup>34</sup> There she became little more than a figurehead while the real power behind the throne was 24 year old Ignatius, (Mary Jane O'Brien),<sup>35</sup> the Little

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33. Woods to MacKillop, 14 August 1870.

34. Woods to MacKillop, 12 July and 27 September 1870. MacKillop to Woods, 3 December 1871. Teresa to MacKillop, 11 July 1870.

35. Mary Jane O'Brien, Sister Ignatius, R11, was born in Sydney in July 1846 and came to Adelaide with her family in 1848. She entered the Institute in February 1868, was professed in March 1869, and left it in July 1872. Chris Cuneen, "Gertrude Abbott," in A.D.B. vol. 7, p. 1, gives an account of her subsequent career.

Sister or local superior of the Mother House in Franklin Street and a particular favorite of Woods'.

The sisters were understandably annoyed and confused because many of them disliked and mistrusted Ignatius and did not know where to turn in time of trouble.<sup>36</sup>

Teresa, for her part, was now closely involved in the management of the Refuge and could give the sisters only limited attention.<sup>37</sup> She did not know where she stood in her role as provincial or her dealings with Ignatius. This sister's close friendship with Woods did not help matters and before long the relationship between herself and Teresa became strained.

On the one side was the gentle Scotswoman with her two feet planted firmly on the ground and, like MacKillop, of a practical turn of mind.<sup>38</sup> On the other was colonial-born Ignatius who leaned towards the extraordinary and the unusual in her living out of her vocation to the religious life. She claimed that she was the recipient of remarkable spiritual and mystical favours from God and quickly attracted Woods' attention to

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36. Teresa to MacKillop, 12 June 18 August 1870. Josephine McMullen to MacKillop, 25 June, 5 August & 29 November 1870. Rose Cunningham to MacKillop, 2 August 1870. Maria Healy to MacKillop, 28 August 1870. Bernard Walsh to MacKillop, 24 November 1870. Woods to MacKillop, 23 August 1870.

37. Francis Xavier Amsinck to MacKillop, 15 August 1870. Bernard Walsh to MacKillop, 18 August 1870.

38. Teresa to MacKillop, 13 February & 28 August 1870. MacKillop to Woods, February 1871. Teresa, evidence to Apostolic Commission, 3 June 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1394.

herself.<sup>39</sup> He was more than delighted to think that she and several others, especially the seventeen-year-old mistress of novices, Sister Angela (Kate Carroll),<sup>40</sup> were so favoured and felt certain that these sisters were well on the way to high sanctity.

Hence when Ignatius, Angela or any of their little coterie of "visionaries," as they came to be called,<sup>41</sup> confided to him messages allegedly emanating from the Blessed Virgin or some other heavenly source or related details of horrifying visitations from evil spirits, he applied the only test he knew. These sisters were interested in nothing but holiness. The saints in the past had had similar experiences. Therefore the sisters' experiences were genuine and worthy of credence. That such a desire for holiness could be deceptive and superficial or be suspect in its attention-seeking qualities did not occur to him.<sup>42</sup> Instead, he was so delighted that such marvels were taking place in their midst that he failed to notice how far these sisters'

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39. Woods to MacKillop, 5 October 1868, 20 January 1869, 2 April 1869, 7 November 1869, 12 & 28 March 1870.

40. Catherine Carroll, Sister Angela, R26, was born in Ireland in the September of either 1850 or 1853, although the evidence suggests that the latter date is more correct. She came to South Australia with her parents and family, and lived with them at Kapunda until she entered the Institute in July 1868. She was professed in August 1869, and was dismissed from the Institute in 1872. She married Thomas Donahue (O'Donoghue) at Kapunda in July 1877, had two sons and seems to have died at the Providence in December 1924.

41. Francis Xavier to MacKillop, 15 August 1870.

42. Margaret Press, Julian Tenison Woods, Catholic Theological Faculty Sydney, 1979. This section is based largely on the conclusions drawn by this writer, pp. 90-92.

general behaviour was disrupting the harmony of their community life and contravening many aspects of the rule they professed to follow.

Woods treated the two principal visionaries, Ignatius and Angela, with the greatest deference, respect, trust and sympathy, and gave them responsible posts with a view to having them lead the rest of the community along the path to high holiness. He also granted them certain special privileges and thus, unwittingly placed them in a difficult position. As beginning religious, they should have been treated with firmness and trained to self-discipline according to the Institute's rules. Instead, these young sisters found themselves at the centre of an admiring crowd and were subject to the adulation and envy that such a position often entails. Unsure of themselves in their recently-acquired status as sisters, they were unable or unwilling to face the consequences of an honest acknowledgement of the fraud some of them were perpetrating. They and the ever-credulous Woods seem to have been caught in a vicious circle of their own making and, in order to keep up appearances, the sisters resorted to subterfuge and deceit.<sup>43</sup>

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43. Sister Helena's Confession, ASSJ. This document, which is signed but not dated, was probably drawn up in about 1872, when the question of the genuineness of the visionaries' experiences was being examined. Mary Anne Myles, Sister Helena, R130, was born at Kapunda in March 1854 and entered the Institute in May 1871. Hence she was not there during the disturbances of 1870. However, she quickly became involved with the visionary group. She was sent to Bathurst early in 1873 and was professed there in August 1873. She returned to Adelaide in 1876 and left the Institute in January 1879.

They advanced from visions of either saints or demons, which were necessarily highly personal and private experiences, to allegedly preternatural or supernatural happenings which could be observed by, and sometimes affected, other members of the community and even outsiders as well.<sup>44</sup> Thus they set the house on fire,<sup>45</sup> and threw oil, logs of wood and other objects at each other, apparently without any thought for the possible consequences.<sup>46</sup> At night they rang bells, turned on taps and generally disturbed the neighbourhood.<sup>47</sup> They created supposedly supernatural fragrances by eating oranges or splashing scent around unobserved<sup>48</sup> and used various means to create self-inflicted stigmata.<sup>49</sup> Several of them left the convent by stealth and later reported that they had been

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44. Woods to MacKillop, 12 March 1870, described visions shared by Ignatius, Angela and himself. On 28 March 1870 he told of anonymous letters written by the devil to Smyth as well as the sisters, and causing "alarming mischief." On 11 April, he reported that Angela was throwing up quantities of blood and 19 April, that the tabernacle had been rifled, Ignatius' bed set alight and two other fires set in the convent.

45. Woods to MacKillop, 16 January & 19 April 1870.

46. Woods to MacKillop, 20 May 1870, reported that Ignatius was thought to be dying from severe bleeding resulting from a blow on the head, while Angela was cut about the shoulder by some unknown object. On 22 May, told how on the previous night, while Ignatius was asleep, someone had thrown a pot of boiling grease over her. It is difficult to assess the objective seriousness of these injuries as Ignatius made a remarkably quick recovery from these allegedly severe and dangerous accidents. Had the grease been boiling and been thrown over her face as Woods said it was, she could hardly have survived the burns she would have received!

47. Woods to MacKillop, 27 September 1870. James McLaughlin, Port Adelaide, to Barnabo, September 1873, SRCO vol. 10, f. 401. McLaughlin's letter corroborates statements made by Woods in 1870.

48. Helena's confession; Angela's confession, ca. 1875, ASSJ.

49. Woods to MacKillop, 28 March 1870.

spirited away by the devil.<sup>50</sup> Others opened MacKillop's letters to Woods over a mug of hot water and then impressed their gullible Director with their supposedly infused knowledge of her affairs in far away Queensland.<sup>51</sup> Some sent anonymous letters to Woods, the vicar general and several of the sisters in the Franklin Street community.<sup>52</sup> The hapless Dominican Sisters next door, who seem to have been the butt of some of the tricks detailed above, became so afraid at night that they called on the priests living at West Terrace for protection.<sup>53</sup>

Some of the clergy soon realised what was happening and became increasingly critical of the sisters and their Father Director.<sup>54</sup> Woods, for his part, could not be persuaded that these strange, almost bizarre occurrences had any but a supernatural source, and came to believe that he, too, was the favoured recipient of many remarkable gifts from God.<sup>55</sup> Adverse criticism had the opposite from the desired effect on him, for he saw it as part of the opposition the saints had to endure and hence

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50. Russell to Barnabo, 22 October 1870, SRCO vol. 9, ff. 704-706.

51. Helena's confession; Paula's confession, ASSJ.

52. Woods to MacKillop, 28 March 1870. Angela's confession, 1875, ASSJ.

53. Woods to MacKillop, 27 September 1870. McLaughlin to Barnabo, 25 September 1873, SRCO vol. 10, f. 401.

54. Fitzgibbon to Barnabo, 20 March & 15 July 1870, SRCO vol. 9, ff. 569-570 & 637-638. Russell to Barnabo, 22 October 1870. Woods to MacKillop, 19 April, 3 May, 20 May & 12 August 1870.

55. Woods frequently described his own spiritual state and the favours he received in great detail for MacKillop. Woods to MacKillop, 12 March, 20 March, 11 April, 19 April, 2 June and 20 June 1870.

as something to be borne but not taken too seriously. On the other hand, when any of the sisters raised the issue with him, he told them that they were being tempted by the evil one and that they must work to overcome these temptations.<sup>56</sup>

Teresa expressed her misgivings about the genuineness of the allegedly spiritual visitations and was banished from the Mother House. MacKillop, who was still in Brisbane, felt uneasy and longed for the day when she should be free to return home.<sup>57</sup> Woods consistently assured her that she had no cause to worry, even as he related the latest marvels in great detail.<sup>58</sup> He made it quite clear that he did not want her back in Adelaide, saying that it was not God's will that she return yet.<sup>59</sup> Knowing her unquestioning obedience to the Will of God he left it at that and many critical months elapsed before she reached Adelaide again.

In the meantime, Woods himself was going through a particularly trying period where overwork and lack of sufficient food and rest were taking their toll.<sup>60</sup> As pastor of Penola, with plenty of space for quiet reflection, reading and study, he had been able to refresh

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56. Woods to MacKillop, 22 April, 3 May and 23 August 1870.

57. MacKillop to Woods, 6 April & 6 August 1870 & 10 April 1871.

58. Woods to MacKillop, 22 April & August 1870.

59. Woods to MacKillop, 11 & 22 April 1870.

60. Woods to MacKillop, 16 January, 21 June, 1, 6 & 8 August 1870.

himself both physically and spiritually during the course of his labours. In Adelaide, where he had sole responsibility for a large and expanding system of Catholic education and the training and direction of over a hundred young nuns, as well as a full load of parochial duties and the task of editing a monthly journal, his health began to fail.<sup>61</sup> His friends urged him to act prudently but he retorted that God was his only guide and that he neither could nor would do so.<sup>62</sup> Hence, he continued on his way towards a physical and mental breakdown. He came close to both on several occasions during 1870 and 1871 and, in the circumstances, it is quite remarkable that he did not break.<sup>63</sup>

In Adelaide, then, Josephite affairs were gradually building up to an unhappy climax as the visionaries vied with each other in their attention-seeking activities and Woods steered dangerously close to the edge of reality. It is difficult to gauge why girls from lower-middle or working-class backgrounds, after having joined an Institute devoted to active works outside the cloister, should have shown such predilection for the extraordinary. Perhaps they saw in it an escape from the

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61. Woods, "Memoirs", pp. 62-67, detail a number of the activities he was then engaged in. SCCH, September 1867 - October 1869, contains regular reports of his work in the schools, etc. In addition, from the beginning of 1870 he put out a small religious paper, The Chaplet and Southern Cross. As well as being editor of this monthly tabloid, he wrote most of the copy for it.

62. Woods to MacKillop, 6 April, 27 June & 12 August 1870.

63. Woods to MacKillop, 20 May, 30 August & 11 October 1870 and 21 May, 7 June & 5 November 1871. Ignatius to MacKillop, 21 February 1871.

very ordinariness of their lot or an opportunity to rise above their station and achieve notoriety of a kind otherwise beyond their reach. However, it is more likely that they were victims of Woods' interpretation of the English devotional revolution and were trying to practise spiritual asceticism before they had acquired a solid background in theology and the teachings of the spiritual masters. It seems to have been a case of infants in the religious life being given the food of mature adults before they were ready for it, and of then having to suffer the unhappy consequences.

Besides Ignatius and Angela, the visionary group comprised Helena (Mary Anne Myles), Sebastian (Mary Bridget Fitzgerald),<sup>64</sup> Paula (Elizabeth Green),<sup>65</sup> and Julian (Jane Brown).<sup>66</sup> Very little is known of any of these sisters except Ignatius, who came from a well-known Catholic family in the Salisbury area. Mary Jane (Ignatius) was the eldest of the eight children of Irish

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64. Mary Bridget Fitzgerald, Sister Sebastian, R54, was born in Ireland on 25 August 1851. Nothing is known of how, when or with whom she came to Australia. She joined the Institute in about April 1869, was professed in August 1870 and left the Institute in early 1872. Nothing further is known of her.

65. Elizabeth Green, Sister Paula, R41, was born in Ireland in May 1847 and, as was the case with Mary Fitzgerald, nothing is known of her family or her coming to Australia. She entered the Josephites in October 1868 and was professed in January 1870. She became a close friend of Angela Carroll's and a key member of the visionary group. She left the Institute in 1872.

66. Jane Brown, Sister Julian, R68, was born at Liverpool, England, in June 1854 to Jonathan Brown and Mary Hold. The family migrated between the time of her birth and that of her sister Esther, who was baptised at Gawler on 24 August 1856. Jane entered the Josephites in June 1869, shortly after her fifteenth birthday, was professed in November 1870 and left the Institute in 1872.

school teacher, Thomas O'Brien and his wife, Rebecca Matthews.<sup>67</sup> Thomas ran a small, mediocre school at Dry Creek,<sup>68</sup> a short distance from the present day town of Salisbury, and hence the family was familiar with poverty. At the same time, the O'Briens seem to have enjoyed a stable family life and Mary Jane grew up an intelligent and literate young lady.<sup>69</sup> Existing evidence suggests that, had she been given the same opportunities and undergone the same long training in the spiritual life as MacKillop had received before she became the foundation member of the Institute, she too, might have emerged as one of its leaders.

Angela was a very different kind of person from Ignatius and, it seems, one whom a discerning director

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67. Register of the Sisters. Adelaide baptismal registers A & B.

68. O'Brien obtained his licence to teach under the government on 1 May 1852. (Minutes, Central Board of Education, SAA GRG 50/1/1.) In 1860 he had 33 pupils and "local circumstances, seemingly beyond the control of the master" affected his school "most unfavourably. Little, therefore, [was] taught beyond mere rudiments." (SAPP 1861, no. 18.) In 1868 he was still teaching only the basics. (SAPP 1868-69, no. 19.) The attendance at his school was very irregular and the amount of knowledge imparted very small. Consequently, the Central Board informed O'Brien that unless the number of destitute children was reduced and general conditions improved, he might expect to have his stipend reduced or withdrawn altogether. (Minutes, Central Board, 2 March 1868, SAA GRG 50/1/4.) He promised to improve, (ibid. 30 March 1868.) O'Brien resigned from the state system and placed his school under the Catholic Education Council. (SCCH, 20 June 1869. Report of the C.E.C.) No records of inspections were kept by the C.E.C. and so there is no way of ascertaining whether this school improved or not after the changeover. In 1873 O'Brien moved to Maitland where his sons had taken up land. (SC 14 August 1896. Obituary of Thomas O'Brien.)

69. Ignatius wrote at least 24 letters to MacKillop between May 1870 and May 1871. ASSJ. It is on the basis of these letters that the conclusion regarding her literacy and general intellectual ability have been formed.

should not have encouraged to become a religious. Born in Ireland, she came to Australia at an early age. Little is known of her or her family except that her father probably worked as a labourer in the Kapunda district, that she had at least one brother and two sisters and that she was probably not quite fifteen when she joined the Josephites.<sup>70</sup> It seems that, from childhood, young Kate was subject to a condition which rendered her liable to go into nervous trances.<sup>71</sup> The evidence also suggests that she was rather simple and open to suggestion and hence, likely to take to heart and act upon anything presented to her by an important hero image, such as her Director. Her sincerity and artlessness quickly won Woods' heart. He read her trances as spiritual ecstasies and hence as manifestations of great holiness and sure signs that she was a chosen soul requiring special treatment. Such treatment suited her well and she made sure that her days were marked by all kinds of remarkable happenings.<sup>72</sup>

Under the leadership of these two favoured ones the Adelaide community became most unhappy. Some of its members complained to MacKillop of the strange occurrences that were disrupting their lives and the harsh treatment Ignatius was meting out to them whilst frequently

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70. Angela to MacKillop, 13 March & 23 April 1872. Angela to Woods, 29 April 1872.

71. Tappeiner to his General, p. 14.

72. Woods to MacKillop, 18 March, 12 May, 2 June 1870 and 29 April 1872.

mitigating the rule in her own favour.<sup>73</sup> In fact, as long as she remained at the helm, the rule was frequently flouted and community life disturbed by the visionaries' strange behaviour.

Woods was certain that the troubles upsetting the peace of the Franklin Street convent emanated from the evil one, who was out to destroy the good work so recently begun by the Sisters of St Joseph.<sup>74</sup> Hence, when Sister Francis Xavier was in the throes of one of her "silent temptations," and others believed and said "the most extraordinary things" about each other or made life unbearable for the latest postulants,<sup>75</sup> he maintained that they were being severely tempted by the devil. He refused to call them to order or to try to prevent a recurrence of this kind of behaviour. Neither then, nor later, could he accept the possibility that his two especial favourites, Ignatius and Angela, might have had feet of clay and been the proximate cause of much of the trouble.<sup>76</sup>

Matters reached crisis point at Easter 1870, soon

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73. Maria Healy to MacKillop, 28 August 1870. Teresa to MacKillop, 12 June & 28 August 1870. Josephine McMullen to MacKillop, 25 June and 5 August 1870.

74. Woods to MacKillop, 1 & 12 August 1870. On 27 September, he complained to her that some who had witnessed the disturbances at the convent had thought them all "human."

75. Ignatius to MacKillop, 5 October 1870. Woods to MacKillop, 1 August, 27 September & 11 October 1870.

76. Tappeiner to his General, pp. 13-15.

after Keating had been called to Adelaide to give an account of himself to the vicar general. On Tuesday in Holy Week someone rifled the tabernacle in the convent chapel. The sisters were shocked and hurriedly called Woods who was most upset. At first he suspected Keating, who would have made a convenient scapegoat, but quickly abandoned that idea when he ascertained that this priest could not possibly have been in the area at the time. Next he decided the whole thing was nothing short of miraculous and that God had withdrawn himself to show his horror at the outrage he had recently suffered at Kapunda. Woods never doubted the allegedly miraculous origin of three drops of blood found on the altar cloth on the following day or of the several fires which broke out in the convent at about the same time and did minor damage before being extinguished. The Vicar General and clergy were probably much nearer to the truth when, in their alarm and annoyance, they asserted that it was the sisters themselves who had perpetrated these supposedly mysterious crimes.<sup>77</sup>

Smyth felt that he should report the whole affair to Rome, even though it could mean the suppression of the Institute.<sup>78</sup> He did not do so immediately because his health was beginning to falter under the pressure which this event, Keating's dismissal and the many complaints being laid against the Sisters of St Joseph were bringing

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77. The information in this paragraph is drawn from Woods' letter to MacKillop, 19 April 1870, where he described all aspects of the events in question in great detail.

78. Woods to MacKillop, 19 April 1870.

to bear upon him.<sup>79</sup>

Following Smyth's death Woods felt that he stood alone among a group of priests who were hostile to him and what he was trying to achieve. He longed for a strong hand to guide the local church and prevent the many disturbing "things" that were occurring around him.<sup>80</sup> Just what those things were he did not confide to Mary MacKillop, for he did not discuss diocesan business with her.<sup>81</sup> However, he lamented:

But now he is gone I may say that I stand absolutely alone. .... There is, besides this, a very strong feeling against me amongst some of the clergy ... Worst of all is, a number of the clergy are determined to have the government grant back and so much are they prepared for the consequences of this, that some of the best and most influential of the clergy are openly contending that the religious teaching in the schools is not necessary; that the Sunday school would be enough, especially that the clergy have no right to be burdened with the anxieties they have to endure in providing for schools when on a mere point of no moment, the government aid would be given.

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Here was more than personal opposition to Woods and his ideas. What those clergy were saying struck at the very root and foundation of his whole philosophy of Catholic education and Catholic life. With Geoghegan and Polding before him, he held that education, like life, should form an integrated whole that could not be divided

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79. Woods to MacKillop, 20 May and 5 July 1870.

80. Woods to MacKillop, 15 July 1870.

81. Woods to MacKillop, 20 May & 12 July 1870.

82. Woods to MacKillop, 15 July 1870.

into separate parts where religion belonged to Sundays and the secular to weekdays. He had worked hard to establish schools where this kind of education was imparted, only to find that his efforts were not appreciated by those from whom he believed he had the right to expect the strongest support. Why, it may be asked, were these priests so strongly opposed to Woods and his system of Catholic education? Was it that they had never really shared his and Geoghegan's view about the subject, or that years of struggling to make ends meet during a period of general depression<sup>83</sup> had blunted their enthusiasm for it? Or, on the other hand, were they angry with him because of his autocratic behaviour regarding the schools and his refusal to take steps to control the visionary element among the sisters?

This last seems the most likely,<sup>84</sup> because a number of these priests had set up Catholic schools during Geoghegan's time, often in the face of great odds, and had spoken out in support of the new system when it was first mooted by Sheil in 1867.<sup>85</sup> They had since witnessed Woods' sacking of young untrained lay teachers and his placing of equally young and untrained Josephites in some of the schools. They had also observed his behaviour

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83. Charles Fenner, "A Geographical Inquiry into the Growth, Distribution and Movement of Population in South Australia, 1836 - 1927," in Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia, vol. liii, 1929, pp. 128 - 129 & 142. Woods to MacKillop, 6 August 1870. Francis Xavier to MacKillop, 15 August 1870.

84. Tappeiner to his General, p. 15.

85. Register, 29 April, 1867, "Meeting of Roman Catholics on the Education Question".

regarding the visionaries and his obstinate refusal to seek advice regarding the kind of direction he was giving these sisters.

One consequence of clerical disenchantment with Woods was that several priests decided to place their schools under the government Board of Education and hence, that the limited Josephite resources were stretched even further. This occurred because Woods' immediate reaction was to counter or forestall any such moves by appointing sisters to the schools in question without delay. The first was at Hectorville, where the teacher, Miss McMahon, applied for and obtained the government grant and had established a government school in the church there before Woods knew of it.<sup>86</sup> (He and his contemporaries used the term "government grant" to explain that a teacher was licensed to teach under the government Board of Education and was in receipt of a government-paid stipend.) The local clergy, Jesuit Fathers Polk and Hinteröecker, allegedly sympathised with Miss McMahon and the step she had taken, saying that they would rather have the grant than the sisters. Smyth supported Woods in this instance and advised him to send two sisters to Hectorville at once. They opened "an opposition school with the help of the Fathers" who, it seems, made a quick about-face when they realised that Smyth disapproved of what they had done.<sup>87</sup>

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86. Woods to MacKillop, 20 May 1870. Mary Joseph Dwyer to MacKillop, 4 July & 3 September 1870.

87. Woods to MacKillop, 20 May 1870.

That was in May, while Smyth was still living. In July the Greenock school fell vacant following the resignation of its lay teacher. This school was in Horan's district and therefore, it was likely to be used as a test case. Woods decided to send sisters there immediately rather than "expose the whole education system to the gravest dangers" by delaying and allowing Horan to act first.<sup>88</sup> So on 25 July, Sisters Joseph Lonergan and Mary Anne Byrne moved into the tiny makeshift convent across the paddock from the church-school and began their work of teaching the local children.<sup>89</sup> Even as the people welcomed them with open arms, these sisters came to fear their local pastor and his criticism of Woods and the Institute.<sup>90</sup> At the same time, both they and Woods knew that, once they were established, Horan was unlikely to take a public stand on the issue by evicting them. In fact, it is worthy of note that in the following year, when the Josephites were relieved of the charge of a number of their schools, Horan, for all his criticism, retained their services in all four in his district.

Sisters in several other country districts, where they appeared to be working steadily at their teaching and other duties, also came under fire at about this time. At Macclesfield Sister Andrea (Anne Howley) was told that it

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88. Woods to MacKillop, 12 & 15 July 1870.

89. Josephine McMullen to MacKillop, 29 November 1870. Joseph Lonergan to MacKillop, 12 August 1870.

90. Joseph Lonergan to MacKillop, 12 August 1870.

did not matter whether the sisters came back after the school holidays or not as "the children learnt nothing because the sisters knew nothing."<sup>91</sup> In another place the priest allegedly removed the Blessed Sacrament from the church in case the sisters might be tempted to steal it as they had done in Adelaide.<sup>92</sup> At Morphett Vale they were refused the sacraments for some weeks because they would not acknowledge that the local pastor had sole authority over their school,<sup>93</sup> and at Robe and Penola they suffered much at the hands of their pastor.<sup>94</sup> Others had similar experiences but not all the clergy were as opposed to the sisters and their system of teaching as the ones cited above.

Some supported them and even went so far as to ask for new foundations in spite of the furore going on elsewhere.<sup>95</sup> Thus, in August, Father Charles Van Der Heyden, pastor of the recently-established Marrabel mission, asked for and obtained two sisters to replace the lay teacher in his local school.<sup>96</sup> Then, before the

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91. Woods to MacKillop, 15 July 1870.

92. *ibid.*

93. Woods to MacKillop, 27 December 1870.

94. Bonaventure Mahoney to MacKillop, 26 September 1870; Agnes Smith to MacKillop, 15 August & 25 September 1870; Woods to MacKillop, 6 August 1870; Ignatius to MacKillop, 8 August 1870.

95. Strele, "Historia Domus", p. 11.

96. *ibid.* p. 9. Strele noted that, as the bishop could now provide otherwise, the Jesuits relinquished the care of the Marrabel and Navan areas. The date of the changeover is uncertain, but was probably either late 1868 or early 1869. SCCH, 30 October 1869, p. 399, names Van Der Heyden as priest in charge there and Miss

year was out, the people of Tarlee, one of his outstations, and doubtless with his knowledge and consent, also applied for sisters. A member of the local congregation provided a house and two sisters moved in. They opened school on 21 November 1870 with seventeen children in attendance.<sup>97</sup> Father Pallhuber SJ was "so interested in the education of the children" that he asked for two sisters for the little town of Rhynie, near Clare,<sup>98</sup> while Father Kreissl of Burra, after an initial misunderstanding, became one of the Josephites' firm supporters.<sup>99</sup> Taken overall, it seems that a considerable proportion of both priests and laity accepted them and considered that their teaching compared more than favourably with that of the lay teachers whom they had superseded.

While some Josephite communities in the country enjoyed the support of their local pastors and others struggled to remain faithful to their rule in spite of the difficult circumstances in which they found themselves, the sisters in Adelaide continued to suffer because of Woods' unshaken faith in the visionaries. Their position

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Mulqueeny as the school teacher. Ignatius to MacKillop, 1 August 1870, told that two sisters had recently gone there to open a school.

97. Bernard Walsh to MacKillop, 24 November 1870, wrote that "the people wrote to Father Director to send the Sisters."
98. Anne McMullen to MacKillop, 14 December 1870. Josephine McMullen to MacKillop, 25 December 1870.
99. Woods to MacKillop, 15 July 1870. John Baptist Fitzgerald to MacKillop, 12 July and n.d. but by internal evidence, towards the end of 1870.

became even worse when Smyth's place as vicar general was filled by Archdeacon Patrick Russell, a rather dour Irishman with twelve years' experience in the colony.<sup>100</sup> Russell lost no time in arranging the long-deferred investigation into the Holy Week outrage. He called in eight priests, most of whom were unfavourable to the Josephite cause, and conducted a searching inquiry into the affair.<sup>101</sup> At the end of the "inquisition", as one of the sisters called it,<sup>102</sup> these priests concluded that, despite her protestations of innocence and Woods' eloquent defence of her, Angela had perpetrated the sacrilege.<sup>103</sup> Russell sent a detailed account of the investigation to Rome, over his absent bishop's head and much to Sheil's subsequent annoyance.<sup>104</sup> Rome responded

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100. Polding to Russell, 13 July 1870, appointed him acting vicar general until the will of the bishop should be known.
101. Woods to MacKillop, 6 & 12 August 1870; Ignatius to MacKillop, 16 August 1870; Francis Xavier to MacKillop, 15 August 1870. The priests who attended the inquiry and signed the document sent by Russell to Rome were Horan, F. Byrne, Tappeiner, Bongaerts, Reynolds, Hughes, Hinteroecker, Fitzgibbon and Russell. SRCO vol. 9, ff 660 - 672.
102. Bernard to MacKillop, 18 August 1870. Reynolds also used the term when writing to Barnabo in 1872, (Reynolds to Barnabo, 28 March 1872, SRCO vol. 9, f. 1321.)
103. Woods to MacKillop, 12 August 1870. Russell's report concluded: "From the circumstantial evidence before us we cannot shut our eyes to the truth and we are one and all of the opinion that Sister Angela is the individual who abstracted the Blessed Sacrament."
104. Russell to Propaganda, letter and full report of investigation signed by those present, 15 August 1870, SRCO vol. 9, ff 660 - 672. He included a paper signed by Horan, Henderson and Roche, ff. 661 - 662. This was an account of some of Rose Cunningham's ravings when she first became seriously ill at Kapunda in May 1870. These priests do not seem to have realised the root cause of her strange behaviour and, instead, considered that she was an impostor. cf. Chapter 3, fn. 28 - 34.
105. Barnabo to Sheil, 29 November 1870. ACA.

by instructing Sheil to take appropriate remedial action as soon as possible after his return home.<sup>105</sup>

Woods was upset and looked anxiously for the bishop's return, confident that all would then be well.<sup>106</sup> His position became less difficult in October when word came from Sheil that he was to be one of a commission of four priests who were to govern the diocese.<sup>107</sup> In the interests of good government he, Frederick Byrne and Reynolds stepped down in Russell's favour.<sup>108</sup> Even so, Russell now had less power vested in his own hands and Woods had greater freedom of action where the schools and the sisters were concerned. It seems that Russell had previously forbidden him to undertake any building at the Franklin Street convent until Sheil's return. He now decided to go ahead because extra accommodation was necessary, even though he had no ready money with which to defray the costs and was daily falling more deeply into debt.<sup>109</sup> Throughout this period the thought of the bishop's return was uppermost in Woods' mind and he anticipated that he would once again occupy his former favoured position under Sheil's patronage.<sup>110</sup> What he

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106. Woods to MacKillop, 1 August, 23 August, 30 August, 27 September 1870.

107. Sheil to Russell, Woods, Reynolds & F. Byrne, from Wexford, 29 August 1870, ACA. Woods to MacKillop, 2 & 8 November 1870.

108. Byrne, History, p. 216.

109. Woods to MacKillop, 6 August, 27 September & 2 November 1870.

110. Woods to MacKillop, 2 November & 27 December 1870.

did not know was that sickness had so weakened the bishop's physical and mental powers that he was no longer capable of giving the diocese the firm leadership it so badly needed.

As 1870 drew inexorably to a close Sheil began a leisurely journey home, but not before his tardiness had given rise to the rumour that he, like Geoghegan before him, intended abandoning Adelaide.<sup>111</sup> While in Rome Sheil had suffered several bouts of illness. Consequently he had left for Ireland at the end of June and some weeks before the closure of the Council, intending to give himself two months to "recruit" his health before embarking for Australia.<sup>112</sup> Word of Smyth's death reached him early in August but he still delayed and it was mid-October before he set out on the first leg of his journey. He caught the Californian mail, spent Christmas in America, and only then turned his face towards Adelaide.<sup>113</sup> When he finally arrived on 2 February he had been gone sixteen months and seven months had elapsed since his departure from the Council and Smyth's death.<sup>114</sup> In the circumstances Sheil's failure to come sooner is hard to explain and leaves one with a distinct

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111. Woods to MacKillop, 27 December 1870; Russell to Sheil, 29 September 1871, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, ff. 1350 - 1354.

112. Sheil to Reville, 23 April 1870, FLK E34 no. 41; O'Neill, Woods, p. 194, cites a letter from Sheil to Woods, 11 July 1870, written from Mill St, Cork. IH, 4 February 1871, p. 5, stated that Sheil left Rome for Ireland shortly after 30 June.

113. Russell to Sheil, 29 September. 1871. IH, 4 February. 1871, pp. 4 & 5.

114. IH 4 February 1871, p. 4.

feeling that he returned to Adelaide only under duress.

The clergy had been preparing for his coming for some time. In late December the three diocesan leaders, Russell, Bryne and Reynolds, together with Horan and several other priests who were annoyed with Woods and his management of the Sisters of St Joseph and the schools, met to discuss ways of bringing them into line.<sup>115</sup> The outcome of this meeting was a memorial addressed to Sheil and outlining their principal grievances.<sup>116</sup> The several issues raised can be reduced to one: that the clergy had no say in the control and management of the Sisters of St Joseph in the areas of their recruitment, training, placement or teaching methods.

These men objected to the sisters' deference to their Father Director's ideas and opinions in local matters because they believed that local decision-making was their prerogative. They were angry because they felt that the sisters regarded them as "nonentities" whose suggestions did not warrant due consideration. They took exception to Woods' acting as the sisters' general superior and making all important decisions in their regard without due reference to the person on the spot or his feelings on the issue, and were particularly upset that he had not demoted Angela from her position as Novice Mistress and removed her from Franklin Street after the August inquiry.

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115. Woods to MacKillop, 27 December 1870.

116. Woods to MacKillop, 7 February 1871. Tappeiner to his General, 30 October 1872, p. 15.

Other matters of concern to these priests were that candidates whom they considered unsuitable were being admitted to the Institute indiscriminately; that ignorant and uneducated sisters were being given teaching positions although quite incapable of managing a class effectively and that no adequate provision was being made for the education of boys, especially in the country. It also seemed to them that the diocese was being overrun by hordes of useless sisters who were placing an unbearable burden upon its resources and that some sisters were taking money from country missions and sending it to Adelaide against the express orders of their local pastors. Finally, the priests felt that the general public was being scandalised by the publication of visions and other supernatural phenomena by Woods and some of the sisters.<sup>117</sup>

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117. See Appendix VIII for copies of this memorial. There are four different versions of this document:

1. an original draft which appears to be in Horan's handwriting;
2. a typescript of a translation of the copy sent to Rome by the Apostolic Commission in July 1872, SOCG 1873 vol. 1000 ff. 1378 - 1382.
3. a copy of the one printed in Horan, Funeral Oration, pp. 7 & 8.
4. a copy of the version printed in Byrne, History, pp. 217 - 218.

There are some notable differences between these versions of the memorial. Firstly the complaint regarding the harm caused by the publication of visions, etc. appeared as a post-script in the original draft (no. 1) but not at all in that presented to Sheil and then sent on to Rome. (no. 2.) It reappeared in the two printed versions, (nos. 3 & 4.) Secondly, all reference to clerical dissatisfaction with the sisters' was deleted from the printed versions which concentrated instead on their poor teaching ability. The reason for these alterations seems to have been that each version was intended for a different audience. Sheil had reacted strongly against Russell's inquiry and was proud of his school system. Therefore, it was better to delete all references to the visionaries from his copy and to concentrate, instead, on the failure of the sisters as teachers and their disrespect for the priestly character. Versions 3 & 4 were intended for a wider

In short, these priests were saying that the evils detailed above might be eliminated if they, too, could be involved in Josephite affairs. They pressed for the abolition of the position of the one Father Director for the whole Institute and argued instead that each clergyman should direct and control the Josephite community in his district without reference to any outside authority. They held that the bishop should be the sisters' major superior and their only court of appeal, that they should remain permanently in the one place and that the money thus saved on travelling should be used for the benefit of the children in the schools.<sup>118</sup> Given that most Josephite communities then consisted of two or three members, that in December 1870 the average age of the Institute's 108

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audience, so here the stress was on the sisters' detrimental effect on the laity, especially their failure as educators, their inability to manage the Charitable Institutions satisfactorily and the cost of supporting them. Thirdly, there are several variations in the names and number of signatories to the memorial. The original draft carries the signatures of Russell, Reynolds, F. Byrne, Hughes, Michael Kennedy, Roche, Horan, Murphy, Nevin, Cleary & Maher. On no. 2 Henderson's name is substituted for Cleary's. Nos 3 & 4 leave Maher out while Byrne named William Kennedy instead of Michael. This was an important change, and possibly an oversight, as William Kennedy was a firm supporter of the sisters during this period, while, at the time of Byrne's writing, Michael Kennedy had been gone from Adelaide for forty years and few would have remembered him. Fourthly, both Horan and Byrne refer to the existence of another document "against the Sisters of St Joseph" and signed by Fathers Hinteroecker, Tappeiner, Hughes, Reynolds, Byrne, Horan, Fitzgibbon, Bongaerts and Russell. These were the priests who signed Russell's report of 15 August 1870 on his inquiry into the Holy Week outrage, SRCO vol. 9, ff. 660 - 672. Since no similar document can be found it seems safe to assume that this is the one to which these two priests were referring. It is about one specific incident, is not against the sisters as a group, and appears to have been cited in a deliberately misleading way.

118. Tappeiner to his General, p. 17. Report of the Apostolic Commission, July 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1366. Reynolds to Barnabo, 23 May 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, ff. 1295 - 1303. Nowlan, evidence to the Apostolic Commission, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, ff. 1403 - 1405. Monica Phillips to Woods, 8 October 1871. Nowlan to Barnabo, 9 September 1872, SRCO vol. 9, f. 1515.

members was approximately 23 years and six months and that more than a third of their number were less than 21 years old,<sup>119</sup> the only result of such a system could have been the disintegration of the Institute. Whether the clergy who drew up the memorial realised this possibility is a moot question. However, it soon became clear that some of them would have preferred being without sisters altogether to having Josephites in their schools.

On the face of it, the clergy gathered on that December day were genuinely concerned about the well-being of their people, especially the children, and wished to clarify their own positions in relation to the sisters. Hence, they wanted to know who had the right to make the final decision about school matters and how sisters without dowries, other sources of income or landed property, were to be supported.<sup>120</sup> These were important issues requiring immediate attention if the work was to prosper. Yet, a consideration of the characters and personalities of some of the signatories to the memorial makes it clear that beneath the surface of their apparent concern lay a determination to have Woods removed from his powerful position as Director General of Catholic Education and Father Director of the Sisters of St Joseph, even if that should mean the eventual disbandment of the Institute.

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119. Register of the Sisters, R1 - R110, ASSJ.

120. Report of the Apostolic Commission, 10 July 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1364.

These priests may be divided into two groups, the first comprising several who had been in the diocese for ten or more years and the second a number who had arrived during Sheil's time. All entertained particular grievances against the sisters and all wanted Sheil to remedy them. The members of each group seem to have approached the problem from different standpoints and to have had quite different expectations as to the outcome of their representations to the bishop. Of the senior men, Reynolds was annoyed at Woods' habit of changing the sisters stationed at Gawler without first consulting him. (Some of these sisters felt that he was "much against them.")<sup>121</sup> Hughes had come into conflict with the sisters at Morphett Vale and was angry over their refusal to acknowledge his authority in school matters.<sup>122</sup> Byrne, who resented the power wielded by Woods, had observed the sisters critically while he was stationed at Kapunda and had then decided against inviting them to replace his lay teachers at Salisbury.<sup>123</sup> Russell was disillusioned over Woods' inept handling of the visionaries. He felt that, given the training the sisters were receiving at Woods' hands, there was little likelihood of the Institute's ever succeeding, although he was prepared to hazard that, with proper management, some

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121. Woods to MacKillop, 27 December 1870. Sister Aloysius O'Leary to MacKillop from Gawler, 28 August 1870. Ignatius to MacKillop, 1 August 1870.

122. Woods to MacKillop, 27 December 1870.

123. Byrne History, p. 216. Ignatius to MacKillop, 22 August 1870.

of its members could prove useful.<sup>124</sup> Subsequent events were to prove that these four men wanted an Institute that was useful to the diocese and were not prepared to support moves to have it suppressed.<sup>125</sup>

The members of the second group also had grievances against the Josephites and it seems likely that their initial idea was reform, although they tended to be more impatient with the existing situation than their seniors. When forced to take a stand on the issue these men would all opt for the disbandment and suppression of the Institute and support Sheil in his decision to excommunicate Mary MacKillop. Most of them had had some dealings with the sisters. Thus, Michael Kennedy from Willunga had two Josephite communities in his district, one each at Willunga and Yankalilla. According to sixteen-year-old Sister Laurence O'Brien, he treated his sisters quite well although he called their rule, which he boasted having never read, "a lot of rubbish", and teased them about their loyalty to their English Father Director.<sup>126</sup> Timothy Murphy and James Maher of Mount Barker also had two Josephite convents and schools in their district. Murphy claimed that his sisters were incompetent and disobedient. He did not add that he had taken his own measures to counteract these faults and

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124. Russell to Murray, n.d. but from internal evidence 1872 when he and Murray were in Ireland, MDA.

125. Report of Apostolic Commission, 10 July 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1364. Hughes, evidence to the Apostolic Commission, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1400.

126. Laurence O'Brien to MacKillop, 29 July 1870.

that, as a consequence, they had suffered extreme hardship and privation.<sup>127</sup> Bernard Nevin of West Terrace, Adelaide, had been just twelve months in South Australia. He had observed the fiasco at Franklin Street<sup>128</sup> but was not involved in Russell's investigation. Nevin had little patience with Woods and the sisters and was one who consistently supported Horan in his moves against the Institute.<sup>129</sup> The youngest signatory, Robert Cleary, arrived in Adelaide just in time to append his signature to the document. Hence, he could hardly have had time to form an independent opinion of the case.<sup>130</sup>

Finally, there were Horan and Roche from Kapunda, who were angry with Woods and the sisters on several counts. Firstly, Rose Cunningham had suffered several severe bouts of insanity while stationed at Kapunda and had upset them with her incoherent ravings. Secondly, Horan was still smarting over Keating's dismissal and the part played in

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127. Murphy's evidence to the Apostolic Commission, f. 1398. IH, 28 October 1871, p. 8, leading article on "The Bishop and the Sisters of St Joseph", wrote that "Father Murphy would not allow the sisters to beg, he would not collect for them in the Church, they got so few school fees that they had not enough to support them, and for some days they actually lived upon raw vegetables. They sat in the dark because they had no candles and they were put to the most distressing expedients to keep their few garments in respectable repair."

128. Catholic Herald and Monthly Summary, 20 January 1870, p. 22.

129. Ignatius to MacKillop, 1 August 1870. IH 18 November 1871. Report of a sermon preached by Nevin in the Cathedral where he came out strongly in the bishop's defence and roundly condemned Mary MacKillop and the sisters.

130. Footprints, Vol. 2, no. 6, April 1975, p. 25. Cleary arrived in Melbourne by the "Cardigan Castle" on 17 December 1870, and then went straight on to Adelaide. Hence he probably arrived there at about Christmas time.

it by Woods and the sisters. Finally, he was not satisfied with the behaviour of the sisters in his district. After the Keating affair had subsided Woods had changed the entire Josephite community at Kapunda without first consulting Horan.<sup>131</sup> Then, shortly afterwards, several of the newcomers had irritated him by their independent way of acting. He felt that the school was not up to standard because of the sisters' ignorance and lack of proper training and was annoyed because some visiting sisters had asked local residents for money to pay their return fares to Adelaide without his knowledge or consent.<sup>132</sup> Where it was a question of money Horan was particularly touchy since he had left his Order in Ireland and come to Australia specifically with a view to providing financial support for his aged parents at home and he later refused to return to it on the grounds of their continuing need.<sup>133</sup>

In December 1870 Horan's main concern seems to have been to get at Woods through the Sisters of St Joseph.<sup>134</sup> Thus he watched and waited, biding his time and keeping an exact account of everything in the sisters'

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131. Woods to MacKillop, 11 April 1870.

132. Bernard Walsh to MacKillop, 18 August and 24 November 1870.

133. Horan to Barnabo, 6 December 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1291. Tappeiner, evidence to the Apostolic Commission, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1415, and W. de Normanville to Reynolds, ACA S4, n.d. but, from internal evidence, late April 1872.

134. Report of the Apostolic Commission, 10 July 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, ff. 1361 - 1362. Woods to Angela Carroll, 15 February 1872.

behaviour that aggravated him.<sup>135</sup> How far he wished the reform of the Josephites to go when he signed the memorial is unclear, but within twelve months he was quite definitely working towards having the Institute suppressed. In fact, by the end of 1871 all the younger signatories were actively engaged in an anti-Josephite, anti-Woods campaign under Horan's leadership, apparently with a view to having Woods and the sisters removed from the South Australian scene altogether.

There also seems to have been a conflict of ideologies between Woods and the signatories of the memorial. All the latter were Irish and at about this time, with the appearance of the Irish Harp newspaper, Irish immigrants and their children began to realise the connection between being Irish and being Catholic, and to give expression to strongly nationalist feelings.<sup>136</sup> Woods, as an Englishman, was a representative of the race most hated by the Irish. Yet he held the most powerful position in the diocese after the vicar general and bishop. As well, he was better educated and less conservative than most of his Irish confreres and moved easily among all levels of colonial society.<sup>137</sup> Hence some saw him as a man to be

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135. Bernard Walsh to MacKillop, 24 November 1870.

136. The Irish Harp first appeared on 29 May 1869. From the first it was intended to give Irish news and to keep the local Irish settlers in touch with events at home. IH 29 May 1869, pp. 2 & 8, MLSA.

137. Thorpe, Mary MacKillop, p. 13. Press, Julian Tenison Woods, p. 222. See Appendix IX for a breakdown of the nationalities of the clergy in South Australia. Until Sheil's arrival in 1866, the

feared and mistrusted and magnified his mistakes and idiosyncracies out of all proportion.

At a less personal level, the Irish clergy had had a different experience of Religious Orders of women from Woods. In Ireland, the most important Orders, including the Ursulines, Presentation Sisters and Sisters of Mercy, all operated under a system where each house was autonomous and under the immediate control of the local bishop or his delegate. The community generally owned the convent and its members were supported by the income from their dowries and such pious bequests as they received from time to time. Each house was expected to be self-perpetuating and had provision for its own novitiate. Lay sisters (servants) performed the domestic duties while the choir sisters (ladies) carried out the teaching and other activities proper to the Order. The sisters all attended daily Mass in their convent chapels. Any communication between convents of the same Order was on the basis of friendship only and sisters seldom transferred from one house to another.<sup>138</sup> The service of the poor through gratuitously given education and the care of the sick and needy, was the primary aim of a number of Irish Congregations.<sup>139</sup> They could offer

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Irish had been outnumbered by priests of other nationalities. After 1867 the proportion of Irish increased quite markedly.

138. MacGinley, Roads to Zion, pp. 22, 27, 30 & 34.

139. *ibid.* pp. 10 - 12, 35 & 42 fn. 53. Here MacGinley is speaking specifically of the service offered to the poor by the Presentation Sisters. Other Irish Orders that operated along similar lines were the Ursulines, the Brigidines and the Sisters of Mercy.

these services freely because they had independent means of support. This, in turn, meant that only girls from better off families could join them unless the community happened to be well endowed.<sup>140</sup>

Priests accustomed to these arrangements at home found it hard to accept the possibility that a religious community with the same ends in view could operate along entirely different lines and still be a success. They might have thought differently had their experience encompassed the English and French Orders familiar to Woods, especially the Sisters of St Joseph of Puy who, to quote Woods:

though not very poor were still poor enough to work, and their rule permitted them to embrace all the exercises of charity and mercy. They take care of hospitals, the direction of houses of refuge for penitent women, and the care of orphanages. They also keep primary schools in outlying places or districts of scattered population. They visit the sick and prisoners every day ... there is a dispensary attached to nearly every convent. They have also a peculiar institution for young girls who are exposed to danger for want of protection or from need. .... They teach them [young women] all the ordinary domestic duties which may be required in their state of life. They have a workroom especially appropriated for this in their poor country convents.

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The houses of this Institute were united under a single Mother House after the manner designated by Woods for his Institute.<sup>142</sup> This centralised structure

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140. MacGinley, op cit. p. 22.

141. CSC vol. 3, no. 25, 27 May 1872, p. 397.

142. Callahan, op cit. p. 10, fn. 17; p. 17.

enabled its members to maintain a close bond of unity even when scattered in a number of widely separated houses. The Irish clergy failed to realise the necessity of structures of this kind for the Josephites, given the nature of their mission in South Australia where the Catholics were widely scattered among a predominantly non-Catholic population. In fact, one is left wondering whether the signatories to the memorial had considered the possible ramifications of the changes they were promoting, or whether, as Tappeiner put it, the whole affair was merely the result of "badly upset dispositions" among them.<sup>143</sup>

It is important to note that the clergy were not altogether the innocent victims of Woods' mismanagement of the Institute. At least one of the problems they encountered in the course of their dealings with the sisters was of their own making. This was the sisters' inefficiency as teachers. In several instances priests refused to wait for the sisters to complete their formal training before requesting that they open new schools and then complained because their teaching was below standard.<sup>144</sup>

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143. Tappeiner to his General, p. 15.

144. Woods to MacKillop, 28 April 1868. Reynolds, evidence to Apostolic Commission, June 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1401. Reynolds commented that he thought Woods was in too much of a hurry to satisfy all wants and so moved too quickly. This problem was not confined to the Josephites in South Australia. Sister M Xaverius O'Donoghue, Mother Vincent Whitty, M.U.P. 1972, pp. 17 - 18, states that the Sisters of Mercy in Ireland also suffered the effects of the same clerical impatience, and that, in saving the present situation they often created future difficulties. These affected the sisters personally and their usefulness in the schools.

Woods, aware that some of his fellow clergy were frustrated over his refusal to modify the Josephite rule to accommodate their wishes, became deeply depressed.<sup>145</sup> As the year drew to a close, even the principal visionaries seemed to lose confidence in him. Hence, wearied by petty persecution and by having his authority in educational matters openly flouted in some quarters, he began to long for MacKillop's homecoming.<sup>146</sup> Her presence would surely relieve some of the pressure under which he was labouring, and yet he could not set a date for her departure from Brisbane. Before that could be done he needed to send reinforcements there in order to build up community numbers to a level that would offset the effects of the sisters' isolation and distance from the Mother House. This he dared not do until the Christmas holiday break made it possible for him to remove sisters from schools without upsetting the local clergy.<sup>147</sup> And so the weeks slipped by. It was 1 February 1871 before a contingent of five sisters embarked for Queensland and nearly another month was to elapse before MacKillop could begin the long journey home.<sup>148</sup>

While the memorialists were busy preparing their list

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145. Woods to MacKillop, 15 July 1870.

146. Woods to MacKillop, 2, 8 & 22 November, 7 & 27 December 1870.  
Ignatius to MacKillop, 8 December 1870.

147. Woods to MacKillop, 2 November & 27 December 1870.

148. Woods to MacKillop, 31 January 1871. The sisters who made up this party were Angela Carroll, who was to return with MacKillop, Helena Hartney, R52; Mary Francis Bartolsmeier, R105; Sylvester (Vincent) Smith, R98; Ignatius' younger sister, Francesca, R104.

of complaints against the Sisters of St Joseph and Woods was worrying over who should go to Queensland, the sisters themselves carried on much as usual. The number of postulants entering the Institute during the first half of the year was even greater than it had been at the same time in each of the two previous years,<sup>149</sup> However, it then tapered off quite noticeably and only one new postulant came during the last three months of 1870.<sup>150</sup> The Institute then comprised 111 sisters, including 67 professed sisters, 35 novices and nine postulants.<sup>151</sup> Of these, four professed sisters, one novice and three postulants were in Queensland where they had two convents and taught in four schools.<sup>152</sup> Only two sisters each were stationed in most of the 20 country convents in South Australia,<sup>153</sup> while the only really large community was

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149. Register of the Sisters, ASSJ. In the first half of 1868 nineteen girls entered, in 1869 fifteen came and in 1870 there were 22. It is important to note, however, that two of these, Colette and Josephine Carolan, entered in Queensland.

150. Ignatius to MacKillop, 1 August 1870: The priests are "trying to prevent any young person from entering the Institute." Woods to MacKillop, 2 November 1870: "Postulants are a little slack now." Register of the Sisters: The postulant who arrived during the last three months of 1870 was Bridget McNamara of Clare, R108.

151. Register of the Sisters, ASSJ.

152. The professed sisters were Mary MacKillop, Clare Wright, Augustine Keogh and Francis de Sales O'Sullivan, the novice, Teresa Maginness and the postulants, Gertrude Byrne and Josephine and Colette Carolan. They had Schools at Peel St, South Brisbane; Petrie Terrace, Brisbane and Kangaroo Point (McEntee, op cit. p. 59, fn.2). In July 1870 two of their number, Francis de Sales and Augustine, had gone to Maryborough to open a convent and school there.

153. Right from the beginning of the dispersion of the sisters this was general practice. Woods to MacKillop, 5 January 1870, names the two sisters at Glenelg; on 16 January he lists the members of four other such communities. Frequent references throughout both his and MacKillop's correspondence serve to confirm this statement. MacKillop, m/s list of sisters and schools, December 1869, ASSJ.

at Franklin Street. Sisters went out from there each day to the Adelaide schools and those in the neighbouring suburbs of Thebarton, Bowden and North Adelaide. A number of postulants and novices were also assembled there for part of their training.<sup>154</sup>

By December the sisters knew that there was to be no retreat during the Christmas holidays because of the building operations in progress at Franklin Street.<sup>155</sup> Their disappointment at not having a general gathering was lessened when they learned that their foundress could be expected in March and that Woods intended holding the retreat then. All, except those preparing for profession or the renewal of their vows,<sup>156</sup> made the best of the situation in their little convents while eagerly anticipating the arrival of MacKillop and the bishop. All were confident that their coming would help relieve the tension between themselves and the local clergy. Little did they know that storms of a ferocity they could not have dreamed of were to wreak havoc in the Church before the coming year was out. 1871 was to prove a bleak year indeed for the young Institute. However, most of the sisters were ready for these new trials because they had already undergone a severe time of testing. With their

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154. This convent was the Mother House of the Institute. In September 1871 there were about sixteen sisters, including novices and postulants, resident there: Teresa and Monica, Account of events leading up to and surrounding the excommunication, May 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, ff. 1305 - 1308.

155. Woods to MacKillop, 2 November and 27 December 1870.

156. Woods to MacKillop, 27 December 1870.

foundress far away, their Father Director seemingly losing control of affairs in Adelaide and a great deal of external pressure coming from people who wished to change the structure of the Institute, they had been forced to come to grips with the meaning of the life they had embraced and to make their own personal commitment to it. Hence, the clergy who had criticised and even persecuted them had, in fact, done them a service and unwittingly contributed towards the ultimate survival of the Institute whose end they wished to encompass.

Eventually, the year 1870 with all its trials and hardships was over. However, the conflict between Woods and the Irish clergy was far from being resolved and, as a consequence, the future of the Institute was in jeopardy. The issues underlying this conflict were many and complex and seemingly revolved around Woods' methods of directing the sisters and their alleged incompetence as teachers. However, closer scrutiny reveals that it also arose because of opposition to Woods' powerful position in the diocese and because the system of Catholic education which he had organised was placing a drain on diocesan finances. In short, it was a question of power and money and a struggle to decide who should hold both. The sisters, who had become involved because of their association with Woods and their work in the schools, received scant consideration and Woods' opponents seem to have believed that, if necessary, they could be dispensed with quite easily.

## CHAPTER 5

### STORM, 1871 - 1872

Bishop Sheil reached Adelaide on 2 February 1871. He appeared to be in excellent health and intimated that he was pleased to be among his people again.<sup>1</sup> Priests and laity were all glad to see him and welcomed him with renewed expressions of loyalty to his person and the Church.<sup>2</sup> Then, almost before he had finished responding to their addresses of welcome, he was presented with the anti-Josephite memorial.<sup>3</sup> The tone and content of this document so upset him that he became ill and was confined to bed for several days.<sup>4</sup> His initial reaction of shock and disbelief was followed by a determination to disprove the allegations it contained. He treated Woods more kindly than ever and personally examined a number of the Josephite schools.<sup>5</sup>

Then, on the basis of what he had seen, he decided that the memorialists' claims that the sisters were ignorant and inefficient were unfounded and announced, by way of a Pastoral Letter, that, as there were now Catholic

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1. IH, 4 February 1871, p.4. Woods to MacKillop, 7 February 1871.
  2. IH, 4 February 1871, pp. 4-5: Addresses of welcome from the clergy, laity, the South Australian Catholic Association and the South Australian Benefit Society.
  3. Woods to MacKillop, 7 February 1871. Byrne, History, p. 216. See Chapter 4, fn. 117 and Appendix VIII for copies of text of the memorial.
  4. Ignatius to MacKillop, 6 February 1871. Woods to MacKillop, 7 February 1871.
  5. Sheil to Murray, Maitland, 6 April 1871, MDA A4-7-1. IH, 28 October 1871, p. 7. Report of the Apostolic Commissioners, 10 July 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1362.

schools in nearly every district, any Catholics found teaching in government schools, attending them or sending their children to them, should be denied the Sacraments.<sup>6</sup> For a Catholic this was the ultimate sanction. It could not be imposed lightly and it should be avoided at all cost. That Sheil used it in this instance indicated that he was more than satisfied with the local Catholic schools. Since more than half those schools were under Josephite management,<sup>7</sup> it followed that the pastoral was as an open commendation of the sisters and a rebuttal of the accusations against them.

Sheil was genuinely interested in the question of Catholic education<sup>8</sup> and, on the face of it, his record in South Australia was no mean one. It was he who had recognised the possibilities in Woods' dream of providing Catholic schools for the children of the poor, especially those living in country districts, and who had encouraged him and Mary MacKillop to go ahead with their plans for the foundation of the Institute of St. Joseph. He had brought Woods to Adelaide, appointed him Director General of Catholic Education and given him the freedom to put his ideas into practice. Much credit is due to the bishop for having caught a glimpse of Woods' vision and for having so set the stage that that vision might eventually become a

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6. IH, 25 February 1871, p.3.

7. CSC, 27 May 1871, pp. 216-217, lists 65 Catholic schools of which 35 were under Josephite management.

8. SCCH, 20 November 1867, p. 37, pastoral from Sheil, written at Wexford, Ireland, 31 July 1867. IH, 25 February 1871. Sheil to Murray, 6 April 1871, MDA A4-7-1.

reality. Yet, in practical terms, Sheil had contributed little towards the formulation and development of the system established by Woods and MacKillop because he had been away during most of that critical time when they and the first sisters were finding their feet. Therefore, the fact that the Catholic Church had gained the respect of a large proportion of the general public because of the "independence and zeal" with which it had established and supported its own schools,<sup>9</sup> was due almost entirely to the imagination, energy, hard work and perseverance of Woods and the Sisters of St. Joseph.

Now, because of Sheil's handling of the memorial, the Church was about to lose much of that respect and to have its school system thrown into disarray. His initial response to the memorial virtually forced the complaining clergy to look for more drastic ways of making him face the seriousness of the situation as they saw it. They became even more angry when he peremptorily dismissed Russell for having investigated the Holy Week outrage and reported on it to Rome without first referring the matter to him.<sup>10</sup> He accused Russell of having acted out of ignorance and party spirit and would not consider the possibility that, because of his own protracted absence from the diocese and the slowness of overseas

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9. Register, 24 February 1871, leading article on Sheil's recent pastoral, final remarks; 7 & 10 March 1868, leading articles on Catholic education and Catholic charities.

10. IH 18 March 1871, presentation to Archdeacon Russell; 3 February 1872, p. 3. Sheil to Barnabo, 29 March 1871, SOCG 1873 vol. 1000, f. 1329. Sheil to Russell, 17 July 1871, SOCG 1873 vol. 1000, f. 1349.

communications, Russell might have acted in good faith and taken the best course available.<sup>11</sup> The Sisters of St. Joseph formed the backbone of the Catholic education system of which he was so proud. Hence he was unprepared to entertain any suggestions that either they or Woods might have been at fault and insisted that the diocese would be better off if those opposed to Woods emulated his zeal instead of complaining about him.<sup>12</sup>

Russell once gone, the clergy waited in vain for the appointment of a vicar general in his place.<sup>13</sup> The reason for Sheil's failure to make an appointment seems to have been that he favoured 34 year old Charles Horan ahead of any of the more senior priests<sup>14</sup> and was afraid of upsetting these men by giving him the position. The Jesuits excepted, youth was a common characteristic of almost all the clergy then in South Australia. In Russell's absence, only two of their number, Peter Hughes of Morphett Vale and the recently ordained Cornelius McCluskey of Adelaide, were over forty. Only Hughes, Woods, Fitzgibbon, Reynolds and Frederick Byrne has spent ten or more years in the diocese. Of the remainder, all of whom were less than 35 years old, only Bongaerts, Van der Heyden and O'Connor had reached the diocese before

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11. Sheil to Barnabo, 29 March 1871, SOCG 1873 vol. 1000, f. 1329. Barnabo to Sheil, 15 June 1871, ACA, S3-01, stressed Russell's good will.

12. Sheil to Barnabo, 29 March 1871, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1329.

13. Tappeiner to his General, p. 5 of Opie translation.

14. *ibid.* Fitzgibbon to Barnabo, 7 May 1872, SOCG 1873, vol 1000, f. 1286.

Sheil's time.<sup>15</sup> Of these, the five more senior men would almost certainly have expected that one of their number would become vicar general.

Hughes, although senior by both age and date of ordination, seems never to have been a contender for the position<sup>16</sup> while Byrne and Fitzgibbon apparently showed little open interest in gaining it for themselves.<sup>17</sup> Woods, at 38, was second in line of seniority. He certainly considered the possibility of his becoming both vicar general and bishop of Adelaide,<sup>18</sup> although he later denied this and claimed that he had declined the former position when offered it by Sheil.<sup>19</sup> Thirty-six year old Reynolds also believed he was in the running and seems to have been quite upset when passed over.<sup>20</sup>

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15. See Appendix X for details of priests' ages and their dates of ordination and arrival in South Australia.
  16. As far as can be ascertained, Hughes' name does not occur in any of the references relating to this question and he himself did not write anything concerning it.
  17. Fitzgibbon to Barnabo, 7 May 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1286. Byrne, *History*, p. 216, notes that he had retired from the commission appointed by Sheil to govern the diocese following Smyth's death, and on p. 223, states that Horan could have become vicar general in fact but declined the offer. Nowhere does he give any indication of his having been interested in this position for himself.
  18. Russell to Barnabo, 22 October 1870, SRCO vol. 9, ff. 704-706, claimed that Woods was prophesying that he would be bishop of Adelaide for fourteen years. Fitzgibbon to Barnabo, 7 May 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1286, remarked: "It is only too well known that both Fathers Woods and Reynolds were ambitious for such a dignity." Mechtilde Woods, "History", p. 61, stated that the bishop asked Woods to take up the duties of vicar general but Woods begged him "not to ask him to take up duties he felt himself unable to cope with."
  19. Woods, "Memoirs", book 2, p. 72, remarked that Sheil had taken no steps to fill the place of the vicar general and that "he had offered the position to Father [i.e. himself] who declined it."

Horan, despite his comparative youth and inexperience, became vicar general in fact, if not in name,<sup>21</sup> and also Sheil's almost constant companion in both public and private.<sup>22</sup>

Woods, who was deeply hurt because Horan now stood between him and the bishop, complained bitterly that Sheil no longer paid much attention to him. In March 1871, possibly in response to his request that he be sent to a country mission,<sup>23</sup> Sheil sent him to take Russell's place in the important mission of North Adelaide, with Nowlan and McCluskey as his assistants.<sup>24</sup> This move could have been interpreted as a promotion, but it meant that Woods had to leave the bishop's house, which had been his home for the previous four years and where he had many opportunities for meeting Sheil and speaking informally with him.<sup>25</sup> Others now had that privilege while Woods

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20. Reynolds to Woods, 22 November 1871, stated: "The advisability of my writing to the Archbishop [Polding of Sydney] is not yet clear to me. ... I would not hesitate for a moment were it not for the way my name has been used in Victoria and Adelaide as Vicar General designate. So if I took the initiative it might be as though I wrote in a spirit of revenge or because I was disappointed and so render my testimony useless."

21. Tappeiner to his General, p. 5.

22. Tappeiner, evidence to Apostolic Commission, June 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1406. IH 25 March 1871, p. 8: Horan in attendance on bishop at feast of St Joseph; 20 May 1871, p. 5: In Melbourne with bishop as his chaplain; 22 July 1871 p. 7: Bishop at Salisbury, attended by the local pastor and Father Horan.

23. Woods to MacKillop, 7 February 1871. MacKillop, "Life of Woods," Resource 6, p. 109.

24. Woods, "Memoirs", bk. 2, p. 72. Mechtilde Woods, "History", p. 63, states that Sheil appointed Woods to North Adelaide in place of Russell in March 1871. CSC 27 May 1871, p. 216.

25. Mechtilde Woods, "History", p. 63, commented that "on that account

felt that he had fallen from favour and feared for his own future and that of the Sisters.

His worst fears were confirmed when Sheil moved Theodore Bongäerts, a quiet and reliable priest, from West Terrace to Port Adelaide and brought in Timothy Murphy from Mount Barker instead.<sup>26</sup> Murphy had shown scant patience with the sisters working in his mission<sup>27</sup> and MacKillop had been obliged to remove the Mount Barker community because he would not allow the local people to provide them with the adequate support.<sup>28</sup> Michael Kennedy, formerly of Willunga, became the bishop's new secretary. Consequently all the clergy now resident in the bishop's house - Murphy, Kennedy, Nevin and Cleary<sup>29</sup> - had signed the memorial and were opposed to Woods and the Institute. During 1871 Sheil's health gradually deteriorated and he became less able to think clearly

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he could not be as much with His Lordship as he had been before his removal." Woods, "Memoirs", book 2, p. 73.

26. CSC, 27 May 1871, p. 216. Father Bongäerts was moved to Port Adelaide. Gawler Bunyip, 22 January 1875, obituary of Bongäerts. IH, 22 January 1875, p. 4; 22 July 1871, p. 8.
27. Murphy, evidence to the Apostolic Commission, June 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1398. He had had convents and schools at Mt Barker and Macclesfield and complained that the sisters were unsuited to teaching, disobeyed the local priests and collected money even when prohibited from doing so.
28. IH, 28 October 1871, leading article, states that the priests at Mount Barker, that is, Murphy and his successor, Maher, "would not allow the sisters to beg, he would not collect for them in the church, they got so few school fees that they had not enough to support them, and for some days they actually lived on raw vegetables. They sat in the dark because they had no candles, and they were put to the most distressing expedients to keep their few garments in respectable order." Mechtilde Woods, "History", p. 24, corroborates this story.
29. CSC, 27 May 1871, p. 216.

or make decisions about important matters. Instead, so some observers believed, he generally agreed with everything proposed to him, even though it was sometimes contrary to his own wishes and ideas.<sup>30</sup> Consequently, the priests most closely associated with him, that is, Horan and those of his own household, were in a very powerful position indeed.

Such was the situation when, after an absence of more than sixteen months, MacKillop reached Adelaide again.<sup>31</sup> The closer she came to home the greater became her sense of foreboding. Her experience at Penola was a most unhappy one for she found that the local pastor, Michael O'Connor, was far from satisfied with Sister Bonaventure Mahony's management of the school and had a decided preference for a schoolmaster able to control the older boys. Penola could not possibly support both the sisters and a master. Therefore, MacKillop decided to remove the little community, even though she was sure her action would be misconstrued by the local people.<sup>32</sup> She

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30. Tappeiner to his General, p. 9, commented that, as far as ordinary topics were concerned, Sheil's conversation was pleasant enough but, once something important or difficult was raised, "his mind instantly became confused, he agreed with anything proposed, even what was repugnant to himself. His memory had been so weakened that after a few minutes he had forgotten what he had said before and proposed the opposite." Woods, "Memoirs", book 2, p. 76: "he allowed himself to be led like a child." Woods to MacKillop, from North Adelaide, 21 May 1871.

31. Mechtilde Woods, "History", p. 50.

32. MacKillop to Woods from Limestone Ridge, near Penola, Easter Monday, 14 April 1871. That she brought the sisters with her seems certain for CSC, 27 May 1871, p. 217, lists the Penola school as being vacant.

and these sisters reached Adelaide by 1 May.<sup>33</sup> The sisters there welcomed her warmly and she, for her part, was anxious to meet them again.<sup>34</sup> Local tradition has it that Woods sent her to Port Adelaide immediately upon her return and refused to allow her to occupy her rightful position at the Mother House.<sup>35</sup> However, there is no written evidence to support this claim.

At about this time several sisters were given new postings but there is no evidence to indicate whether these were made as a result of her influence on Woods or not. The most important were that Teresa MacDonald, whose position as Provincial was now redundant, was appointed Little Sister of the Mother House. Ignatius went from Franklin Street to Mitcham for a short time and then moved on to Kadina, while Monica Phillips came in from Wallaroo

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33. Jane Frances Mahony, Sister Bonaventure, R48, was born in September 1840 in Co. Cork, Ireland. She entered the Josephites in December 1858, received the habit in March 1869, was a novice during all her stay at Penola and was professed in Adelaide on 1 May 1871. She died in Sydney in January 1917 after having spent most of her life in the eastern colonies. Bonaventure travelled to Adelaide from Penola with MacKillop. Therefore, she, too, would have been there by 1 May when Bonaventure made her profession.

34. Mechtilde Woods, "History", p. 50.

35. O'Neill, McKillop, p. 91. Thorpe, *op cit.* p. 108, reiterates O'Neill's statement. In the associated footnotes, p. 300 fn. 8, he comments on MacKillop's move to Port Adelaide but does not give his source. There is a strong local tradition in the Port Adelaide area that Mary MacKillop resided at the Port and taught in the school there for a time and that it was probably immediately after her return from Queensland. Perhaps Port Adelaide's real claim to fame is that its people were the first to welcome MacKillop and Rose Cunningham when they reached Adelaide on June 1867, Register, 25 June 1867. It is difficult to reconstruct the sequence of events following MacKillop's return to Adelaide in 1871. Her prolific correspondence with Woods, which is one of the best sources on this score, dried up for a time because they were now living in close proximity to each other.

to replace Angela as Mistress of Novices.<sup>36</sup>

However, Woods did not allow his favourites to be superseded altogether for, on 9 June 1871, he announced to the sisters that he had appointed Ignatius and Angela as consultants to MacKillop, in accordance with the prescriptions of the Rule.<sup>37</sup> He explained that these sisters' task was to advise, counsel and aid her in her government of the Institute, to exercise her authority when sent by her as special visitors to any convent and to hold with any sister free and unsupervised correspondence. The supervision of correspondence was an important disciplinary measure in religious communities of that period.<sup>38</sup> Therefore, permitting any sisters, especially these young women who were so close to the Father Founder, to correspond freely, was tantamount to placing them in a very powerful position. This move greatly hampered MacKillop in the exercise of her role as superior, even as it ensured that Woods retained a high

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36. Sisters' Book of References, entries 8, 11 & 21 ASSJ. Woods to MacKillop, 7 June 1871. MacKillop to Woods, 14 June 1871. According to the Book of References, Monica was in Wallaroo from April 1870 until March 1871. She then returned to Adelaide, where she was appointed Mistress of Novices and also sent to teach a class in the Cathedral Hall School.

37. O'Neill, Woods, p. 206.

38. The Josephites carried on this practice right from the time of their foundation in 1867. Francis Fitzgerald to MacKillop, June 1868, noted that she was including letters to her nieces. She wished MacKillop to read them and then send them on to their addressees. It became very important later and MacKillop refers to it in her letters to Kirby, Rome, 21 April 1875, to Dr Grant, Scotch College, Rome, 6 September 1877 and 28 December 1877, ACA S14, box 4, pp. 14, 101 & 106.

level of control over the Institute and its members.<sup>39</sup>

According to the Josephite rule, the Sister Guardian General and her two consultors should have been elected by a General Chapter of the Institute.<sup>40</sup> It seems likely that Woods chose to appoint rather than hold an election because the rule did not describe the machinery for the setting up and conduct of such a Chapter and that none of the sisters had had experience of one.<sup>41</sup> On the other hand, Woods might have chosen this course of action because it was much simpler or because he was not prepared to risk an election at a time when many of the sisters disliked and mistrusted his two favourites, especially Ignatius.

MacKillop thus found herself in a difficult position indeed. However, she did not allow it to interfere with her work of visiting the convents and schools and meeting the sisters again. She remained in Adelaide for a matter of only two or three weeks in late April and early May. Then, in accordance with her earlier custom<sup>42</sup> she set

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39. O'Neill, *Woods*, p. 206.

40. Woods, "Rules," *Resource\_3*, p. 19.

41. Tappeiner, evidence to the Apostolic Commission, June 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1415, commented that the Institute's governmental structures needed much clearer definition, especially those concerned with the election of sisters to different positions of authority.

42. Mechtilde Woods, "History", p. 6, mentions that MacKillop had accompanied the sisters to Macclesfield and, later on, to Willunga. On p. 11 she notes that MacKillop also went to Clare when that convent and school were opened in July 1869. Woods to MacKillop, 28 April 1868, indicates that she had accompanied Teresa and Agnes to Penola for the same reason.

off with Sisters Angelica, (Catherine Greene)<sup>43</sup> and Angela (Mary Crugan)<sup>44</sup> to establish a new foundation at Port Augusta. This settlement, some 320 kilometres from Adelaide, was then one of the poorest and most spiritually deprived outposts in the colony.<sup>45</sup> MacKillop stayed there with the two sisters for about a fortnight. She helped them settle in and advised them how best to organise their school, given that fifty or so children were attending it by day and quite a crowd of adults was coming in the evenings.<sup>46</sup>

The local pastor, Father J.E. Pallhuber SJ of Sevenhill,<sup>47</sup> was not there to welcome the sisters as he had intended. He did not appear because, unexpectedly and without prior consultation with the parties concerned, Sheil had transferred Port Augusta and the northern areas of the colony from the charge of the Jesuits to that of Father Henderson of Port Lincoln just before Pallhuber was

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43. Catherine Greene, Sister Angelica, R42, the fifth of the nine children of Francis Greene and his wife, Mary McMahon, was born in Co. Clare, Ireland, in March 1850. She entered the Institute in October 1868, made her first profession in January 1870 and died at St Joseph's Convent, Kensington, in April 1917.

44. Mary Crugan, Sister Angela, R112, was also a native of Co. Clare, where she was born in June 1847. She entered the Institute in January 1871 and received the habit in April, less than a month before she left for Port Augusta. She left the Institute in January 1872.

45. CSC, 12 May 1871, p. 218, reported that three sisters left Adelaide for Port Augusta on the "Lubra" on 9 May and noted that there was as yet no church in this locality and that the priest said Mass in private houses during his quarterly visits.

46. MacKillop to Woods from Port Augusta, 22 May 1871.

47. CSC, 27 May 1871, p. 217.

due to set out on his journey north.<sup>48</sup> This sudden action of the bishop's is hard to explain, given that Henderson was already responsible for the spiritual welfare of Catholic settlers on Eyre Peninsula and the far West Coast of South Australia. Therefore, he could scarcely have been expected to visit the far north any more frequently than the Jesuits had done.<sup>49</sup> These priests were most upset over the change and interpreted it as a slight on their nationality.<sup>50</sup> Thus, the issues of nationality and race, coupled with the supposed need for Irish settlers to be served by Irish clergy only, became additional factors in the emerging power struggle in the diocese.<sup>51</sup>

MacKillop, too, was rapidly and surely being drawn into this struggle. While at Port Augusta she was troubled by a "dreary feeling" that she was "better out of

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48. Strele, "Historia Domus", p. 15.

49. CSC, 27 May 1871, p. 217. IH, 24 June 1871, p. 7. Port Lincoln Baptismal Register, Catholic Parish House, Port Lincoln, indicates that Henderson actually spent from 18 July until 30 September 1871 and from 7 January until 3 March 1872 in the far north which included Port Augusta. A priest did not visit there again until Father Nevin went up during February and March 1873.

50. Strele, "Historia Domus", p. 15, remarks that the bishop gave no reason for the change other than the Jesuits were not Irishmen. This, as Strele remarked wryly, was "a more than difficult matter for a native German to correct."

51. Fitzgibbon to Barnabo, 7 May 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1287, remarked that the bishop wished to withdraw the different districts from the Jesuits' charge because "Irish Catholic are not too happy to be under the care of foreign priests, especially German, [and] they desire very much to have priests of their own nationality." Van der Heyden to Woods, 11 December 1871, lamented his position in the diocese as a "foreign priest," (he was Dutch) and wondered whether he and Father Bongäerts should look for another diocese where they might be made more welcome.

the way." This feeling deepened into one of hurt when, through Angelica, she discovered that several personal items she had left at Franklin Street for safe keeping before going to Queensland had since become public property. She soon began wondering about the wisdom or rectitude of much that had occurred during her absence.<sup>52</sup>

Woods was also coming under increasing pressure. In his case, it stemmed chiefly from his financial worries and his desire to protect the visionaries from too close scrutiny by MacKillop. Before long he became ill, so ill in fact, that fears were held for his life. However, he soon rallied and, after several weeks, was able to resume his duties.<sup>53</sup> At this point, and at MacKillop's insistence, he informed the bishop of the true state of his financial affairs.<sup>54</sup> Thus Sheil learnt for the first time that the Franklin Street convent, which he had blessed and opened in March, had cost £1,935 and was not yet paid for, that Woods owed him £450 and that £582 was still owing on the Refuge and £1007 on the schools. In short, Woods was responsible for debts to the tune of almost £4,000.<sup>55</sup> Sheil listened sympathetically but

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52. MacKillop to Woods, 22 May 1871.

53. Woods to MacKillop, 21 May 7 & 13 June 1871. MacKillop, "Life of Woods," Resource 6, p. 109. IH, 3 June 1871, p. 8.

54. MacKillop to Woods, 21 February and 20 June 1871; Woods to MacKillop, 18 June 1871. Ignatius O'Brien to MacKillop, 21 February 1871.

55. Woods, rough draft in his handwriting, of his submission to the Apostolic Commission, June 1872, SOCG 1873, vol 1000, ff. 1422-1424. ACA, S19.

refused to accept responsibility for them because the diocese already carried liabilities of its own to the extent of about £11,000 and he had nothing to offer by way of security.<sup>56</sup>

One can only surmise the effect Woods' revelations had on the bishop, with his own long history of financial ineptitude, at a time when he was saddled with debts which he could not possibly meet.<sup>57</sup> His subsequent behaviour can be explained, in part at least, in terms of his inability to cope with his money problems. Thus he was only too ready to listen when his advisers insisted that the Sisters of St. Joseph were the root cause of all his monetary troubles because they could not subsist on the income derived from their schools and the voluntary donations of the people.<sup>58</sup> He faced a real dilemma because he still retained much of his former feeling of friendship towards Woods and believed that the sisters

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56. Woods to MacKillop, 18 June 1871. A Brief with a Summary of the Present State of the Diocese of Adelaide, SOCG 1873, vol 1000, f. 1241, article 12. Statement of Liabilities and Assets and a List of Properties of the Roman Catholic Church, drawn up by Cullen and Wigley, Solicitors, Adelaide, 19 September 1873. Russell to Murray, 1872, confirms the lawyer's statement and indicates that the annual income from church collections stood at about £1600, and that from marriages, baptisms and funerals netted about £350 per annum. In other words, Sheil's annual income from Church sources stood at less than £2000.

57. Tappeiner, op cit. pp. 9 & 10, stated that the money was spent on bringing in priests, on the Dominican Nuns, on the building of St Laurence's Church, North Adelaide, on the erection of some other buildings erected by Father Woods with the bishop's approval, but especially by imprudent and careless management and by the journeys and personal expenses of the bishop. Sheil, Pastoral Letter, written at Wexford, Ireland, 31 July 1867 and published in SCCH, 20 November 1867.

58. Horan, Funeral Oration, p. 11.

were doing good work among his people.<sup>59</sup>

The sisters themselves were unaware of the forces working against them as they anticipated meeting MacKillop again. She, too, was anxious to see them all. Therefore, soon after her return from Port Augusta in late May she set out to visit the Institute's 23 country convents and schools,<sup>60</sup> including those recently opened at Hoyleton and Auburn in the Jesuits' district.<sup>61</sup> It is important to note that, since new foundations were generally made only at the invitation of the local clergy, these signify continued Jesuit approval of the Josephites. In fact, five of the seven schools opened by the sisters during 1871 were located within Jesuit mission territory at the time of their establishment.<sup>62</sup>

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59. Sheil, Pastoral Letter, February 1871, published in IH, 25 February 1871, p. 3. Sheil to Murray, 6 April 1871, MDA, A4-7-1.

60. MacKillop to Woods, 15 & 22 May and 14 June 1871. Reports of the Examination of the Schools, 20 June - 25 July 1871, ASSJ. MacKillop wrote from Port Augusta on 15 & 22 May, from Franklin Street, Adelaide on 14 June, from Wallaroo on 20 June and 30 August and from Kadina on 23 August. According to the "Reports" she examined the Wallaroo and Moonta schools on 20 June, Kadina on 21 June, Clare on 3 July, Koorunga (Burra) on 5 July, Hoyleton on 10 July, Rhynie and Tarlee on 12 July, Marrabel on 14 July, Kapunda on 17 July, St John's on 18 July, Bagot's Gap on 19 July, Greenock on 20 July and Gawler on 25 July.

61. IH, 5 June 1871, noted the arrival of sisters at Hoyleton with a view to opening a school there. Strele, "Historia Domus", p. 16, corroborates this evidence. According to the CSC, 29 July 1871, p. 250, Auburn was opened in late July. This explains its omission from MacKillop's list of schools visited by her in June-July 1871.

62. The schools opened in 1871 were at Rhynie, Bagot's Gap, Grand Junction, Magill, Port Augusta, Hoyleton and Auburn. Rhynie, Hoyleton, Port Augusta and Auburn were in the Sevenhill district and Magill in the Jesuits' Norwood mission area. Grand Junction was in Woods' own North Adelaide area while Bagot's Gap was in the Kapunda area then served by Horan and his assistant, Roche.

MacKillop examined each school thoroughly. While she found much that pleased her, she also discovered that some of the clergy had good grounds for their complaints.<sup>63</sup> A case in point was that of Sister Ursula (Anne Ross)<sup>64</sup> of Kadina, who was unsure whether she should remain a sister or not and who had upset the local priest by her "imprudence and thoughtlessness." MacKillop visited Kadina in June and again in August, when she was detained there for some weeks because of illness.<sup>65</sup> Hence she had ample opportunity to observe this sister's behaviour and decide how to help her rectify it.

While MacKillop was thus busily engaged, events with an important bearing on the Institute's future were occurring elsewhere. In June Bishop Matthew Quinn of Bathurst, a country diocese in New South Wales, arrived in Adelaide expressly to visit Josephite schools as he wished to establish the Institute there.<sup>66</sup> He asked Sheil for sisters to open schools at Wentworth and Bourke in western

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63. MacKillop to Woods, 20 June 1871.

64. Ursula (Anne Ross), R36, was born in the East Indies in April 1848. Her father was R. Ross and no record has been kept of her mother's name. It seems that she was a convert to Catholicism although the record of her baptism cannot be traced in any South Australia baptismal registers. She entered the Institute in July 1868, was professed in March 1870, and dismissed by Sheil in September 1871.

65. MacKillop to Woods, 21 June and 30 August 1871. MacKillop to "Rev. and Dear Father," 23 May 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1308. This letter was probably addressed to Reynolds although it may have been intended for Cardinal Barnabo. It was forwarded to Rome by Reynolds in May 1872.

66. CSC, 21 June 1871, p. 231. Woods to MacKillop, 13 June 1871. Quinn's diocese then comprised almost all of New South Wales west of the Blue Mountains.

New South Wales and then departed for home with the understanding that Woods would go to Bathurst in August to finalise the arrangements for these two foundations.<sup>67</sup>

Both Sheil and Woods were delighted that another bishop was interested in the work and willingly acceded to Quinn's request.

Woods may also have been glad of this opportunity to leave the colony for a time, as his health was still far from good and his tenure of North Adelaide was about to expire in favour of the Augustinian, James Nowlan. On 17 July, Sheil finalised an agreement between himself and the Augustinian Fathers, in the person of Nowlan, making over to them the mission of North Adelaide, on the condition that the Order make a permanent foundation there.<sup>68</sup> It is uncertain whether Nowlan, whom Woods, regarded as his best friend, expected to take charge immediately, or whether he was prepared to wait until the agreement was ratified by his superiors in Ireland. What does seem

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67. Woods to MacKillop, 13 June 1871. MacKillop, "Life of Woods," Resource 6, pp. 109-110.

68. The Irish Augustinian Archives, Ballyboden, Dublin, carton 2, no. 3A, contain two documents, both in Woods' handwriting, as diocesan secretary, and signed by Sheil. The first, dated 19 March 1871, was an agreement between Sheil and the Augustinians, in the person of the Rev. J.A. Nowlan O.S.A. giving them all church premises and belongings of North Adelaide provided that it serve as a foundation for their Order, that they perform all parochial duties and that they pay off the debt on the church (£3,300 @ 7.5% interest) and specifying that, should they cease to exist in the diocese the church, mission and all belongings should revert to the bishop of the diocese and that, should a future bishop wish to make North Adelaide his cathedral parish the Augustinians be given a comparable mission. This document was signed by Sheil, Nowlan and Woods, the secretary. The second document, dated 17 July 1871, was identical as to content and was signed by Sheil alone.

certain is that, once this document was signed, he turned against Woods and allegedly began treating him very badly<sup>69</sup> and that, even though another priest was appointed to North Adelaide in September, Nowlan took full responsibility for the management of the mission from the time of Woods' departure.<sup>70</sup>

Another probable cause of worry to Woods, and one that does not rate a mention in the surviving correspondence of the period, was that Rose Cunningham was certified insane and admitted to the Adelaide Lunatic asylum on 19 July. Since MacKillop was busy in the country he would almost certainly have been involved in the events surrounding Rose's admission into the asylum.

On 18 July, the day before Rose's committal, Sheil and Horan left for Victoria to attend the opening of a new church in Ballarat on 6 August. Woods, who had arranged to follow later, left Adelaide on 1 August, took part in the Ballarat ceremonies, saw Sheil and Horan off on their return journey to South Australia and then proceeded to Sydney.<sup>71</sup> He went to Bathurst, discussed the proposed

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69. Tappeiner, evidence to Apostolic Commission, 11 June 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1407. This priest stated that he noted a change in Nowlan's behaviour towards Woods about two weeks before Woods left South Australia, i.e. at about the time of the signing of the document discussed above. MacKillop to Woods, 21 November 1871. Hewett to Woods, 14 November 1871, as quoted in O'Neill, Woods, pp. 210-211. Bernard Walsh to MacKillop, 18 August 1870.

70. IH, 30 September 1871, p. 8 and 18 November 1871, p. 7. North Adelaide Baptismal Register, 1869-1881, Catholic Presbytery, North Adelaide, entries for 1871. SC, 3 September 1920, Obituary of Father Nevin.

71. Woods, "Memoirs," book 2, pp. 75-76. Tappeiner to his General,

Josephite foundations with Quinn and then became involved in such a busy round of missions and retreats that there was no question of his immediate return to Adelaide.<sup>72</sup>

It has been alleged that Sheil was responsible for Woods' being asked to do this work which prolonged his absence and deprived the sisters of his guidance at a time when they particularly needed it.

Woods' absence was not an unmixed evil for it enabled MacKillop to take full responsibility for her decisions and actions concerning the Institute. She wrote regularly to him for advice but he was constantly on the move and some of her letters took several weeks reach him.<sup>73</sup>

However, she now had enough confidence in her own judgement to know that, as the person on the spot, she was often in a better position than he to make a decision and acted accordingly.<sup>74</sup> Her sojourn in Queensland had enabled her to reach an independence of judgement in matters pertaining to the Institute and to distinguish between the roles of superior and founder. The time of her tutelage was now over and she was ready to assume her rightful position as superior, to exercise her authority

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p. 5; evidence, 11 June 1872, f. 1404. Mechtilde Woods, "History", p. 63. IH, 28 October 1871, p. 8. MacKillop "Life of Woods," Resource 6, p. 111. IH, 19 August 1871, p. 8, reported that Sheil arrived back in Adelaide on 12 August.

72. Woods to MacKillop, 19 & 27 August and 11 September 1871.

73. Woods to MacKillop, 27 August, 11 & 29 September and 24 November 1871.

74. MacKillop to Woods, September - December 1871, especially 26 September and 3 December. All her letters from 1871 on, especially those written after her excommunication, bear the stamp of this confidence in her own ability to lead.

over all the Institute's houses and members and to face the approaching crisis with equanimity.<sup>75</sup>

That crisis was nearer than she or the sisters suspected. Sheil and Horan were back in Adelaide by 15 August and, even though Woods was away, the bishop continued to praise the sisters and their work. He appointed Tappeiner to be their director for the time being and, on 24 August, spoke to him of them in glowing terms.<sup>76</sup> He also laughingly remarked to another person that he did not know what he would have done without the Sisters of St. Joseph.<sup>77</sup> Then, suddenly and unexpectedly, his whole attitude towards them changed. The reason for this change seems to have been that, at about this time (the European mail arrived in Adelaide on 25 August) he received a formal letter from Cardinal Barnabo, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda in Rome.<sup>78</sup> The Cardinal acknowledged the receipt of Sheil's report on the visionary affair and expressed his confidence that the bishop would use

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75. Daniel Lyne, CP, Mary MacKillop, Spirituality and Charisms, Sisters of St Joseph, Sydney, 1983, p. 113. MacKillop to Woods, 3 December 1871. Press, Woods, p. 98.

76. Tappeiner, evidence to the Apostolic Commission, 11 June 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1407.

77. Advertiser, 17 October 1871, Open Column, letter from "Unus ex Scandalisatus". Catholic laity to Barnabo, 5 December 1871, SOCG 1873, vol 1000, ff. 1332-1347.

78. Register, 26 August 1871, p. 4. IH, 26 August 1871, p. 8. Barnabo to Sheil, 15 June 1870, ACA, S3-01. This letter was stamped at Alexandria on 4 July, and so would have missed the July mail. The Adelaide date stamp, marking the date of its arrival here, is blurred and cannot be deciphered.

appropriate means to bring the serious disturbances in his diocese to an end. He then reprimanded him quite sharply for having dismissed Russell, whom he considered to have acted with good will, especially concerning his inquiry into the Holy Week outrage.

This letter played right into the hands of the priests pressing for the reform of the Josephites.<sup>79</sup> These men led Sheil to believe that Woods had deceived him on many counts. They alleged that he had changed the sisters' rule after it had been approved by the bishop, that he had incurred enormous debts without Sheil's knowledge or consent and that, despite Woods' assurances to the contrary, the cost of keeping the sisters was more than the diocese could afford. They also told the bishop that the sisters were inculcating superstitious practices in the schools and were openly disobeying their pastors.<sup>80</sup>

Sheil was shocked, even though these accusations were,

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79. Fitzgibbon to Barnabo, 7 May 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1285, wrote that the bishop had received serious complaints regarding the Sisters of St Joseph, and that, "having your Eminence's instructions to use all vigilance in the matter" had decided to make changes in the sisters' rules. Horan claimed that the result of Russell's report on the Holy Week outrage, which he [Horan] described as a complaint about the Josephites as a whole, was an immediate dispatch from Rome "calling on the bishop to take action in the matter." Doubtless he was referring to the letter cited above. Press, Woods, p. 106, claims that there had been no official response to Russell's report. This is not so: Barnabo wrote twice to Sheil with reference to it, on 29 November 1870 and 15 June 1871, (ACA S3-01). Hughes, evidence, f. 1400, reported that the dying Sheil had referred to the Cardinal's letters and how he had entrusted the sisters to the care and vigilance of the bishop.

80. Tappeiner to his General, p. 15.

by and large, merely reiterations of those made in the memorial given him in February. He became upset, to the point of tears, at the thought of the children being "trained in superstitions."<sup>81</sup> Hence he was easily convinced that his education system, his pride and joy, was under threat because of the ignorance and incompetence of the sisters and that, in obedience to Rome, he should take steps to rectify matters before any further damage was done. Therefore, and contrary to his previous practice, he began making frequent visits to the Franklin Street convent. He complained angrily of the size of the Franklin Street community, the sisters' general ignorance and apparent uselessness and their "Methodistical custom" of having so much singing in the schools.<sup>82</sup> He suggested that some changes should be made and proposed having the sisters examined as to their educational qualifications. Any who were unfitted for the work of teaching were to leave the Institute and all future postulants were to see him before their entry into the Institute.<sup>83</sup> Soon afterwards he sent one prospective postulant home again because he considered that she had had insufficient schooling.<sup>84</sup>

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81. *ibid.* p. 16.

82. MacKillop, 23 May 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1308.

83. Teresa to MacKillop, 29 August & 3 September 1871. Teresa MacDonald & Monica Phillips, report, 23 May 1872, as sent by Reynolds to Rome, SOCG 1873, vol 1000, f. 1304.

84. Teresa to MacKillop, 3 September 1871, commented that this girl "was never at school but could read and write a little."

The sisters were surprised and disturbed by Sheil's changed behaviour and looked anxiously for MacKillop's homecoming. She finally returned to Adelaide from Kadina on 6 September to be met by an angry bishop. Sheil, who had received some complaints about Ursula, was annoyed that she had left this sister behind and ordered her to return at once and fetch her to town. He informed MacKillop that his Victorian friends had recently taunted him over the ignorance of the Josephite sisters and that, as a consequence, he had decided upon raising standards in the schools by having music and other accomplishments taught in them. He added that he intended transferring the Franklin Street convent, with the attached Poor School, to the Dominican sisters. Although somewhat taken aback, for this was the first MacKillop had heard of the proposed transfer, she expressed her pleasure at being asked to give up the convent, saying that it was too good for members of the poor Josephite Institute.<sup>85</sup>

Sheil gave no reason for his decision to take the convent from the Josephites, but his move was later explained in terms of their inability to raise the money still owing on it.<sup>86</sup> However, he had already considered the possibility of moving them from Franklin Street and that for a very different reason. A short time before his interview with MacKillop, he and Tappeiner, who as the

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85. Teresa to MacKillop, 29 August & 3 September 1871. MacKillop, 23 May 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1308.

86. T Murphy, evidence to Apostolic Commission, SOCG 1873, vol 1000, f. 1398. Horan, Funeral Oration, pp. 8 & 9.

sisters' director was doubtless aware of the tensions that existed between the two communities, had discussed the wisdom of having them living in such close proximity with each other. Sheil had seen that it would be desirable to move the Josephites, but, on further consideration, had decided that it would be unjust to do so because they had been there first. Tappeiner had agreed, but had added that he believed justice would be satisfied if the sisters were given a comparable dwelling elsewhere. The conversation had ended on this note and Tappeiner had heard no more of the matter. Hence, he was astonished to learn that Sheil had not only raised it with MacKillop, but had actually ordered her to find alternative accommodation for her sisters without offering her any assistance to do so.<sup>87</sup>

The Dominican Sisters were offered the convent on the condition that they undertake full responsibility for the £1500 or £2000 still owing on it.<sup>88</sup> This small community, struggling to survive in an environment so alien to the one its members had left in Dublin, was thus, at the stroke of a pen, saddled with a debt which it had not incurred and had no means of paying. In fact, the Dominicans were then scarcely better off than the Josephites. Sheil had told their superiors in Ireland that he would provide all their needs and that they need not bring even their dowries with them. Consequently,

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87. Tappeiner, evidence, SOCG 1873, vol 1000, f. 1406.

88. Horan, Funeral Oration, p. 9. Russell to Murray of Maitland, 15 January 1873, ACA.

like the Josephites, they too, were almost entirely dependent on the income from their school for their subsistence and were living in a church-owned building with no security of tenure.<sup>89</sup>

The way this transfer was made, as well as the way Byrne recorded it in his History of the Catholic Church in South Australia, gave rise to longstanding misunderstanding between the two communities, despite MacKillop's efforts to counteract it.<sup>90</sup> The Dominicans were thus drawn unwittingly into the conflict about to wrack the Church in the colony and were to suffer a great deal before that conflict was resolved. Little is known of their sufferings because, as one of their number put it: "The early days were too sad to be recorded in full."<sup>91</sup> What was at issue here cut deeper than the tensions and jealousies between the members of two religious orders with very different origins and membership. Rather, it was a question of the scant

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89. Sister M. Attracta Murphy O.P. "Annals of Holy Cross Province", unpublished m/s, Dominican Convent Archives, Cabra, Clarence Pk, S.A. p. 6. The writer here states that Sheil had promised the sisters that he would provide everything they needed. In the event, he had little to give and the small number of pupils in their school did not pay sufficient in fees to meet their expenses.

90. Byrne, History, p. 222. Murphy, "Annals", p. 22, notes that Byrne wrote that the bishop put the Dominican nuns in charge of the Franklin street convent on the condition that they sign a bond for the payment of the debt on the building. He went on to say that the nuns willingly accepted the condition and became sole occupiers of the premises. Murphy asks whether Byrne realised what bitter feeling would be generated by his use of the word "willingly", because it suggests that the Dominicans were accomplices in a conspiracy to evict the Josephites whereas what it really meant was that they were willing to do as the bishop had asked them.

91. Murphy, "Annals", p. 10.

consideration given women in the Church by the men who held positions of authority in that Church.<sup>92</sup>

The proposed changes to the Josephite rule likewise indicated that the clergy had little consideration for, or understanding of, the needs of religious women. When MacKillop inquired of the bishop what she was to do with the invalids who had previously been cared for at the Mother House, His Lordship outlined a plan whereby all the houses of the Institute should be kept quite separate and added that he would dismiss from the Institute any sister who refused to concur with his proposed alterations to the rule. These were brave words, but when MacKillop asked how soon the proposed changes were to be implemented Sheil replied rather vaguely that they might be introduced by the end of the year.<sup>93</sup>

The Institute of St Joseph, to use its full title, was an institute of diocesan right. Therefore, as bishop of the diocese, Sheil was the sisters' ecclesiastical superior. He had an added claim to jurisdiction over the Josephites because their Institute had been founded in his diocese and owed its continuing existence to his approval

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92. Purcell, Maureen "The Original Sin: Submission as Survival. Women Religious in the Early Maitland Diocese" in Sabine Willis ed. Women, Faith and Fetes, Dove, Melbourne, 1977, pp. 194-217. On p. 205 she describes the position of the Dominican nuns in the Maitland diocese under the autocratic James Murray who was "unstinting in this praise so long as the nuns remained dependent and submissive, he accounted unswerving loyalty and obedience as the highest virtue." SCCH 30 October 1869, pp. 406-407, "Education and the Rights of Women." Press, Woods, p. 104.

93. MacKillop, 23 May 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1309.

and patronage. Hence, he had the right to make necessary changes to their rules and, if circumstances appeared to warrant it, the power to disband them. That however, was the limit of his power. Neither he nor any other ecclesiastic could oblige sisters who had taken vows according to one set of rules to accept a new or altered one.<sup>94</sup>

The changes Sheil now proposed were so radical that their adoption would have altered the entire character of the Institute. The most important of these was that the community be divided into two classes, namely, choir and lay sisters. As well, each house was to be under the complete control of the local pastor and have no ties beyond those of friendship with other houses of the Institute. There was to be no movement or interchange of sisters between houses. Only paying pupils were to be admitted into their schools and the sisters were to teach music, languages and other refined accomplishments if and when required.<sup>95</sup> Seemingly Sheil and his advisers had expected the sisters to comply with their suggestions without demur. However, they soon discovered that the sisters knew their rights according to church law and understood the seriousness of their obligations under the existing rule.

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94. Tappeiner, evidence to Apostolic Commission, 11 June 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1408. Nowlan, evidence, f. 1404, defended the bishop's right to make changes "for the good of the diocese."

95. Nowlan, evidence, ff. 1403-1404. Monica Phillips to Woods, 8 October 1871.

Horan and Murphy, were sent by Sheil to examine their educational attainments and teaching ability with a view to classifying them as lay or choir sisters. Allegedly, the examiners concentrated their efforts on those who had charge of the institutions and were not teachers at all and on the youngest and least experienced members of the community while they ignored any better educated women altogether. Their manner was so abrasive that they "thoroughly aroused the indignation of the Little Sister", Teresa MacDonald, who spoke so angrily that Horan felt obliged to discontinue the examination for the time.<sup>96</sup>

Horan did not give in easily and decided instead, to enforce another aspect of the as yet unformulated new rule. As parish priest and superior of the Josephite community at Kapunda, he selected three sisters, Angela Carroll, Francis Xavier Amsinck and Sebastian Fitzgerald, for his mission and ordered them to go to Kapunda at once. In their confusion and uncertainty these sisters obeyed and set off for their new appointment without delay.<sup>97</sup>

In the meantime, MacKillop had presented Sheil with a letter containing a clear statement of her position. She explained that she had regarded the rule as sacred ever since he had given it his approval and therefore, that she could not in conscience see it altered and still remain a

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96. MacKillop, 23 May 1873, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1309. MacKillop to Woods, 19 September 1871.

97. MacKillop, 23 May 1873, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1310.

member of the Institute. She added that she was most upset because changes were being mooted during Woods' absence and without his knowledge or consent.<sup>98</sup> For Mary MacKillop the penning of that letter, her first ever to a bishop, was her moment of truth, the moment when she achieved full maturity as a woman and a Sister of St Joseph. She wrote it while travelling alone between Wallaroo and Adelaide and showed it to no-one before handing it to His Lordship. Only later, after he had vented his anger upon her because, as he said, he had not expected such from her, did she show it to Tappeiner and William Kennedy in order to reassure herself that she had not overstepped the bounds of propriety.<sup>99</sup>

To Sheil, who would not readily admit that a woman had the right to differ from him in opinion, this letter, although couched in reverent and respectful terms, appeared little short of defiant. He bitterly reproached MacKillop with want of religious submission, saying that he had made the rule (which was scarcely true) and that he would alter it if he so desired, and asking her if she dared dispute his right to do so.<sup>100</sup> His angry reaction may also be explained by the fact that he now had other problems to contend with as well. On the previous

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98. MacKillop to Sheil, 10 September 1871. This letter is printed in full in "A Sister of St Joseph," Life and Letters of Mother Mary of the Cross, Sisters of St Joseph, Sydney, 1916, pp. 49-51.

99. MacKillop to Woods, 19 September 1871. Tappeiner to MacKillop, 11 September 1871; William Kennedy to MacKillop, 11 September 1871; Tappeiner to his General, p. 18.

100. MacKillop to Woods, 3 December 1871, p. 18. MacKillop, 23 May 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1310.

Saturday, the Irish Harp newspaper had published a letter asking why Adelaide's Catholics had not been invited to send an address of congratulation to the Pope on the occasion of the silver jubilee of his elevation to the Papacy and had not been called upon to discuss the Education Bill then before parliament. Somewhat to everyone's surprise, Sheil responded by publicly condemning the Harp.<sup>101</sup>

The sisters, then, were not the only ones in trouble with a bishop whose behaviour was becoming increasingly unpredictable and who seems to have been hitting out at any who dared to cross him, regardless of the seriousness of the point at issue. Seventeen years later Woods described this side of Sheil's character when he wrote that the bishop was

a timid, gentle man who did not like having a quarrel with anybody: well perhaps it is incorrect to call him timid, because once roused to action he took a course which a timid man would shrink from, but he was easygoing and did not like to have his peace disturbed, and above all, his amiability of character made him regard contention and strife as unbearable. 102

Like many another timid man, when thoroughly aroused Sheil seemed to lose all ability to reason, acted hastily without due regard for the consequences and then contradicted himself as he tried to justify his actions. He did not remain in Adelaide to face further conflict at

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101. MacKillop to Woods, 16 September 1871. IH, 9, 16 & 23 September 1871.

102. Woods, "Memoirs", book 2, pp. 71-72.

this point for, on Tuesday 12 September, he left for Port Augusta on his first pastoral visitation of the far north and was away for a week.<sup>103</sup> Horan did not accompany his bishop on this journey, doubtless because he had important business to finalise concerning the sisters, a number of whom he and Murphy had yet to examine.

As the pressure mounted, MacKillop began considering the possibility of transferring all the sisters to another diocese where they might be able to follow their rule unmolested.<sup>104</sup> A letter from Woods indicating that all would be welcome at Bathurst encouraged her in this train of thought.<sup>105</sup> Then, for a brief moment, it seemed as if her hopes were about to be realised. On 21 September, she received a telegram from Woods asking that sisters be sent to the Bathurst diocese immediately.<sup>106</sup> There was only one major obstacle in the way of their going - they could not leave the diocese without the bishop's permission. She would need to see Sheil as soon as possible to discuss this important matter.

However, the time for such discussion was now past. With MacKillop at hand Sheil's advisers knew they had little hope of persuading the sisters to accept any

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103. MacKillop to Woods, 16 & 19 September 1871. Tappeiner to MacKillop, 11 September 1871. Port Lincoln Parish Confirmation Registers, St Mary's Church, Port Lincoln.

104. MacKillop to Woods, 19 September 1871.

105. Woods to MacKillop, 11 September 1871.

106. MacKillop, 23 May 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1310.

alterations to their rule. Therefore, they had him order her to go at once to Bagot's Gap, a convent in Horan's mission area and about fifty miles from Adelaide.<sup>107</sup>

This was an obvious ploy to clear the deck for the next move and also to keep her effectively under surveillance and limit her contact with the sisters. She was away from Franklin Street when Sheil's command arrived and did not learn of it until it was too late for her to catch that day's train.<sup>108</sup>

On the same day Sheil announced that MacKillop no longer had any authority over the Institute or its members. He ordered Teresa MacDonald to take charge of the Hall School and to see that all the sisters from the Providence, Orphanage and convent were gathered together on the following morning as he wished to see them, presumably to present them with the new rule and to outline the options available to them. He refused to provide a copy of the proposed changes (these were not written down either then or later) and complained bitterly that the sisters were idle, had a false view of religion and the religious life and were choking the children with religion.<sup>109</sup> Next he dismissed two sisters from the

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107. Report of Apostolic Commissioners, 10 July 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1367.

108. MacKillop, evidence to Apostolic Commission, June 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1388.

109. Nowlan, evidence, 10 June 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1403. Teresa and Monica, 23 May 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1304. Tappeiner to his General, p. 21. MacKillop, evidence, f. 1384. Report of Apostolic Commission, 10 July 1872, f. 1366.

Institute against their wishes, the first, Magdalen, (Margaret O'Keefe), because she declined to accept the altered rule and the second, Ursula Ross, because he claimed that she did not have a vocation to the Institute. He had interviewed Ursula since her return from Kadina and had then indicated that he was more than satisfied with her!<sup>110</sup>

MacKillop arrived home that evening to learn for the first time of Sheil's directive that she go to Bagot's Gap. She had not yet informed him about the latest news from Bathurst and so asked for an interview. Horan, to whom she spoke, replied that it was unlikely that the bishop would see her and offered to take a message instead. She then explained that she considered it her duty to know the exact nature of the proposed changes to the rule and that she could not in conscience consent to any major alterations. She made it quite clear that she understood that the bishop had every right to act as he thought best in the matter but that, as she had not only vowed to observe the original rule but had been prepared for the greatest struggle in its defence, she felt that she could not follow any other.<sup>111</sup> At this point Horan, who had previously assured Teresa that no changes were being mooted, confirmed that Sheil intended modifying it in some ways.

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110. Teresa and Monica, 23 May 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1304. MacKillop to Francis Xavier Amsinck, 21 September 1871.

111. MacKillop, evidence, June 1873, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, ff. 1387-1388. MacKillop to Woods, 26 September 1871. Report of Apostolic Commissioners, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1367.

When MacKillop requested that the sisters be called together to have the bishop's wishes explained to them and that the whole matter be deferred until Woods' return, Horan retorted indignantly that Sheil, not Woods, was the bishop.<sup>112</sup> He then played his trump card and asked her directly whether she was prepared to go to the country the next day or not. If she refused he could accuse her of deliberate disobedience to her bishop, have him apply the appropriate sanctions and so disgrace her publicly in the hope that the sisters would lose all confidence in her. If, on the other hand, she complied, her going could be interpreted as submission and there would then be little difficulty in persuading the community to do as the bishop wished. MacKillop feared the consequences of her refusal to go but dared not give her sisters cause to think that she had embraced the new rule. So, for the second time in ten days, she took her courage in both hands and showed her position clearly as she asked simply: "How can I under those rules?"<sup>113</sup> Armed with her refusal Horan returned to the bishop's house.

MacKillop knew where she stood and was prepared to pay the price for her stand, but not all her sisters were so sure of themselves. They pressed her to help them resolve their dilemma, but she declined to speak for them, telling each to make her own decision according to her understanding of her obligations as a member of the

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112. MacKillop, evidence, June 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, ff. 1388-1389.

113. MacKillop, 23 May 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1311. MacKillop, evidence, June 1872, f. 1389.

Institute.<sup>114</sup>

What transpired between Horan and Sheil that evening has not been recorded, but their meeting gave rise to a new development. They decided to threaten MacKillop with excommunication, the ultimate ecclesiastical sanction. Horan, who relayed this threat to the convent, saw Teresa, who understood that MacKillop was already excommunicated. This sister carried the fateful message to her superior, who replied calmly that she could not have acted otherwise, even as she accepted her sentence as an accomplished fact.<sup>115</sup> It is important to note that at this point the sisters believed that MacKillop was excommunicated because of her refusal to accept an altered rule, not, as Horan claimed, for her non-compliance with Sheil's command that she go to Bagot's Gap.<sup>116</sup>

Horan later denied the substance of his conversation with the foundress that night and maintained that she was excommunicated for disobedience and for inciting the sisters to rebel against lawful authority as vested in their bishop. He further claimed that the Institute was broken up because the sisters were ignorant and uneducated and therefore unsuited for either teaching or caring for the destitute poor and denied categorically that there was

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114. *ibid.*

115. Teresa and Monica, 23 May 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1305.

116. Horan, evidence, June 1872, SOCG vol. 1000, f. 1397. Horan, Funeral Oration, p13.

ever any question of changing their rule.<sup>117</sup> However, there is no doubt that the rule played an important part in Sheil's thinking at the time, for shortly after MacKillop's excommunication he wrote to Matthew Quinn that the sisters had challenged his power to modify their rule even though it derived its power solely from his approbation.<sup>118</sup>

This whole incident is surrounded by such a confusion of contradictory statements and reports that it is exceedingly difficult to form an accurate picture of what happened. However, there is no doubt that Horan played a key role in it. This priest, who had made no secret of his antipathy towards Woods and the Sisters of St Joseph, was the intermediary between MacKillop and the bishop on the night of 21 September. The accuracy of his reporting and the strength of the pressure he brought to bear on Sheil to deal firmly with the recalcitrant nun cannot be checked. Yet, it seems that the bishop acted more quickly and more severely than he had intended and that he failed to consider the possible ramifications of his hasty actions on those concerned, especially the members of the Franklin Street community.

Horan was the sisters' chief examiner during the first weeks of September and then stood beside the bishop at

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117. MacKillop to Woods, 15 November 1871. Horan, Funeral Oration, pp. 6-11, and 13-14. Horan, evidence, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1397.

118. M Quinn to Woods, 12 October 1871. In this letter Quinn quoted verbatim from one he had recently received from Sheil.

MacKillop's excommunication.<sup>119</sup> He continued to act as de facto vicar general during the succeeding months and hence had access to all matters concerning this case. Yet his testimony about it is contradictory.<sup>120</sup> Thus, he denied that the Josephite rule was ever an issue, even though there can be no doubt that it was and that far-reaching changes were being proposed.<sup>121</sup> At least one sister was dismissed because she objected to these changes and MacKillop herself was certain that she was being asked to accept an altered rule.<sup>122</sup> The sisters believed that the rule held an important place in the whole controversy and were much confused by Horan's and Sheil's contradictory statements and changes of tactic concerning it. As MacKillop wrote to Woods on 14 October, three weeks after her excommunication:

The Bishop now says one thing at one time and contradicts it again, or rather Father Horan does. On Wednesday the Bishop told Sister Gertrude that the rule was not altered nor would be. He did so in the presence of Fathers Theodore and Horan. Immediately after, the

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119. Horan, evidence, f. 1397.

120. Horan's arguments about the proposed changes to the sisters' rule are confusing. In the Funeral Oration, p. 8, he described the anti-Josephite memorial and then went on to say that a similar document had already been dispatched to Rome, see Chapter 4, fn. 117 for details. Horan further claimed, p. 10, that the Institute was founded solely for the purposes of education, even though the first paragraph of the rule states quite clearly that the sisters might also undertake social welfare type works. Much of what he said in the Oration was contradicted by the witnesses attending the Apostolic Commission in the following June.

121. In addition to the correspondence and evidence of the sisters as already cited, the Irish Harp, 7 & 28 October 1871, made an issue of the fact that the sisters had been asked to agree to quite drastic changes to their rule. So also did Nowlan, evidence to Apostolic Commission, June 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1404.

122. MacKillop to Francis Xavier Amsinck, 21 September 1871. MacKillop to Sheil, 10 September 1871.

latter told her that it was altered and how. The poor Sister nearly distracted exclaimed, "Who was she to believe, her Bishop or Pastor?" [sic] 123

A week later she returned to the same subject in similar vein:

The poor Bishop says one thing and is again contradicted by the priests. Sometimes he says the rule is not altered and again he says it is. What he says to one Sister he contradicts to another. You may imagine the confusion and perplexity of the Sisters. 124

MacKillop held Horan responsible for much of the confusion that reigned at this time. She felt that he was insincere, not to be trusted and deliberately in the wrong. She found it hard to keep down bitter thoughts about him and concluded that he was "an awful man."<sup>125</sup> These were strong expressions of feeling from one generally noted for her veneration for the priesthood and her intolerance of any who passed disparaging remarks about any priest, even under great provocation.<sup>126</sup>

Horan may have been responsible for Woods' continued absence during this critical period. When Woods wrote announcing his intention of returning to Adelaide in early October, Sheil, or possibly Horan acting in Sheil's name, telegraphed Polding asking him to detain Woods in Sydney

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123. MacKillop to Woods, 14 October 1871.

124. MacKillop to Woods, 21 October 1871.

125. MacKillop to Woods, 21 & 30 October 1871; n.d. but by internal evidence, about the last week of January 1872; 26 March 1872.

126. MacKillop to Woods, 18 November 1869, 30 October & 21 November 1871.

at his pleasure,<sup>127</sup> thus effectively banishing him from Adelaide and preventing his intervening on the sisters' behalf. Reynolds considered that Horan's implacable hatred towards Woods and the Josephites lay at the root of the trouble<sup>128</sup> while Matthew Quinn believed that he had not only exaggerated, but also falsified, the acts, words and feelings of the sisters towards the bishop.<sup>129</sup>

Tappeiner wrote of him that:

He was considered a great man and extremely eloquent by the Bishop and others. But those who observed him more deeply immediately saw that he was a conceited man, lacking religious spirit and zeal and greedy for advancement. 130

Sheil loved and trusted his fellow Franciscan and saw in him the potential for great things. So too did most of the junior clergy, who supported his stand in the current controversy.<sup>131</sup> On the other hand, the Irish Harp held him responsible for all the troubles then besetting the Sisters of St Joseph and the diocese.<sup>132</sup>

Horan, who was young, headstrong and ambitious, seemingly abused Sheil's trust in order to destroy Woods

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127. Woods to MacKillop, 19 & 27 August and 29 September 1871.  
Tappeiner to MacKillop, 10 October 1871.

128. Reynolds to Barnabo, 23 May 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1317.

129. M. Quinn to Barnabo, 17 June 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1325.

130. Tappeiner to his General, p. 4.

131. Fathers Nowlan, O'Sullivan, Roche, Henderson, Horan, Cleary, Patrick Byrne, Michael Kennedy to Barnabo, n.d. but by internal evidence, early May 1872, SRCO vol. 9, f. 1355.

132. IH, 7, 14, 21 & 28 October and 18 November 1871; 9 & 30 March 1872.

through the Sisters of St Joseph. Thus, it is quite likely that he misreported MacKillop and led the bishop to believe that she was rebelling against his authority and inciting her sisters to do likewise. Hence, Sheil excommunicated her, not because of her refusal to accept the much vaunted new rule, but for disobedience and rebellion. It was for disobedience that he sent her out of the convent and ordered the sisters to vacate the Franklin Street premises without first inquiring whether they had anywhere to go or any means of support.<sup>133</sup>

MacKillop went into the street in her religious habit because she had nothing else to wear. She hurried to the nearby home of James Woods<sup>134</sup> whose hospitality she accepted only until she could find somewhere to live incognito. (The bishop had made it clear that anyone who associated with her was also liable to excommunication.)<sup>135</sup> Most of the other sisters present, went to a house in King William Street South which they had taken following Sheil's earlier intimation that they should leave Franklin Street, even though it was not yet ready for occupation.<sup>136</sup> During the ensuing weeks, a

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133. Teresa and Monica, 23 May 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1306. Horan, evidence to Apostolic Commission, 4 June 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1397. Catholic laity to Barnabo, 5 December 1871, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, ff. 1332-1347.

134. Josiah Boothby, The Adelaide Almanack for 1872, gives the Woods' address as Franklin St. West. Mechtilde Woods, "History", vol. 2, p. 19.

135. MacKillop, evidence, June 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1393; Teresa, evidence, f. 1396.

136. Horan, evidence, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1397. MacKillop, evidence, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, ff. 1393-1394. MacKillop to Woods, 26 September, 11, 14, 21 & 26 October 1871.

number of sisters, especially those stationed in or near the city, sought dispensations from their vows or were given them gratuitously by the bishop. After a time, MacKillop intervened from her place of hiding and forbade any more sisters to seek dispensations unless absolutely forced to accept a new rule. She took this strong action because Sheil was reported to have said that they were demanding their freedom and hence, that his only choice was to let them go.<sup>137</sup> Some of the younger sisters felt that they could not continue living in a state of such uncertainty and returned to their families. A number of parents, concerned for the welfare of their daughters, came and took them home and then urged them to sever their ties with the Institute altogether.<sup>138</sup> In several instances local pastors arranged for sisters to return home against MacKillop's wishes and, in two at least, assisted their parents in arranging prompt marriages for them.<sup>139</sup>

Even at this low point the sisters still had some friends. Among the more notable of these was Emmanuel Solomon, the Adelaide Jew who had already demonstrated his support for them and their work. As soon as he became aware of their plight, he offered them the use of one of

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137. MacKillop to Woods, 11, 12, 21 & 26 October 1871.

138. MacKillop to Hyacinth, 17 October 1871; to Woods, 21 October, 6 & 7 November 1871. Elizabeth Etheridge to Woods, 17 December 1871.

139. These two were Jane Frances (Jane Mary Britt of Penola), R25, who married Thomas Stanley at Penola on 21 January 1872 (Penola Marriage Register, no. 120.) and Sister Martha (Catherine Ryan), R34, who married Henry Beck at Macclesfield on 19 November 1871 (Mount Barker Marriage Register, entry no. 291), ACA.

his houses in Flinders Street, rent free, for as long as they might need it.<sup>140</sup> Over twenty "sisters", dressed in secular clothes, moved in there with Teresa MacDonald acting as their superior. As they were no longer permitted to teach in the schools they subsisted by taking any work that they could find. Some of their older, more stable members went to positions outside the "convent" while the younger ones, especially those still in formation, took in needlework so that they could remain in its more sheltered environment.<sup>141</sup> They quickly settled into an ordered routine and lived as religious in so far as circumstances permitted. They even admitted three prospective postulants who had come from New South Wales eager to join the Institute despite its doubtful status.<sup>142</sup>

It is now impossible to form a comprehensive picture of all the sisters' movements during this time. However, the names of those dispensed from their vows and obliged to leave aside their habits can be deduced with reasonable accuracy and there is no doubt at all as to the identities of any professed sisters or novices who did not return

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140. MacKillop to Woods, 26 October 1871. IH, 28 October 1871.

141. MacKillop to Woods, 26 October & 25 November 1871. MacKillop, evidence, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, ff. 1393-1394. Francis Xavier to Woods, 26 December 1871.

142. MacKillop to Woods, 26 October 1871: "Last night we received the externs. Mrs. C. [Sarah Champion, a young widow, R122] is Sister Mary Veronica, Bridget [Bridget O'Rouarck, R123] is Sister Mary Felix and Lizzie [Elizabeth Quinn, R124] is Sister Mary Margaret." MacKillop to Woods, 7 November 1871.

when the crisis had passed.<sup>143</sup> According to MacKillop, 51 sisters either left or were dismissed from the Institute during the five months when she was under sentence of excommunication.<sup>144</sup> In Table IV below the total is shown as 52, not because MacKillop's figure was incorrect, but because it is difficult to be completely accurate where the evidence is sketchy.

TABLE IV: SISTERS WHO LEFT THE INSTITUTE DURING THE EXCOMMUNICATION PERIOD.

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<u>Category</u>	<u>Returned</u>	<u>Did not Return</u>	<u>TOTALS</u>
Professed sisters	24	13	37
Novices	7	4	11
Postulants	4	-	4
	<u>35</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>52</u>

Note: The names of postulants were not recorded.

The proportion of younger sisters to leave the Institute was high because most of the sisters were still very young and because many of the youngest of them were living in the city and suburban communities most seriously

143. Register of the Sisters & Sisters' Book of Records, ASSJ. See Appendix XI for a listing of these sisters. Although every care has been taken to check the evidence it is possible that this list may still contain some errors, because of doubtful or contradictory statements in some of the sources.

144. MacKillop, evidence, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1384.

145. Register of the Sisters. MacKillop to Woods, 26 September 1871 - 23 March 1872.

146. The average age of all the members of the Institute as at September 1871 was 24 1/2 years and their median age was 23. See Appendix XII for a detailed breakdown of the numbers of sisters who left at this time, according to their ages.

affected by the crisis.<sup>146</sup> It is also understandable that more from this age group made a permanent break with the Institute because they were still under age and hence, more susceptible to pressure from families and friends than their older companions. Taken overall, 85% of the Institute's members in September 1871 remained faithful to their commitment to the Institute throughout this entire period. Seemingly, Sheil had hoped that his harsh treatment of the foundress would cow them into submission. Instead, his very harshness served to harden most of them in their determination to reject the proffered changes and remain faithful to the rule they had embraced when they took their religious vows.

The sisters' consistent refusal to apportion blame or to enter into public debate over the affair convinced a number of people, both clerical and lay, that right might have been on their side. Several priests defended them against Sheil, and at least one, Theodore Bongäerts, suffered for having spoken out in their favour and having insisted on retaining them in his schools in the Port Adelaide area. In the event, the sisters left Port Adelaide and so did he, when he was abruptly transferred to Kadina as assistant priest. The Jesuits, Tappeiner and Hinteröcker, together with Bongäerts, Reynolds, William Kennedy and James Quinlan proved staunch friends to the sisters. They gave this support in spite of Sheil's having threatened them with suspension. Tappeiner and Hinteröcker, in particular, supported the sisters and encouraged them to believe that the crisis would soon pass

and that they would be reinstated in their former position in the Church. These two priests allowed MacKillop to attend Mass and receive the Sacraments in their church because they believed her sentence was invalid and unjust.<sup>147</sup>

The whole affair aroused the ire of many of the Catholic laity, especially those with daughters, sisters or other relatives in the Institute.<sup>148</sup> These people were not prepared to stand idly by and allow an act of injustice to be perpetrated against a group of women whom they considered innocent of the charges laid against them. This strong lay reaction began when, on the day of her excommunication, MacKillop went to the Woods home. She found that James was very angry indeed because his daughter Ellen (Sister Mechtilde), had been expelled from the Franklin Street convent and his brother Julian's life work was being treated so cavalierly in his absence.<sup>149</sup> James Woods wanted redress and so, in spite of MacKillop's protestations, decided to publicise the affair. He and C.J. Fox, editor of the Irish Harp, believed that the only way to prevent further injustice was to give the case editorial prominence in the Harp.<sup>150</sup> Fox, an Englishman and a convert, who has been described as a "fiery,

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147. MacKillop to Woods, 16 September, 10, 26 & 30 October and 21 November 1871.

148. Laity of Adelaide to Barnabo, 5 December 1871, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1344.

149. MacKillop to Woods, 14 October 1871.

150. IH, 11 November 1871.

redheaded autocrat,"<sup>151</sup> felt he had nothing to lose by speaking out, since his paper had already been interdicted by Sheil over the Papal Jubilee and the Education Bill. Therefore, on 7 October 1871, that is, two weeks after MacKillop's excommunication, he published the first in a series of articles on "The Bishop and the Sisters of St Joseph." Within a short time, and much to MacKillop's acute embarrassment, everyone in South Australia, and even beyond, had learnt of the sisters' plight and the unhappy state of the Church in the colony.<sup>152</sup>

Fox began by giving a well-informed and clear exposition of the events of the previous weeks and concluded by stating that the excommunication was both invalid and inoperative because Sheil had not followed the proper ecclesiastical norms when imposing it and that, as a consequence, he was guilty of mortal sin and liable to the penalty of being deposed.<sup>153</sup> A spate of correspondence soon appeared in the public press. "Truth" presented the official reply to Fox's article in a letter to the Advertiser.<sup>154</sup> He glossed over the proposed

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151. Adrian Korff, one of Fox's former pupils, memo, ACA, used this term. Korff was quoted by Father R.A. Morrison, "The Story of Catholic Education in South Australia," unpublished m/s, ACA, as having told that there was general rejoicing at the East Adelaide Catholic School where Fox taught, when the students learnt of his impending resignation. SCCH, 20 December 1867, p. 65, lists Korff as a member of the third class in this school.

152. MacKillop to Woods, 11 & 14 October 1871. Woods to MacKillop, 10 & 17 October 1871. On 17 October Woods wrote: "As I suppose you know, everything up to the date of your last has been telegraphed here [Sydney] and is in the public papers."

153. IH, 7 October 1871, leading article.

154. Advertiser, 11 October 1871, open column.

changes to the Josephite rule and concentrated instead on the sisters' alleged ignorance and unsuitability as teachers. He claimed that Woods had admitted servant girls "in dozens" and that, as a result, both parents and pastors had become dissatisfied with the sisters. He then asserted that the bishop had no idea of the number admitted except by the encumbrance of debts on the diocese and that, when he discovered the true state of affairs, he had taken the Institute into his own hands and tried to remedy the evil by classifying the sisters into two grades, namely, teaching and lay sisters. "Truth" declared that when the sisters heard of Sheil's intention, all but one rebelled because they did not wish the ignorance of their majority to be made public by way of this classification. He next alleged that Sheil had had to expel MacKillop for acting in opposition <sup>to</sup> the Church and concluded with the statement that all who had been "liberated" had been provided with clothing by the bishop.<sup>155</sup>

Uneducated servant girls, it seems, had now become the problem. This was a marked change in emphasis and one that was quickly picked up by Fox in his next editorial, where he produced evidence to refute all of "Truth's"

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155. Register, 20 October 1871, Open Column, letter from R. Ross, father of Sister Ursula, who was dismissed by Sheil on 20 September, denying that his daughter had been given any clothing. MacKillop to Woods, 21 October 1871, wrote: "though we hear that it has been said at West Terrace that the Bishop offered clothing to the expelled sisters, we never heard of it."

statements.<sup>156</sup> He concentrated particularly on the need for servant girls in the Institute, "not by dozens but in proper proportion," if it was to perform its many different works satisfactorily, and on Sheil's numerous commendatory remarks about the contribution the Sisters of St. Joseph were making to the advancement of Catholic education in the colony.

The gauntlet once down, a number of writers sprang to the fray, some in Sheil's defence and others in support of Woods, the Sisters of St Joseph and the Irish Harp.<sup>157</sup> The result was a veritable newspaper war which continued unabated for nearly three months and which involved the Adelaide dailies and the violently anti-Catholic Protestant Advocate<sup>158</sup> as well as the Irish Harp. Fox devoted no less than four editorials to the subject of "The Bishop and the Sisters of St Joseph".<sup>159</sup> Several others treated of Sheil's dealings with the laity, especially the members of the Catholic Association and

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156. IH, 14 November 1871.

157. Letters appeared in the Advertiser on 11, 17, 19, 20, 26 & 30 October 1871 and in the Register on 9, 16, 20 & 30 October, 8, 14 & 16 November and 7 December 1871. A number of these were copied by the Chronicle. Fox copied some, but not all, in the Harp, while some correspondents wrote directly to that paper.

158. Protestant Advocate, 4 November 1871, pp. 6 & 7. H. Hussey, More than Half a Century of Colonial Life and Christian Experiences, Adelaide 1897, pp. 326-327. Hussey, a Baptist minister, claimed that he was one of the principal contributors to the Protestant Advocate and that he reported "the sayings and doings of Romanists" from time to time. He was not much encouraged by "pseudo-Protestants" who wanted peace and so he "received no thanks for the trouble [he] took to inform them of the past history of Popery, its present plans and schemes and its ultimate doom."

159. IH, 7, 14 & 28 October and 18 November 1871.

those who attended a meeting about the Catholic education question at West Terrace. In others again he rebutted claims that a bishop can do no wrong, defined the limitations of "legitimate authority" and condemned certain slanderous remarks which two Adelaide priests made about the Sisters from the cathedral pulpit.<sup>160</sup> He maintained that he was not opposed to the bishop because his paper had been denounced by Sheil, but rather because he:

judged it better, in the interests of the Church, for the public to know that the bishop had committed an injustice, than that a slur should be cast upon the reputation of the Sisters of St Joseph, and through them, upon all religious communities in connection with the Catholic Church.

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Fox was certainly biased in his reporting but his tactics proved effective. He watched every move of both bishop and clergy, especially those at West terrace, and kept their anti-Josephite activities before the public eye. It is significant that after Friday 13 October, the day before Fox published his second editorial on "The Bishop and the Sisters of St Joseph," Sheil made no further attempts to force the sisters to submit to his will regarding the new rule. It is equally significant that he allowed more than half the sisters to carry on as usual in their schools and institutions with very little interference of any kind.<sup>162</sup>

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160. IH, 21 & 28 October 1871.

161. IH, 11 November 1871.

162. MacKillop to Woods, 26 October and 7 November 1871. William Kennedy to Woods, 11 December 1871. A. Strele SJ to Woods, 5 December 1871.

As far as the expelled sisters were concerned, he had no power to prevent their living in community in Adelaide for, juridically speaking, they were now lay women and no bishop has the right to interfere with the behaviour of the lay members of his flock unless it contravenes his legal rights as bishop.<sup>163</sup> Neither could he prevent their leaving the colony in January 1872 in response to an urgent appeal from Woods for sisters "out of the Habit" to go to Bathurst and Brisbane. As the Institute was already established in Queensland, any sisters coming from South Australia could resume their habits once there. In Bathurst the situation was different because it had no houses there. Out of deference to Sheil, Matthew Quinn decided that any sisters who came there should work as lay women until the difficulties in Adelaide had been resolved. In the event, he deferred making a foundation for the time and the five sisters from Adelaide all went on to Queensland.<sup>164</sup>

Other points worthy of note are that Sheil made no attempt to justify his actions and that, except for a visit to Mt Gambier in late October and early November, he disappeared almost completely from public view.<sup>165</sup> He

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163. Tappeiner, evidence, 11 June 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1410.

164. Woods to MacKillop, 14 November and 19 December 1871, 16 February 1872. MacKillop to Woods, 22 January 1872, named the sisters in question as Bonaventure Mahony, R48; Agnes Smith, R15; Laurence O'Brien, R51; Francis de Sales (later Gertrude) Wright, a younger sister to Clare, R83; and Christina (later Catherine) Ruine, R111.

165. IH, 4 November 1871, reported Sheil's recent visit to the South East. MacKillop to Woods, 23 December 1871, "owing to the bishop's continued absence at Kapunda ..." IH, 6 January 1872, p. 5,

seems to have lacked the physical and moral strength necessary to revoke his stand or to carry the movement he had begun to its logical culmination by formally and completely suppressing the Institute. He was far from well, and his behaviour suggests that he did not want to suppress the Institute but was unable to take a stand against those desirous that he should do so. Thus an anomalous situation developed. On the one hand, MacKillop was labouring under a severe ecclesiastical sanction and more than 50 sisters had either left the Institute voluntarily or been dismissed from it. On the other, 60 or so sisters still wore their habits and remained at their posts.

Whether Sheil ever realised the true state of affairs is a moot point. As his health deteriorated, he moved away to Willunga and became increasingly dependent on others for information concerning outside events.<sup>166</sup> Hence he seemed quite unaware of the strength of the sisters' reaction to his harsh treatment and of how few had actually abandoned the Institute despite its uncertain status. Thus, in December 1871 he wrote to Woods:

I can easily infer from some of your letters that you cling to the hope of the re-establishment of the Institute of St. Joseph; for your peace of mind I conjure you to abandon this hope which never can be realised during my episcopate. The present difficulties and sad state of things will

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reported the bishop as being at Willunga and very ill; 2 March 1872, p. 4, "It was thought that his removal to Willunga in December last ..."

166. IH, 6 January 1872, p. 5.

soon cease; for in three months in South Australia there will be scarcely a vestige of the ever memorable Sisterhood of St. Joseph. 167

The 'ever memorable' Sisterhood did not disappear from the Adelaide scene because by this time Fox, James Woods and several other laymen had realised that what they had so far achieved was at best a temporary truce between the warring parties and that at any moment Sheil might again succumb to pressure and take steps to complete the destruction of the Institute. Therefore they followed the precedent set by the laity of Auckland, New Zealand in 1869,<sup>168</sup> and addressed a lengthy memorial to Cardinal Barnabo, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide in Rome. They described recent events in Adelaide and begged His Eminence to initiate an inquiry into diocesan affairs.<sup>169</sup> The newspaper articles had made the scandal public and so halted the dismemberment of the Institute. This letter, which alerted the highest

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167. Sheil to Woods, 29 December 1871. Emphasis Sheil's.

168. IH, 25 November 1871, open column. "A Member of the Christian Doctrine Society" urged Adelaide people to follow the example of the laity in New Zealand and write to Rome. E.R. Simmons, In Cruce Salus. A History of the Diocese of Auckland, 1848-1980, Catholic Publications Centre, Auckland, N.Z. 1982, p. 96, states that in 1869 Bishop Pompallier of Auckland had retired and left the diocese in a very poor state financially. A committee comprising both priests and lay men met to draw up a complete statement of the diocesan assets and liabilities. Following a divergence of opinion among the committee members, the lay men drew up a memorial to be sent to Rome complaining of Pompallier's maladministration and requesting special assistance from the Propagation of the Faith and the prompt appointment of a bishop. fn. 3, p. 103, cites the references for the above as SRCO vol. 9, ff. 949-950 & 958-960.

169. Adelaide Catholic lay men to Barnabo, 5 December 1871, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, ff. 1332-1347. This letter was signed by J.D. Woods, C.J. Fox, J.A. Allison, W. de Normanville, D.A. Barker and J. Plunkett.

tribunals of the Universal Church to Adelaide's troubles, proved the catalyst which brought about an ecclesiastical inquiry into them and so hastened their eventual settlement.<sup>170</sup> Thus, it seems abundantly clear that it was the laity rather than the clergy who brought the work of destruction to a premature halt and set in motion the processes which ultimately led to the restoration of the Institute.

The sisters suffered much during the period under review, whether they were separated from the Institute or wearing its habit and carrying on as before. Members of this latter group, although still dressed as Josephites and able to observe their rule unmolested, were hardly sure whether they were sisters or not, and must have wondered how long it would be before the bishop would oblige them to doff their habits and resume lay attire.<sup>171</sup> They held the fort in the Jesuit districts of Sevenhill and Norwood, as well as in the Gawler,

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170. Barnabo to Sheil, 29 February 1872, ACA, S3-02. Summary of the State of the Diocese, April 1873, art. 5 & 6, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, ff. 1239-1240.

171. Van der Heyden to Woods, 11 December 1871. Bridget Cremin to Casimir Mescal, 21 December 1871. Francis Xavier Amsinck to Woods, 27 December 1871.

172. These schools were located as follows:

Sevenhill district	: Clare, Burra, Hoyleton, Auburn & Rhyne.
Norwood district	: Hectorville & Magill.
Willunga district	: Willunga & Yankalilla.
Gawler district	: Gawler.
Kadina district	: Kadina, Wallaroo & Moonta.
Marrabel district	: Marrabel, Tarlee & possibly Gilbert and Navan.
Morphett Vale district	: Morphett Vale & Marion.
Kapunda district	: Kapunda, St John's, Greenock & Bagot's Gap.

Kadina, Marrabel, Morphett Vale, Willunga and Kapunda mission areas, where they had charge of 23 schools in all.<sup>172</sup>

The clergy responsible for these districts,<sup>173</sup> with the exception of Horan at Kapunda, all supported the Institute and made it clear that they did not wish to lose the sisters.<sup>174</sup> Why Horan retained his - he had four Josephite convents and schools in his area - is something of an enigma because, of all the clergy, he appeared to be the one most bitterly opposed to Woods and the Institute. Possibly he intended enforcing the "new rule" there,<sup>175</sup> and hoped that his success would encourage his fellow priests to do likewise. As it happened, after some initial confusion, these sisters, under the leadership of their superior, Sister Bernard Walsh, resisted any change and thus prevented Horan from having his way.<sup>176</sup>

One consequence of the excommunication and its aftermath, was that seventeen of the 40 Josephite schools in the colony were deprived of the services of the sisters. In some places they were replaced by lay

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173. CSC, 27 May 1871, pp. 216 & 217, lists these as follows: Norwood & Sevenhill, the Jesuits; Willunga, J Quinlan; Gawler, C.A. Reynolds; Kadina, W. Kennedy; Morphett Vale, P. Hughes; Marrabel, C. van der Heyden.

174. W. Kennedy to Woods, 11 December 1871. Strele to Woods, 5 December 1871. Reynolds to Woods, 22 November 1871.

175. Genevieve Ryan to MacKillop, n.d. but, by internal evidence, ca. October 1871.

176. MacKillop to Woods, 21 & 26 October 1871.

teachers, while in others the schools remained closed for the time. Table V lists these schools according to the mission districts in which they were located. The reason for their abandonment becomes evident as soon as the clergy in charge of each mission are named, because these were among the Institute's strongest opponents. Father O'Connor had the sisters leave Penola and Robe. Then, in January 1872 he was appointed to Port Adelaide. He did not invite the sisters back there for as long as he had charge of that mission.<sup>177</sup> When Father Van der Heyden, who had previously established Josephite communities at Marrabel and Tarlee, reached the South East in January 1872, he found the sisters already gone. A lay teacher was ensconced at Penola and Robe was vacant. He hastened to ask the administrator if sisters might come to Robe again, as the people there were most anxious for their return. Hence, this school was closed for less than six months.<sup>178</sup> Nowlan dismissed the sisters from the schools in the North Adelaide mission area. He placed a lay teacher at Bowden,<sup>179</sup> but what happened in the others is uncertain.

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177. IH, 6 January & 3 February 1872. The sisters eventually returned to Port Adelaide in 1877. MacKillop to Josephine McMullen, 27 January 1877.

178. IH, 20 January 1872. MacKillop to Woods, 13 April 1872.

179. HSC, 2 January 1874, pp. 2 & 6.

TABLE V: SCHOOLS CLOSED DURING THE TIME OF THE  
EXCOMMUNICATION.

<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>PRIESTS IN CHARGE</u>	<u>SCHOOLS</u>
ADELAIDE	T. Murphy M. Kennedy B. Nevin R. Cleary	Poor School, Franklin St. St Francis Xavier's Hall Thebarton Glenelg Mitcham
NORTH ADELAIDE	J.A Nowlan until April 1872, then T. Bongäerts	North Adelaide Irishtown Grand Junction Bowden
PORT ADELAIDE	T. Bongaerts until Nov. 1871. M. O'Connor after January 1872	Port Adelaide Le Fevre Peninsula Queenstown
MOUNT BARKER	J. Maher	Mount Barker Macclesfield
PENOLA	M. O'Connor until Jan. 1872, then C. Van der Heyden	Penola Robe
PORT AUGUSTA	M. Henderson	Port Augusta.

It is only fair to say that, although Henderson was later associated with the anti-Josephite party, (and that for no clear reason beyond the fact that, like Horan and Nowlan, he belonged to a religious order),<sup>180</sup> he was not directly responsible for the sisters leaving Port Augusta in January 1872. Angela Crugan, who was still a novice, became disheartened by the loneliness and isolation of the mission and the uncertainty of her position. She insisted

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180. This priest was a Capuchin friar.

on going to Adelaide and, once there, on returning to her family. Angelica had, of necessity, to accompany her to Adelaide, but this sister was neither dispensed from her vows nor obliged to lay her habit aside.<sup>181</sup> The administrator requested that sisters go back to Port Augusta as soon as possible and, by the end of April 1872, Angelica and two companions were again in residence there.<sup>182</sup>

The bishop was caught in a dilemma regarding the charitable institutions for, if he dismissed the sisters, the inmates would have to be sent away too. It is to his credit that, rather than have this happen, he allowed the sisters in charge to continue wearing their habits, right in the city of Adelaide, where the trouble had erupted and where the Josephites had been evicted from their convent and removed from the schools.<sup>183</sup>

These sisters had a particularly hard time, especially when Sheil appointed Sister Mary Xavier, (Helena Coglin), superior of the orphanage community because she was the

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181. MacKillop to Woods, 22 January 1872. MacKillop stated here that Angelica was still wearing her habit when she came to Adelaide and that, should the bishop dispense her, she [MacKillop] would include her in the group to go to Queensland or Bathurst. Angelica did not go, so it seems safe to assume that she was not dispensed.

182. MacKillop to Woods, 16 April 1872. MacKillop to Andrea Howley, 26 April 1872.

183. MacKillop, evidence, June 1872, SOCG vol. 1000, f. 1384. Murphy, evidence, f. 1399, said that the institutions were cared for by the sisters "who stayed there at the wish of the bishop."

only one who had agreed to accept the new rule.<sup>184</sup> At forty-two this sister was the oldest member of the Institute. She had already had a brief experience of the religious life, for in 1857 she had spent several months as a postulant with the Sisters of Mercy in Melbourne. She was dismissed from that community as being unsuitable for the religious life, and subsequently moved to Adelaide where her brother, Patrick, had already settled and become involved in local politics.<sup>185</sup> She was not well liked by the sisters and MacKillop blamed her for much of the unrest and talk of changing rules and structures that went on in the city convent. Her popularity waned even further when she sided openly with the bishop and, after MacKillop's excommunication, began wearing a black habit resembling that of the Mercy sisters. As superior of the orphanage she made life so difficult for her community that several of its members asked to be dispensed from their vows. Several others stayed on for the sake of the children and were still there when the Institute was restored in 1872.<sup>186</sup>

At the Refuge life was particularly difficult because the Adelaide priests responsible for the spiritual welfare of the place neglected it and the sisters lost heart

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184. MacKillop to Woods, 26 September 1871.

185. Acts of Chapter, Convent of Mercy, Fitzroy, Victoria, 15 November 1857, signed by Mother Ursula Frayne, foundress of the Melbourne convent, Archives of the Sisters of Mercy, Rosanna, Victoria. Tappeiner, letter to his General, p. 16. SC, 29 July 1892, p. 7, obituary of P.B. Coglin.

186. MacKillop to Woods, 11 & 21 October and 3 December 1871, 7 May 1872. Murphy evidence, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1399.

because of their uncertain position.<sup>187</sup> Consequently, the inmates became distrustful and dissatisfied and many of them left, while the number of customers using the laundry facilities fell off markedly. Respite came in time to save this institution from closing altogether and, as soon as things settled down, it began to pick up again.<sup>188</sup>

The Providence, too, struggled on for the time. Sheil had intended that it should be closed, its aged residents sent to the Destitute Asylum and its children to the orphanage. However, he did not insist that these arrangements be carried out when he found that the sisters held an unexpired lease on the property. The children were transferred to the orphanage but the elderly women stayed on uninterruptedly under Sister Elizabeth's care.<sup>189</sup>

At the Solitude, the Magdalens continued to offer hospitality to their aged guests under the sisters'

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187. Tappeiner to MacKillop, 10 October 1871.

188. Resource 4, p. 70. IH, 6 April 1872, claimed that following the troubles the priests gave the Refuge Mass only once a fortnight, that the number of inmates fell from twenty to eight and that the place was too far from the city to offer efficient laundry services. MacKillop to Woods, 23 March 1872. IH, 23 August 1872, p. 7.

189. MacKillop to Woods, 11 & 17 October 1871. IH, 21 October 1871, p. 8. Murphy, evidence, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1399: His Lordship wished to close the Providence but they had rented the house for six months. Horan, evidence, f. 1397: The Providence was to be closed because the bishop thought that the state could supply enough of what could be expected of that institution. MacKillop to Woods, 21 October 1871.

supervision. However, the disturbance upset the Magdalens very much - they were by their very nature an unstable group - and their future seemed uncertain because of Woods' continued absence from the colony.<sup>190</sup>

Woods was away from Adelaide throughout the entire period under review.<sup>191</sup> Consequently his role in the disturbances was rather ambiguous and his contribution to both the troubles and the reconstitution of the Institute is difficult to assess. He was almost certainly detained in Sydney so that Sheil could enforce the proposed changes to the Josephite rule unmolested.<sup>192</sup> His friends in South Australia kept him well informed about developments there and pressed him to return.<sup>193</sup> He did not come, partly, it seems, through fear of being arrested for debt and partly because he had received word that Sheil was awaiting an opportunity to suspend him.<sup>194</sup> He decided instead, that he could do more good for the Institute from a distance and, although often ill or fully occupied in

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190. Genevieve Ryan to MacKillop, ca. October 1871. MacKillop to Woods, n.d. but ca. 1 February 1872 and also 5 February 1872. MacKillop to Woods, Ash Wednesday (14 February) 1872.

191. Woods returned to Adelaide in June 1872. MacKillop's last letter prior to his return was dated 4 June 1872.

192. IH, 9 March 1872, p. 9: "The State of the Diocese." Tappeiner to MacKillop, 10 October 1871.

193. Woods' correspondence, September 1871 - May 1872, passim, especially Van der Heyden to Woods, 22 November 1871.

194. MacKillop to Woods, 30 October 1871, informed him that there was a rumour that Sheil was to meet him at Mt Gambier and suspend him. IH, 30 March 1872, p. 4, review of Horan's sermon, and Woods to MacKillop, 23 December 1871, both make reference to their having been a writ out for his arrest for debt.

preaching retreats and missions in the Sydney and Bathurst dioceses, directed an intermittent flow of letters to South Australia. He also sent across any money he had received to help pay outstanding accounts and the rent on the Refuge property at Mitcham.<sup>195</sup>

There is no doubt that Woods felt his enforced absence keenly and was deeply concerned for the welfare of the sisters. Yet he seemed unable to comprehend the nature and extent of the sufferings being endured by MacKillop and her sisters, even as he tried to comfort and guide them from a distance. He must surely have winced at the directness with which MacKillop now questioned his dealings with the sisters, especially the visionaries, but he never admitted that his own want of prudence might have contributed to the imbroglio.<sup>196</sup> In fact, he seems to have been so far removed from the reality of the situation and so insensitive to the needs of the Adelaide sisters that he repeatedly asked that MacKillop and Monica Phillips, the novice mistress and one of the steadiest and most reliable sisters in the colony, lead a foundation to the Bathurst diocese.<sup>197</sup> Sisters did not go there while still deprived of their habits because MacKillop's sense of responsibility for her suffering sisters made her

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195. He wrote frequently, but not regularly. Thus, to MacKillop, on 22 November, he named several sisters to whom he intended writing that day and on 24 November he told her that hers was the thirteenth letter he had written that day. Woods to MacKillop, 8, 19 & 27 December 1871, 2 January, 9 March and 4 April 1872.

196. Woods to MacKillop, 24 November and 8 December 1871.

197. Woods to MacKillop, 29 September 1871, 6 January and 29 April 1872.

realise that they needed a period of quiet and stability before branching out again. The course of events in Adelaide during the first half of 1872 also delayed their leaving for a time.

The visionaries' behaviour and Woods' attitude towards them continually mystified MacKillop, especially when his instructions negated those issued by her as superior of the Institute. He would not trust her to deal directly with these women for he saw them as specially favoured by God and hence, as somehow outside the rule they professed to follow. For her part, MacKillop insisted that no Institute could survive without a properly constituted authority structure, where all its members obeyed the legitimate commands of their superiors, and therefore, that the visionaries should conform to her directives in the same way as the other members the community.<sup>198</sup>

Angela Carroll, the person suspected of having rifled the tabernacle at the Franklin Street convent during Holy Week 1870 and of having instigated many of the allegedly supernatural happenings there, was a particular source of concern to her. Angela, whose guilt had never been proved, was among those whom Horan took to Kapunda in September 1871. It seems that he included her in his community because he was anxious to clear up, once and for all, the mystery surrounding the Holy Week outrage by eliciting an acknowledgement of guilt from her. He

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198. MacKillop to Woods, 3 December 1871.

succeeded in his quest, although MacKillop and a number of others were quick to condemn his methods and doubted whether a confession made in such circumstances was worthy of credence.<sup>199</sup> Angela's continued presence at Kapunda worried MacKillop who did not rest until she had arranged for her to return to Adelaide. Much to MacKillop's consternation, Woods quickly countermanded her order and insisted, for reasons unspecified, that this disturbed young woman should go to her parents' home at Kapunda and that she should be accompanied by Paula Green so that they could observe the rule together. MacKillop allowed Angela and Paula to go, even though she considered the move a very unwise one.<sup>200</sup>

Ignatius was at Kadina at the time of MacKillop's excommunication. Sheil dismissed her from the Institute some time later and she subsequently joined the "sisters" at Solomon's house in Flinders street.<sup>201</sup> She does not seem to have had a disruptive influence on the sisters, but there was much about her behaviour and that of the younger visionaries which MacKillop could not understand and which she felt cut right across the whole idea of

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199. Angela to MacKillop, n.d. but from internal evidence ca. September 1871. MacKillop to Woods, 29 September, 11 & 30 October 1871. Edward Donovan to Woods, 18 December 1871.

200. MacKillop to Woods, 30 October & 25 November 1871. Woods to MacKillop, 5 & 14 November and 27 December 1871. In this last he wrote: "Don't speculate so much on S.M.A.'s removal to Kapunda. I decided on that move because I thought it was prudent and for no spiritual reason whatever. But we need not say any more on this head."

201. MacKillop to Woods, 14, 21 & 26 October and 6 November 1871. Francis Xavier Amsinck to Woods, 21 December 1871.

religious obedience and community living.<sup>202</sup> Perhaps her greatest source of difficulty with this group was that its members continued to regard Woods as their superior and to refer all matters to him even during his absence. Thus, they made an already difficult situation even harder for her during the months when she was labouring under her unjust sentence.

Taken overall, this segment of the history of the Church in South Australia was one marked by confusion and misunderstanding as clergy, religious sisters and laity all strove to make their way without the guidance and direction of a strong and capable leader. Sheil's weakness as a leader might be regarded as the prime cause of the unhappy chain of events that tore the Church apart and scandalised the general public. Yet he, perhaps more than any other, was a victim of the situation he had unwittingly created, and it seems likely that his death was hastened by his inability to cope with that situation as it became more and more out of control.<sup>203</sup>

Several days before he died he moved to undo some of the harm he had caused. As a first step he sent Hughes, his senior priest, to absolve MacKillop from her sentence of excommunication without requiring that she formally

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202. MacKillop to Woods, 3 December 1871.

203. Protestant Advocate, 23 March 1872, Leading article: "The Pope's Happy Family" commented on the bishop's death and added that some, at least, thought its cause was "the troubles made for him by his own people" while others thought that it was at least accelerated by those troubles.

request the absolution, without any preconditions and without imposing any penance or asking that she abjure any errors - and with the understanding that she be immediately restored to her position as superior of the Institute.<sup>204</sup> Next he made it known that he wished Reynolds to be administrator of the diocese sede vacante. Before another week was out, the bishop was dead.<sup>205</sup>

What had happened in Adelaide during the previous five and a half years, and especially since Sheil's departure for the Vatican Council and Smyth's death, was a sad reflection indeed on the human face of the Church. In the power vacuum created by Sheil's lack of leadership, the clergy became divided as they vied with each other for position and favour. The laity, seeing what was happening and unsure where their loyalty should lie, became involved and joined the warring parties. In this power struggle the question of church finance was also important. The Josephites were drawn into the maelstrom because they were an independent group subject only to the bishop and one priest, Woods. Hence, the power which the other clergy could exercise in their particular areas of influence was necessarily limited.

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204. Report of Apostolic commission, 10 July 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1370-1371. Reynolds to Barnabo, 23 May 1872, *ibid.* f. 1317. Hughes, evidence, *ibid.* f. 1401. Reynolds, evidence, *ibid.* f. 1402.

205. Reynolds to Barnabo, 28 March 1872, SRCO 1873, vol. 9, ff. 1320-1322. Polding to Barnabo, 20 April 1872, SOCG, vol. 1000, f. 1315. M. Quinn to Barnabo, 17 June 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1326.

The sisters, who had no money of their own, had to be supported by the people among whom they were working. Consequently some of the clergy believed that their personal income was being reduced. They wanted the Josephite rule changed so that each individual priest could have full control over all areas of church life in his mission district, including the convents and schools. The issues of class division within the Josephite community, the sisters' teaching ability and the visionary episode were all subsidiary to the dual questions of money and control.

The Josephites, for their part, wished to retain their independence from such close local control and to remain a closely-united, centralised body answerable only to the bishop and his appointee, their Father Director. So they, in the person of their foundress and superior, refused to accept the proffered changes. Their behaviour was viewed as disobedience by the local clergy who, as men of their time, believed that women should hold subservient positions in the Church. Therefore the Josephites, again in the person of their foundress, had to be excommunicated and removed from the scene for disobedience and rebellion against the authority of the Church as vested in its ministers.

This is a simplified explanation of the extremely complex situation that had evolved in South Australia by the end of 1871. By then it was beyond the power of the local Catholic community, taken in its broadest sense, to heal itself. So appeal was made to Rome. Whether the Australian Catholic Church, taken as a whole, was formed in a Roman mould or not is an open question,<sup>206</sup> but South Australia's Catholics knew where to turn in their time of trouble. As the bishop lay dying the wheels of Roman power were being set in motion and its intervention in Adelaide affairs was not far off. On 29 February 1872, the day before Sheil's death, Cardinal Barnabo wrote to five members of the Australian hierarchy concerning Adelaide's affairs. He announced that Bishop Murphy of Hobart had been appointed to visit the diocese, check the facts, refer his findings to the Holy See and take any immediate measures he considered necessary in order to restore peace and order there.<sup>207</sup>

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206. J.N. Molony, The Roman Mould of the Australian Catholic Church, M.U.P. 1969, argues that the church in this country has been formed in a Roman mould while O'Farrell, The Catholic Church and Community in Australia, Nelson, Australia, 1977, pp. 213-215, claims that the question of whether Ireland or Rome was dominant is a misleading one. Instead, he holds that the two influences were blended together, in an Irish blend.

207. Propaganda Archives, Lettere 1872, I, vol. 367: to Sheil, ff. 279-280; to Murphy, Hobart, ff. 280-282; to J. Quinn, Brisbane, ff. 282-283; to J.A. Goold, Melbourne, ff. 283-284; to J. Polding, Sydney, ff. 284-285.

## CHAPTER 6.

### TOWARDS RECONSTRUCTION, 1872.

Sheil died on 1 March 1872 but it was June before Bishop Murphy began his investigation into Adelaide affairs. The intervening months proved difficult indeed for both the Institute and the diocese. The bishop's dying acts - his reconciliation with Mary MacKillop and his appointment of Reynolds as administrator - while intended to restore peace, stirred up even greater bitterness and dissension than before. There were several reasons for this, the most important of which were the favoritism Sheil had so consistently shown Horan since his return from Europe in February 1871 and his tardiness in appointing someone to administer the diocese after his death.

Priests and laity became divided into two factions - those who supported Horan and those who did not.<sup>1</sup> The first was a clearly defined group which included most of the younger clergy and a sizable proportion of the Catholics of Adelaide, North Adelaide and Kapunda.<sup>2</sup> Horan was its leader and its aim was to avenge the wrong

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1. Reynolds to Barnabo, 27 March 1872, SRCO vol. 9, f. 1321. Hughes, evidence, June 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1401. Polding to Barnabo, 20 April 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1315.
  2. The names of the priests in question can be deduced from a study of two letters written to or about Horan during 1871-1872. The first, to Cardinal Barnabo, n.d. but, by internal evidence about early May 1872, SRCO vol. 9, f. 1355, was signed by Nowlan, O'Sullivan, Roche, Henderson, Horan, Cleary, Patrick Byrne and Michael Kennedy. The second, addressed to Horan himself and dated 15 May 1873, SRCO vol. 10 ff. 508-509, carries the signatures of Michael Kennedy, Cleary, Murphy, O'Sullivan, Maher, P. Byrne, Nevin, M. O'Connor, P. Kehoe and J.J. Roche.

its members believed he had suffered when passed over by Sheil in Reynolds' favour.<sup>3</sup> The second comprised a number of priests and lay people who were not members of the Horan party. It centred round Woods and Reynolds, although neither man could command the same loyalty from his followers as Horan did from his. What held the Woods-Reynolds group together was a common desire to prevent Horan from becoming administrator.<sup>4</sup> While his star was in the ascendancy, some of its members had suffered at his hands. These men wanted redress and were not prepared to risk the future of the diocese to his administration.<sup>5</sup> Hence, they supported Reynolds more because they wished to encompass Horan's downfall than because they had any strong desire that Reynolds should become diocesan leader.

Tension between the two parties was high during the weeks immediately preceding Sheil's death. It was essential that he appoint an administrator and, as his condition deteriorated, his continued procrastination caused general alarm. Members of both parties were soon vying with each other for the best positions beside the dying prelate in the hope that his choice would fall upon

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3. Reynolds to Barnabo, 23 May 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1322. Chronicle, 30 March 1872, Open column. Advertiser, 5 April 1872, p. 1, public notices; 10 April, p. 3, open column; 1 June, p. 1, public notices; 26 June, p. 1, public notices.

4. Reynolds to Barnabo, 28 March 1872, SRCO vol. 9, f. 1321. Tappeiner to his General, October 1872.

5. MacKillop to Woods, 26 October 1871. Van der Heyden to Woods, 11 December 1871. IH, 6 January 1872, Clerical Changes.

their man.<sup>6</sup> Then, as his end approached, he seemingly rejected the friendship of Horan and his associates and indicated his preference for that of Reynolds, Tappeiner and others of the senior priests. These men claimed that the bishop had expressed to them his sincere regret for his part in the dismantling of the Institute of St Joseph and the excommunication of Mary MacKillop, had instructed Father Peter Hughes to send for her and revoke her sentence and finally, after he had become too weak to write, had indicated that he wished Reynolds to administer the diocese while the See was vacant.<sup>7</sup>

The lateness of this appointment and the fact that Sheil had made it verbally only, in the absence of Horan and his friends, made them very angry and gave them cause to argue that he could only have made such a decision under extreme pressure, if, indeed, he had made it at all.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, they refused to acknowledge Reynolds as administrator and denounced him as being unworthy of their trust because they believed he had gained his position by means of subterfuge and had changed his stance regarding the Sisters of St Joseph to suit his own ends.<sup>9</sup> They became even more irate when, in response to an urgent request from some of the Adelaide clergy and

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6. Tappeiner, evidence, June 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1411.

7. Hughes, evidence, ff. 1400-1402. M. Quinn to Barnabo, 17 June 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1326. IH, 2 March 1872.

8. IH, 9 March 1872, p. 4, leading article, "The State of the Diocese."

9. Reynolds to Barnabo, 23 May 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, ff. 1317-1322.

laity, Polding confirmed Reynolds' appointment.<sup>10</sup>

Given the circumstances surrounding his becoming administrator and his alignment with the anti-Horan party, it is uncertain whether Reynolds ever had any real chance of restoring peace and good order to the diocese. However, he virtually wrote off what little he had when he failed to veto the publication of an article vilifying Horan, Nowlan and their associates in the Irish Harp of 9 March 1872, just one week after Sheil's death. This article, which was given editorial prominence, vividly described the way these priests were supposedly rejected by Sheil during his last hours. It laid the blame for "all the shame and humiliation, ... all the scandals" and all the acts of injustice perpetrated during the previous six months squarely on their shoulders. The writer claimed that there was no prospect for peace or progress in the diocese as long as they remained in it. These defamatory statements carried an added sting because it appeared that they had been published with Reynolds' knowledge and consent, even though he hastened to disclaim any official association with the Harp or its editorial policy.<sup>11</sup>

Reynolds may not have been fully responsible for what

10. IH, 9 & 16 March 1872. In the latter issue the editor of the Harp claimed that 1025 signatures had been obtained on a petition to Polding supporting Reynolds in less than two days. It also reported that Polding had confirmed Reynolds' appointment.

11. Reynolds to the laity of Adelaide, 17 April 1872, Reynolds' Papers, ACA S4.

appeared in the Irish Harp. However, there is no doubt about his responsibility when, less than a fortnight later, he authorised the restoration of the Institute of St Joseph.<sup>12</sup> He allowed its members to resume the wearing of their habits and reinstated MacKillop as their superior without requiring that they initiate any of the reforms mentioned in the anti-Josephite memorial or at the time of her excommunication. He believed that his action was justified because Sheil had already taken the initiative by absolving MacKillop from her sentence with the understanding she immediately resume her former position as superior of the community.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, Sheil had never formally suppressed the Institute, even though he had taken drastic action against MacKillop and a number of her sisters. Therefore, it still existed as an entity and would continue to do so until all its members abandoned it either voluntarily or in obedience to their ecclesiastical superiors. As well, Reynolds and his advisers, especially Tappeiner, had observed the sisters' behaviour closely during the previous six months and were convinced that they were innocent of any offence worthy of the harsh treatment meted out to them by the bishop.<sup>14</sup>

These priests did not deny the possibility that some aspects of the Josephite rule and way of life required

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12. IH, 23 March 1872, p. 5. MacKillop to Woods, 23 March 1872.

13. Hughes, evidence to Apostolic Commission, June 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1402.

14. Reynolds to Barnabo, 23 May 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, ff. 1317-1321. Reynolds, evidence, f. 1402. Tappeiner, evidence, ff. 1412-1413.

alteration. Neither did they approve of the visionaries' behaviour.<sup>15</sup> In fact, Reynolds decided against readmitting those particular sisters to their habits until their case had been investigated by competent ecclesiastical authority.<sup>16</sup> However, it seems clear that the administrator reconstituted the Institute because he believed that the sisters as a whole had been treated unjustly and that the inappropriate behaviour of a small number of its members was insufficient grounds for its suppression and the consequent disruption of the work of so many of the local Catholic schools and charitable institutions.

Reynolds had been consistent in his dealings with the Josephites during the whole of the excommunication period. He was one of the priests who had allowed the sisters to stay on in their districts and continue teaching in their schools. As well, he had encouraged dishabited sisters to spend time at Gawler, the centre of his mission district,<sup>17</sup> and had even gone so far as to invite them to open new schools at Stockport and Hamley Bridge, two outposts in his area, despite the uncertainty of their position.<sup>18</sup> When Horan taunted him with being

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15. Brief with a summary of the present state of the Diocese of Adelaide in Australia, April 1873, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, ff. 1241-1242, articles 10 & 15. Tappeiner to his General, pp. 22 & 23.

16. Report of Apostolic Commission, 10 July 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1363.

17. MacKillop to Woods, 26 October, 7 November and 3 December 1871. Teresa MacDonald to MacKillop, from Gawler, 5 November 1871.

18. MacKillop to Woods, 5 March 1872.

inconsistent because he had signed the anti-Josephite memorial, he denied ever having wished for the suppression of the Institute. Instead, he claimed that his sole intention had been to have it reformed in such a way as to render it a useful adjunct to the diocese.<sup>19</sup>

Nevertheless, it seems likely that Reynolds' haste in restoring the Sisters of St Joseph to their habits was also motivated by a desire to further damage Horan's position. Horan had already been rejected by the dying bishop and had suffered the humiliation of having the circumstances surrounding that event publicised through the medium of the Irish Harp. The restoration of the Institute and Woods' seemingly imminent return to the colony<sup>20</sup> promised to bring to nothing all that he had worked so hard to achieve during the previous twelve months.

He was angry indeed, and so were his supporters. The North Adelaide laity demonstrated their loyalty to him and his cause at a public meeting on 20 March, the evening after the sisters were reinvested in their habits. These people presented Nowlan, their local pastor and a priest whose name was now closely associated with Horan's, with a "sympathetic address" expressing their "annoyance and disgust" at "certain articles" which had recently appeared in the Irish Harp.<sup>21</sup> That, however, was not enough to

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19. Reynolds, evidence, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1402.

20. IH, 16 March 1872, p. 6. Register, 20 March 1872, p.2.

assuage Horan's anger and he made hasty arrangements to have as many people as possible attend the cathedral on the following Sunday evening to hear his panegyric on the deceased bishop.<sup>22</sup> The official "month's mind" for Sheil had been scheduled for 21 March, when it was intended that Father F. Byrne should preach the "funeral oration." Reynolds had postponed it for the time, pending the expected arrival of Polding and Woods.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, Horan's sermon was an unofficial and unauthorised celebration in Sheil's honour.

What occurred after he took the pulpit on the evening of Palm Sunday, 24 March 1872, has been well documented, if for no other reasons than that he had the text of his sermon published by the Advertiser and that the Irish Harp devoted almost half its next issue to a refutation of many of his statements.<sup>24</sup> With his "usual eloquence" and with "great energy" Horan delivered a two-hour philippic against all who had ever perpetrated wrongs, real or

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21. Tappeiner, evidence, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1412. Chronicle, 23 March 1872. Advertiser, 20 March, p. 1, Public Notices; 28 March, report of meeting.
  22. Reynolds to Barnabo, 28 March 1872, SRCO vol. 9, f. 1321.
  23. Advertiser, 4 March 1872, p. 3, announced the event. Register, 20 March 1872, p. 2 and Irish Harp, 16 March, p. 6, both announced its postponement.
  24. Rev. C. Horan O.S.F. Funeral Oration on the Right Rev. Dr Sheil O.S.F. Advertiser Press, 24 March 1872. The Advertiser published the sermon in pamphlet form and also printed it as a broadsheet for inclusion in its issue of 28 March 1872. IH, 30 March 1872, printed an abridged version of the sermon and followed it with an editorial refutation of most of the statements it contained. This was later printed in pamphlet form under the title: Sermon Delivered by Father Horan O.S.F. on Palm Sunday, March 24, 1872, Irish Harp Newspaper, Adelaide, 1872.

imaginary, against himself, Bishop Sheil or the Catholic Church in South Australia.<sup>25</sup> He berated the administrator soundly and blamed the Irish Harp, Woods and the Sisters of St Joseph for all the troubles that had so recently disturbed the peace of the diocese. What supposedly began as a vindication of Sheil's good name became a major effort on Horan's behalf to justify his own actions. It was the work of an angry man with nothing to lose and comprised a fabric of half-truth and innuendo. By its means Horan allegedly

succeeded in stirring up further the scandalous and disedifying state of things that already existed in the colony. He found a field to sow dissension, appealing to the passions, pitting Irish against English, Catholic against convert to the faith.

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Reynolds, who was away from Adelaide on that particular Sunday, acted quickly and decisively when he heard what had happened. He immediately suspended Horan and Nowlan from active participation in the priestly ministry, because he felt that this was the only way in which to restore order and discipline among his subordinates. Horan had preached this sermon in direct contravention of his (Reynolds') instructions, had arranged it for a Sunday when he was to be at Gawler and hence not in a position to prevent its going ahead and had it published in order to ensure that it received the

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25. Advertiser, 26 March 1872.

26. Polding to Barnabo, 18 May 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1314.

widest possible circulation.<sup>27</sup> When suspending these two priests Reynolds did not act on his own initiative, but first consulted with the three senior priests - Tappeiner, F. Byrne and Hughes. All hoped that, by removing the ringleaders of the party, appointing their supporters to more distant country missions and bringing priests opposed to them to the city, they might restore peace and harmony in the diocese.<sup>28</sup> Instead, their actions had the opposite effect.

Leaving his sermon in the publisher's hands with the Irish Harp poised to refute it, Horan accompanied Nowlan to Sydney where they put their case to Polding.<sup>29</sup> The archbishop listened to their appeal against Reynolds' decision before informing them that he had no power to override it.<sup>30</sup> They left and openly celebrated Mass in Sydney and Melbourne while still under censure and without the knowledge or consent of the local bishops.<sup>31</sup> Back in South Australia their supporters spoke out boldly in their defence. At Kapunda some young men made a great

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27. Reynolds to Barnabo, 28 March 1872, SRCO, vol. 9, f. 1321. Report of Apostolic Commission, July 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, ff. 1371-1372.

28. Reynolds to Barnabo, 23 May 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1321. (Folio numbers for these two letters, which are filed in separate series, are identical.)

29. IH, 6 April 1872, announced that Horan and Nowlan had been suspended by Reynolds. Advertiser, 5 April, p. 2, announced their departure for Sydney. MacKillop to Woods, 13 April 1872.

30. Polding to Barnabo, 20 April 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1315. Nowlan to Barnabo, 8 September 1872, SRCO vol. 9, f. 1512.

31. Reynolds to Barnabo, 23 May 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, ff. 1321-1322. IH, 25 May 1872, pp. 5 & 6.

show of burning the editor of the Irish Harp in effigy, while several priests appealed to Rome against Reynolds' appointment as administrator on the grounds that he supported the Irish Harp and had dishonoured their deceased bishop's memory by restoring the Sisters of St Joseph.<sup>32</sup>

James McLaughlin, a Catholic schoolmaster from Port Adelaide,<sup>33</sup> presented the editor of the Protestant Advocate with two letters and a lengthy article calumniating the sisters and the administrator. In these items, which appeared in the issues of 6 and 13 April 1872, the writer accused the sisters of being "drunkards, thieves, blasphemers, prostitutes and murderesses." He denounced the administrator as "an ignorant, blind tyrant," who had been a participant in the sisters' alleged crimes because he had "afforded them the protection of his countenance." Reynolds and J.D. Woods

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32. Nowlan et al to Barnabo, ca. 1 May 1872, SRCO vol. 9, ff. 1355-1356. Register, 23 April 1872. IH, 27 April 1872.

33. James McLaughlin was headmaster of the Port Adelaide Grammar School, St Vincent St, Port Adelaide. SCCH, 20 April 1868, Report of C.E.C. lists McLaughlin as being affiliated with the Catholic system. SAGG, 14 April 1870, Eighteenth Annual Report of the Central Board of Education, included his name among the teachers licensed by the state. No explanation for his transfer from the Catholic to the State system has been given. SAPP, 1875, no. 26, reported that McLaughlin had been given a "Second Class A" teachers' certificate by the State Education Department. McLaughlin seems to have been very sensitive to any imputations against his character and, in late 1871, threatened to take action for libel against anyone who might suggest that he was in any way responsible for the correspondence concerning MacKillop's excommunication, the Sisters of St Joseph and the bishop's behaviour that was then appearing in the Irish Harp and the

immediately initiated proceedings for libel against James Lewis, the editor of the paper.<sup>34</sup> The subsequent criminal action, which was heard in the Supreme Court on 5 and 6 June, was decided in favour of the prosecution because the defendant could not substantiate the charges laid against the sisters in the two letters. He was gaoled for six months and fined £50. The jury pleaded for mercy on the grounds that, at the time of printing, Lewis had believed the statements in question to be true because they had emanated from Catholic sources.<sup>35</sup>

It seems almost certain that McLaughlin did not produce these items on his own initiative, but rather, that he acted on Horan's and Nowlan's behalf.<sup>36</sup> Just why these men approached the Protestant Advocate with the material is a question that needs at least some consideration. The two letters, with a promise of more to come, appeared on 6 April, some days before the Advertiser

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Adelaide dailies, in IH, 4, 11 & 18 November 1871. MacKillop to Andrea, 26 April 1872, wrote that "Mr McLaughlin of the Port" was the man who had written the letters against the sisters and Reynolds.

34. Reynolds to Barnabo, 23 May 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1323. Register, 26 April & 1 May 1872, p. 2, Police Court Hearings.
35. Register, 6 & 7 June 1872, p. 2, Report of hearings in the Supreme Court. IH, 8 June 1872.
36. McLaughlin to Barnabo, 25 September and 4 December 1873, SRCO vol 10, ff. 401-416. These letters were written by McLaughlin to plead his cause at Rome against Reynolds' having refused to admit him to the Sacraments because of his part in the libel affair. Some of his statements appear to be inaccurate, and it is impossible to know whether these inaccuracies were intentional or accidental. He seems to have espoused the cause of the Dominican Sisters against the Josephites and the Irish Harp.

closed its columns to the "Catholic controversy" on the grounds that it had been "more lengthy than useful."<sup>37</sup> Possibly their authors bypassed this paper because they knew that, although it was generally sympathetic to their cause, it would not risk publishing defamatory material of this kind. On the other hand, it was common knowledge that the Advocate's journalism tended towards the prurient, especially when it was a case of scandals allegedly involving Catholics. If the paper's Protestant subscribers enjoyed a diet of scurrilous anti-Catholic writings emanating from overseas sources, it might be expected that they would relish reports of a scandal right in their own city and among people with whom many of them had at least a passing acquaintance.

Lewis seems to have accepted the material without worrying to check its veracity or to have the writer append his name, although he almost certainly knew that person's identity. His reasons were probably mercenary rather than vicious for, as Samuel Way Q.C., counsel for the prosecution, put it in his summing up of the case:

The object of publishing the letters was to make the paper go. He [Lewis] knew that a publication of such a character would secure for his paper the widest possible circulation amongst those people who were ready to believe any slander uttered in respect to persons not connected with the Church to which they belonged, and amongst those whose prurient inclinations led them to like reading nasty, indelicate garbage. There could be little question that the view with which the libel was inserted was to sell the paper and to increase its circulation.

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37. Advertiser, 10 April 1872.

38. IH, 8 June 1872, p. 3. Account of court case as copied from the Advertiser.

However, Lewis had seriously miscalculated Protestant interest in a local Catholic quarrel. At the initial police court hearing he agreed to give up the name of the writer, pay costs and make a public apology to the parties concerned.<sup>39</sup> Then he changed his mind and allowed the case to proceed to the Supreme Court. According to the Irish Harp, Lewis

backed out of it, apparently because he thought a great demonstration would be made on his behalf, that he would become a great Protestant martyr, and would make a good thing out of the subscriptions which would be collected for him. 40

If this was so, the result was certainly disappointing. A single contributor to the Register bewailed the fact that no-one had come forward to express sympathy for a man whom that writer believed had received an unduly harsh punishment.<sup>41</sup> Rev. H. Hussey, a Baptist minister and a regular contributor to the Protestant Advocate, was disappointed at the general Protestant reaction, although he noted that the paper's circulation increased marginally for a time.<sup>42</sup> The secular press gave the libel case some editorial prominence but kept it at a general rather than a personal level.<sup>43</sup> The editor of the Baptist monthly, Truth and Progress, considered the

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39. Register, 26 April 1872, Police Court Hearings, p. 2.

40. IH, 8 June 1872, Leading Article.

41. Register, 14 June 1872, Open Column.

42. Hussey, More than Half a Century, pp. 326-327.

43. Advertiser & Register, 6 & 7 June 1872, reported court hearings in full. Register, 7 June 1872, editorial comment.

case a most unfortunate affair, unworthy of the Protestant cause, and regretted that an inquiry had not been made into the truth of the allegations contained in the libels.<sup>44</sup> On 12 July the Irish Harp had the last word and the matter was allowed to drop for want of further interest.<sup>45</sup> The whole affair passed off rather quietly and, if anything, tended to increase public sympathy for the sisters and their friends.

The authors of the libel brought the simmering dispute between Horan and Reynolds out into the open and publicised the strength of the ill-feeling between the opposing factions in the diocese.<sup>46</sup> The inquiry into Adelaide affairs by the Apostolic Commissioners, Bishops Quinn of Bathurst and Murphy of Hobart, helped bring down the curtain on that bitterness and division and set the scene for the eventual restoration of peace and good order. As it happened, the inquiry ran concurrently with the libel case and the presence of these two delegates of the Holy See in Adelaide may well have tempered the tone of the Harp's reporting of the court hearing. One can only wonder whether it also prevented the Harp from crying arson and blaming Horan's supporters for the fire which destroyed a large part of the "plant" used to print the paper. This fire was reported almost in passing, along

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44. Truth and Progress, July 1872.

45. IH, 12 July 1872, leading article, p. 4.

46. A. Van Kalken, "The Case: Regina on the Prosecution of Ellen Henrietta Woods versus James Heath Lewis. Sectarianism or Catholic factionalism?" Unpublished m/s, October 1985.

with an apology for the consequent non-appearance of the Harp on 15 June.<sup>47</sup>

Murphy and Quinn began their work on 1 June, the day of the fire at the printing works.<sup>48</sup> As already noted, Murphy was appointed to go to Adelaide before Sheil's death. Following that event, the inquiry could have been allowed to lapse but, because of the increasingly disturbed state of the diocese, Polding pressed for it to go ahead.<sup>49</sup> Consequently, the Pope confirmed Murphy's faculties and Barnabo instructed him to take Quinn and proceed to Adelaide with a minimum of delay.<sup>50</sup> The bishops' original mandate had been to examine the circumstances surrounding MacKillop's excommunication and the subsequent disbandment of a large number of the Josephite sisters, the state of diocesan finance, the behaviour and influence of Horan and Nowlan and Sheil's alleged drinking habits. It remained substantially the same, except that Quinn and Murphy deleted the last item from their agenda because they believed that raising it

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47. IH, 22 June 1872, p. 3. This news item described the fire, which occurred on 1 June, and apologised for the non-appearance of the Harp on 15 June. Yet the paper was published on 8 June just one week after the fire. Advertiser, 14 June 1872, Public Notices, announced that because of the late fire at the printing works the issue of 15 June was unavoidably postponed.

48. M. Quinn to Barnabo, 17 June 1872, from Adelaide, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1325.

49. Polding to Barnabo, 20 April 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1315.

50. Barnabo to Murphy, 29 February and 4 April 1872, Propaganda Archives Lettere, 1872, I, vol. 367, ff. 280-282 & 441-442.

now that Sheil was dead could serve no good purpose.<sup>51</sup>  
 However, they investigated the remaining items thoroughly  
 and sent a detailed report of their findings to Rome.<sup>52</sup>

MacKillop was the first witness called and the two  
 bishops questioned her closely as to "the origins of the  
 Institute, the training of its members, the novitiate, the  
 number of inmates, the Bishop's conduct towards [the  
 Sisters], the complaints of the clergy, etc."<sup>53</sup> Sisters  
 Teresa MacDonald, Monica Phillips, Paula Green and  
 Ignatius McCarthy also gave evidence to the  
 Commission,<sup>54</sup> as did several priests and laymen. The  
 visitors made sure that they heard both sides of the  
 controversy by questioning Horan, Roche, T. Murphy and

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51. Murphy to the Propaganda, 18 May 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1313. "A Brief with a Summary of the Present State of the Diocese of Adelaide" SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f.1240, article 6. Murphy to Murray, 18 May 1872, MDA. M. Quinn to Barnabo, 17 June 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1327. Quinn wrote: "We have not taken evidence indeed on the tendency the Bishop was said to have towards intemperance because, being already dead, we believed we interpreted the mind of Your Eminence in not saying a word on this painful subject. All the priests speak of him with the greatest respect and veneration."

52. A first and brief report was contained in Quinn to Barnabo, 17 June 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, ff. 1325-1328. The bishops sent a more detailed one from Melbourne on 10 July, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, ff. 1359-1377.

53. MacKillop to Woods, 4 June 1872.

54. Report of the investigation by the Apostolic Commission, transcript of evidence, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, ff. 1394-1421. Sister Ignatius, Annie Elizabeth McCarthy, R119, was born in Ireland in 1849, entered the Josephites in April 1871, received the habit on 16 July 1871 and so was a novice at the time of MacKillop's excommunication. She was almost certainly a witness at that event and was obliged to doff her habit soon afterwards. She resumed it in March 1872, was professed in July of that year and died in South Australia in 1914. SC, 23 January 1914, Obituary of Sister Ignatius.

Nowlan as well as Reynolds, Hughes, W. Kennedy and Tappeiner.<sup>55</sup> They also sent for the two laymen, Fox and James Woods and asked them about the financial matters they had raised in their recent letter to Rome.<sup>56</sup> Finally they saw Julian Woods who returned to Adelaide in the middle of June after an absence of nearly eleven months.<sup>57</sup> As the Institute's father and founder he was perhaps the most important witness of all. It is not clear whether the Commissioners actually interviewed him because the transcript of the evidence forwarded by them to Rome contains only a copy of his written submission to the hearing.<sup>58</sup>

In this document Woods described the historical details of the establishment and spread of the Institute. He told of the aid that had been promised by Sheil, especially for the charitable institutions entrusted to the sisters' care, but which had not been forthcoming because the collections for that purpose were not made. He described the growing opposition of some of the clergy

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55. Report of the Apostolic Commissioners, 10 July 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1359. Priests' evidence, Reynolds, ff. 1402-1403; Hughes, ff. 1400-1401; W. Kennedy, ff. 1401-1402; Tappeiner, ff. 1405-1415; Horan, ff. 1395-1396; Nowlan, ff. 1403-1404; T. Murphy, ff. 1396-1399; Roche, ff. 1399-1400.
56. Report of the Apostolic Commissioners, 10 July 1872, ff. 1373-1374.
57. IH, 8 June 1872, p. 4, told that Woods was expected to leave Sydney on the day of issue and could be expected in Adelaide by the end of the following week. IH, 22 June 1872, p. 4, announced that he was back in Adelaide. Mechtilde Woods, "History," p. 82.
58. Woods' evidence, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, ff. 1422-1424. A rough draft of Woods' submission to the hearing, in his handwriting, is to be found in the Woods file, ACA S18.

and the memorial of February 1871, the bishop's defence of the schools, his inertia in the face of growing debts and the change in his attitude towards the Josephites after Woods' departure for New South Wales in the previous August. He also mentioned the hostility shown him by "certain Fathers of the Franciscan Order" because of his part in the expulsion of one of their number for "drunkenness and immorality" and explained that much of the clergy's opposition towards himself and the Institute resulted from their having had to renounce the "government grant" for their schools and their having become dissatisfied with the teaching abilities of some of the sisters. Finally, he itemised his debts, which totalled slightly less than £4000 - a considerable sum, given that the overall diocesan debt was approximately £11,000.<sup>59</sup>

Their task completed, the two bishops wasted no time in reporting their findings to Rome. They outlined the

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59. In the ms. draft Woods itemised his debts as follows:

Convent	£1935 - 19 - 5
Bishop	450 - 0 - 0
Refuge	582 - 16 - 8
Schools	<u>1007 - 0 - 0</u>
	<u>£3975 - 16 - 1</u>

He then added that of that amount £3413 - 0 - 8 remained to be paid with interest of £441 - 5 - 2, making in all a total of £3824 - 5 - 2, and that nothing of any of these amounts had any connection with the Solitude at Glenelg or the Chaplet, which were not diocesan matters. Woods' debts were certainly large and it is not clear whether they formed part of the total diocesan debt or not. However, it seems likely that they did. The statement of Liabilities and Assets of the Roman Catholic Church as drawn up by Cullen and Wigley, Solicitors of Adelaide on 19 September 1873, gave the total as £13,295. Given that most of this money was borrowed at 6 1/2% interest, the amount owing in June 1872 would have been about £11,000, ACA S25.

current position as they saw it and told that they had confirmed Reynolds in the office of administrator because of his highly commendable behaviour during the recent troubles. Next they asserted their conviction that the two friars, Horan and Nowlan were "at the bottom" of those same troubles and recommended that these two priests and the Capuchin, Henderson, be recalled immediately to their respective monasteries.<sup>60</sup> Henderson, whose name was not publicly associated with Horan's at this time, was at Port Lincoln or Port Augusta while much of the drama was taking place in Adelaide.<sup>61</sup> Hence, the reason for his coming under censure is not at all clear but seems to have been that, like Horan and Nowlan, he was a friar and, as such, was considered "capable of every scheming malevolence."<sup>62</sup>

On the other hand, although the bishops considered Sheil's conduct towards the Sisters of St Joseph indefensible, they exonerated him on all counts because "in the opinion of all" he was "rather tender-hearted and

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60. M. Quinn to Barnabo, 17 June 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1327.

61. According to the Port Lincoln Baptismal Register, St Mary's Church, Port Lincoln, Henderson was in Port Lincoln or travelling through his mission from at least 25 June - 26 November 1871; 7 January - 13 March 1872; 6-16 May 1872; 14 July - 13 August 1872 and 13 September - 27 October 1872. Thus he was not in Adelaide during the greater part of the controversy over MacKillop's excommunication in late 1871, nor was he there when Sheil died. He could have been present at the Funeral Oration and he was almost certainly in Adelaide in late April because he signed the clergy letter to Rome asking that Reynolds be removed from his position as administrator.

62. O'Farrell, Catholic Church and Community, p. 173, paraphrasing Bishop Murray, Maitland, to Kirby, 28 June 1872, ICA 1872, no. 165, MF6F.

of singular benevolence."<sup>63</sup> What Quinn and Murphy did not realise, or were unwilling to admit, was that these very qualities were the root cause of the trouble and therefore, that Sheil was, in fact, largely responsible for what had happened in Adelaide during his episcopate. Horan and Nowlan were certainly blameworthy on a number of counts, but they did not deserve to be held fully responsible for all the ills that had recently beset the diocese. It seems that they were blamed because episcopal loyalty would not allow the apostolic commissioners to condemn a brother bishop.<sup>64</sup>

The Commissioners praised MacKillop and the sisters for their exemplary conduct throughout the whole trying affair. However, they recommended that the rules of the Institute be reviewed by competent ecclesiastical authority in order to regularise its position in the Church. The bishops considered Woods "a truly disinterested priest" but, nevertheless, one incapable of directing a religious family such as the one under discussion because his mistakes had been the prime cause of the persecutions recently suffered by the sisters. Therefore, they recommended that he be relieved of all responsibility for the Institute and its members.<sup>65</sup>

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63. Quinn to Barnabo, 17 June 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1325. The underlining is Quinn's.

64. O'Farrell, op cit. p. 173.

65. A Brief with a Summary of the present state of the diocese of Adelaide, April 1873, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1241.

Their final comments concerned the state of the diocesan finances. This aspect of the inquiry had been made because of the laity's complaints that funds contributed by them had been mismanaged and/or misappropriated. Although the commissioners found that the debt was large and that church property had been mortgaged in order to meet current expenditure, they were satisfied that all moneys raised during Sheil's episcopate had been put to legitimate use. They expressed mild concern at the size of the debt and left the administrator to pay it off in the ordinary course of events.<sup>66</sup>

Before leaving Adelaide the two bishops admonished the faithful to prove their loyalty to the Church by implicitly obeying Reynolds for as long as he should hold supreme authority in the diocese. As well, they declared publicly their belief that the Sisters of St Joseph were innocent of all charges laid against them in the libel letters.<sup>67</sup> Quinn finalised arrangements for three sisters to open a house near Bathurst, just twelve months after he had first asked for them. Then, on 2 July he and Murphy bade farewell to South Australia.

The departure of the two bishops was scarcely noticed by the sisters who had been working busily in their schools and institutions ever since their reinstatement in

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66. Report of Apostolic Commission, July 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1374. Catholic laymen to Barnabo, 5 December 1871, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1347.

67. IH, 29 June 1872, p. 7, gave a full account of Quinn's sermon at the Cathedral on Sunday 23 June.

the previous March. On 19 and 23 March 1872, that is, during the week before Horan delivered his Funeral Oration, 24 sisters, including MacKillop, resumed their habits and four postulants received theirs for the first time.<sup>68</sup> During subsequent weeks further reinstatements brought to at least 35 the number of sisters who renewed their allegiance to the Institute at this time. Reynolds insisted that most of the visionaries wait until later although Ignatius O'Brien was among those reinstated in March.<sup>69</sup>

With Reynolds' appointment as administrator and the restoration of the Institute the way lay open for Woods' safe return to Adelaide. However, he seemed in no hurry and eventually came only because he was called to give evidence before the Apostolic Commission. His continued absence puzzled MacKillop and his South Australian friends, but he assured them that he could best serve their interests by remaining in New South Wales. His fertile mind was full of schemes aimed at preventing the sisters from suffering "a similar outrage in the future." These included getting "Dr [Matthew] Quinn to allow a

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68. MacKillop to Woods, 23 March 1872. It is not possible to ascertain which sisters renewed their vows on this occasion but, according to the "Register of the Sisters", the novices who were professed were Sisters Evangelista Weir, Matilda Rogers, Beatrice Blackwell, Eulalia McDermott, Imelda O'Brien and Regina Magee. The novices who resumed their habits were Sisters Sylvester Long, Francis Conway, Gertrude Bertheau and Ignatius McCarthy, while the postulants who were invested in their habits were Sisters Francesca Holland, Felix O'Rourke, Margaret Quinn and Veronica Champion.

69. cf. Chapter 5, table IV and also Appendix XI. Mechtilde Woods, "History," p. 86.

novitiate and headquarters of the sisters to be in Bathurst," establishing houses of the Institute in the Sydney, Maitland and Armidale dioceses, founding a new branch of the Institute especially to meet Quinn's requirement that the sisters teach music and finally, going to Rome to plead the Institute's cause there. He assured MacKillop that he did not intend abandoning South Australia but was merely providing against possible future attacks on the Institute.<sup>70</sup>

Woods' recent experiences had broadened his vision of the Australian Church and its needs, and he dreamed of Josephite communities in widely scattered areas of eastern Australia and the South Pacific.<sup>71</sup> The needs of these areas were certainly real, and doubtless the Josephites were capable of meeting them. However, events in South Australia had demonstrated the dangers inherent in the too rapid dispersion of young, inexperienced sisters before they had undergone at least basic religious and professional training. Woods had yet to learn that lesson and he seemed unable to appreciate the harmful effects of the recent disruption on the youthful Josephites. Hence, even as MacKillop pleaded that they be given time to consolidate their training and recover from the upset before embarking on further expansion,<sup>72</sup> he pressed her

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70. Woods to MacKillop, 9, 13 and 26 March, 10 and 29 April 1872.

71. Woods to MacKillop, 27 August and 11 September 1871, 2 January, 13 March and 29 April 1872.

72. MacKillop to Woods, 22 January, 2 April and 7 May 1872.

to send some of their number to the eastern colonies. He assured her that she need not be unduly concerned at losing them because they would soon be replaced by the "multitudes of postulants" ready and willing to go to Adelaide in their places.<sup>73</sup> In his view the arrival of new postulants meant the founding of new houses. Therefore, as long as the supply of new recruits continued, he saw no reason why sisters, including inexperienced novices and postulants, should not be sent without delay to virtually every place where their presence was requested.

MacKillop, for her part, could see that the dispersion of the sisters in this way would not provide any real, long term solutions to their problems or those of the Institute as a whole. The sisters' personal needs were of paramount importance to her, as were those of the local clergy, some of whom had gone to great lengths to support the Institute in its time of trial. She knew that Reynolds wished the sisters to return to Robe and Port Augusta as soon as possible, and also to open new schools at Hamley Bridge, Stockport and Mintaro, three small country centres.<sup>74</sup> In the circumstances she would definitely have preferred that all sisters presently in

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73. Woods to MacKillop, 16 February, 13 and 19 March and 29 April 1872.

74. MacKillop to Woods, 23 March 1872. She wrote of the needs of several local places as opposed to Woods' wish that a number of sisters go to Bathurst and Queensland immediately. She asked: "If the priests in charge of those missions so eagerly desired them [i.e. the sisters] when so few were kind to us, don't you think that now we should study [their wants]?"

South Australia remain there until at least the end of the year.<sup>75</sup> So, too, would Reynolds, who made it quite clear to MacKillop that her first duty was to the home colony and that its needs should have priority over those of any others.<sup>76</sup>

In the event, circumstances outside her control, especially the libel case and the Apostolic Commission, prevented her or any of the sisters from leaving South Australia before July. Those same events also gave her an opportunity to call as many sisters as possible together over the Easter holiday break for a time of quiet prayer and study and then to assign them to their various duties in the schools and institutions still under their charge. Wherever practicable, she placed three sisters in a community instead of two as had previously been the custom, generally choosing for the third sister one who was less well prepared for teaching than her two companions. MacKillop thus hoped to provide each such sister with an opportunity to work and study under an experienced teacher and so prepare herself for the time when she would have a class of her own. By taking this course of action she also hoped to remove one of the causes of the adverse criticism previously levelled at the Institute.<sup>77</sup>

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75. Tappeiner to his General, 7 October 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 9, f. 1531: "And now there are not enough of them to staff all the places ... where their services are required."

76. MacKillop to Woods, 7 May 1872.

77. MacKillop to Woods, 23 March and 2 April 1872.

Given these new arrangements and the fact that there were now fewer sisters, MacKillop found it difficult to fill all the existing vacancies in South Australia, much less have some to spare for other colonies. Nevertheless, she did hold four in reserve for the proposed Bathurst foundation, in the meantime giving them appointments from which they could be removed with a minimum of disruption to the work in hand.<sup>78</sup> In this she acted wisely because, as already noted, Matthew Quinn finalised arrangements for the establishment of a Josephite foundation in his diocese before he left Adelaide at the end of June. Three sisters, Teresa MacDonald, Hyacinth Quinlan and Mary Joseph Dwyer, left for Bathurst shortly afterwards. With that move, the Josephites entered a third Australian diocese, where, again, they undertook the work of teaching the children of the poor in small, rural settlements.<sup>79</sup>

Expansion and consolidation were two of the most important themes then exercising Woods' and MacKillop's minds. Their diverging views on these matters and also on the way the visionaries should be treated, marked the beginning of the eventual estrangement between these two people who, together, had contributed so much towards the

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78. MacKillop to Woods, 2 April 1872. Tappeiner to Barnabo, 7 October 1872, SRCO vol. 9, f. 1531.

79. CSC, 27 July 1872, p. 442. Sister M. de Sales Tobin, "History of the Bathurst Foundation," m/s, ASSJ, 1873, p. 1. Tobin records that these sisters, who reached Bathurst on 16 July 1872, were accompanied by a young convert from Judaism named Ada Braham, who was known among the sisters as Mary Joseph. She later joined the Institute and adopted the religious name of Sister Aloysius, R139.

life of the Church in Australia. In their correspondence during 1872 and especially in letters written after the restoration of the Institute in March, there is clear evidence of a growing tension between them.<sup>80</sup> The Apostolic Commissioners' recommendation that Woods relinquish his position as the sisters' director served only to worsen the situation,<sup>81</sup> particularly when the bishops made it clear that it would be better for all concerned if he were to leave Adelaide immediately and stay away until after the appointment of the new bishop.<sup>82</sup>

MacKillop felt his departure keenly because of all that his friendship had meant to her over the past ten years and more. Yet, for two years or so she had had reason to doubt the wisdom of his direction of the visionaries and could not but agree that, in the circumstances, the bishops' decision was a wise one. Further, because these men had come to Adelaide as the

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80. The first obvious sign of tension appeared in Woods to MacKillop, 24 November 1871 when he wrote: "Sometimes, my dear child, you seem to distrust me in some things ..." Then, on 8 December he wrote: "Your letters are a strange puzzle to me .... Sometimes you ask such strange questions and seem to mistrust my judgement and my actions." This same theme recurs in his letters to MacKillop, 19 and 27 December 1871 and 16 January and 16 April 1872. MacKillop indicated that she felt she had good reason to mistrust his judgement, especially where the visionaries were concerned, in MacKillop to Woods, 17 February, 2, 5 and 23 March and 17 April 1872, to list but a few.

81. Report of the Apostolic Commission, 10 July 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1359. MacKillop to Woods, 4 June and 2 July 1872.

82. O'Neill, *Woods*, p. 230 cites two letters from Woods to unnamed recipients, one of March 1873 and the other of 1875. In both he reiterates this point. *IH*, 9 August 1872, p. 6, indicates that the actual date of his departure from Adelaide was 8 August 1872.

official representatives of the Holy See, she accepted their verdict as being the will of God for her, even though she felt it "an almost cruel duty that God required of [her]." At the same time she hastened to assure Woods that, since he was the Institute's father and founder, no other priest could ever fill his place where it was concerned.<sup>83</sup>

Woods, for his part, was deeply hurt at the bishops' decision, even though he had long foreseen the possibility of his one day having to relinquish the direction of the Institute.<sup>84</sup> It seems that, when that day actually came he was caught unprepared. As MacKillop put it:

I have long faced the difficulty. I have in a certain sense realised beforehand by anticipation, the bitterness of the sacrifice that seems now to be pending in reality, but with you, my Father, I think it has been different. You also anticipated but you did not dwell long enough on the idea to realise it fully, and therefore the bare thought of having to give to another the charge you love is torture to you.

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It was torture indeed for Woods. He believed that it was impossible for any other priest, especially a member of a religious order, to understand or appreciate fully the unique spirit and ideals of the Institute as conceived

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83. MacKillop to Woods, 2 July 1872.

84. Woods to MacKillop, 23 and 27 November 1871, 19 March and 2 April 1872. On 30 November 1871 he expressed his feelings on this subject most clearly when he wrote: "And dear sister, this will be a cross, but only for a time. I am never going to have charge of the sisters any more. I have done them no good and they will get on better without me, but I can never take charge of them when these difficulties are over."

85. MacKillop to Woods, 2 July 1872.

by him. Hence he also believed that none but himself was capable of directing the sisters properly and he greatly feared the possible consequences of their having a too close association with the Jesuits.<sup>86</sup> It followed that, when he bade what proved to be his final farewell to Adelaide on 8 August 1872, he departed in sorrow and in anger, seemingly determined to circumvent the commissioners' ruling that he refrain from interfering in Josephite affairs for the time.<sup>87</sup> As for the leading visionaries, the very thought of leaving their guidance to others proved too much and he hastily arranged for four of their number to sever their association with the Institute and South Australia and move to Camden near Sydney. There he planned that they should live a quasi-religious life as they supported themselves by whatever work might become available, especially needlework and similar activities.<sup>88</sup>

In Adelaide the sisters now faced the prospect of a future without the presence of their Father Director.

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86. Woods to MacKillop, 8 December 1871 and 16 April 1872 when he wrote: "I dread the friendship of some more than the enmity of others for friends have done you more harm than enemies have done to S.M.A." [Angela Carroll]. On 24 June 1875 Woods outlined his own vision of the Institute and his fears that a too exclusive direction of its members by the Jesuits could result in "a change in the spirit of the Institute and would eventually turn it aside from that for which [he] originally designed it." He had already written to MacKillop in a similar vein on 15 May and 13 June 1875.

87. MacKillop, "Some Observations relating to the Solitude of Mary," n.d. but internal evidence suggests late 1877 or early 1878, pp. 3-6, ASSJ, F1872, V7, n3. A Brief with a Summary of the Diocese of Adelaide, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1247.

88. Woods to MacKillop, 20 May, 15 August, 15 September and 3 October 1872.

MacKillop felt an added sense of responsibility for the Institute and declared her readiness to go through "all the miseries of the last ten months" again rather than allow herself or any of the sisters to swerve from the observance of the rule.<sup>89</sup> She felt ready to take such a stand because, when she made her vows, she had committed herself totally to the service of God as a Sister of St Joseph. She believed that she had a right to expect that everyone else who joined the Institute would do likewise and could not understand how any sister could be unfaithful to her rule or disobey the directives of her religious or ecclesiastical superiors. Hence, she was shocked at the apparent ease with which some sisters determined to continue corresponding with Woods after having been asked to refrain from doing so. She was even more shocked when Woods seemingly encouraged such behaviour.<sup>90</sup> Thus, the Apostolic Commissioners' recommendations concerning Woods' relationship with the Institute and its members caused further tension and disharmony within the Josephite community itself and many years were to elapse before peace was fully restored.

The causes of the excommunication crisis were many and deep and do not lend themselves to easy analysis. However, the first and most important may be summed up in

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89. MacKillop to Woods, 15 and 23 April 1873.

90. MacKillop to Dr Grant, Scotch College, Rome, 28 December 1877, to Cardinal Franchi, 28 December 1877, ACA, S12 4b. MacKillop, "Some Observations relating to the Solitude of Mary," ASSJ, F1872, V7, n3.

the one word "power". Sheil was an inept administrator. His weakness as a leader allowed for the development of a power vacuum with an accompaniment of factionalism and party spirit. Initially it was Woods and Smyth who held the reins. Smyth was generally well respected because of his firm and steady leadership but Woods sometimes overstepped the bounds of prudence and so allowed resentment and dissatisfaction to develop among some of the clergy and laity. However, matters ran more or less smoothly until 1870 when Woods' and Smyth's leadership was challenged by some of the younger clergy whom Sheil had brought to the colony. Before the year was out, Horan had won the support of a sizable portion of the clergy and, after Sheil's return from Europe in 1871, succeeded in toppling Woods and gaining the position of de facto vicar general for himself. He then set out to destroy Woods' work in the diocese, especially the Institute of St Joseph and his system of Catholic education for the children of the poor.

Money was also an important issue in this poor diocese. When proper leadership and organisation were lacking the question of the maladministration and even the possible misappropriation of the church's financial resources became a real concern for the clergy who administered and the laity who provided them. Hence, the cost of setting up and supporting Josephite communities in the various mission districts came under close scrutiny.

Once factionalism became rife, issues such as race and nationality also came to the fore. Some of the Irish clergy feared that the Jesuits were becoming too powerful and resented their having charge of farming areas where there were good collections. Therefore they began saying that Irish Catholics should not be ministered to by priests of other races, especially Germans. Had Sheil's death not intervened, it seems likely that the Jesuits might have left South Australia altogether.<sup>91</sup> The English Woods was sent away and the two Dutch priests then in the diocese became unhappy at the way they were being treated and considered the possibility of going elsewhere.<sup>92</sup>

The Sisters of St Joseph were caught in the cross-fire between the opposing factions. They did not consider leaving the diocese but, instead, were very nearly banished from it by force when MacKillop resisted what she believed were unjustified moves to change their rules. She openly declared her position and indicated that she knew her rights as a religious superior. Consequently, the Horan party had Sheil excommunicate her and set about disbanding the Institute because it was proving too independent of clerical control, too costly to support, and a threat to the existing power structure in the diocese.

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91. Strele, "Historia Domus," pp. 14-15.

92. Van der Heyden to Woods, 11 December 1871.

The excommunication of Mary MacKillop proved a serious tactical mistake on the part of those anxious to destroy the Institute because most Josephites were local girls and women with close ties of affinity with the local laity. Consequently, through the medium of the Irish Harp and some of the Adelaide dailies, several laymen sprang to their defence and publicised the whole affair. It seems certain that it was they who brought the planned dismemberment of the Institute to a premature halt by their outspokenness at home and the speed with which they realised that outside assistance would be needed if this quarrel was to be settled.

The Horan party's scheme to have Woods banished from the diocese was another tactical error because it allowed MacKillop to take full responsibility for the government of the Institute. The Josephites could have disappeared after her excommunication but, thanks to her strong leadership, they remained together, observing their rule and carrying on as best they could, despite their doubtful status and lack of regular employment and means of support. Her refusal to allow herself or any of the sisters to be drawn into public debate or recrimination over the treatment they had received also helped clear the way for the removal of her excommunication and the eventual restoration of the Institute.

The clerical power struggle worsened as Sheil's death

approached and reached its climax with the publication of Horan's Funeral Oration and the libels, all of which stirred up further dissension among clergy and laity. But, again, their publication proved a tactical mistake because it ensured even greater public support for the Sisters of St Joseph, the confirmation of Reynolds' appointment as administrator and the banishment of Horan and Nowlan from the diocese.

Taken overall, the disturbances of this period were purely internal to the Church and became public only when proclaimed abroad by the protagonists. That they aroused so little interest among the Protestant majority indicates that there was a generally high state of religious tolerance in this colony at a time when bitter sectarian animosity was the norm elsewhere, especially in Victoria and New South Wales. However, they did play an important part in the Catholic Church's struggle to find its feet in the colony. The questions of which institutions should have a place in its life, what form of education it should offer its children and who should benefit from that education were at the heart of the struggle. So also was that of whether the Church in South Australia should strive to become a totally Irish or a multi-cultural one.

## CHAPTER 7.

### ON THE MOVE, 1872-1880

The Institute of St Joseph survived the crises of the years 1870-1872 but had not yet secured a permanent niche within the structure of the Australasian Catholic Church. Before that was possible its superiors and the hierarchy had to reach an understanding regarding their mutual relationship and the role each should play in its internal management; that is, they had to agree as to how it should be governed and how its members should be supported. Twenty years were to elapse before these critical issues were finally settled and the intervening struggle was long and painful.

Before 1880 the principal protagonists in this struggle were Mary MacKillop, Julian Woods and Bishops Matthew Quinn of Bathurst and James Quinn of Brisbane. Adelaide retained its importance as the location of the Institute's Mother House although most of the ensuing battles were fought out in Bathurst and Queensland. After 1880 the scene changed and the action now alternated between Adelaide and Sydney. Woods and the two bishops disappeared from view while attention focussed instead on MacKillop and the archbishops of Adelaide and Sydney. Several sisters, including Monica Phillips, Bernard Walsh and Calasanctius Howley,<sup>1</sup> also played important roles

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1. Sister Calasanctius, Bridget Howley, R. 67, the eighth child of Timothy Howley and Catherine Meehan, was born in Ireland in 1848 and, when three years of age, came to South Australia with her parents and family, MLSA, SL 52/3. She and her older sister, Anne,

during this period. In the meantime the Institute continued to grow and expand and its life was marked by an almost continuous movement of sisters within and between the Australian colonies and, after 1883, New Zealand as well. The whole is a story of how undoubtedly good men and women, who held strong but divergent views on the issues under discussion, were prepared to go to great lengths to attain their particular ends.

The present phase of the Josephite story began with the tacit approval given the Institute by the Apostolic Commissioners in 1872. Following that event the sisters might have expected to settle back into their former routine of teaching and welfare work without further ado. However, the situation was less simple than that because the Commissioners' findings, although favorable to the Institute, had not given it security of status within the Church. Firstly, it still relied on the approval given it by Sheil in December 1868 for its continued existence. Sheil was now dead and Adelaide was anxiously awaiting the appointment of his successor. This man's ideas as to how the Institute should function could well differ from those held by either Sheil or its founders, and, by virtue of his office, he would have the power to implement them. Secondly, because only the Bishop of Adelaide had formally approved the Institute, MacKillop had no legal or

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Sister Andrea, R64, entered the Institute in 1869. Both served as Sisters of St Joseph for over sixty years and held a number of responsible positions in the Institute.

canonical right to act as superior to sisters stationed in other dioceses and the bishops of those dioceses had every right to forbid her entry into their territory and to prevent her from communicating with the sisters there.<sup>2</sup> This difficulty was exacerbated by the fact that the Quinn brothers, the bishops immediately concerned, were strongly opposed to the Institute's having a centralised authority structure, especially when its Mother House was situated in a diocese other than their own, and were already demanding that the rule be modified to suit their requirements.<sup>3</sup> Thirdly, the Institute, as such, did not own a single item of property in its own right.<sup>4</sup> Consequently, its members were totally dependent on the diocese for their housing, employment and support and had no safeguards to prevent their again being evicted from their convents or being treated as they had been in Adelaide during 1871.

The main point at issue was the kind of government the Institute should have. As originally constituted, it was ruled by a Sister Guardian General whose authority extended over all its houses, regardless of their location. Where necessary, it was divided into one or more provinces, each governed by a provincial who, "under the Bishop or his representative", regulated all the

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2. Woods to MacKillop, 7 April 1873.

3. MacKillop to Kirby, 10 February 1876. Woods to MacKillop, 10 April 1872 and January 1873.

4. Woods, "Rules," Resource 3, pp. 18-19, article 9, "Of Poverty." O'Neill, McKillop, p. 139.

affairs relating to her province. The provincials were appointed by the Sister Guardian General but subject to the local bishop, who was "in every case the superior."<sup>5</sup> In the light of the above, it may be asked who, in fact, was the properly constituted superior of the Institute, the Sister Guardian General or the local bishop? The rules under discussion were so ambiguous that they were open to a variety of interpretations.<sup>6</sup> Their author's original intention was that there should be only one general superior, the Sister Guardian General, and that all should be united under her leadership, even though the Institute might have houses in several different dioceses. Others, especially the Bishops Quinn believed that each local bishop or his delegate should control all the sisters in his diocese.<sup>7</sup>

Another anomaly in the rule was that Woods had retained the outmoded position of ecclesiastical superior as part of the Institute's authority structure, even though the Holy See had insisted for some years past that all references to this person be deleted from the constitutions of centralised religious institutes. Rome

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5. Woods, "Rules," Resource 3, pp. 8, 19-20

6. These ambiguities seemingly remained in the rule because Woods, its author, and MacKillop, both understood the intention behind the written word. Woods explained the rule to Sheil who, for his part, seems to have given it his approval very easily without questioning the meaning of the different sections in any great detail. MacKillop to Woods, 10 September 1871.

7. Woods to MacKillop, January 1873. MacKillop to J. Quinn, 10 February 1875. M. Quinn to Kirby, 18 April 1876 & 9 August 1873. J. Quinn to MacKillop, 29 May 1875.

had taken this decision because of the difficulties experienced by institutes which had spread into more than one diocese.<sup>8</sup> The Josephites' experience demonstrated the wisdom of this ruling for the Bishops of Bathurst and Brisbane were both extremely jealous of their rights as bishops and regarded any intervention in the sisters' affairs by a superior based in another diocese as an infringement of those rights.<sup>9</sup> By virtue of his office Sheil had been the Institute's first ecclesiastical superior but he had delegated all responsibility for its affairs to Woods.

All went well as long as there were sisters in South Australia only but trouble developed soon after they made their first foundation in Queensland.<sup>10</sup> Dr John Cani, Quinn's vicar general, was understandably loath to comply with instructions emanating from a source outside his own diocese and lacking due authorisation from his bishop and, as a consequence, MacKillop found herself in a difficult

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8. MacKillop to Father Poupinel S.M. 9 May 1873, explained that she was sent to Rome by her ecclesiastical superior, the administrator of Adelaide. F. Callahan, The Centralisation of Government in Pontifical Institutes of Women with Simple Vows, Rome, 1948, p. 49, states that as early as 1826 the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars had begun instructing centralised Institutes to delete all references to an ecclesiastical superior from their constitutions. On pp. 49-55 Callahan discusses several French Institutes which experienced difficulties in this area.
9. MacKillop to Kirby, 7 September 1874. J. Quinn to MacKillop, 8 March & 29 May 1875.
10. Woods to MacKillop, then in Queensland, 20 May 1870, chided her for losing her confidence in him, "her director and superior." On 15 August 1870 he instructed her to write firmly to Dr Cani, insisting that he permit the postulants there to receive their habits, and informing him that she was taking this action "only after consulting me, your General Superior and under his [sic] advice."

position indeed.<sup>11</sup> Woods filled the dual role of spiritual director and ecclesiastical superior to the sisters until 1872, when the Jesuit, Tappeiner, became the sisters' spiritual director and Reynolds, the newly appointed administrator of the diocese, assumed the role of ecclesiastical superior.<sup>12</sup> How Reynolds viewed this position is unclear, but he became a firm advocate of central government - as long as the Mother House of the Institute remained in Adelaide.

The Apostolic Commission of 1872 was appointed to inquire into affairs relating to the Adelaide diocese only. Therefore, the two bishops did not make any specific references to the sisters stationed in Queensland, apparently taking it for granted that they were now the sole responsibility of James Quinn and no longer formed part of the Adelaide Institute.<sup>13</sup> Quinn certainly believed that this was so and that the Institute's Adelaide superiors had no authority over sisters in his diocese. The situation in Bathurst was

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11. MacKillop to Woods, 16 August and 17 October 1870, informed Woods that Cani was refusing to give the postulants their habits until he heard from Bishop Quinn who had not yet returned to Queensland from the Vatican Council.
  12. O'Neill, Woods, p. 230, cites two letters from Woods. The first was written in March 1873 and the second from Tasmania in 1875. In these Woods wrote that he had been forbidden to return to Adelaide until after the appointment of the new bishop because the Institute was virtually out of his hands. "A Brief with a Summary of the Present State of the Diocese of Adelaide," 25 May 1873, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1247, contained the recommendation that another "upright and suitable priest" be appointed in Woods' place.
  13. Report of the Apostolic Commissioners, 10 July 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, ff. 1359-1377.

similar, for Matthew Quinn also understood that his sisters formed a separate group of which he was the immediate superior.<sup>14</sup>

After Woods left Adelaide in 1872 he went first to Bathurst and then to Queensland to visit and encourage the sisters there and to conduct missions and retreats for the clergy and the laity.<sup>15</sup> He had opportunities to discuss the Institute's affairs with both bishops and became quite alarmed when he realised that they were "quietly making their representations to Rome" with a view to having the rule approved there without any provision for central government.<sup>16</sup> Hence he urged that someone who favoured this form of government should go to Rome with the rule before the end of 1873. He had already seen the necessity for such action during the excommunication crisis and now pressed MacKillop to arrange for a trip to Rome in about eight or nine months' time.<sup>17</sup>

Back in Adelaide, Reynolds and Tappeiner were

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14. Woods to MacKillop, January 1873. M. Quinn to Kirby, 18 April 1876, wrote that the sisters came to Bathurst from Adelaide "on the distinct understanding ... that those sisters should be guided by me as their Superior."
  15. IH. 9 August 1872, p. 6. Woods to MacKillop, wrote nine letters between 3 October and 4 December 1872. Each was sent from a different place in the Maitland or Bathurst diocese. His next letter was sent from Brisbane. All gave accounts of retreats, missions etc. and the hours he spent in the confessional.
  16. Woods to MacKillop, 4 December 1872, January 1873 and n.d. but by internal evidence early March 1873.
  17. MacKillop to Poupinel, 9 May 1873. Woods to MacKillop, 13 March 1872.

concerned about the possible long-term effects of the sisters' insecurity and considered it a matter of urgency that steps be taken to place their affairs on a sure footing. These men also looked to Rome in their difficulty. At first they considered sending Woods, but then decided that MacKillop should be the one to go.<sup>18</sup> In sending the Josephite rule to Rome these priests followed a well-established precedent, for during the nineteenth century, numerous women's religious institutes had had their rules and constitutions approved by the Holy See, which now had a clearly defined procedure for dealing with them.<sup>19</sup> In having the foundress go in person at a time when women religious seldom entered the public arena or spoke for themselves, they were more daring.<sup>20</sup> Time was to prove that they had acted wisely!

Woods certainly saw the necessity for this important step but did not share his South Australian confreres' sense of urgency about it. He wished to see MacKillop before she left, discuss the rule with her and note such changes as might appear necessary.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand,

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18. Reynolds to Kirby, 27 March 1873, letter of introduction to Kirby for MacKillop; 20 May 1873, ICA K206. MacKillop to Sister Bonaventure Mahony, 13 December 1878. She embarked on her journey on 28 March 1873.

19. Callahan, Centralisation of Government, pp. 44-47.

20. Lyne, Mary MacKillop, p. 147, highlights the difficulties encountered by MacKillop because she was a woman. M. Quinn to MacKillop, 14 April 1873.

21. Woods to MacKillop, January, 10 March & 7 April 1873. In each of these he stressed the need for them to meet before her departure.

Reynolds and Tappeiner believed that there was danger in delay. They were particularly afraid of the Quinns' influence at Rome and wished to forestall any moves the brothers might make to have any references to central government deleted from the rule.<sup>22</sup>

Consequently, MacKillop embarked on her long and hazardous journey without first seeing Woods and without, it seems, his being aware of her imminent departure.<sup>23</sup> In fact, she had almost reached her destination before he received word that she had left Australia. (It was accident, not design, that kept Woods in the dark for he was then making a missionary tour of northern and central Queensland, where mails were most erratic and sometimes did not get through for weeks at a time).<sup>24</sup> For her part, MacKillop was very upset at having to leave Australia without bidding him farewell in person. However, when her immediate superiors in Adelaide said that she should go, she obeyed because she believed that that was the will of God for her.<sup>25</sup> Woods was also upset and never forgave her for having taken the advice of others ahead of his own, even though they were her

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22. Reynolds to Kirby, 20 May 1873, ICA K206 and 18 June 1873, ICA K240.

23. O'Neill, Woods, pp. 142-143. Woods to Monica Phillips, 21 April 1873. Woods to MacKillop, 28 July 1873.

24. MacKillop, "Life of Woods," Resource 6, p. 143. According to this source, Woods was at Maryborough in Queensland when he heard of MacKillop's departure. Woods to MacKillop, 28 July 1873, from Port MacKay, Queensland, told how he had just received a parcel of letters, some dating from as far back as the previous December.

25. MacKillop to Woods, 24 February 1873. MacKillop to Reynolds, from Rome, 13 April 1874; MacKillop to Monica Phillips and Mechtilde Woods from London, 9 July 1874.

lawfully appointed superiors and he now held no official position in relation to the Institute.<sup>26</sup>

Subsequent developments proved that MacKillop had not set out any too soon. In April 1873, less than a month after her departure, Matthew Quinn wrote to Monsignor Kirby, Rector of the Irish College in Rome and a man of considerable influence there, asking him to make representations on his (Quinn's) behalf to Cardinal Barnabo, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda Fide, and, as such, the person most closely involved with the affairs of the Catholic Church in the colonies.<sup>27</sup> The matters Quinn wished Kirby to raise included the vexed questions of the Institute's government and of what the sisters should teach in their schools. Quinn, a very determined man with definite ideas of his own, went so far as to say that, although he would regret losing the Josephites because they showed some promise of being useful, he would "pitch them aside" and replace them with others if they persisted in their current ideas on these two issues. He explained that, in his view, their

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26. Woods to MacKillop, 27 August 1873, ICA NK c420B. Woods to Monica Phillips, 21 April 1873. Woods, "Memoirs," book 2, p. 99, sums up the feelings expressed in the two letters. He wrote that "following the advice of others she went to Rome without consulting Father [that is, himself] which was a great cross to him and from that day he ceased to correspond with her ..."

27. Monsignor Tobias Kirby was the principal contact person in Rome for most Irish bishops, whether in Ireland or the colonies. He was born in Ireland in 1804, studied in Rome, became vice-rector of the Irish College there in 1837 and rector in 1850, and held this post until his retirement in 1891. He died in 1894, aged 90 years. (Source: P. MacSuibhne, Paul Cullen and His Contemporaries, Naas, Co, Kildare, 1962, vol. 2, p. 30.)

having one superior general was a "great drawback" because his diocese might be made to suffer at the expense of others if he could not control the deployment of the sisters and if their superior general was not always close at hand to exercise proper surveillance over them.<sup>28</sup>

Quinn next stressed the importance of music teaching and explained that, in a situation where Catholic and State schools were in open competition with each other for pupils, the Josephites' refusal to accede to his wishes on this score was "a very great drawback to their usefulness." He reasoned thus because he had found that the people in the colonies were "passionately fond of music" and regarded those who could teach it as being of "a higher order" than those who could not. Therefore, so he said, these people sent their children to schools where music lessons were available and the Church was successful in its "opposition to the public schools."<sup>29</sup> Quinn had one end in view, the defeat of the public school system by the setting up and maintaining of a parallel Catholic system.<sup>30</sup> He used music lessons as the bait with which to attract parents to send their children to the Catholic schools. Therefore, all other considerations aside, he

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28. M. Quinn to Kirby, 18 April 1873, ICA K163 and 9 August 1873, ICA K305.

29. M. Quinn to Kirby, 18 April 1873, ICA K163.

30. Fogarty, Catholic Education in Australia, p. 237. Brian J. Sweeney, "Bishop Matthew Quinn and the Development of Catholic Education in New South Wales, 1865-1885," M.A. Sydney, 1968.

insisted that music lessons be available for all who wanted them.

Where the importance of music was concerned, Quinn could only urge Kirby to accept his word, because he knew that anyone who had never been in the Australian colonies would find it hard to understand. Quinn had a point here for it is well-attested that colonial Australians set great store on music in all its forms. By the 1870s the ownership of a piano and the ability to perform on an instrument had become important status symbols among middle class settlers<sup>31</sup> and "the pinnacle of working class aspirations."<sup>32</sup>

MacKillop was also aware of the importance of music and the social standing that piano lessons gave their recipients. At the same time, she knew something of current socio-economic conditions and had had firsthand experience of the hardships suffered by poor families in their struggle for survival. Therefore, she refused to allow her sisters, whose primary task was the education of the poor, to teach instrumental music. Her reasons were threefold. Firstly, she believed that the piano should not have a place in a poor man's home because she knew of cases where, in their anxiety to have their children learn

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31. G. Serle, From the Deserts the Prophets Come, M.U.P. 1973, pp. 40-43, esp. p. 42. Roger Covell, Australia's Music, Themes of a New Society, Melbourne, 1967, pp. 20 & 56. Y. McLay, James Quinn, Graphic Books, Victoria, 1979, p. 152.

32. Humphrey McQueen, The New Britannia, Penguin, Australia, 1971, p. 118.

to play a few tunes, "poor, foolish parents" had allowed the children's real educational needs to suffer.<sup>33</sup> Secondly, she did not want to have the sisters either performing or teaching instrumental music because, in her egalitarian institute comprised largely of working-class women, those able for this work might be thought better of than those who could not do it and this, in turn, might give rise to "very dangerous distinctions" which would disturb the peace among the sisters.<sup>34</sup> Thirdly, she was afraid that the sisters might give way to that tendency which she believed was innate "in most, if not all of us," to pay more attention to those able to pay well for services received and so come to neglect the poor children for whose benefit the Institute had been founded.<sup>35</sup>

Thus, on the one hand, it was being said that most Australians loved music and should be given opportunities to study it and, on the other, that it was dangerous to allow the poor too easy access to the study of "accomplishments" such as music, because such knowledge was likely to disturb their peace and to push them up the social ladder before they were ready for it. At a more practical level, financial considerations brought Quinn and his brother bishops in Australia to insist that the sisters take private music pupils wherever possible. Their reason was that they were committed to establishing

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33. MacKillop to Woods, 23 April 1872. MacKillop, "Necessity for the Institute," Resource 3, pp. 58 & 59.

34. MacKillop, "Observations on the Rule," Resource 3, p. 45.

35. MacKillop to Woods, 23 April 1872.

and supporting a system of independent Catholic schools in their dioceses and needed the income that music pupils provided if these schools were to be viable.<sup>36</sup>

For MacKillop, with her Josephite view of poverty, economic considerations were of secondary importance. Therefore she persisted in her refusal to allow her sisters to take music lessons. However, with the passage of time, even she came to see the possibility of changing her stance on this issue, but not for financial reasons. While in Rome, she decided that since her sisters were working in opposition to "Protestant," that is, state schools, there might be some cases where concessions could be made.<sup>37</sup> Even so, many years were to elapse before the Josephites undertook this work, and, when they did so, it was for the sake of the income it provided.<sup>38</sup>

The question of whether the sisters should teach music or not was one that could have been resolved easily if Matthew Quinn had been the superior of the Josephite communities in his diocese. However, he did not have full

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36. O'Farrell, Catholic Church and Community in Australia, p. 174, makes this point quite strongly. Maureen Purcell, "The Original Sin: Submission as Survival. Women Religious in the Early Maitland Diocese," in S. Willis, Women, Faith and Fetes, Dove, Melbourne, 1977, p. 199.

37. MacKillop to Kirby, from Dublin, 7 September 1874, ICA K478. She stated that, since they were all working "in opposition to Protestant schools," then perhaps, "in some cases some concessions could be made regarding music."

38. Minutes of the Third General Chapter of the Sisters of St Joseph, 16 December 1889. Second Session, 17 December, item 5: "That music may be taught by the sisters where necessary or advisable."

authority over them because MacKillop was their superior general. She was not prepared to make any concessions where this or the even more fundamental issue of central government were concerned. In her view, a strong, centralised authority structure was the single most important means of preserving unity among her sisters. At the same time, she was equally adamant that the Institute should retain the strict form of Franciscan poverty that she and Woods had espoused.<sup>39</sup> What she was to find was that, in practice, these two ideals were mutually exclusive. Unity such as she desired could never be achieved while the sisters were totally dependent upon their local bishops for employment and support. Before they could attain it they needed to have that independence which flows from the ownership of at least some money or other property in their own right.

The Institute had reached a point in its evolution where one or the other of these two ideals had to give. Which was it to be - poverty or central government? Much of the tragedy of the ensuing history stems from the fact that Woods opted for one and MacKillop for the other. Each was so set on the one idea that neither could hear what the other was saying or accept the merits of the opposing case. Consequently, they became alienated from one another as each believed that the other was working to

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39. MacKillop, "Statement on the Rule and the General Superior," May/June 1873, Resource 3, pp. 46-49. "Observations on the Rule", 18 May 1873, Resource 3, p. 43. These are two key documents which give a very clear exposition of MacKillop's views on the Institute and its rule.

destroy the Institute they had founded together.<sup>40</sup>

MacKillop went to Rome determined to take an uncompromising stand on the issues of poverty and central government as well as on that of music teaching. She presented the rule to the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, the body which handled her case. The officials there soon realised that the Josephite rule could not be approved as it stood, because it was much too detailed in its prescriptions and was "very imperfect and confused."<sup>41</sup> They handed it to Father Raymund Bianchi O.P. for comment and revision.<sup>42</sup> He took cognisance of all that MacKillop had said and written concerning the Institute and, with this in mind, produced a new, simplified constitution for it.<sup>43</sup>

Contrary to what might have been expected, given the strong episcopal lobby against it, the central government was retained. This happened because MacKillop was able to

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40. Woods, "Memoirs", bk. 2, pp. 89, 99, 108-109. Woods to MacKillop, 24 June 1875. MacKillop to Dr Grant, Rome, 6 September 1877, ACA. MacKillop to Josephine McMullen, 31 July 1877; to Josephine Carolan, 7 August 1877. MacKillop to Woods, 12 September 1879.
41. Raymund Bianchi, O.P. *Animadversions super Constitutionibus Sororum S. Joseph in Australia*, art. 17. SRCO Vol. 10, f. 457, tr. H. Johnson SJ, 1979, ASSJ.
42. MacKillop to Sisters Calasanctius, Monica and Francis Xavier, 30 June 1873, from Rome. Callahan, Centralisation of Government, p. 47, explains the process whereby rules presented for approval were examined and corrected.
43. Cardinal Franchi to MacKillop, 21 April 1874. A translation of this letter appeared on the fly leaf of the printed version of the Josephite Constitutions, Adelaide 1875. Kirby to Reynolds, 22 April 1874.

demonstrate that most of the sisters desired it<sup>44</sup> and because Rome had an established precedent whereby it settled disputed cases in accordance with the wishes of the sisters concerned rather than those of the hierarchy.<sup>45</sup> Rome's willingness to grant central government to Institutes such as the Sisters of St Joseph can also be explained in terms of power and control. Major superiors of centralised religious institutes were ultimately responsible to Rome for the way they governed their particular institutes and also had right of appeal there in case of any disputes between themselves and the local bishops. This meant that the bishops' power over the religious in their dioceses was effectively limited and that they could be called upon by Rome to account for their behaviour towards the religious.

In granting central government to the Institute, the Holy See also approved of MacKillop's plan that there should be only one novitiate for the training of the young sisters.<sup>46</sup> The price the Institute was asked to pay for its retention of unity in government and training was that for the future it should possess money, land and income in its own right.<sup>47</sup> It is important to note that the new

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44. MacKillop, "Statement on the Rule and the General Superior," Resource 3, p. 46.

45. Callahan, Centralisation of Government, pp. 61-62.

46. MacKillop to Kirby, 3 May 1874, from Turin, ICA K216. Constitutions of the Sisters of St Joseph of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, Adelaide, 1875, p. 7.

47. Constitutions, Chapter 4, p. 23. MacKillop, Circular letter to the Sisters, n.d. but certainly from this period, cited by O'Neill,

Josephite constitutions made no reference at all to the question of music teaching. Evidently the Roman authorities considered this to be a purely disciplinary matter and hence, one which the appropriate superiors were competent to decide.

With the confirmation of the principle of central government, the position of ecclesiastical superior was abolished once and for all and the Institute was placed under the care of a "Cardinal Protector" based in Rome.<sup>48</sup> The Josephites' first protector was Cardinal Franchi, who had become Prefect of the Congregation of the Propaganda following Barnabo's death in February 1874.<sup>49</sup> The cardinal's role was to represent the Holy See in any extraordinary affairs of government where the intervention of the Church's hierarchy was considered necessary.<sup>50</sup> Although his position might have seemed a sinecure, MacKillop did not allow Franchi to find it so. With her almost boundless confidence in the power and goodness of everything Roman, she subsequently referred to him all contentious matters regarding the Institute and its relationship with Woods and the Australian

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McKillop, p. 197. MacKillop explained this change to the sisters, saying that "we were told that as long as we had no houses of our own we could not possibly preserve unity ..."

48. Callahan, op cit. p. 50.

49. HSC, 21 May 1874, reported Barnabo's death which occurred on 24 February 1874. J.M. Mayeur, "Franchi, Alessandro," New Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 6, p. 26, states that Franchi became Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda in 1874. MacKillop to J. Quinn, from Adelaide, 10 February 1875, wrote "Cardinal Franchi has taken our Institute under his kind protection."

50. Callahan, op cit, p. 50.

hierarchy.<sup>51</sup> Thus he was kept well informed of Josephite affairs and, despite their efforts to the contrary, the local bishops were effectively prevented from interfering in matters other than those prescribed by the constitutions.

These constitutions gave the superior general of the Institute full domestic authority over its government and administration and spelt out the rights and duties of the bishops in relation to it. As it stood, each bishop had authority and jurisdiction over the houses and sisters in his own diocese only. His active intervention in their affairs was limited to the appointing of confessors for the sisters, the examining of novices and postulants as to their fitness for the religious life and the visiting of convents and schools in his own diocese. In addition, he was to take steps to prevent the sisters from committing "remarkable faults" and to correct any sister who might have done so already. He was not permitted to change the constitutions or interfere with the superior general's authority to appoint sisters to the different houses and works of the Institute, visit all the houses established in every diocese and to hold Chapters and "other things of this kind."<sup>52</sup>

MacKillop returned to Australia in January 1875, well

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51. MacKillop to Franchi, 20 May & 18 June 1875, 23 February & 28 December 1877, 10 June 1878, ACA.

52. Constitutions, Part Third, Chapters 2, 4 & 6, pp. 18-27.

pleased with the results of her efforts at Rome but, at the same time, well aware that the Quinns and Woods would all be upset over what had transpired.<sup>53</sup> The sisters accepted the new constitutions "gratefully" at the Institute's first General Chapter in March 1875.<sup>54</sup> As might have been expected, the Quinns found the provision for central government a stumbling block in the way of their accepting the new constitutions. Matthew Quinn had supported MacKillop's going to Rome, apparently in the expectation that his wishes concerning the Institute's government would be considered before those presented by this young Australian woman.<sup>55</sup> Instead, and much to his chagrin, she had completely won the Roman officials, including Quinn's friend, Kirby, over to her way of thinking.<sup>56</sup>

Quinn could not understand how the Propaganda had allowed "the essential portion of the Rules of a Community" in his diocese to be changed "at the bidding of a woman who had never spent one hour in religious training." He insisted that her claims to authority over

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53. MacKillop to Kirby, 29 January 1875, ICA K63.

54. MacKillop to Kirby, 21 April 1875. Sisters Teresa MacDonald and Joseph Dwyer to Kirby, 20 April 1875, ICA K211. Clare Wright to Kirby, 20 April 1875, ICA K281. MacKillop to Franchi, 20 May 1875.

55. M. Quinn to MacKillop, 14 April 1873. He told her that he was rather taken by surprise at her going to Rome, but wished her a prosperous journey and placed what little interest he had at Rome at her disposal. He also gave her permission to use his name in any way that she thought would get the rule sanctioned except in the areas of central government and music teaching.

56. Kirby to Reynolds, 22 April 1874, wrote of his "inestimable friend" Mary MacKillop.

the sisters in his diocese were "mere pretensions" and that her "theory" about having only one novitiate for the two dioceses was potentially "ruinous" and would yet be the cause of "grievous scandal." To him, the idea of sending novices from Bathurst to Adelaide and back, "without any protection whatever and at enormous cost," was so absurd that it was beyond him how anyone could ever have thought of it.<sup>57</sup> Consequently, he decided to have nothing further to do with MacKillop or the Adelaide Institute, to allow the sisters who had come to Bathurst from Adelaide the freedom to return there if they so desired and to form his own institute according to his own ideas and the needs of his diocese.<sup>58</sup>

Matters came to a head towards the end of 1875. In February 1876 all the sisters who wished it, left Bathurst for Adelaide even though, for some of them, that choice meant that they had to leave home and family far behind and go to a strange colony.<sup>59</sup> As one of them put it:

[The sisters] chose the Constitutions, although they knew that in doing so, they could not remain in the Bathurst diocese but would have to go to Adelaide, which they eventually did after much difficulty and opposition on the part of their friends. They undoubtedly made a great sacrifice in taking this step, as they were leaving behind them their nearest and dearest friends. 60

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57. M. Quinn to Kirby, 9 August 1875, ICA K383 & 18 April 1876, ASSJ.

58. M. Quinn to Kirby, 24 September 1874, ICA K519; 21 February 1876, ICA K38.

59. S.M. de Sales Tobin, "History of the Bathurst Foundation," m/s, ASSJ, pp. 13-19. MacKillop to Franchi, 11 February 1876, ACA. MacKillop to J. Quinn, 20 May 1875.

60. Tobin, "History," p. 15.

Quinn thus lost fourteen of the twenty sisters who had served in his diocese during the previous three-and-a-half years. Of that number, four professed sisters, a novice and a young lay woman, who later joined the Institute, had come from Adelaide and the rest had entered in Bathurst. Two novices left the community before their profession, one professed sister went on to Queensland in mid-1875 and Teresa MacDonald, their superior and the leader of the pioneer group from Adelaide, died at Bathurst in January 1876.<sup>61</sup>

Two of the professed sisters, Hyacinth Quinlan and Evangelista Houlihan, chose to remain behind and it was with their help that Quinn founded his own diocesan institute, the so-called Black Josephites, in 1876. The bishop was the superior of this Institute, which was quite independent of the one founded in Adelaide by Woods and MacKillop.<sup>62</sup> Quinn was free to act in this way because the constitutions that MacKillop had brought from Rome were open to amendment and alteration and bishops and sisters alike were free to accept or reject them as they saw fit.<sup>63</sup> He was certainly upset over the turn events

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61. See Appendix XIII for details of Bathurst foundation.

62. MacKillop to Franchi, 11 February 1876. S.M. Hyacinth to MacKillop, 30 January 1876. Press, Woods, p. 155. M. Quinn to Kirby, 9 August 1875, ICA K383.

63. Franchi to MacKillop, 21 April 1874, in Constitutions, p. 5. The rules sent by him to MacKillop were to be submitted to her diocesan bishop and then put into practice. After some years' trial they were to be re-submitted to the Holy See, "together with the proposal of those modifications which might seem advisable."

took but, once he knew where the sisters stood, put no further obstacles in the way of their departure from his diocese. As one chronicler of the Bathurst story wrote:

We cannot help admiring the straightforward manner in which His Lordship acted towards the sisters ... at all times and on all occasions. Even when they gave him their decision, which ... was quite opposed to his views, he showed no anger, no roughness of manner, as many others under like circumstances might have done; more especially as he foresaw what a drawback the withdrawal of the sisters from his diocese would be. 64

James Quinn of Brisbane was equally determined not to admit "any relation of dependence or authority" between the Sisters of St Joseph in his diocese and those in Adelaide.<sup>65</sup> He made it quite clear that he believed that each diocesan bishop or his delegate should be the sisters' immediate superior; that they should be prepared to undertake any duties, (such as music teaching), to which the bishop should appoint them; that the rule should be reduced to "plain, matter of fact legislation, based on common sense," (his, no doubt); and that any authority MacKillop might have had in Queensland prior to her overseas journey had ceased upon her return to Australia. He hoped that she would refrain from sending the sisters "any communication which might tend to disturb or distract them from the discharge of their duties" and informed her that he would give the sisters who had come from Adelaide the option of returning there or remaining

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64. Tobin, "History," pp. 15-16.

65. J. Quinn to Clare Wright, 13 April 1875.

in Queensland. At the same time, he requested that those who decided upon going back should remain until he was able to supply their places.<sup>66</sup>

As soon as she learnt how Quinn felt concerning the Institute, MacKillop hurried to Queensland to meet the bishop and, if possible, to reach an understanding with him. At first he refused to come to any terms with her, calling her an "obstinate and ambitious woman" and threatened to do all in his power to have her removed from her present position as superior general of the Institute.<sup>67</sup> However, he soon found that threats were useless, for all 46 Josephite sisters in his diocese indicated that they were prepared to abandon the 1,300 or so pupils in their thirteen schools and return to their Mother House in Adelaide rather than acquiesce to his wishes.<sup>68</sup> In his dilemma Quinn faced several possibilities, none of which was fully to his liking. Firstly, he could let the sisters leave and allow the

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66. J. Quinn to MacKillop, 8 March & 13 April 1875.

67. Mechtilde Woods, "History," p. 126. MacKillop to J. Quinn, from South Brisbane, 20 May 1875.

68. MacKillop to Franchi, 20 May 1875. Statement of Unity from the sisters in Queensland to Mother Mary of the Cross, June 1875, SRCO. Vol. 10, f. 1266 (Italian) and ff. 1275-1276 (English). This document was signed by 31 of the sisters then in Queensland. (This probably coincides with the number of professed sisters there.) The English copy sent to Rome by MacKillop was not the original document but a copy in her hand. J. Quinn to Cani, 2 March 1875, BAA. W. McEntee, "The Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Queensland, 1869-1880," B.A. Queensland, 1978, p. 63, fn. 1, gives the figures for 1875 as 12 schools and 1404 pupils. Evidence points to the sisters' having had two schools at MacKay, and this accounts for the extra one listed here. McLay, Quinn, p. 51, gives the number as 13.

children concerned to go to the state schools. This was out of the question, for it would have negated much of the hard work he had already done in the cause of Catholic education.<sup>69</sup> Secondly, he could provide other religious teachers to replace the Josephites. This was impossible for the present because the Sisters of Mercy, the only other women religious then working in Queensland, did not have sufficient sisters to take over all the Josephite schools. (Some time later, when their numbers were augmented by the arrival of reinforcements from Ireland, the Mercy sisters resolved Quinn's dilemma for him.)<sup>70</sup> Thirdly, he could do as his brother, Matthew, had done and establish his own diocesan institute. (He did toy with this idea for a time and he and Woods exchanged several letters on the subject but nothing came of it.)<sup>71</sup>

Quinn's final alternative and the one for which he opted, albeit rather grudgingly, was to come to a temporary understanding with MacKillop, "pending the decision of the Holy See."<sup>72</sup> According to the terms of

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69. McLay, *op cit*, pp. 47-52, lists Quinn's achievements in this area. He found four Catholic schools upon his arrival in Queensland in 1861. By 1871 there were 28 and in 1878 he could count 33 schools, 1 college, 20 convents, 2 orphanages and 2 industrial schools in the diocese.

70. *ibid*, p. 219. McLay states that the Sisters of Mercy were by now firmly established in the colony and quickly filled any gaps left by the Sisters of St Joseph. MacKillop to Josephine McMullen, 19 February 1878.

71. J. Quinn to Woods, 2 July and 30 August 1875. From the context of the second letter, Woods had almost certainly written to Quinn in answer to the first.

72. MacKillop to Josephine McMullen, 13 September 1876. MacKillop to Franchi, 20 May & 1 June 1875, ACA. MacKillop informed Franchi that

their eventual agreement, Quinn allowed the sisters to retain their affiliation with the Adelaide Mother House and she permitted them to remain in Queensland until he found other religious to take their places. In her efforts to accommodate the bishop and to avoid disrupting the work of the schools unduly, she also agreed to leave all novices where they were instead of insisting that they go to Adelaide for their novitiate. (She still required that any postulants should go to the central novitiate when they were ready.) In return, Quinn agreed to allow the novices to make their vows according to the Roman constitutions.<sup>73</sup>

The truce between MacKillop and Quinn was shortlived.<sup>74</sup> In spite of his seeming capitulation, the bishop was adamant that he had retained the services of the Sisters of St Joseph only until he could find replacements for them. In the meantime he made things difficult by persistently asking that professed sisters be sent across from Adelaide to replace the postulants who were going to the novitiate and by actively discouraging young women from joining the Institute. He did nothing to ensure that the sisters were provided with suitable amenities or to prevent their being treated harshly by

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Quinn reached this agreement only when he found that all the sisters were determined to return to the Mother House rather than remain in Queensland but separated from it.

73. MacKillop to Franchi, 11 June 1875, ACA. MacKillop to Kirby, 4 August 1875, from Brisbane, ICA K374.

74. MacKillop to Josephine McMullen, 7 November 1876.

some of the clergy<sup>75</sup> and tried hard to coerce them into severing their connections with Adelaide. Then, with a view to persuading them to form themselves into a diocesan institute similar to the one his brother had established in Bathurst, he invited Woods to Brisbane in 1878.<sup>76</sup>

MacKillop and Josephine McMullen, the Queensland provincial, forestalled Quinn's moves by constant vigilance and consequently, most of the sisters remained loyal to the Mother House and the constitutions.<sup>77</sup> However, several of their number left the Institute because they could no longer endure living under such trying conditions. Mary Francis Bartolsmeier of Copperfield, near Clermont in Central Queensland, was the first to go.<sup>78</sup> MacKillop refused to replace her or her sole companion in that isolated spot and so the exodus

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75. MacKillop to Franchi, 23 February 1877. McEntee, op cit, Chapter 4, pp. 101-154, gives a full account of the difficulties and hardships endured by the sisters during their stay in Queensland, especially after their decision to remain faithful to the Adelaide mother house. McEntee evinces a strong bias in favour of the sisters but the evidence he cites is such as to confirm that they did suffer a great deal at the hands of the bishop and several of the clergy.
76. MacKillop to Josephine McMullen, 21 January 1877, told how Woods had informed her of Quinn's invitation that he go to Queensland to separate the sisters there from the Constitutions.
77. MacKillop to Bonaventure, 13 December 1878.
78. Mary Francis Bartolsmeier, R 105, was German born and entered the Institute in 1870 at 23 years of age. She was sent to Queensland in 1872 and was stationed at Copperfield from the time the sisters first went there in 1873 until her departure from the Institute in 1877. MacKillop felt her going deeply, MacKillop to Franchi, SRCO vol. 11, ff. 1046-1052, and forwarded to Rome a copy of her letter stating her intention to leave, SRCO vol 11, f. 1053-1054.

from Queensland began.<sup>79</sup> By the end of 1877 three small convents and schools had closed and the sisters' withdrawal continued apace until, by June 1880, the Josephite presence in the colony had become a thing of the past.<sup>80</sup>

The authoritarian Quinn had never before been opposed so successfully by anyone, much less by a woman. He could not admit defeat and in his anger and frustration blamed the sisters for the difficulties and misunderstandings that accompanied their withdrawal.<sup>81</sup> He went so far as to demand that MacKillop make a public statement to the effect that it was due to her initiative alone that the sisters were leaving the colony and that he was in no way

79. MacKillop to Franchi, 28 December 1877, SRCO vol 11, ff. 1046-1052. MacKillop to Josephine McMullen, 31 July & 12 October 1877. Mary Francis' companion was Laurence O'Brien, whom MacKillop immediately recalled to Adelaide. When she arrived there, she "was very tired and low-spirited ... but cheered up after a while."
80. These were Copperfield, as already mentioned, Yatala (Beenleigh) near Brisbane, where the sisters did not have enough to eat and Redbank, near Ipswich, where the local priest had little sympathy for them and where there were no more than eight children regularly attending. MacKillop to Franchi, 28 December 1877; Josephine McMullen to Rev. A. Horan of Redbank, 25 September 1877; A. Horan to McMullen, 4 October 1877. The last of the Queensland convents to close was at Bundaberg, where the sisters remained until June 1880. MacKillop to Father Rossolini of Bundaberg, 21 June 1880, announced that the sisters "must leave and without delay." Teresa Maginness, Bundaberg, to MacKillop, Adelaide, 20 June 1880, told of Rossolini's anguish at the prospect of losing the sisters. See Appendix XIV for a list of the Queensland convents in order of their foundation and for an indication of the length of the sisters' stay in each. Their withdrawal was complete by June 1880.
81. Brisbane Courier, 1 December 1879, Report of Quinn's denunciation of the sisters from the pulpit of St Stephen's Cathedral, "St Stephen's Cathedral - Sisters of St Joseph." J. Quinn to Bishop O'Mahony, Rome, 16 December 1879, BAA. MacKillop to Bonaventure Mahony, 17 November 1879: "he wants us away, but the blame of our going to fall on me [sic] not on himself, or on the acts of any of his priests."

responsible for what had happened. That she would not do, because she believed that such a statement on her part would be a denial of the truth.<sup>82</sup>

James Quinn lost the Josephites because he would not allow them to be ruled by a woman from Adelaide. This statement summarises the two principal facets of his quarrel with MacKillop. Firstly, he could not accept that women should hold any but subservient roles in the male-dominated society of his time and he found the present situation even more untenable because the woman in question was colonial-born and had not a drop of Irish blood in her veins.<sup>83</sup> He found MacKillop particularly hard to deal with because she was consistently firm and respectful towards him and refused to be cowed by his anger.<sup>84</sup> The Josephite withdrawal did not represent a victory for him and he could have gained little personal satisfaction from seeing the sisters go, especially when a small but significant number of the laity came out

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82. MacKillop to Gertrude Mary Bertheau, 21 November, 1879: "The Bishop, whom I met up here, wanted me to write to the public paper to say that it was not he who was sending but we who were going of our own accord. I told him I could not, [emphasis hers], that that was not the truth, and that whilst I would wish to do anything to stop the letters that were appearing in the papers, I could not do so at the expense of truth."

83. J. Quinn to Cani, 2 March 1875. MacKillop to Josephine McMullen and Josephine Carolan, 25 February 1878. J. Quinn, in a sermon at St Joseph's Church, Kangaroo Point, on 30 November 1879, thundered: "It is impossible for me to accept the government of a woman or to have a community of nuns governed by a lady from Adelaide. I won't allow any woman to make a disturbance in my diocese," cited by D. Lyne, Mary MacKillop, p. 242.

84. MacKillop to the Queensland Sisters, 21 November 1876. MacKillop to Andrea Howley, 10 June 1875. MacKillop to J. Quinn, 18 November 1879.

strongly in their support.<sup>85</sup>

Secondly, both James and Matthew Quinn resented the fact that the Institute's Mother House was in Adelaide. They felt that this gave the bishop of Adelaide a degree of ascendancy over them and that his diocese was likely to benefit at their expense. In actual fact, according to the constitutions, each local bishop had jurisdiction over the sisters stationed within his own diocesan boundaries only and had no right to interfere in the affairs of those living elsewhere.<sup>86</sup> In the present instance, Adelaide stood to lose more than it gained because it had to bear the cost of training the young sisters and frequently lost fully trained professed sisters to the other colonies in place of postulants coming to the novitiate.<sup>87</sup>

For James Quinn the loss of a significant number of sisters from his diocese and the near schism of a group of the laity was preferable to any diminishment of his

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85. D. O'Donovan, Brisbane, to Reynolds, then in Rome, 1 March 1880, gave a scorching account of the bishop's treatment of the sisters in his diocese. McEntee, op cit. p. 149, cites examples of letters written to the Brisbane Courier in the sisters' defence.

86. MacKillop to Kirby, 10 February 1876, ACA, wrote: "Even good Dr Matthew has got hold of the idea that Dr Reynolds has authority over him in the Constitutions. You know that the latter has not; and we can safely assert that he has never attempted to exercise any." Constitutions, Part Third, Chapter 6, p. 27: "He does not possess any authority or jurisdiction over the houses and the Sisters that are outside of his Diocese."

87. MacKillop to Josephine McMullen, December 1875, tells how she is sending three experienced teachers to Queensland and, in return, getting a sister in broken health and two young postulants who might not persevere.

absolute authority.<sup>88</sup> MacKillop could not understand his behaviour which seemingly opposed the will of Rome, the highest authority in the hierarchical church. She regarded the rule she had brought from there as sacred because, in her eyes, "coming from Rome, it [came] from God."<sup>89</sup> Consequently, she was prepared to defend it against prelates as strong and powerful as the Quinns, even at great personal cost.

Why, it may be asked, did not these men, whose loyalty to the Church was beyond question, accept the Roman constitutions without demur? The answer seems to be that both had spent some years in Rome and were familiar with the workings of the Roman bureaucracy. Hence, because they knew its expectations of bishops and other subordinate ranks within the Church's hierarchy, they generally adopted a much less ultramontane position than MacKillop. In fact, it is hard to avoid taking the view that they regarded Roman authority "less with deference than as a utility,"<sup>90</sup> a power to be invoked when it was to their advantage to do so and otherwise to be ignored or set aside.

Nevertheless, these bishops were acting within their rights when they decided against allowing sisters working

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88. O'Farrell, Catholic Church and Community, p. 134.

89. MacKillop to the Sisters, 16 January 1875, Mother Mary's Circulars, p. 82. MacKillop to Simeoni, 10 June 1878, ACA.

90. O'Farrell, op cit. p. 215.

in their respective dioceses to observe a set of constitutions of which they disapproved. Both made their positions clear and permitted any sisters who desired it to return to their Mother House. In the long term, both succeeded in keeping their schools open because they provided sisters belonging to diocesan institutes to fill the places vacated by the retreating Josephites.<sup>91</sup>

To contemporary observers these men appeared to be acting wisely. They ruled extensive dioceses at a great distance from Adelaide and the means of communication between themselves and Adelaide were slow, difficult and expensive, while within their dioceses there was ample room for expansion and the shorter distances allowed for easier circulation of personnel and superiors. Consequently, they had more control over what was happening and were able to plan for future developments more easily. Few members of the Australian hierarchy of the 1870s could see beyond their own diocesan boundaries to the possible good of all the Australian colonies, but it was too much to expect otherwise more than two decades before Federation. It was also too much to expect that they should see ahead to the day when, in the interests of greater efficiency, many small diocesan institutes with a common founder would feel compelled to amalgamate and form

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91. M. Quinn established his own Institute of Sisters St Joseph, who were a diocesan group under his immediate control, while James Quinn handed over most of the Josephite schools to the Sisters of Mercy. McEntee, *op cit*, pp. 142-147, names a number of schools where the Mercy sisters took charge as soon as the Josephites left them.

centralised groups similar to the Institute of St Joseph.<sup>92</sup>

As superior of a centrally governed religious institute MacKillop also acted within her rights when she withdrew the sisters from Bathurst and Brisbane. Because their spiritual and physical well-being was of paramount importance to her she refused to leave them in situations where either might be compromised in any way. She found having to act against the wishes of these bishops very difficult because of her great respect for the priesthood but, in the circumstances, felt that she could not have done otherwise.<sup>93</sup> What was even more difficult for her to accept was her increasing alienation from Woods. Her ready acceptance of Rome's decision that the Institute own property in its own right cut him to the quick. In June 1875 he wrote thus to her:

It has been almost a death blow to me to see the poverty and simplicity of the Institute of St Joseph destroyed and that without my being able to say a word in its defence. I can never get used to that and it makes me sick with sorrow whenever I think of it ... No one understands the spirit of what I consider the Institute was intended to be who does not think that the essential point of all. Unity without poverty and simplicity is a poor privilege.

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The Josephites' Adelaide experience had not taught him

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92. Fogarty, Catholic Education in Australia, p. 290.

93. MacKillop to Dr Grant, Rome, 19 April 1875, ACA; to Josephine McMullen, 2 November 1875.

94. Woods to MacKillop, 13 June 1875. Emphasis his.

the dangers inherent in allowing women religious to live in absolute poverty and a state of dependence on others, especially in the rough conditions of colonial Australia. Instead, in his own impractical, visionary way, he clung to his belief in the ideal of complete trust in Divine Providence and presented it as the panacea for the evils of the materialism espoused by so many of his contemporaries. Woods was never reconciled to this fundamental change in the Josephite rule and, to the end of his days, believed that "dreadful consequences" had followed upon the sisters' acceptance of it.<sup>95</sup>

He was too upset at the time to realise that the Roman constitutions did not require that the Institute own all the houses that the sisters occupied. In fact, it was never intended that such should be the case. What was stipulated was that, for the sisters' protection, they should own at least the principal house in each diocese or province where they were established.<sup>96</sup> To have done

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95. MacKillop to Josephine McMullen, 27 January 1877, related how Woods had told her that he would prefer poverty to be maintained, even at the expense of central government. Woods, "Memoirs," book 2, p. 89. Woods to his "dearest children", (probably the Sisters of the Adoration in Brisbane), 4 September 1887; "The spirit of the Institute is a spirit of prayer, of poverty and of humility. It is meant as a remedy for the luxury and pride of the world and a protest against both." He told these sisters that he wanted them to remember "all the dreadful consequences" that they had seen following from a neglect of the rule, that is, of the original Josephite poverty.

96. Constitutions, p. 23, states that the Institute "may" possess property. Bianchi, "Animadversions", article I, stated that it would be better if they owned some of the houses they lived in, although it remained lawful for them to occupy rented dwellings. He went on to say that he believed it "especially necessary that the Mother House should be the property of the sisters, so that they cannot be put out at the will of the owner."

more than that would have seriously limited the number of foundations made by them and consequently, have forced them to abandon the poor children in whose welfare both he and MacKillop were so vitally interested. The Sisters of St Joseph needed security. This meant that they should own a home that they could call their own. They also needed the freedom to move about from place to place according to the demands of their work. Hence it was necessary that they occupy church-owned or rented premises wherever practicable. The new constitutions contained provisions for both stability and mobility and thus ensured that the sisters should continue to be the mobile strike force that Woods had always intended them to be.

After the Chapter of 1875, he turned his back on the Institute and began to play what could best be described as a strange, double game with MacKillop, the sisters he had encouraged to enter and the Bishops Quinn. Thus, even as he was writing to MacKillop that he submitted to the decisions taken by Rome,<sup>97</sup> he was offering to help James Quinn establish a diocesan institute along the same lines as the original Josephite one, but modified to suit that prelate's requirements.<sup>98</sup>

It seems that he intended to draw the foundation members for this new institute from among the Josephites

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97. Woods to MacKillop, 15 May 1875.

98. J. Quinn to Woods, 2 July and 13 August 1875. Bonaventure Mahony, Maryborough, to MacKillop, 1 April 1879.

already in Queensland, because he began working on some of the more susceptible among their number and invited them to join his new group. He hoped to succeed because the Queensland sisters all held him in high regard. About fourteen of their number had gone there from Adelaide where they had known him during the foundation years of the Institute. Most of the remainder had made his acquaintance during his visit in early 1872 and his prolonged missionary tour of 1873.<sup>99</sup>

On both these occasions Quinn seems to have allowed him almost full authority and jurisdiction over the sisters.<sup>100</sup> Consequently, he became their ecclesiastical superior and director in fact, if not in name, for the duration of his stay, and the Queensland scene soon resembled that in Adelaide during the foundation years. Where there were two Josephite convents in the colony when he arrived there in 1872, by 1875, there were ten at various points along its eastern seaboard from Brisbane to Townsville and inland from

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99. These were the sisters who went across from Adelaide in December 1869, February 1871 and January 1872, as well as the one sister who went there from Bathurst in 1875. All told 18 sisters went to Queensland from South Australia. By the time Quinn invited Woods up there, one had died and another three had been recalled to Adelaide. All had entered the Institute before MacKillop's excommunication in 1871. See Appendix XV for details of sisters who worked in Queensland.

100. Woods to MacKillop, January 1873 (finished on 27th); n.d. but after 25 February 1873, 10 March, 7 April and 28 July 1873, all give accounts of his dealings with the sisters in Queensland. J. Quinn sent postulants to him to be examined as to their suitability for the Institute, he received novices, decided where and by whom new foundations should be made and, in short, acted towards the sisters in much the same way as he had in Adelaide before he left there in 1871.

Rockhampton to Clermont.<sup>101</sup> To be sure, many of the children in the more isolated outposts of settlement were growing up with few opportunities for learning their religion and it was to their advantage to have sisters among them.

But what of the sisters themselves? As MacKillop lamented to Cardinal Franchi shortly after her arrival in Queensland in May 1875, too many schools had been opened for the number of professed sisters in the diocese and young sisters had been forced into situations for which they were quite unprepared.<sup>102</sup> The situation was made worse by the fact that some of the 35 young women whom Woods had accepted into the Institute in his anxiety to build up its membership were unsuited to the kind of life they had embraced.<sup>103</sup> Consequently, they began to chafe

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101. These two were at South Brisbane, from which convent the sisters went out to three different schools, and at Maryborough, and both were founded while MacKillop was in Queensland in 1870. No further expansion took place until Gympie and MacKay were opened during his first visit in 1872. It was he who arranged for the opening of Townsville, Copperfield and Bowen during 1873 and he almost certainly set arrangements afoot for the sisters' going to Gladstone and Redbank Plains at the commencement of 1874, and possibly for Helidon in June of that year. MacKillop was overseas throughout this entire period and hence was not in a position to interfere in what was happening.

102. MacKillop to Franchi, 20 May 1875, ACA. She was in Queensland for some time before this date, having gone there "quietly" soon after the closure of the chapter and the sisters' retreat in Adelaide, which ended on or before 21 April 1875. MacKillop to Kirby, 21 April 1875, ACA.

103. S. Colette Carolan to MacKillop, from MacKay, 29 December 1878. This sister wrote that, when Woods was in Queensland five years previously, she had remonstrated with him over accepting unsuitable subjects for the Institute. His reply had been: "We want members. Adelaide is not always going to be first." Tappeiner to his General, 30 October 1872, p. 12.

under its restraints and made already difficult situations even worse for themselves and their companions in the small, isolated communities of this vast diocese.<sup>104</sup>

Woods left Queensland in January 1874 and moved on to Tasmania, where he was engaged in a ceaseless round of missionary activity for almost three years. During 1874 he sent at least fifteen prospective postulants to the mainland to join the Institute and two thirds of them went to Queensland.<sup>105</sup> Most of these girls came from very poor families and could not afford their outfits and passage money. He provided what they needed from his own earnings and, as a consequence, had a strong claim on their loyalty.<sup>106</sup> As soon as MacKillop arrived home with the altered rule, this prolific source of new postulants dried up and the total number seeking admission declined markedly. Between 1872 and 1874 Woods helped and encouraged at least 60 young women to join the Sisters of St Joseph.<sup>107</sup> Not all were suitable for the religious life. Not all persevered in it. However, there is no

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104. S.M. Joseph Wynne, R. 136, was certainly one of these, as can be seen from the tone of her surviving letters to MacKillop written from MacKay, in January 1879, and from Helidon on 9 September 1879. She left the Institute shortly after this date.

105. Press, Woods, pp. 138-151. Woods arrived in Tasmania in January 1874 and remained there until November 1876. The Register of the Sisters gives places of birth, but not addresses at time of entry. Hence, those included here are the ones who were born in Tasmania and one young Irish girl, Sr Julianna O'Beirne, R 167, to whom MacKillop referred as "that young Tasmanian" in MacKillop to Josephine McMullen, 27 January 1877.

106. Woods, "Memoirs," Book 2, pp. 106-107.

107. Woods to MacKillop, from Hobart, 15 May 1875. This statement can be verified from the Register and different letters of this period, especially Woods to MacKillop during 1872-1874 inclusive.

question that Woods made a significant contribution to the life and future well-being of the Institute during these years.<sup>108</sup>

The sisters whom he had encouraged to enter were generally devoted to him and hence were inclined to follow his suggestions unquestioningly without realising their import as far as the Institute was concerned. MacKillop was very annoyed when she discovered what was happening, especially in Queensland, and took immediate steps to prevent his influencing the sisters in any way.<sup>109</sup> These included a strict surveillance of all correspondence that passed between them and him.<sup>110</sup> As might have been expected, some sisters resented this ruling and tried to circumvent it.<sup>111</sup>

Matters came to a head in Adelaide in July 1877 when MacKillop discovered that the sister in charge of the Solitude and the Magdalens residing there had been

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108. As far as can be ascertained, about twenty, or one third of those whom Woods sent to join the Institute left it later on. Among those who stayed were several who made a significant contribution to the life of the Institute. These included Baptista Molloy, R 141, who became its third Superior General in 1910 and La Merci Mahony, R 211, who served as Assistant General under MacKillop between 1905 and 1909.

109. MacKillop to Bonaventure Mahony, 13 December 1878 from South Brisbane. Bonaventure Mahony to MacKillop, 20 January and 6 October 1879. MacKillop to Dr Grant, Rome, 28 December 1877, ACA. MacKillop to Woods, 12 September 1879.

110. MacKillop to Kirby, 21 April 1875, ACA; to Dr Grant, Rome, 6 September & 28 December, 1878.

111. MacKillop to Bonaventure Mahony, 13 December 1878; to Josephine McMullen, 19 February, 1879.

corresponding with Woods without her knowledge or consent.<sup>112</sup> The two Magdalens were not Sisters of St Joseph and hence did not owe MacKillop the same kind of obedience as the sisters did. Further, the Josephite role in their regard was merely a supervisory one which was expected to continue only as long as they needed such supervision.<sup>113</sup> Hence, they were annoyed at the restrictions MacKillop had placed upon them and decided to abandon their penitential life rather than submit.<sup>114</sup> Francesca O'Brien, the sister concerned, also refused to comply with MacKillop's instructions and chose, instead, to leave the Institute at once, without waiting to apply for a dispensation from her vows, as required by church law.<sup>115</sup> The Solitude closed permanently and the sisters in South Australia appeared to have settled down for the time, although a number of them were unhappy at the turn events were taking.<sup>116</sup>

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112. MacKillop to Josephine McMullen, 31 July & 22 September 1877; to Josephine Carolan, 7 August 1877; to Archbishop Vaughan, 18 August 1877; to Cardinal Franchi, 28 December 1877.

113. South Australian Tablet, 5 May 1876, p. 2. MacKillop, "Some Observations relating to the Solitude of Mary," typescript, ASSJ, p.3.

114. O'Neill, Woods, p. 287, mentions a letter addressed by the Magdalens to Bishop Reynolds. In this they informed him that they would prefer quitting their habits to being refused the right of free and unsupervised correspondence with their Father Director.

115. MacKillop to Grant & Franchi, Rome, 28 December 1877. Bouscaren & Ellis, Canon Law, A Text and Commentary, p. 505, Can. 640 & 648.

116. MacKillop, "Some Observations relating to the Solitude of Mary," pp. 1-7. MacKillop to Franchi, Rome, 28 December 1877 wrote that the firm stand taken by herself and the bishop over Francesca's dispensation from her vows had had a good effect and that peace was once more restored.

MacKillop could not understand Woods' behaviour at all. Following this incident the rift between them widened noticeably and her last letters to him make painful reading indeed.<sup>117</sup> Shortly after Francesca's departure she wrote of him as follows:

Had it not been that some of his letters were intercepted, several who are now good and happy religious would have been led away in the vain hope of joining one or other of the several orders he has in contemplation. It is so painful that he should be like this; he is holy and so amiable in every way ... I feel disappointed in him, and sometimes fear that unless he is more guarded he will do more harm than good. 118

The later 1870s proved a difficult time for Woods and the sisters as they strove to discern the direction the Institute should take. Many of the sisters felt torn between two loyalties - to their founder and former Father Director on the one hand and to the Institute under MacKillop's leadership on the other. For some the tension proved too great and they left the Institute altogether. Some remained and caused further dissension because they had not fully resolved their dilemma. Others persevered in their loyalty to MacKillop and the Roman constitutions even as, with her, they mourned the loss of their former guide and mentor. The feelings of some members of this last group were echoed by Bonaventure Mahoney in her

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117. MacKillop to Woods, 18 August 1877 and 12 September 1879. These are the last of a long series of letters between these two people and show just how far apart they had drifted since Woods was removed from the direction of the Institute in 1872.

118. MacKillop to Grant, Scots College, Rome, 28 December 1877, ACA.

response to a sister who, it seems, had criticised Woods' behaviour towards MacKillop:

As you have mentioned S.M. Gertrude's displeasure at your mention of F.D.'s [Woods'] conduct towards our dear Mother [MacKillop], I would venture to say she feels it but too keenly herself, as I do, to bear to have it mentioned, and the desire to hide our much loved Father Founder has made her, and me too, a bit pugnacious. Now, dear Sister, I do not doubt for an instant the sincerity of your feelings towards our poor F, but do not make his shortcomings the subject of a letter to any sister unless obedience commands. My own natural feelings would be to knock down anyone that would speak harshly of my Father [her natural father] and I believe nearly all F. Founder's early children love him with as strong an affection.[sic] 119

Other difficulties that surfaced during this period may be explained in terms of the limited training the majority of the sisters had received and the speed with which the Institute had spread over such a wide area of the Australian continent. In August 1871, just four years after its formal establishment, there were, on average, 2.6 sisters in each of its 47 schools and institutions. The position had improved a little by the end of 1872 when the average had risen to 3.3. By then the 18 members lost as a result of the excommunication crisis had been replaced by 20 newcomers, thanks especially to Woods' recruiting drive in New South Wales and Queensland.<sup>120</sup>

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119. Bonaventure Mahony, Maryborough, to Josephine Carolan, 24 August 1879.

120. Register of the Sisters, ASSJ.

TABLE VI: Ratio of Schools and Institutions to Sisters,  
1871 - 1872.

<u>DATE</u>	<u>SOUTH AUSTRALIA</u>		<u>QUEENSLAND</u>		<u>BATHURST</u>		<u>TOTALS</u>		<u>AVERAGE PER SCHOOL ETC.</u>
	<u>Schools &amp; Insti- tutions</u>	<u>Sisters</u>	<u>Schools</u>	<u>Sisters</u>	<u>Schools</u>	<u>Sisters</u>	<u>Schools &amp; Insti- tutions</u>	<u>Sisters</u>	
Aug. 1871	43	111	4	12	-	-	47	123	2.6
Apr. 1872	27	91	6	19	-	-	33	110	3.3
Dec. 1872	32	98	6	20	1	7	39	125	3.2

As Table VII below indicates, postulants continued to flood the Institute during 1873 and 1874. Their numbers were swelled by the arrival of the fifteen young Irish girls whom MacKillop had recruited while overseas in 1874.<sup>121</sup> Thus the Institute's total membership reached the 200 mark by the end of 1875 but another five years were to elapse before it increased beyond that level.

121. MacKillop to Kirby, 21 April 1875, ACA: "One of the fifteen who came out with me ..."

TABLE VII: ENTRIES, DEPARTURES & DEATHS, 1873 - 1881

YEAR	ENTRIES	DEPARTURES	DEATHS	CUMULATIVE TOTAL AS AT 31 DECEMBER
1872				127
1873	26	1	3	149
1874	52	3	2	196
1875	7	0	2	201
1876	9	9	4	197
1877	5	7	2	193
1878	8	1	2	198
1879	14	9	-	203
1880	5	8	-	200
1881	12	3	3	206

This slowing down of the growth in numbers occurred because the arrival of 60 postulants between 1875 and 1881 was offset by thirteen deaths and 37 departures during these same years. Thus, the net increase stood at ten only, as against 69 for the previous two years. Nine of the 41 sisters who departed between 1873 and 1881 were novices who were free to leave at any time. What gave cause for concern was the going of the other 31, all of whom were professed sisters and most of whom had joined the Institute at Woods' invitation.<sup>122</sup> Five of the

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122. Most, but not all. According to the Register of the Sisters, two of the Irish girls who came out with MacKillop, as well as five or six who entered in South Australia after Woods left there, also left the Institute either during this period or the early 1880s.

original South Australian sisters, including Francesca O'Brien, left during 1877 and a further six in 1879.<sup>123</sup> Then, in 1881, Clare Wright, one of the Institute's foundation members, shocked the whole community by her sudden and unexpected decision to sever all connection with it after an association lasting more than fourteen years.<sup>124</sup>

It is now virtually impossible to discover the real reasons behind many of these departures. For some, their going may almost certainly be attributed to their loyalty to Woods and their unwillingness to remain in a situation where they could no longer have any communication with him. Others were not suited to the religious life and a small number may have found the life they were expected to lead too hard. Also included among the departures are the two sisters who stayed behind in Bathurst when they were recalled to Adelaide and who subsequently helped Matthew Quinn form his diocesan Institute. They remained Sisters

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123. Of these, one at least, Ambrose Hughes, R. 50, was, according to MacKillop, 27 January 1877, a "discontented spirit." Mary Francis Bartolsmeier's was a special case that has already been dealt with. According T.P. Boland, Quiet Women, Refulgence Publishers, Queensland, n.d., pp. 86 & 204, Margaret Mary Fox, R. 57, left specifically to become the superior and leader of the Sisters of the Perpetual Adoration in Brisbane. Minutes of Council Meetings, ACA, of 2 April 1879, state that this sister was seeking a dispensation from vows. Gertrude Wright, R. 83, was engaged in secret correspondence with her sister in Adelaide before she left the Institute, if the information given by Colette Carolan to MacKillop, 20 October 1879, is correct.

124. Register of the Sisters, R5, gives the date of her departure as March 1881. MacKillop, circular to the Sisters, 1 April, Mother Mary's Circulars, p. 104. MacKillop to Vaughan, 5 April 1881 wrote that "she left the Institute without informing or asking anyone" and that "the shock of her departure" had upset a number of the sisters. Mechtilde Woods, "History," pp. 127-128.

of St Joseph although they were no longer subjects of the Adelaide Mother House.

The Sisters of St Joseph were poor and resembled the poor among whom they lived and worked in that their mortality rate was high. During the years 1873-1881 when very few of the Institute's members were aged forty or over, it lost eighteen young sisters through death. All these women were between eighteen and thirty-eight years old and most were in their twenties. Tuberculosis was the principal but not the only killer.<sup>125</sup> Illness often struck where the sisters had insufficient good food and warm clothing for their needs, were inadequately housed or had to work in draughty, unlined buildings.<sup>126</sup> One exception to this general rule was nineteen-year-old Laurentia Honner, who died at Port Augusta as the result of burns received when a kerosene lamp she was tending exploded in her hands. Her companion, Immaculata

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125. Causes of death were various. The first to die was Anastasia Goonan, R 56, on 30 January 1873, aged 23 years. According to MacKillop to Woods, 14 February and 2 & 14 April 1872, she suffered a long and painful illness caused by "a spinal complaint." Augustine Keogh, R 29, died in Maryborough, Queensland, on 2 December 1875 from peritonitis, aged 29 years: Death Certificate no. 78724, Colony of Queensland. According to Tappeiner to Josephine McMullen, 31 March 1876 and MacKillop to McMullen, 11 April 1876, Maria Healy, R 70, died of tuberculosis on 8 April 1876 at 25 years of age and Mary Francis Conway, R 115, who was 28, of erysipelas on 21 March 1876.

126. HSC, 16 January 1874, obituary of Anne McMullen, R 47, niece of Josephine, who died at 22 years of age from an illness contracted as a result of her having become wet through at Kapunda several months earlier. Byrne to Reynolds, 11 July 1879, ACA, indicated that the first Macclesfield convent was open to wind and weather. MacKillop to Woods, 22 May 1871, told how the house the sisters were occupying at Port Augusta was subject to flooding whenever there was a storm tide.

(Stanislaus) Punyer, recovered from the burns she sustained only after a long and tedious illness.<sup>127</sup>

The 1870s were marked by constant movement among the sisters because the membership of the Institute and the number and location of their schools were in a constant state of flux. In South Australia in particular, the sisters were being extended to the full in order to meet the increasing demand for convents and schools in the newly settled areas of the colony. This demand followed closely upon the opening up of large areas of land for agriculture following the passing of the so-called Strangways Act in 1869. According to the terms of this Act, blocks of up to 320 acres were to be made available for credit purchase on the condition that the buyer reside on his land until he had paid for it. This new Act placed many people in a position where they could buy land and the result was a great new wave of settlement in the areas to the north and east of Port Pirie and on the mallee scrublands of the northern Adelaide Plains and Yorke Peninsula.<sup>128</sup> The proportion of Catholics among the new

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127. Mechtilde Woods, "History," p. 132, gives an account of this incident. Laurentia, Mary Honner, R 220, was born at sea between June and September 1858 to Richard Honner and his wife, Mary Sweeney. She entered the Institute on Christmas Day 1874, was professed in July 1877 and died tragically less than a year later. Immaculata, also known as Stanislaus, Elizabeth Punyer, R 185, was born in Bathurst, N.S.W. in 1859, joined the Institute there in 1874, came to South Australia in 1876 and was professed there. In 1883 she was sent to New Zealand and, after some time there, returned to New South Wales. She died in Sydney in 1947.

128. Fenner, C. "Geographical Inquiry into the Growth, Distribution and Movement of Population in South Australia, 1836-1927," Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia, vol. liii, 1929, p. 130.

landholders was high, especially in Counties Victoria, Kimberley, Dalhousie and Frome, where it was significantly higher than in the colony as a whole.<sup>129</sup>

The demographic changes of this period had important repercussions on the life of the Catholic Church and hence on that of the Institute of St Joseph. A number of smaller congregations in the more central districts diminished to such an extent that several churches and schools were forced to close their doors altogether.<sup>130</sup> The priests and sisters thus freed followed the people to the new areas in the north. The Jesuits had charge of all districts within the boundaries of Counties Stanley, Burra and Victoria and, as soon as a new town appeared, they set about arranging for the building of a church and a Catholic school. The level of their enthusiasm for this work may be gauged from the fact that, in 1875 alone, they

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129. According to the census returns, 1866, 1871, 1876, 1881, 1891 & 1901, the overall proportion of Catholics in the colony stood somewhere between 14.39 & 15.44%.

	<u>1866</u>	<u>1871</u>	<u>1876</u>	<u>1881</u>	<u>1891</u>	<u>1901</u>
<u>Victoria</u>	24.41	24.82	25.05	20.48	20.02	22.13
<u>Kimberly</u>			26.44	26.66	21.77	21.89
<u>Dalhousie</u>			40.91	30.04	27.61	26.92
<u>Frome</u>	16.30	21.32	18.95	19.41	19.30	19.19

Except for County Kimberley, the falling off in percentages did not represent a reduction in Catholic numbers. Instead, it was caused by an increase in the number of non-Catholic settlers in these areas. See Appendix XVI for a map of South Australia showing locations and dates of proclamation for the various counties and a list of Josephite foundations in each county.

130. Annual Letters, College of St Aloysius, Sevenhill, 1877-1882, p. 34, ASJ. Strele "Historia Domus," 1876, p. 16, ASJ. These writers cited at least three schools, Hoyleton, Rhynie and Undalya, which closed because of the population movement, and told how at Undalya and Saddleworth the church congregations were reduced to a mere handful.

not only completed the building of their mission church at Sevenhill but also opened six others in new towns to the north of Clare and laid the foundation stones for two more.<sup>131</sup>

Father Pallhuber, the priest in charge of the northern section of the Jesuit mission area, was keen to open as many Catholic schools as possible. In 1876 he asked MacKillop for sisters to staff nine new schools.<sup>132</sup> She could not comply with his request immediately but he was not easily deterred. In January 1877 he was back again with the assurance that everything was in readiness for the sisters at both Laura and Caltowie. He went on to say that he would like the former school to open "on Monday week" and the latter "on tomorrow fortnight."<sup>133</sup> He got the sisters he requested and, before the year was out, some for Gulnare and Appila-Yarrowie as well. But he did not stop there. Between 1872 and 1881 inclusive, Pallhuber and his confreres were responsible for the establishment of no less than fourteen Josephite schools in the country districts under their care.<sup>134</sup>

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131. Strele, *op cit*, p. 22, names the churches opened as being at Laura, Narridy, Port Pirie, Jamestown, Caltowie and Yackamoorundie (Gulnare), while the foundation stones were at Appila-Yarrowie and Redhill.

132. Pallhuber to MacKillop, 1876, date not given, cited in Life and Letters, p. 251. Tappeiner to Josephine McMullen, 14 March 1876: "Fr Pallhuber wants to open nine new schools."

133. Pallhuber to MacKillop, 14 January 1877, as cited in Life and Letters, pp. 268-269.

134. Various Josephite records, ASSJ. These schools were at the four places mentioned and also at Mintaro, 1872; Georgetown, Farrell's

The Jesuits were not alone in their anxiety to keep one step ahead of the government where the establishment of schools was concerned. Bernard Nevin, the priest in charge of the districts to the north of Counties Burra and Victoria,<sup>135</sup> and others of the secular clergy, shared the same sentiments. Nevin's areas developed somewhat later than the Jesuits' but, by the early 1880s he had built seven or eight new churches and established schools wherever possible.<sup>136</sup> The Josephites were in Port Augusta when he arrived there early in 1874, and he provided consistent support for their school and laboured to improve their working conditions.<sup>137</sup> Then, as circumstances warranted it, he obtained sisters for six other centres, including the copper mining town of Blinman

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Flat, Hanson, Polish Hill River and Manoora in 1873; Mintaro Station in 1876; Sevenhill in 1879; Jamestown in 1880 and Whyte Yarcowie in 1881.

135. Nevin, who was appointed to the charge of the Port Augusta district in February 1874, was responsible for all areas in the colony north of Counties Stanley, Daly and Burra. He actually went as far north as Government Gums, or Farina, during the course of his missionary tours of the district, although most of his time was spent in the areas around Port Augusta and Pekina. According to the "Northern Areas Record Book," kept by himself, pp. 2-3, he found "a small population exceedingly poor and widely scattered over a vast extent of country" which included Appila, Tarcowie, Mannannarie, Yongala, Pekina, Melrose, Port Augusta, Blinman, Beltana, Sliding Rock, Wallerberoina and Hookina, ACA.
136. Nevin built churches at Melrose, Willochra (Hammond), Port Augusta, Pekina, Yatina, Orroroo and Carrieton and possibly others, and established Catholic schools in Blinman, Saltia, Pekina, Orroroo, Willochra and Quorn, (Josephite) as well as in Carrieton and several other localities where he hired lay teachers: Nevin to Byrne, 2 May 1879, 15 June 1880, 30 August 1880, 21 February 1881, ACA.
137. Nevin, "Northern Areas Record Book", pp. 2-3, ACA. Nevin to Reynolds, n.d. but ca. 1874, ACA.

in the far north.<sup>138</sup> They stayed in Blinman for less than two years because the production of copper fell and because MacKillop was concerned for the sisters' welfare in this isolated outpost.<sup>139</sup>

The Jesuits and the secular clergy established Catholic schools wherever possible because they did not wish to lose the children to the government schools that were springing up apace. Matthew Quinn used music lessons as a draw-card to attract pupils to his schools. These men aimed to get in first and have their schools operational before the government realised that the number of children in a particular area warranted the opening of a school.<sup>140</sup> They became particularly anxious to do so after the Education Act of 1875 made school attendance

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138. Reynolds to MacKillop, in Europe, 21 May 1874, remarked that the sisters were "about leaving for Blinman" which suggests that that was when they first went there. Nevin to Reynolds n.d. but ca. 1874.

139. It is difficult to estimate just how long they stayed. Tappeiner to MacKillop, 10 September 1874, commented that the Blinman mine was now at a standstill and people were leaving, so it was doubtful what would happen to the school there. HSC, 4 December 1874, reported Reynolds' episcopal visitation of the town, and no mention was made of the sisters' being there. They may have stayed a few months, or perhaps even up to two years, but were certainly gone by 1876. Legend has it that the sisters were afraid of the drunken men from the town's only hotel and that on one occasion an aborigine leant against one of their house's hessian walls and fell through, much to his, and their, consternation.

140. Pallhuber to MacKillop, 14 January 1877, in Life & Letters, p. 269 wrote: "In these four townships Government schools are nearly finished. We may lose our children if we do not try to have our schools opened before theirs." Nevin to Byrne, 15 June 1880 and 21 February 1881. In this second letter he wrote that his only chance of keeping the children from the state schools was to commence a building at once and so "have the start of them".

compulsory for all children aged between seven and thirteen years. Thanks to their efforts, most of the children in the settled areas of the colony had access to Catholic schools by the 1880s while, in some districts, the Catholic school was the only one to open its doors for a number of years. An interesting case is that of the small town of Pekina in County Dalhousie, where there was never a state school. The Josephites went there in 1878 and remained until 1943 when the school closed for want of sufficient pupils and those remaining transferred to the newly-opened Orroroo Area School.<sup>141</sup>

The 1870s were certainly a decade characterised by movement as farmers and tradespeople pushed out towards the limits of available land, to where the rainfall became less reliable and wheatgrowing was, at best, a hazardous undertaking. Most of these new settlers had little to their name beyond a piece of land on credit, but they felt so confident of the future that they were prepared to contribute what little they could towards the erection of churches and the support of the sisters.<sup>142</sup> For their part, the sisters made as few demands on the people as possible and indicated their willingness to live in whatever accommodation might be available, whether it was free-standing or attached to the church or

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141. Czernezkyj, W. Pekina, Century and Beyond, Adelaide 1974, p. 27.

142. Murray, Maitland, to Moran, 10 April 1888, Report of inquiry into financial affairs of the Archdiocese of Adelaide, p. 1, ACA.

schoolroom.<sup>143</sup> The length and permanency of their stay in a given locality depended upon the stability or otherwise of the local Catholic community, but, taken overall, the situation was a fluid one.

Records pertaining to the dates and other circumstances surrounding the opening and closure of these early Josephite schools and convents were not always kept. Table VIII below gives as clear a picture of the sisters' movements as existing data permits.

TABLE VIII:

Openings and Closures of Josephite Schools 1873-1881.<sup>144</sup>

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>SCHOOLS</u>		<u>Total at 31 Dec.</u>	<u>INSTITUTIONS</u>	<u>OVERALL</u>
	<u>New Openings</u>	<u>Closures</u>			
1872			33	4	37
1873	4	2	35	4	39
1874	3	1	37	4	41
1875	3	3	37	4	41
1876	3	2	38	4	42
1877	10	1	47	3	50
1878	1	2	46	3	49
1879	-	3	43	3	46
1880	5	3	45	3	48
1881	3	2	46	3	49

These figures, which apply to South Australia only, indicate that the sisters opened 32 schools during this period but that the total number under their charge increased by only thirteen. In most cases, withdrawals occurred because the Catholic population had declined to such a degree that a Catholic school was no longer viable. Occasionally other reasons were given for their removal. A case in point is that of the Polish Hill River - Saltia move of 1877. MacKillop removed the sisters from the former place because the priest there would not leave them in peace to do their work and transferred them direct to Saltia, a teamsters' settlement at the entrance to the Pichi Richi Pass, not far from Port Augusta. With the coming of the railway in 1879, bullock teams were no longer required to haul goods through the pass and Saltia quickly became a ghost town.<sup>145</sup> Where those particular sisters went has not been recorded but there is no doubt that they would have found a place in one or other of the

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143. References to the early convents abound in the correspondence. Blinman's hessian walls have already been mentioned. Reynolds to Kirby, 20 May 1873, reported on his visit to Farrell's Flat, where the sisters taught in "a wretched mud hut exposed to wind and weather" by day and slept in it by night. The South Australian Tablet, 23 June 1876, p. 7, reported a meeting at Marion where it was decided to take immediate steps to erect a convent for the sisters, who had until then been living in the sacristy of the church. Magdalen Foley to MacKillop from Whyte Yarcowie, 9 January 1881: "We have no convent here and are at present located in the vestry."

144. The information upon which these statistics are based was found in the Archives of the Sisters of St Joseph, contemporary newspapers, Strele SJ 'Historia Domus,' and local histories. See Appendix XVII for a graphic representation of the Josephites' Movements in South Australia, 1866-1895.

145. MacKillop to Josephine McMullen, 11 July 1877. Nevin, "Northern Areas Record Book," p. 5. Reg. G. Mayes, Pictorial History of Port Augusta, Rigby, Adelaide, 1974, pp. 27-29.

43 schools for which they were still responsible.

By 1880-1881, the sisters in this colony were being extended to their limits in order to maintain the schools and institutions under their charge satisfactorily. The sisters from Bathurst had long since been absorbed into their workforce and numbers were almost static because few postulants were entering and several of the older sisters had recently left the Institute. A further drain upon their resources had been the continuing need to supply sisters to the Queensland province in place of the postulants who had come to Adelaide to complete their training. South Australia had borne the brunt of the establishment of the Queensland and Bathurst foundations and now, when word filtered through that the sisters were about to withdraw from Queensland, priests and sisters must have looked forward to being able to improve the level of staffing in their existing schools and institutions and respond freely to requests for additional ones.

However, it so happened that the majority of the retreating Josephites never reached South Australia. Developments in New South Wales, where a new Education Act had recently become law, were such that the bishops there were faced with the task of maintaining their existing system of Catholic education on a vastly reduced budget. All but Matthew Quinn, with his diocesan Josephites, were caught unprepared for this exigency and were looking for

religious to staff their schools.<sup>146</sup> From their point of view, the Josephite withdrawal from Queensland could not have occurred at a better time.

Archbishop Vaughan of Sydney and Bishop Torreggiani of Armidale both seized the opportunity of gaining Sisters of St Joseph and pressed MacKillop to allow the Queensland sisters to remain in their dioceses instead of going on to South Australia. They were most anxious to gain the services of the Sisters of St Joseph, with their reputation for going wherever they were asked and for costing very little to support. Therefore, they gave MacKillop an assurance that they would not interfere with the rule in any way or prevent the sisters from maintaining their links with their Mother House in Adelaide.<sup>147</sup> Once MacKillop received this assurance she acceded to the bishops' request and sent several sisters direct from Brisbane to Tenterfield in Torreggiani's diocese and instructed most of the others to break their journey in Sydney and accept the foundations being offered them by Vaughan.<sup>148</sup>

MacKillop was also willing to allow the sisters to remain in New South Wales because she did not have enough money to cover their journey to Adelaide. Had the two

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146. Fogarty, Catholic Education, pp. 238-239, 250-255 and 288.

147. MacKillop to Josephine McMullen from Penrith, near Sydney, 9 January 1880. MacKillop to Cardinal Simeoni, Rome, 7 March 1880.

148. MacKillop to Torreggiani, March 1880. MacKillop to Reynolds, 2 April 1880.

bishops not come to her assistance by inviting them to stay, she would have had to borrow funds for this purpose and the Institute's overall indebtedness would have increased even further.<sup>149</sup>

It is now difficult to estimate the exact number of sisters who went to New South Wales direct from Queensland in 1880. At least 58 young women had entered the Institute there while eighteen or so professed sisters and novices had gone over from Adelaide. Approximately half of the postulants journeyed to Adelaide to complete their training and the evidence suggests that these young sisters were still in South Australia in 1880.<sup>150</sup> Those who had entered in Queensland before 1875 did their novitiate training in the field. Several had left the Institute, as also had two of the Adelaide sisters, while two others had died.<sup>151</sup> The ultimate closure of the convents and schools was staggered over a period of three years, so that the number of sisters there in 1880 was greatly reduced. However, it seems safe to say that between 20 and 25 moved to New South Wales during that year.

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149. MacKillop to Rossolini, 21 June 1880; to Reynolds, 2 April 1880.

150. Register of the Sisters, ASSJ. Correspondence, principally letters to and from MacKillop, late 1870s and early 1880s.

151. MacKillop to Kirby, 13 September 1873. The two Adelaide sisters who left from Queensland were Mary Francis Bartolsmeier and Gertrude Wright, R. 83. Fourteen novices and professed sisters from among those who entered in Queensland subsequently left the Institute. Those who died there were Sister Gertrude, R. 83, died 19 June 1873, and Sister Augustine Keogh, R. 29, died 2 December 1875, both at Maryborough. See Appendix XV for further details.

MacKillop was delighted with this turn of events and hastened to recount her good fortune to Reynolds, to whom she had made a practice of confiding her joys and sorrows concerning the Institute.<sup>152</sup> She did not realise the effect her all too obvious joy and relief were to have on the long-suffering Bishop of Adelaide. He had supported her and the Institute willingly and generously during the previous eight years, although one is tempted to wonder whether he did so because he felt that the presence of the Mother House in his diocese gave him an advantage over other bishops where the Institute was concerned. Nevertheless, MacKillop and the sisters did owe him a debt of gratitude. He had restored them to their habits after the excommunication crisis of 1871-72 and had continued to support them even though he had been made to suffer much on their account by some of the local clergy.<sup>153</sup>

Reynolds was the driving force behind MacKillop's going to Rome in 1873 and he had used his influence there in order to have the clauses regarding central government retained in the Institute's constitutions.<sup>154</sup> Then, because he was Bishop of Adelaide, he was the one to whom Cardinal Franchi forwarded these constitutions and who had presided at the sisters' first General Chapter and helped

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152. MacKillop to Reynolds, 2 April 1880.

153. Patricia Campbell to MacKillop, 5 April 1884, in Resource 7, p. 38.

154. Reynolds to Kirby, 18 June 1873, ICA K240. Reynolds to Barnabo, 28 March 1873, SRCO Vol. 10, ff. 82-83.

interpret the constitutions for them.<sup>155</sup> Throughout the period under review he had frequently expressed his appreciation for what the Josephites were doing in his diocese, for the "self-sacrificing tenor of [their] ways," and he seems to have taken a genuine interest in their welfare.<sup>156</sup> For their part, the sisters seem to have been grateful for his friendship and support and to have responded generously to his appeals for help in new areas.

There was, however, another side to Reynolds' character, one which eventually brought him to a point where he turned against the Josephites, banished their foundress and Superior General from his diocese and tried to abolish the central government which he had hitherto defended so strongly. He suffered from chronic ill-health and seems never to have enjoyed being bishop.<sup>157</sup> His difficulty on this score almost certainly sprang from the legacy of party spirit, faction fighting and debt that Sheil left to the diocese. Reynolds, who was clearly aligned with one faction, had had to assume the role of

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155. Kirby to Reynolds, 18 April 1874. Franchi to MacKillop, 21 April 1874. MacKillop to Kirby, 21 April 1875, ACA.

156. Reynolds to Kirby, 20 May 1873, ICA K206; 18 June 1873, ICA K240; 6 November 1873, ICA K412; to Barnabo, 28 March 1873, SRCO Vol. 10, ff. 82-83; 27 February 1874, SRCO Vol. 10, f. 539; to Kirby, at death of Pius IX & election of Leo XIII; fragment, undated, wrote: "Mother Mary of the Cross is still pursuing the selfsacrificing tenor of her ways .... May God bless those self denying sisters. What should I do for my scattered flock were it not for them!"

157. Reynolds to Kirby, as for fn. 155 above. In every letter he lamented the sad state of the diocese and the difficulties he was having regarding money and his clergy. Reynolds to Patrick Moran, Bishop of Ossory, Ireland, 20 April & 13 July 1876, were written in the same vein, ACA.

ecclesiastical leader to members of both. He seems to have been unable to relate easily with most of his clergy or to trust the former members of the Horan faction who still remained in the diocese.<sup>158</sup> These men, all of whom were young, energetic and able, possibly posed a threat to their leader and seem to have had little respect for him. They charged him with having attained his present position by dishonourable means and claimed that, once he was in power, he treated them harshly and unjustly.<sup>159</sup> Several of their number left the diocese within a short time and, from the safety of another, wrote a damning indictment of his administration to Rome.<sup>160</sup>

Neither Reynolds nor any of his senior clergy was a good financier and consequently the diocesan debt increased rather than diminished with time. The erection of necessary buildings served only to increase the church's overall indebtedness, despite the fact that the people gave as generously as they could and were prepared to pay off each local debt as soon as possible. Consequently, the Church was mortgaged to the hilt and the

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158. Reynolds to Fortune, All Hallows, Dublin, 30 January 1875, AD 18; to Murray, Maitland, 26 January 1875, MDA A-4-2.

159. James Maher, Kapunda to Fitzgibbon, 23 February, 1874, SRCO vol. 10, ff. 684-685. M. O'Connor to Fitzgibbon, 22 March 1874, SRCO vol. 10, ff. 686-687. Fitzgibbon sent these letters to Rome as enclosures with one of his own, complaining Reynolds, 13 July 1874, ff. 681-682. M. O'Connor to Mr McArthur, Limestone, Ridge, 8 December 1876, ACA. Nowlan, J.J. O'Sullivan, M. Henderson, Horan, J.J. Roche, R. Cleary, P.J. Byrne & M. Kennedy to Barnabo, n.d. but by internal evidence, April 1872, SRCO vol. 9, ff. 1355-1356.

160. M. Kennedy, M. O'Connor, C. Van der Heyden, J.J. Roche, R. Cleary & possibly J.J. O'Connor, from Beechworth, Victoria, to Franchi, 15 September 1877, SRCO vol 11, ff. 263-276.

interest bill alone was beyond the means at the bishop's disposal.<sup>161</sup> Ill-health, debt and factious clergy all helped to make the burdens of his office almost too heavy for Reynolds to bear. The one bright spot during the early years of his episcopate seems to have been the Sisters of St Joseph.

However, even that was to fade early in the next decade. One of the prime causes of this change was money. In August 1872, almost immediately after the departure of Woods and the Apostolic Commissioners, Reynolds had arranged for the purchase of a house and block of land at Kensington, in the eastern suburbs, with a view to the sisters making it their Mother House. Because the Institute could not then own property, he had signed the agreement to purchase in his own name as Administrator of the diocese, while asking that the sisters find the necessary deposit and annual payments.<sup>162</sup> This they agreed to do, but, once the new Constitutions, with their clause allowing the Institute to own houses and land, came into force, he had arranged that the property be transferred to Mary MacKillop, as superior of the Institute. In order to pay for it and the buildings she had had erected on it, she found it necessary to take out a mortgage for £1,650 pounds at 7

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161. O'Reily, Archbishop John, First Annual Report on the Liabilities of the Archdiocese of Adelaide, Adelaide, 1896, pp. 8-9.

162. O'Neill, McKillop, pp. 133-134.

per cent interest.<sup>163</sup> Thus, for the first time in its short and eventful history, the Institute of St Joseph was in debt.

This debt was not unduly large. However, because the Josephites had had no previous experience in managing finance and had no-one to advise them, it quickly became a problem. Whereas they had previously relied on the people among whom they lived and worked to provide all that they needed for their subsistence, they now had to service a debt out of their own meagre funds. Fund-raising became the order of the day and, as the decade drew to a close, the sisters found themselves spending time formerly devoted to the various tasks associated with their work in the schools and institutions in preparing goods for bazaars and other similar functions.<sup>164</sup> Their efforts were successful, but did not raise the sums required. Consequently the Institute, like the diocese, slid further into debt. At the time, MacKillop saw no reason for alarm because she had not entered into any financial agreements

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163. S.A. Lands Titles, Registration Book, CLXVIII, fol. 146, transfer 55649. The transfer was made to Mary MacKillop on 5 April 1875 and the title to this land was entered in vol. CCCXXXI, fol. 21, on 25 September 1876, after MacKillop had mortgaged the property to Sarah Jane Greet, Henry Greet and James Lang.

164. MacKillop to Reynolds 10 October 1879 and n.d. but 1877. Angelina Kent to MacKillop from Maitland, 1 September 1878, asks permission to do fancywork during study time and until ten at night for the next three weeks, i.e. until the coming bazaar. Reynolds' diary, 15 October 1878, noted a bazaar in the Town Hall for the sisters. It ran for five days. On 21 October MacKillop called to discuss with him the results of the bazaar and the holding of a supplementary one. Catholic Record, 1 October 1880, devoted its leading article to the coming bazaar in aid of the Sisters of St Joseph.

without the bishop's knowledge and because the conflict between the Bishop of Brisbane and herself was uppermost in her mind.<sup>165</sup>

Reynolds, too, did not realise what was happening. In 1879 he left Adelaide for his first and only ad limina visit to Rome and was gone for just over two years.<sup>166</sup> He was away when the Institute's Queensland affairs were finalised and when the sisters made their first foundations in the Sydney Archdiocese. MacKillop kept him informed of all that befell her and the Institute, expecting that he would share her joy at the welcome given her and the sisters by Vaughan and Torreggiani, particularly the former.<sup>167</sup> She little realised that Reynolds would interpret her happiness at the New South Welsh bishops' kindness as a sign that she did not appreciate all that he had done for her and the Institute at a time when it had few friends.

The sisters' entry into the Sydney Archdiocese was perhaps the single most important thing that had happened to the Institute since the restoration of the sisters to their habits eight years earlier and was one that was to

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165. MacKillop to Reynolds, 2 April 1880. She informed him that the overdraft at the bank then stood at £2,700 odd, which she considered quite small when viewed against all the expenses that the sisters in South Australia had had to meet for the good of the entire Institute.

166. Reynolds left Adelaide early in 1879 and returned home in June 1881.

167. MacKillop to Reynolds, 2 April 1880. The tone of this letter is such as to suggest that she wrote regularly to Reynolds during his absence.

have far-reaching effects on its future development. From the time that she had first passed through Sydney in December 1869 MacKillop had seen that city as a possible future centre for sisters based in the eastern colonies.<sup>168</sup> It was more central than Adelaide, the Church was more firmly established and financially secure than it was in South Australia and a number of priests there, especially the Marist Fathers, were more than favorable towards the central government of the Institute.<sup>169</sup> With Vaughan willing to support this important aspect of the Josephite rule, the future seemed bright indeed.

The decade just completed had been a difficult one for the Institute as it strove to find a secure place within the structure of the Australian Church. Its most important decision had been to opt for a central rather than a diocesan form of government, despite the objections of several very powerful bishops and the Institute's founder, who would rather have seen this go than the Franciscan poverty he favoured so strongly.<sup>170</sup> The consequent alienation of the two founders had caused divisions within the community and the departure of some

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168. MacKillop to Kirby, 29 June 1875, ACA.

169. Woods to MacKillop, 10 October, 5 & 14 November 1871.

170. MacKillop to Josephine McMullen, 27 January 1877.

of its foundation members, even as most of those remaining accepted the change as the Will of God and settled down to work according to the Roman constitutions. In South Australia demographic change had caused added movement, over and above that arising from the removal of the sisters to and from the Bathurst and Brisbane dioceses.

The Institute had come a long way but it still had far to go, for Rome had not yet given it a definitive approval. Until that day came the sisters could expect to face further upheavals as bishops refused to allow even a little of their power or financial independence to be limited by the presence of an autonomous Institute of religious women within their diocesan boundaries.

## CHAPTER 8.

### TEMPESTS AND LULLS, 1881-1893

The 1880s dawned with the promise of a new era of peace and consolidation which would contrast markedly with the movement and turmoil of the previous decade. However, clouds soon gathered in a quarter where neither MacKillop nor any of the sisters expected to see them and, before long, storms of unprecedented fury burst around them. Reynolds, the sisters' long-time friend and supporter, changed his stance on the issue of central government and tried to force the Institute into a diocesan mould similar to the one favoured by the Quinns. It seems that he took this course because he was afraid that Sydney was about to supersede Adelaide as the administrative centre of the Institute and because he was unable to control the rising tide of debt in his diocese.<sup>1</sup>

Sydney was an archiepiscopal See and hence of higher standing in the Church's hierarchical structure than Adelaide. Because it held none of the painful associations which Adelaide, Brisbane and Bathurst had for the sisters they went there willingly and delighted in the warmth of Vaughan's welcome. However, it may be well to ask whether, given that the New South Wales government was about to withdraw all state aid from denominational schools, his behaviour was governed by expediency as much

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1. MacKillop to Rome, (addressee not named), 22 April 1885, cited by O'Neill, McKillop, p. 335. She wrote that Reynolds was one of their best friends until "the work began to prosper in Sydney; then step by step he began to change."

as by genuine concern. If he and his suffragans were to succeed in keeping Catholic children out of the state schools, they needed religious teachers urgently.<sup>2</sup> The admission of a centrally governed group which came at virtually no financial cost to the diocese could well have seemed a small price to pay for the opening and maintenance of the requisite number of Catholic schools.<sup>3</sup>

It is now impossible to gauge the genuineness of Vaughan's support for central government because he died in August 1883, little more than three years after the sisters first went to Sydney.<sup>4</sup> What is certain is that he appeared to be kind and straightforward in his dealings with them and that MacKillop trusted him implicitly and was determined to do her best for his schools. She not only allowed the sisters from Queensland to stop off in Sydney and take charge of the schools offered them by the archbishop. She also hurried home to Adelaide to find as many experienced teachers as could be spared for New South Wales and, after having considered the advisability of establishing a novitiate in Sydney, raised this issue with

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2. MacKillop to her mother, 2 January 1880; to Josephine McMullen, 9 January 1880; to Simeoni, 7 March 1880; to Rossolini, 21 June 1880. Fogarty, Catholic Education in Australia, vol. I, pp. 248-255; vol. II, pp. 258-262.
  3. MacKillop to Simeoni, 7 March 1880: "He knew from public and private sources how things stood in Queensland."
  4. A.E. Cahill, "Roger William Bede Vaughan" in A.D.B. vol. 6. pp. 327-329. Vaughan was born in England in January 1834, joined the Benedictines in 1853, was ordained priest in 1859, worked in England until appointed Coadjutor Archbishop of Sydney in 1873, succeeded to the See in March 1877 and died in England on 18 August 1883 whilst en route for Rome for his ad limina visit.

Vaughan and Cardinal Simeoni.<sup>5</sup>

This last upset some of the Adelaide sisters because they knew how adamant MacKillop had previously been that, in the interests of unity, the Institute should have only one novitiate. However, it seems that she had given some thought to this matter as early as 1875 when she was faced with the problems inherent in sending novices and postulants from Queensland to Adelaide.<sup>6</sup> She spoke of it to Vaughan because she could see the possible future importance of Sydney for the Institute and she liked its central position. Vaughan, who was doubtless aware of the advantages likely to accrue to his diocese, applied to Rome for the necessary permission, which was granted in January 1881.<sup>7</sup> All that was now required was the consent of the sisters assembled at the General Chapter of the Institute which was due to be convoked in March 1881.

Reynolds was overseas at the time of the sisters' move into the Sydney and Armidale dioceses and of Vaughan's lodgement of his application for a Josephite novitiate in

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5. MacKillop to Torregiani, March and 24 June 1880; to Sister Bernard Walsh, 10 June 1880; to Simeoni, 7 March 1880; to Reynolds, 26 December 1876.
  6. MacKillop to Vaughan, n.d. but by internal evidence, January or February 1880, cited in O'Neill, McKillop, p. 280; to Simeoni, 7 March 1880; to Kirby, 29 January 1875; to Josephine McMullen, 13 September 1879.
  7. Vaughan to MacKillop, 4 May 1880, cited in Life and Letters, p. 321. Vaughan to MacKillop, 24 March 1881. MacKillop, Circulars, p.104, 1 April 1881. Vaughan to Propaganda, 29 March 1880, SRCO vol. 13, f. 257. Moran to Reynolds, 9 January 1885, states that the rescript allowing the second novitiate was dated 23 January 1881.

Sydney. His initial reaction to MacKillop's reports concerning these new foundations was to rejoice with her at having found someone as powerful as Vaughan to champion her cause.<sup>8</sup> However, when he arrived home and began to realise the full import of what was happening, his attitude towards MacKillop and the Institute changed. He was a sensitive man who seems to have had a poor self image and to have felt that he compared unfavorably with Vaughan and would almost certainly be the loser in any competition with him for the control of the Institute. Reynolds had a poor scholastic background and it was alleged that he avoided preaching and public speaking whenever possible even though he had a good delivery and was capable of speaking well. He lacked many of the attributes that make for good leadership and tended to be highly critical of his subordinates.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, Vaughan was a man of "commanding presence, compelling power of personality, profound scholarship and a remarkable oratorical gift." He had the ability to inspire confidence in priests and people alike and had achieved much during his short episcopate.<sup>10</sup> Adelaide was a poor and small diocese situated at a great distance

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8. Reynolds to MacKillop from Rome, 11 February 1880, ACA, S4. MacKillop, Circulars, 21 May 1880, p. 99: "Our Bishop is delighted at the help given to us by the Archbishop."

9. M. Kennedy and others to Propaganda, 15 September 1877, SRCO vol. 11, f. 266. SC, 6 June 1893, p. 7, obituary. Reynolds to Byrne from Rome, 14 January, 4 June & 8 October 1880. Reynolds to Murray, 5 February 1879, MDA A-4-5. Criticism of his priests runs like a theme through most of Reynolds' correspondence with other ecclesiastics.

10. O'Farrell, Catholic Church and Community, pp. 175 & 177-178.

from the more populous and wealthier eastern colonies and Reynolds was acutely aware of the advantages which Sydney enjoyed.

His attitudes and behaviour towards the Josephites following their move to Sydney were also coloured by the difficulties he had encountered during his recent overseas journey. He returned home tired and dispirited, even though he had succeeded in persuading 21 priests, 24 Irish Sisters of Mercy and two new Josephite recruits to come to his diocese.<sup>11</sup> Of particular significance for the Institute was the fact that he had been taken to task in Rome over allegations of maladministration laid against him by some of his former clergy. The most hurtful of these, and the one which was to affect his relationships with the clergy and sisters most, was that he had connived at excesses in drinking by some of his priests. Reynolds was a teetotaler and, to use his own words, "never gave bad example, either as priest or bishop, to any of [his] clergy, young or old on such a matter as this."<sup>12</sup> He had also suffered acute financial embarrassment because he had been obliged to leave Adelaide with insufficient funds to cover his whole journey. As well, two of the priests whom he had recruited and sent to the colony at great

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11. MacKillop to Josephine Carolan and others, 18 May 1880. Mechtilde Woods, "History," p. 137. Reynolds - Byrne correspondence, 1879-1881, passim, ACA, S5 & S9. Because several priests died or left the diocese the net increase in their numbers was thirteen only. See Appendix XVIII for details. The two Josephites in question were Gertrude Mary Dewe, R267, and Margaret Mary Airey, R272.

12. Reynolds to Byrne, 4 June 1880.

expense had left the diocese within weeks of their arrival and the rigours of the northern climate had played havoc with his none-too-robust health.<sup>13</sup>

Consequently, Reynolds was in no mood to look favourably on any moves which might prove detrimental to his diocese, such as the establishment of a Josephite novitiate in Sydney under Vaughan's patronage. He was in Rome when he first learnt of it from MacKillop who, in her usual trusting manner, had called upon him to translate and present to Cardinal Simeoni a letter containing the following statement:

In the great Education struggle that is before the Church here, a Novitiate of our Order in Sydney would produce a means of doing much to help it, and I have the utmost confidence in His Grace's disinterested goodness.[sic] 14

Seemingly Reynolds saw this proposal as posing an immediate threat to his position as bishop of the diocese where the Mother House was located. He reacted by issuing a formal sealed statement, "in Virtue of the Authority given [him] by the Holy See," [sic], confirming MacKillop in her position as superior general until such time after his return as would be "most convenient" for the holding of the General Chapter.<sup>15</sup>

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13. Reynolds to Byrne, 18 October & 17 November 1879; 24 January, 13 February, 7 March, 4 & 18 June, 19 September & 17 November 1880; 24 February 1881.

14. MacKillop to Simeoni, 7 March 1880. She enclosed this letter in one to Reynolds dated 2 April 1880.

15. This document, which was signed and sealed by Reynolds in Rome on 24 April 1880, read as follows:  
By these presents we notify to all whom it concerns that, in

Reynolds was not the Josephites' ecclesiastical superior and, according to their Constitutions, had no right to deliver such a document. The Holy See alone could interfere in matters relating to the election, deposition or resignation of a superior general, the transfer of the Mother House from one diocese to another, the erection of new novitiates or the formation of additional provinces. Because the Mother House was in his diocese, it was his duty to preside at the General Chapter and confirm the election of the superior general, not in his own right but "in the name of the Apostolic See." He had no vote in this election and could interfere in the work of the Chapter only when a serious difficulty could not be resolved. In such an eventuality he was to decide the matter, "in the name of the Apostolic See" and his decision was to be reported to Rome immediately. The Constitutions stressed that the presiding bishop had no claim to any authority or jurisdiction over any houses or sisters of the Institute outside his own diocese.<sup>16</sup>

These statements seem plain enough, but Reynolds' behaviour from 1880 onwards suggests quite strongly that he had misunderstood them. As well, he seemingly

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Virtue of the Authority given us by the Holy Apostolic See to make due provision for the Government of the Institute of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart in the Diocese of Adelaide, We hereby declare the office of Mother General, now held by Mother Mary McKillop, called in the Institute aforesaid, Mother Mary of the Cross, to be valid and to continue, until such period after our return to the diocese of Adelaide, "as may be most convenient" for the holding of a General Chapter.

16. Constitutions, pp. 20-21 & 26-28.

misinterpreted a simple instruction given him by the Cardinal Protector regarding his role as president of the forthcoming Chapter. It may well be asked whether he was prepared to go along with existing arrangements for only as long as the Institute was firmly established in his diocese alone. During the late 1870s he seems to have seen himself as an unofficial protector of the Institute and its superior general in their difficulties with the Quinns, possibly in the expectation that, once the sisters were safely out of Queensland they would be confined to South Australia and would become, in fact if not in name, a diocesan group under his immediate and sole control.

The action of the bishops of Sydney and Armidale in inviting sisters into their dioceses put paid to any hopes Reynolds might have entertained on this score. They would have been dashed still further by Vaughan's proposal that a new novitiate be established in Sydney, if for no other reason than that the Constitutions stated that all novices must make their novitiate in the Mother House alone. (They also allowed for additional novitiates where necessary.)<sup>17</sup> Hence this proposal carried within it a distinct possibility that the Mother House might be transferred to Sydney and, as a consequence, that Adelaide might become just another province of the Institute.

Reynolds presided at the General Chapter of July 1881, and there began to play the strange double game that was

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17. *ibid.* pp. 10 & 28.

to characterise his dealings with the sisters during the next decade. When the question of the Sydney novitiate came up for consideration, and possibly for the reasons stated above, he told the assembled sisters that Rome was opposed to its establishment, that their Mother General could, and possibly would be censured by the Holy See for having requested it and finally, that he himself should have been consulted before Vaughan lodged his application for it in Rome.<sup>18</sup>

None of these statements was correct. Rome had already issued a rescript authorising the establishment of a novitiate in Sydney and Vatican officials did not generally give permissions of this kind against their own better judgement. MacKillop had notified the sisters of its arrival in a circular dated 1 April 1881 and there cannot be any doubt that Reynolds had seen at least a copy of this document.<sup>19</sup> Since Vaughan was the agent who had sought the permission, it was hardly likely that MacKillop would come under censure on that score. Finally, since Reynolds' jurisdiction over the Institute did not extend beyond South Australia, Vaughan was under no obligation to consult him.

Reynolds' statements to the Chapter served only to confuse the sisters, who were already upset over Clare

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18. Josephine Carolan to Dr Campbell, 3 April 1884. MacKillop to Mechtilde Woods, 10 December 1883.

19. MacKillop to the sisters, 1 April 1881, in Circulars, p. 104.

Wright's departure and whose knowledge of Church law was very limited. Tappeiner, who was still their spiritual director and who was present at the Chapter sessions, was "dead against" the establishment of a novitiate in Sydney. Sister Monica Phillips, the Mistress of Novices and one of MacKillop's councillors, was also opposed to it.<sup>20</sup> Just why these two key figures objected so strongly has not been recorded, but their opinions almost certainly carried weight with the sisters. In the circumstances, MacKillop's strong support for the move did little to influence their thinking.<sup>21</sup> Hence, when the question was put to the vote they decided against the immediate establishment of the new novitiate by a majority of seventeen to ten. However, they did decide by a majority of one, that "a discretionary power" be left with MacKillop and her council "to arrange the matter at the end of a year and a half, that is, at the end of 1882."<sup>22</sup>

These sisters allegedly hesitated because they believed that the Institute was not yet ready for such a move, that the sisters as a whole needed a period of quiet consolidation after the disturbances of the previous decade and that one of the surest means of preserving unity among them was for there to be only one novitiate

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20. MacKillop to Bernard Walsh, 18 June 1882; to Bernard Walsh and Josephine Carolan, 2 September 1882; to Dr Campbell, 17 August 1881.

21. MacKillop to Vaughan, 8 August 1881.

22. Monica Phillips, ms. account of the General Chapter, 1881, n.d. However, from the nature of its contents, it seems likely that this sister acted as secretary to the Chapter. MacKillop to Vaughan, 8 August 1881. Official Minutes of the Chapter, 19 July 1881.

for the training of all new recruits, regardless of their dioceses of origin.<sup>23</sup>

They made this decision even though the retention of the Adelaide novitiate only might prove detrimental to the Institute in South Australia, which would now be committed, in the short term at least, to sending professed sisters to New South Wales to replace postulants coming in for their training. (Most postulants worked in the schools beside the professed sisters throughout the entire period of their postulancy.) Consequently, the standards in the local schools could be endangered and some might be forced to close altogether for want of adequate staff. The financial cost of such an arrangement would necessarily be high because of the distances to be travelled and because the fares of the professed sisters would have to be provided out of local community funds.<sup>24</sup>

Reynolds had gained his point, at least for the present. In his anxiety to retain his apparent advantage, he indicated what must have seemed an admirable willingness to allow his schools to suffer rather than have the places in New South Wales, which were formerly occupied by postulants, remain vacant when these young

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23. MacKillop to Vaughan, 8 August 1881.

24. Sister M. Borgia Fay, Evidence to Episcopal Visitation, 11 July 1883, S15, ACA. Constitutions, chapter 4, pp. 12-13. Once this system became fully operational it might have been expected that the problems mentioned above would become less burdensome. However, in the meantime, the sisters in South Australia would have had to bear the brunt of its cost in terms of both money and personnel.

women came to the novitiate in Adelaide.<sup>25</sup> Perhaps, like Vaughan, he believed that the withdrawal of state aid from the schools was only a temporary measure and, hence, that the need to send sisters from South Australia to Sydney would be shortlived.<sup>26</sup> However, as time passed and there was no change in governmental policies concerning education, the demand for sisters continued unabated. In these circumstances it could hardly have been expected that he would continue to maintain his original disinterested stand, especially in the face of the opposition of some of his clergy to the transfer of sisters to Sydney at a time when their own needs were great.<sup>27</sup>

MacKillop's position now became difficult indeed. On the one hand, she did not wish to make moves which might disadvantage the Adelaide diocese. Yet, on the other, she was being pressed from all sides to provide sisters for New Zealand and Western Australia as well as New South Wales.<sup>28</sup> Consequently, she had to refuse many requests because there was no-one to spare for further new foundations. When Sister Bernard Walsh, the Sydney provincial, persisted in asking for more sisters from Adelaide at a time when she could not possibly give her

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25. MacKillop to Vaughan, 8 August 1881; to Bishop Redwood, Wellington, 2 January 1882.

26. O'Farrell, Catholic Church and Community, p. 240.

27. MacKillop to Bonaventure Mahony, 10 June 1880; to Torregiani, 24 June 1880.

28. MacKillop to Redwood, 2 January 1882.

any, she wrote:

You are trying to do too much in opening so many schools, and will, I fear, have me placed in an awkward position.... I know, dear, that it is hard for you to be unable to meet so many demands, but do you forget that I had to meet the same here and refuse. The bishop asked for sisters last week for a new foundation and I had to say no, that it was impossible. Port Pirie is becoming very important again. I have had to refuse.... There is no use trying to do too much.... If we only had the subjects you ought to know how gladly I would see them at work. So far Dr Reynolds is truly friendly to us, ... but we must not try him too far.... My own dear sister, don't think I would not help you if I could.

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Thus, the help MacKillop gave the two New South Wales dioceses during the years 1880-1883 was limited by pressures at home in South Australia. It is now impossible to ascertain exactly how many sisters went to Sydney at this time but it was not large and could have been as few as ten. That these included some of the best school sisters then in South Australia worried the local clergy, whom MacKillop felt compared unfavourably with their more "generous" confreres in New South Wales.<sup>30</sup>

Clerical opposition to the transfer of sisters to New South Wales was one factor which prevented postulants who had entered there from journeying to the Adelaide novitiate. Another was the perennial problem of lack of finance. Consequently, by the end of 1882 seven

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29. MacKillop to Bernard Walsh, 18 June 1882.

30. MacKillop to Bonaventure Mahony, 10 June 1880. Among those who went to Sydney at this time was Bridget Cremin, R12, the daughter of David and Anne Cremin, the school teachers brought to Adelaide by Bishop Murphy in 1847. See fn. 29, p. 8.

postulants had been awaiting their formal admission into the Institute for a period far in excess of the mandatory twelve months laid down by the constitutions.<sup>31</sup>

MacKillop, who was concerned at the injustice being done these young women, became increasingly anxious to establish a novitiate in Sydney. Resistance to this move was still strong in South Australia but, in September 1882, her council agreed to allow the postulants in question to receive their habits in Sydney. By so doing, they gave tacit approval to the second novitiate even though it so happened that the young novices in question had completed their training and made their religious profession before it was formally established.<sup>32</sup>

Even as MacKillop and her council struggled with the question of the second novitiate, the sisters in South Australia continued to follow the settlers and open and close schools as the numbers of children in the different districts fluctuated. Where withdrawals took place it was

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31. Josephine Carolan to MacKillop, 8 November 1880. The postulants in question were Sisters:

Antonia - Helen Wilson, R274, entered 4 June 1880.

Maria - Catherine Cordner, R276, entered 3 June 1880.

Magdalena Mary - Emma Mary Thompson, R277, entered 29 September 1880.

Gabrielle - Gertrude Mary Jordan, R278, entered 9 February 1881.

Charles - Margaret Flanagan, R279, entered 8 March 1881.

Cuthbert - Ellen Duff, R280, entered 4 September 1881.

Claude - Harriet Turner, R281, entered 1 June 1881.

Register of the Sisters entries 274-281, (275 excepted), carry the annotation "First investiture of Sisters in Sydney, 15 December 1882."

32. MacKillop to Bernard Walsh and Josephine Carolan, 2 September 1882. Minutes of Council Meeting, 2 September 1882, ACA.

generally because there were too few children for the school, the people were unable to support the sisters or, in some cases, both.<sup>33</sup> One exception to this rule was the school at Russell Street in the city. The sisters first went there in 1877 and then, when the arrival of the Sisters of Mercy in 1880 found the vicar general unprepared, MacKillop offered them this large and flourishing school. They accepted her offer and remained there until they set up an establishment of their own, after which the Josephites returned to Russell Street.<sup>34</sup>

At the end of 1882 there were 208 Josephite sisters, including eight novices and eighteen postulants, and they had charge of 58 schools, 46 of which were in South Australia, eleven in the Sydney Archdiocese and two in the diocese of Armidale. As well, the sisters were responsible for the management of three charitable institutions in South Australia and a House of Providence in Sydney.<sup>35</sup> Thus, supposing all to have been well and

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33. Warooka, a small township at the foot of Yorke Peninsula, is a case in point. Register of enrolments, Warooka Primary School, SAA GRG 18/222/1, vol. 1, indicates that 32 children transferred from the Catholic to the government school in January 1883. CR, 22 October 1880, p. 10 and 13 May 1881, p. 10, states that the people, who did not wish to send their children to the state school, were finding it difficult to support the two sisters stationed there. Mary Borgia Fay, evidence to Episcopal Visitation, 1883, stated that the schools did not support the sisters.
34. "Angas Street Jottings," m/s, Mercy Archives, Angas Street, Adelaide. MacKillop to Josephine Carolan, 18 May 1880; to Gertrude Mary Bertheau, 25 May 1880.
35. Ordo and Catholic Year Book, 1883, Sydney, 1883, pp. 56-64; 1884, pp. 61-71. See Appendix XIX for details of foundations made in the Archdiocese of Sydney and Appendix XX for those made in the Diocese of Armidale, [The Ordo was published annually and contained details of Catholic personnel and institutions in all the Australian, New Zealand and South Pacific dioceses.]

able for duty at all times, which was generally not the case, there were still, on average, only 3.35 sisters per school or institution. Thus, the situation had scarcely improved since 1872 when the average stood at 3.2.<sup>36</sup>

The Institute had not yet had an opportunity to consolidate its forces and consequently, young, inexperienced sisters were still being given tasks for which they were unsuited or insufficiently prepared and communities with two members only were still to be found in country districts in both South Australia and New South Wales.

MacKillop had to refuse foundations for want of personnel. She also had to worry over the Institute's precarious financial position. The Kensington property had been mortgaged in 1876 in order to pay for the land and the new building the sisters had had erected on it. By November 1879 they had also acquired a bank overdraft of £3,000. Byrne reported this to Reynolds and expressed a note of concern because the total Josephite debt far exceeded the value of their property. Byrne was concerned because now the Church would have to stand security for the Josephites at a time when it could ill afford to do so.<sup>37</sup>

Quite remarkably, Reynolds' initial reaction to this information was to comment that the sisters' indebtedness

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36. See Table VI, p. 317.

37. Byrne to Reynolds, 3 November 1879.

was probably only a passing phase and that he was sure they would soon be in the clear again. He was prepared to grant that they could have practised a greater economy in some areas of their lives but was unwilling to lay all the blame for the debt at their door. Instead, he believed that they had fallen into debt because they had received insufficient support from their schools and institutions and hence, that they had had to draw too freely on the funds at the disposal of the Mother House. He was confident that, once MacKillop had finalised the Josephites' Queensland affairs and had settled permanently in Adelaide again, matters would right themselves and all would be well.<sup>38</sup>

The solution to their problems was not as simple as Reynolds might have hoped. Few, if any, of the sisters had ever handled large sums of money or had any experience of financial matters. They needed someone to advise and direct them in their business dealings and suffered for the want of such a person. Reynolds himself was a poor businessman. He kept no books and, while constantly bemoaning the Church's current state of indebtedness, seemed unable to initiate effective moves to counteract it.<sup>39</sup> Byrne, his vicar general from 1873 until 1882,

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38. Reynolds to Byrne, 14 January 1880.

39. Reynolds to Barnabo, 27 February 1874, SRCO vol. 10, f. 539; to Kirby, 8 August 1877, ICA K256. Thorpe, "General Survey of the circumstances of the Accusation of Intemperance made against Mother Mary," Resource 5, p. 53. The only surviving financial records from Reynolds' episcopate are simple Cash books and collection books.

and Russell who succeeded him early in 1883, were both aware of the seriousness of the situation but, like the bishop, were inexperienced in the management of money and could do little to help. Consequently, diocesan and Josephite finances gradually became more and more confused and their debts assumed alarming proportions.<sup>40</sup>

Had the cost of the Kensington property been the sisters' only expense, the income they derived from the several successful bazaars they held during the period 1876-1882 would have paid it off.<sup>41</sup> However, their travelling expenses, especially the cost of MacKillop's frequent journeys to and from Queensland and Sydney and the transfer of sisters to Sydney, had also to be met. The first contingent of sisters to go to Sydney went there direct from Queensland at no cost to Vaughan, who seems to have been unaware that the Josephites were poor in fact as well as in name. Consequently, he neglected to reimburse MacKillop for the price of the sisters' passages from Adelaide to Sydney. She was upset but, rather than stop sending sisters until payment was forthcoming, borrowed

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40. J. Murray to Moran, "Report of Inquiry into Financial Affairs of the Archdiocese of Adelaide, 10 April 1888," ACA, S31B, F5. Byrne to Reynolds, 1881, ACA S9, stated that the total diocesan debt was £12,424 and that the annual interest bill came to £745.

41. S.A. Lands Titles Office, Registration Book CLXVIII, fol. 126, tr. 55649, 5 April 1875, gives the price of the Kensington property as £1,000. This land was mortgaged, mortgage 67770, 21 September 1876, for £1,650 at 7% for four years in order to pay for the new convent built in 1875-1876 at a cost of £2,000. (Reynolds to Moran, 16 November 1884.) References to their debt and their efforts to pay it off may be found in: MacKillop to Josephine McMullen, 22 September 1877; CR, 1 October 1880, leading article; Register, 1 October 1880.

money for their fares. Taken overall, travel was one of the most costly items of expenditure incurred by the sisters between 1876 and 1883.<sup>42</sup>

Another large item was the cost of the several properties purchased by MacKillop between 1880 and 1882. These blocks of land, which were situated at Port Adelaide, Mitcham, Kapunda and Orroroo, cost £1093.15s all told.<sup>43</sup> The reason for their purchase remains obscure because in most districts the clergy and people provided the sisters with accommodation and a schoolroom. However, none was made without Reynolds' knowledge and consent and in each case, he had authorised MacKillop to have the deeds made out in her own name, pending the eventual incorporation of the Institute.<sup>44</sup> A block of land in

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42. MacKillop to Reynolds, 2 April 1880. Vaughan to MacKillop, 13 February 1880. Reynolds to Bernard Walsh, 31 January 1880. Josephite Account Books, 1875-1883, ASSJ. MacKillop to Bernard Walsh, 1 December 1881, wrote: "No money has yet in any place in the Archdiocese been paid for Sisters' expenses and it is too bad to leave it on the Institute." On 18 June 1882 she wrote to Josephine Carolan: "Don't you think that those places in the Archdiocese where our Sisters are should by this time be able to refund the money spent in getting them the sisters."
43. The Port Adelaide land was purchased 18 October 1882 (tr. 151030) for £650. Mitcham was virtually a gift from Robert Barr Smith who transferred it to MacKillop (tr. 144897) on 18 May 1882 for the nominal sum of 5/-. The Kapunda property was purchased in three lots (tr. 116707 and 116708, 29 September 1880 and tr. 114164, 27 July 1880) for a total of £238.10s. That at Orroroo (tr. 117802, 24 August 1880) cost £200.
44. MacKillop, Account of Visitation, n.d. but by internal evidence, after the Moran's arrival in Sydney in late 1884, ms. pp. 14-15. On pp. 6-7, she tells that she had a book in which Reynolds had placed his written authorisation for each loan and that she gave it to him during the visitation. This book cannot be found among the residue of his papers in the ACA. On 8 August 1883 the Kapunda, Kensington, Mitcham and Port Adelaide properties were transferred from MacKillop's sole ownership to that of a group of Josephite trustees, comprising MacKillop and seven other sisters. Russell witnessed their signatures. (Transfer no. 170543.)

Port Augusta, which was bought in 1875 for £160, was registered in Reynolds' and MacKillop's joint names. (The sisters worked hard to pay for this property and to make necessary improvements. Hence, they were most upset when Reynolds later laid claim to its sole ownership.)<sup>45</sup>

To these heavy expenses was added a comparatively small one which quickly assumed serious proportions in the eyes of some of the sisters. It was that for a time in the early 1880s MacKillop gave her widowed and almost destitute mother the hospitality of the Kensington convent and provided her with some necessary personal items. It is probable that she also paid her mother's fare when she eventually decided to return to Victoria.<sup>46</sup> Caring for her mother in this way might have been filial but, in the circumstances, was less than wise. Mrs MacKillop was much loved by many of the sisters but her presence in the convent tended to disrupt community living and caused some of their number to become dissatisfied and complain that MacKillop was allowing herself privileges not given to others. It also laid her open to the accusation that she

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45. This property was purchased on 4 March 1875 (tr. 54387) for £150. MacKillop, evidence to Episcopal Visitation, 3 July 1883, p. 17 of typescript, acknowledged that the property was in her own name but claimed that she was prepared to place it in trust. MacKillop to Moran, n.d. but by internal evidence, late 1884, as cited by O'Neill, *McKillop*, p. 308. Angelica Greene to MacKillop, 14 March 1885, indicates that the sisters had paid at least £88 off the purchase price and had spent £130 on improvements to the building.

46. MacKillop to her cousin, from Sydney, 14 February 1881 wrote: "Mamma is and has been staying with us in Adelaide for more than twelve months." Reynolds to Moran, 24 October 1884, CCSA. Francis Xavier Amsinck, evidence to Episcopal Visitation, 1883. Reynolds to Byrne, 18 October 1880, ACA S4, asks for additional funds for the support of his aged father in Dublin.

had "squandered the means of the diocese upon [her] own friends."<sup>47</sup>

By October 1883 the Josephites owed their creditors just over £10600. This was a large sum indeed for a group whose realisable assets were worth less than half that sum and whose current expenses were more than double their receipts. The sisters' methods of bookkeeping were confusing and their books contained "many contradictory items, unspecified receipts and expenditure and a general confusion of accounts."<sup>48</sup> MacKillop, who lacked business acumen, was overly trusting of others when it came to the handling of money and frequently allowed her heart to rule her head when discussing business matters. She seemed to have realised that going into debt as she had done was unwise but, at the same time, to have believed that she could not have done otherwise in the circumstances. Even though she was concerned at the size of the debt, she felt that it was small in comparison with the work done by the sisters. Hence, she could ask whether "religion as connected with [their] work" would have "taken the strides it did" if she had been afraid to

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47. MacKillop, *Account of Visitation*, p. 12, CCSA. Scholastica Byrne to MacKillop, 7 April 1881. Regina Magee to MacKillop, 12 April 1881.

48. T.F. O'Neill & M. O'Sullivan, report and statement of Josephite debts, presented to Episcopal Visitation, 23 October 1883, gave the total as £10,628-15-8, ACA S15. The two priests' signatures have been verified by comparing them with those found in the baptismal registers for St Patrick's Church, Adelaide, ACA. Borgia Fay to Father Reshauer SJ, 13 October 1885.

49. MacKillop, circular letter to the sisters, 4 November 1884, in Circulars, p. 131. MacKillop to Campbell, 7 December 1883.

take the risks involved.<sup>49</sup>

When she raised this question the Institute was firmly established in New South Wales where, with the help of sisters from South Australia and Queensland, it had 21 convents and schools. In addition, it had made three foundations in New Zealand and the sisters in South Australia were enjoying the comfort and convenience of their Mother House at Kensington.<sup>50</sup> However, it may be well to ask whether the good thus achieved balanced the crippling effect of that debt on the life of the Institute in South Australia during the next three decades.

This debt was a major cause of the troubles which erupted between Reynolds and the South Australian sisters in 1883 and which remained unsettled until after his death ten years later.<sup>51</sup> That it remained unpaid for so long was due in large measure to local climatic and economic conditions. South Australia suffered severe droughts in the years 1881, 1885, 1888 and 1891 and rainfall was generally below average throughout the entire decade. Consequently, the colony entered a prolonged period of recession. Incomes in all areas were down, many farmers, especially those who had ventured out to the more marginal areas, lost their holdings and, in spite of a governmental

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50. Ordo, 1886, pp. 61-66 & 84. Sister Anne Marie Power RSJ, The Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart, New Zealand Story, 1883-1983, Sisters of St Joseph, Auckland, New Zealand, 1983, pp. 8, 26 & 117. See Appendix XXI for details of New Zealand foundations, 1883-1895.

51. Reynolds to Moran, 16 November 1884, CCSA.

programme of public works, there was much poverty and hardship. Catholics generally had little or nothing to contribute towards the support of the Church or the sisters, especially those stationed in the country. These sisters soon found it necessary to call on the limited funds at the disposal of the Adelaide Mother House for help to meet their ordinary living expenses.<sup>52</sup>

Other causes of the sisters' difficulties with the bishop included MacKillop's re-election to the position of Superior General of the Institute at the Chapter of 1881, Tappeiner's death in February 1882, MacKillop's having allowed the investiture of the Sydney postulants in December 1882 and, finally, Russell's appointment as vicar general early in the following year.

MacKillop had been superior general ever since the foundation of the Institute fourteen years previously. Because the Roman constitutions specified that the same person was not to hold this office for longer than two consecutive terms of six years, she considered that she was ineligible for re-election in 1881. However, both Reynolds and Tappeiner, who were present at the Chapter, overruled her objections on the grounds that the

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52. Fenner, Geographical Inquiry, pp.130-133. Pike, Paradise of Dissent, p. 484. Nevin to Byrne, 30 October 1880; 16 March 1881, ACA, S9. "Annual Letters, College of St Aloysius, Sevenhill. 1877-1882," p. 36 of typescript; 1885, p. 41 of typescript, ASSJ. CM, December 1883, p. 172. Aloysius O'Leary to MacKillop, 23 February 1886, wrote that harvests were bad, men were out of work and people were unable to pay school fees. Reynolds to Kirby, 20 September 1886, ICA K411: "We cannot expect any help from our people."

constitutions had been operational only since 1875 and she accepted her almost unanimous re-election for a further term of six years.<sup>53</sup>

It may be well to pause and ask why Reynolds and Tappeiner favoured MacKillop's re-election so strongly that they felt justified in waiving the constitutions in this way. Was it that the bishop still regarded her as highly as he had done before his departure for Europe in 1879 and was genuinely anxious to have her at the helm once more? Or did he hope that, by encouraging her re-election, he might gain added respect from the sisters as a whole and so be able to exert greater control over the Institute than before? These questions do not admit of easy answers, especially when viewed in the light of Reynolds' opposition to the Sydney novitiate and of subsequent events in South Australia.

Most of the sisters seem to have been delighted at what had occurred, but a small and vocal group felt otherwise. The evidence suggests that these women, whom Reynolds had labelled "malcontents," were envious of her influence over the sisters and her seeming popularity with the bishop.<sup>54</sup> As well, some who had not yet become

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53. Bernard Walsh, superior general "pro tem," to Dr Campbell, Scots College, Rome, 4 December 1885, Resource 9, p. 124, wrote that at the 1881 Chapter MacKillop was re-elected by a majority of 23 votes against 4. Mechtilde Woods, "History," pp. 137-138.

54. Reynolds to MacKillop from London, 27 October 1880, ACA, S15.

reconciled to the loss of Woods as their director blamed MacKillop for his dismissal. Consequently, they tended to find fault with her leadership and to complain about it to any who would listen. Others, who had endured great privation and hardship since joining the Institute, were beginning to question the value and the propriety of the life they had embraced. Some of the issues worrying them were the lack of class divisions among them, the two member community, the difficulties consequent upon having chronically ill sisters and/or boarders living in small country convents, and the tensions that had developed between the South Australian trained sisters and those who had come to the colony from Bathurst and Brisbane, especially the former.<sup>55</sup>

The idea of dividing the Institute along class lines into choir and lay sisters had always been anathema to Woods and MacKillop and according to the constitutions, all members of the Institute enjoyed equal rights and privileges, regardless of the kind of work they were doing. Now, fifteen years after its foundation, some non-teaching sisters were complaining that they were being treated as servants and were refusing to do the housework while school sisters were objecting to having to do housework as well as teach all day in school. However, others felt equally strongly that there was no cause for complaint.<sup>56</sup>

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55. Evidence of sisters to Episcopal Visitation, July-September 1883, passim, ACA. MacKillop's and the sisters' letters, 1878-1883.

56. Sisters Julia Fitzgerald, Sylvester Long, Gertrude Hayman, Aloysius O'Leary and Mary Joseph Dwyer to Episcopal Visitation, July 1883, ACA.

The care of the chronically ill was also a cause of concern for some sisters. The Kensington convent could not accommodate all who were ill and so sick sisters were often sent to smaller houses. They were nursed by members of the local community who had to perform their allotted tasks in the schools as well. Consequently, community life suffered, the rule was not observed and lesson preparation and other duties relating to the schools were neglected. The taking of boarders was another bone of contention and some sisters complained that the presence of young children in their convents disrupted community living. They strongly disapproved of this practice and wished that it be discontinued, even though it dated right back to the foundation of the Institute.<sup>57</sup>

The loneliness of life in small country convents, especially where there were only two sisters, was almost more than some could bear. They would have preferred to have had at least three sisters in each community. However, the constant pressure for new openings and the expansion of the Institute to New South Wales rendered the making of this change impossible.<sup>58</sup> Tension and party

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57. Sisters Elizabeth Etheridge, Andrea Howley, Josephine McMullen, Magdalen Foley, Sylvester Long, Wilfrid Hayes and Camilla Doran to Episcopal Visitation, 1883. MacKillop to Bernard Walsh, Sydney, 18 June 1882. Andrea Howley to MacKillop, 2 June 1881. Columba Wilson to MacKillop, from Burra, 24 March 1881. This sister was a consumptive and died at Pekina in July 1883. Anselm Smith to MacKillop, from Burra, 11 April 1881, told of Columba's illness and how she (Anselm) and the third member of their community were up all night with her.

58. Magdalen Foley to MacKillop, 27 January 1881 complained that the loneliness of a small community and a quiet country convent seemed to press her down and make her ill. Sr Peter Gough from Willochra,

spirit were also becoming evident among some of the sisters. This development was blamed upon the presence in the colony of sisters from Bathurst and Brisbane but may well have been a consequence of the limited religious training that so many had received and of MacKillop's frequent and protracted absences from the colony on the business of the Institute elsewhere.<sup>59</sup>

Taken overall, it seems that a small but significant group of the sisters in South Australia had become disillusioned with the way the Institute was developing and the kind of leadership MacKillop was giving it.<sup>60</sup> Their change of mood might be described as an adolescent crisis in its life, a crisis which, if handled firmly and tactfully, could have proved conducive to its members' further growth towards spiritual and religious maturity.

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19 June 1882 wrote: "Sometimes I feel as if my heart would break with loneliness," and went on to complain that Winifred, her companion was "too holy." She concluded: "You have no idea what it is like in a lonely place with a holy sister." Michael Quinlan, Gertrude Hayman & Mary Joseph Dwyer to Episcopal Visitation, July 1883. Benedict Ahern to MacKillop from Clare, 19 April 1881. Anselm Smith to MacKillop from Burra, 22 April 1881.

59. Francis Xavier Amsinck and Josephine McMullen to Episcopal Visitation, July 1883. Magdalen Foley to Reynolds, 30 July 1883. Mary Joseph Dwyer to MacKillop, 11 August 1878. During the years 1867-1883, MacKillop was away from South Australia as follows:

Queensland foundation	8 December 1869 - late April 1871.
Overseas	28 March 1873 - 4 January 1875.
Queensland	April - September 1875.
Bathurst	15 January - late February 1876.
Queensland	March - July 1878.
Queensland	November 1878 - early January 1879.
Queensland and Sydney	4 April 1879 - March 1880.
Sydney	January - March 1881.
Sydney	7 December 1882 - June 1883.

60. Elizabeth Gunn, Matthew Welsh, Michael Quinlan, Ignatius McCarthy, Calasanctius Howley to Episcopal Visitation, July-August 1883.

Some of the discontented ones had belonged to the Institute for long enough to be able to compare their ideals and expectations of Josephite life with its lived reality. They were no longer beginners in the religious life and the responsibilities they had had to shoulder, especially in their small country convents, had tended to develop in them a certain hard-headed pragmatism and an unwillingness to accept all that they were told or expected to do without question. In line with the teachings of St Ignatius of Loyola on religious obedience, which was presented to them as the ideal, they could and did present their difficulties to MacKillop for her consideration and she, for her part encouraged such openness in their dealings with her. As well, many of them, especially those who had been based in Bathurst or Queensland during the 1870s, had suffered much because of their decision to opt for central rather than diocesan government for the Institute. Consequently, these women were now mature adults with minds of their own.<sup>61</sup>

This development was a new phenomenon in women's religious orders and it had occurred in this particular instance because of the very nature of the Institute itself and of the hardships the sisters had endured in their struggle for the preservation of its identity. MacKillop had her own very clear ideas about how it should operate and was troubled by criticism from some who had

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61. "St Ignatius' Epistle on Obedience, " in Rules for the General Guidance of the Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart, Sydney, 1883. Many examples of the sisters' openness with MacKillop can be found in their collected correspondence, 1868-1885.

been sisters for almost as long as herself. To some in South Australia, her praise of Vaughan and his clergy, at a time when she scarcely knew them and before their apparent kindness had withstood the test of time, was tantamount to a lack of appreciation for all that these sisters had done and suffered out of loyalty towards her and the Institute. Hence, they soon began complaining about the hardships they were enduring and, before long, about MacKillop and her behaviour.<sup>62</sup>

Initially, the gentle presence of Tappeiner prevented these sisters from taking any action against MacKillop, for he was their spiritual director and the bishop's confidant and chief adviser. However, this situation persisted for only a matter of months after the close of the 1881 Chapter for Tappeiner died on 10 February 1882. He was mourned by a wide cross-section of South Australian society. As his panegyrist put it:

In our dear departed Father the Church has lost a devoted minister, the Society of Jesus has lost a learned member, the diocese has lost a zealous priest, the clergy have lost a wise counsellor and sincere friend, the religious have lost a prudent and holy director, the people have lost a loving father and the world has lost its greatest treasure - a just man.

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Tappeiner's place as the sisters' spiritual director was taken by Father Joseph Polk, a Jesuit of similar age and background as himself, but one who was a stickler for

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62. Sisters' evidence to the Episcopal Visitation, 1883, as for fn. 52 and also Matilda Rogers, Magdalen Foley and Josephine McMullen.

63. Observer, 18 February 1882, p. 8: "Death of the Rev. J. Tappeiner SJ."

the observance of the letter of the law and who lacked much of the kindness and understanding that had characterised his predecessor.<sup>64</sup> Polk took his new duties seriously indeed and hastened to arrange interviews with all the sisters. The dissatisfied ones confided to him their concerns about the Institute and the shortcomings of some of its members as, doubtless, they had previously done to Tappeiner. However, where Tappeiner had listened to them and was able to calm their worried minds, Polk believed it his duty to report all that he heard out of the confessional to the bishop.<sup>65</sup>

The most serious complaints thus carried to Reynolds were allegations concerning MacKillop's chronic headaches and the remedies she used to counteract them. Her health had been adversely affected by her struggles with the bishops of Bathurst and Brisbane and her estrangement from Woods. She now suffered frequent and severe headaches which sometimes incapacitated her for several days at a time and rendered her unfit to see sisters on even the most urgent business or to attend her meals or the different religious exercises of the community. She sought medical advice and, as was then common practice, her doctor ordered that she take measured doses of brandy

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64. Father Joseph Polk was born in Austria in 1820, joined the Jesuits in 1839, was ordained priest in 1849, went to America for a time, was recalled to Europe and then appointed to Australia in 1861. He worked at Sevenhill and Norwood at different times, and was in Adelaide during the 1880s. He died at Norwood in February 1914, aged almost 94 years. SC, 13 February 1914, Obituary.

65. Mechtilde Woods, "History," pp. 139-140.

when necessary.<sup>66</sup> Some of the sisters led Polk to believe that the real cause of her being laid up so often was that she had become addicted to alcohol and was taking an amount far in excess of that ordered by the doctor. In addition, they made it seem that the Institute was in debt because the money required for urgent necessities was being squandered on drink and on the support of MacKillop's relatives who, according to these sisters, were well able to fend for themselves.<sup>67</sup>

Reynolds, who was already upset over her having allowed the postulants in Sydney to receive their habits without having first informed him and, so he was led to believe, without the knowledge and consent of her council, took everything that Polk told him seriously.<sup>68</sup> All of the above, together with the weight of the diocesan debt, his own poor health and his fear that some of his priests might be taking too much alcohol, caused Reynolds to react angrily at the mere mention of drink. It would seem that he became afraid that, if the present situation were

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66. MacKillop made frequent references to her poor state of health in her correspondence. Examples are: MacKillop to Bonaventure, Holy Saturday 1880; to Rossolini, Bundaberg, 21 June 1880; to Josephine Carolan, 17 March 1881; to Bernard Walsh, 1 December 1881 & 2 January 1882. Elizabeth Gunn and Calasancius Howley, evidence to Episcopal Visitation, 1883. Moran to Simeoni, 27 January 1885, SRCO vol. 15, f. 27, explains current medical practice regarding the prescription of brandy, etc.

67. Elizabeth Gunn, Matthew Welsh, Michael Quinlan, Francis Xavier Amsinck to Episcopal Visitation, 1883. MacKillop, Account of Visitation, pp. 11-12, CCSA.

68. Reynolds to Moran, 16 November 1884 and 22 January 1885. Mechtilde Woods, "History," pp. 139-140. Minutes of Council Meetings, 2 September 1882, decided to allow the Sydney postulants to receive the habit there, ACA S15.

allowed to persist unchecked, it might give rise to another public scandal similar to the one that had torn the diocese apart in 1871-1872.<sup>69</sup> Therefore, he determined to take preventive action before it was too late.

He appears to have been encouraged in this train of thought by Russell, whom he had only recently appointed vicar general in Byrne's place.<sup>70</sup> Russell, our Irishman that he was, seems never to have appreciated or respected the Josephites, whom he once described as "religious school-mistresses," or to have forgotten that it was on their account that Sheil had dismissed him from his position as vicar general back in 1871.<sup>71</sup> While priest-in-charge at North Adelaide he had tolerated their presence in his schools at North Adelaide and Bowden, where they taught the workingmen's children, but his decided preference was for the more cultured Dominican nuns at the Franklin Street convent. He lost no time in drawing Reynolds' attention to the Josephites' precarious financial position and pressed him to inquire into the cause of their debt and take steps to rectify the situation.<sup>72</sup>

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69. Reynolds to Moran, 28 & 30 October 1884, CCSA. Monica Phillips, report of a conversation with Reynolds, 4 June 1884, in Resource 7, p. 61.

70. Reynolds to Russell, 2 February 1883. Russell to Reynolds, 7 February 1883, ACA S9.

71. Cullen to Murray, Dublin, 20 February 1872, MDA A-1-34. Sheil to Russell, 17 July 1871, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1349.

72. MacKillop to Campbell, Scots College, Rome, 30 March 1884, in

Consequently, on 4 July 1883, Reynolds announced that he had received instructions from Rome to make a formal visitation of all the religious communities in the diocese and that he was about to begin with the Sisters of St Joseph because they had been there the longest.<sup>73</sup> He invited the vicar general and Dean William Kennedy of North Adelaide, as well as Fathers Polk SJ, Herberg SJ, T.F. O'Neill and M. O'Sullivan to assist him. O'Neill and O'Sullivan, both of whom were young priests, acted as secretaries and examined the sisters' books and drew up a balance sheet.<sup>74</sup> Herberg, whose mastery of English was said to have been poor, seems to have played only a minor role in the investigation, while Polk, Russell and Kennedy carried out its main work in conjunction with the bishop.

Attention has already been drawn to Russell's negative attitude towards the Josephites. William Kennedy, formerly of Kadina, had supported MacKillop strongly during the excommunication period. At that time he had written that, if the sisters were removed from his

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Resource 7, p. 27. Thorpe, "General Survey," Resource 5, p. 59. Russell to Popaganda, Rome, 23 February 1869, SRCO vol. 7, ff. 77-78.

73. Reynolds to MacKillop, 4 July 1883, in Resource 5, p. 19. Reynolds claimed that he had received special instructions from Rome to conduct this visitation whereas, on his own admission in Reynolds to Moran, 22 January 1885, CCSA, what had really happened was that, when he was in Rome in 1880, Cardinal Simeoni had reminded him of his duty as bishop of the diocese to have due concern for the spiritual and temporal welfare of the members of the different religious orders there and to visit them regularly.

74. Reynolds to Moran, 24 October 1884, CCSA. MacKillop, Account of Visitation, in Resource 5, p. 20.

mission, he would leave it as well.<sup>75</sup> It seems that he now felt less kindly towards MacKillop and the sisters because he believed that she was indirectly responsible for his younger brother's recent suspension from the performance of his priestly duties by the bishop. Like others of his contemporaries in the episcopate, Reynolds used suspension as a means of control and often suspended priests for even minor offences. Hence, MacKillop might not have been to blame for the younger Father Kennedy's having incurred the bishop's wrath. However, her alleged action seemingly affected William's relationship with the Josephites adversely and hence, ensured that none of the priests directly involved in the main work of the visitation, that is, Russell, Kennedy and Polk, was sympathetic towards them.<sup>76</sup>

The visitation began on 10 July 1883 and continued intermittently for the next three months. According to Church law Reynolds had a right and a duty to visit the religious communities in his diocese, to meet each sister in private and to ensure that religious discipline was

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75. Father Anthony Herberg S.J. came to South Australia in 1876. Thorpe, "General Survey," pp. 61-62, comments on this priest's poor mastery of English. William Kennedy to Woods, 11 December 1871.

76. Thorpe, "General Survey," pp. 61-61 & 57. The Maher - Norton correspondence, 1895-1905, when Maher was bishop of the Port Augusta Diocese abounds in references to the use of suspension as a disciplinary measure and a means of control, Archives of the Diocese of Port Pirie. Father Matthias Kennedy was still in the diocese at the time of the visitation and for some time afterwards. The last entry made by him in a South Australian baptismal register seems to have been that at Port Adelaide on 17 October 1886. It appears that he was stationed at Port Adelaide from January until October 1886. Hence it seems that his suspension in 1883 was only shortlived.

being observed. In the present instance, the sisters believed that he intended doing just that and were more than ready to co-operate with him.<sup>77</sup> However, he overstepped his mandate according to both Church law and the Josephite constitutions on a number of counts.

Firstly, he put them under oath - for life - to tell the truth.<sup>78</sup> He claimed that he did so because he wanted to discover whether there was any basis for allegations that the sisters had become careless about the observance of their constitutions; that a number of abuses were being countenanced among them and that MacKillop had been misappropriating community funds for the support of her relatives and to satisfy her craving for alcohol. He also used coercion because he knew the strength of most of the sisters' loyalty to MacKillop and that, even if she were guilty of any of the offences alleged against her, they would never have admitted to it.<sup>79</sup>

Secondly, less than one third of the 150 or so sisters then stationed in South Australia was interviewed. The majority of those who appeared before the visitors seem to have been based at Kensington or one of the three charitable institutions, although several were almost

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77. Borgia Fay to MacKillop, 1 November 1884, in Resource 7, p. 99. MacKillop, Account of Visitation, p. 3, CCSA.

78. Monica Phillips to Dr Campbell, Rome, 30 April 1884, in Resource 7, p. 44. MacKillop, Account of Visitation, p. 10, CCSA.

79. Reynolds to Moran, 16 November 1884, CCSA. MacKillop to Campbell, 7 December 1883, cited in O'Neill, McKillop, pp. 301-302. MacKillop, Account of Visitation, p. 3, CCSA.

certainly living in other metropolitan or country convents at the time.<sup>80</sup> Thirdly, they were generally asked either leading questions or questions requiring only yes/no answers.<sup>81</sup> Fourthly, it seems that the sisters were not permitted to enter into detail, or to verify the secretary's transcript of their answers, even when they wished to do so.<sup>82</sup> Finally, the visitors' methods of conducting their interviews varied considerably over time. On some occasions the bishop and some or all of his assistants were present, on others, two or more priests, while on others again, Russell went alone to the different convents and questioned the sisters without witnesses of any kind.<sup>83</sup> The sisters concerned found the interrogation a terrifying ordeal and some subsequently suffered serious distress and qualms of conscience. One eventually became so ill that she had to be placed in the Adelaide Lunatic Asylum where she died in December 1886.<sup>84</sup>

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80. Monica Phillips to Campbell, Scots College, Rome, 30 April 1884, in Resource 7, p. 44. According to the transcript of the Evidence held in Adelaide Catholic Archives, only 47 of the 150 or so sisters then in the diocese were examined.

81. "Questions on the Constitutions of the Sisters of St Joseph in Australia," ms. copy, in Father Michael O'Sullivan's handwriting, ACA. Borgia Fay to MacKillop, 1 November 1884, in Resource 7, pp. 99-100.

82. *ibid.* pp. 103-104.

83. Borgia Fay to Father Reshauer SJ, 13 October 1885, ASSJ, f. 1885, v. 3, n. 16.

84. The sister in question, Sister Joseph Lonergan, R9, was admitted to the Adelaide Asylum in 1886, and died there on 30 December 1886. Adelaide Asylum Alphabetical List of Patients, 1846-1901, SAA GRG 34/90, lists her as admission no. 196 of 1886. Records of this period are incomplete and hence nothing further can be discovered about the nature of her illness or the cause of her death.

MacKillop was interviewed at least twice during the course of the visitation. As might have been expected, her questioners concentrated mainly on the debt and its causes. Evidently they were not satisfied with her explanation of her methods of raising finance through borrowing small sums from friends of the Institute, for Reynolds forbade her to borrow again under any pretext whatsoever. She was pained and surprised at this directive from the bishop because, as she said, she had always sought his authorisation before taking out any loans. What she does not seem to have realised is that Reynolds was concerned about borrowing per se and not at all about whether she had sought his permission to do so.<sup>85</sup>

She was likewise upset when the two priests examining the convent books did not accede to her request that she and the sisters who had made them up be given an opportunity to explain any apparent anomalies in their pages. In fact, she felt that they had been treated "very unjustly" on this score. From the evidence this was almost certainly the case. However, it is also possible that the bishop and his assistants were so frustrated at her apparent naïveté concerning money matters that they believed further discussion would be time wasted. They refused to return the books and subsequently made

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85. MacKillop, *Account of Visitation*, pp. 6-8. *Account Books, Sisters of St Joseph, 1875-1883*, ASSJ, bear out the truth of her statements regarding small amounts borrowed and repaid within a short time, but make no reference to the heavy mortgages on convent property.

important decisions regarding the financial management of the Refuge and Orphanage without any reference to MacKillop or any of the other sisters concerned.<sup>86</sup>

According to MacKillop, Reynolds informed her in early September that she and the sisters:

had much to thank God for, that although the visitation had been made in the strictest form, no grave evils, or - I think he used the word scandals, had been met with, that there were many things to be remedied, but nothing grave, and that he had been able to send a most consoling report to Rome.

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It seems, however, that he was far from satisfied. One can only surmise that he waited a while to see whether MacKillop would take any steps to correct the abuses he had pointed out and that, when she failed to do so, decided once more to take the law into his own hands. On 9 October he presented her with a memo of directions ordering that certain changes be made among the sisters in charge of the charitable institutions, that the reception of visitors at the convent and the making of visits by the sisters be strictly limited, that Sister Angelina Kent leave the Institute at once and that one sister only have charge of the Institute's business affairs. On the same day he also issued a verbal instruction that Sister Calasanctius Howley, the assistant general and a sister noted for her outspoken loyalty to MacKillop, go with the sisters then preparing to leave Adelaide for the first

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86. MacKillop, *Account of Visitation*, pp. 13-14 and 20-21, CCSA.

87. *ibid.* p. 18.

Josephite foundation in New Zealand.<sup>88</sup> (As already pointed out, Reynolds had no legal or canonical right to interfere in any of the above, all of which were matters within the competence of the superior general of the Institute.)

Shortly afterwards O'Neill and O'Sullivan delivered the financial statement they had drawn up from the sisters' books to Reynolds.<sup>89</sup> There is no record of his immediate reaction to the discovery that their liabilities amounted to a sum equalling more than half that owed by the Catholic Church in the colony or to his realisation that, because the sisters had no financial backing whatsoever, he was the one ultimately responsible for this debt.<sup>90</sup> However, this news should not have come as a surprise to him because he had already made an attempt to rationalise the sisters' debts by taking out a new mortgage in their name for a total of £5,000 at seven and a half percent for five years in place of a number of smaller ones.<sup>91</sup> Nevertheless, it seems that it was at about this time that Reynolds concluded that MacKillop was not a fit person to govern the Institute and should be

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88. Memo of Directions, 9 October 1883, in Resource 5, pp. 67-71. MacKillop, Account of Visitation, pp. 28-32, CCSA.

89. T.F. O'Neill & M. O'Sullivan, Financial Statement, 23 October 1883, ACA.

90. CM, December 1883, p. 172: "Diocesan Debt," gave total sum owing by the diocese as £19,252-5s.

91. MacKillop, Account of Visitation, pp. 14-17. On pp. 16-17 she copied a letter from Reynolds dated 26 September 1883, telling her of this new mortgage and that he had added, as additional security, the official seal of the diocese.

relieved of her charge.

It is difficult to reconstruct the sequence of events during October and November 1883, but it seems likely that, after Reynolds had received the financial statement from the two priests, he sent Dean Kennedy to interview MacKillop. Seemingly he advised her to see the bishop and tender him her resignation. When she failed to do so, Reynolds ordered her to leave for Sydney at once and to stay away at his good pleasure.<sup>92</sup> (Neither he nor Kennedy seemed to have adverted to the fact that only the Holy See could dismiss or accept the resignation of the superior general of a religious institute under papal protection.) Reynolds insisted that she go quietly, telling the sisters that the present state of her health and "the assumed fact of some duties" calling her to Sydney, necessitated her immediate departure for New South Wales. He claimed that he did so because he wished to shield her good name and that of the Institute.<sup>93</sup>

MacKillop submitted to Reynolds' directives, because she and her council could see no hope of achieving any

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92. "Dean Kennedy's Letter," CCSA, is a copy made in Reynolds' hand and signed by him as being a true copy. Dated Wednesday morning, it states that Kennedy had had an interview with MacKillop, who had acknowledged taking brandy, and that he had then advised her to see the bishop the next morning and hand in her resignation. Reynolds noted that she did not come, nor did she hand in her resignation. Rather, she had held a Chapter and privately appointed Monica her Mother Assistant. Reynolds to MacKillop, 13 November 1883, in Resource 5, pp. 23-26, ordered her to leave Adelaide at once as all her jurisdiction in his diocese had now ceased.

93. Reynolds to Murray, 7 June 1884, MDA A-4-7; to Kirby, 18 May 1885, ICA K194.

good by opposing his wishes.<sup>94</sup> She left Adelaide on 17 November 1883. None of the sisters in the colony except her four councillors was aware of the true state of affairs. Consequently, they became disturbed and confused when their superior general did not return to Adelaide at the end of the year.<sup>95</sup> Most outsiders seem to have been ignorant of the present crisis and its effects on the sisters. In 1871 the laity had intervened and prevented the ultimate suppression of the Institute. Now the sisters stood alone and had to mount their own defence.

Over the years, their understanding of their rights and obligations as religious and their level of literacy had increased markedly. Hence, some were now willing and able to write to the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda and other Roman officials stating their case and questioning the legality of Reynolds' actions.<sup>96</sup> These sisters were also sure enough of their position to know that MacKillop was still their lawful superior because, according to their constitutions, the bishop had no right to appoint or dismiss superiors. Therefore, before she left Adelaide in November 1883, MacKillop and her council

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94. Monica Phillips to Campbell, 30 April 1884, in Resource 7, p. 43.

95. Calasanctius Howley to MacKillop, 28 December 1883, in Resource 7, p. 49. Patricia Campbell to MacKillop, 6 January 1884, Resource 7, pp. 9-12. Bernardine Ledwith to MacKillop, Resource 7, p. 13. Borgia Fay to MacKillop, Resource 7, pp. 14-15.

96. Josephine Carolan to Dr Campbell, Scots College, Rome, December 1883, in Resource 5, pp. 34-35.

arranged that Monica Phillips should take Calasanctius' place as assistant general for the time, and that this sister's place on the council be filled by Mechtilde Woods.

Reynolds, unaware of what had happened, confirmed Monica's appointment and then concurred with her suggestion that Sister Mary de Sales Tobin, the sister whom MacKillop and her council had named for the post, become the superior of the Kensington community. Subsequently, he appointed a number of sisters to key positions but, thanks to Monica's astuteness and the loyalty of the sisters most closely associated with her, the Institute in South Australia continued to be governed by sisters who were true to MacKillop and the constitutions given them by Rome.<sup>97</sup> As far as possible, these sisters ruled as she would have wished and kept her informed of developments throughout the entire period under discussion. It seems true to say that it was largely due to Monica, a quiet, gentle woman who had the sisters' confidence and was unafraid of the bishop, that the Josephites in South Australia remained part of the centrally governed Institute.<sup>98</sup>

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97. Mechtilde Woods, "History," pp. 143-144. Reynolds, "Dean Kennedy's Letter," as in fn. 76 above.

98. Monica Phillips to MacKillop, 19 November 1883, Resource 5, pp. 28-29. MacKillop to Monica, 9 May 1884, Resource 7, pp. 49-51. Matthew Welsh to MacKillop, 11 October 1884, Resource 7, p. 92. Borgia Fay to MacKillop, 1 November 1884, Resource 7, pp. 99-104. SC, 6 June 1894, "Presentation for Silver Jubilee," account of a celebration to honour Sister Monica's jubilee of her religious profession. SC, 17 April 1914, p. 295: "Obituary of Sister Monica."

Reynolds became increasingly frustrated when he realised that most of the sisters were upset at his having removed MacKillop and that he could not break their loyalty to her. Therefore, he decided to force the issue. During Easter week 1885, a full eighteen months after her departure, he went to the convent at Kensington and delivered an ultimatum: the sisters must decide once and for all whether they would acknowledge him as their superior or not. He said that any who refused to do so would have to leave Adelaide and, by implication, the Institute, because no other bishop in Australasia would have them in his diocese.<sup>99</sup>

The sisters, realising the seriousness of their position and uncertain of the truth of Reynolds' assertion that they would be unwelcome elsewhere, asked for more time in which to consider their reply. He agreed to their request, albeit reluctantly, indicating that he would return next day to receive their answer. The telegraph wires between Adelaide and Sydney ran hot that day as they appealed to MacKillop to find out from Moran, Vaughan's successor, whether Reynolds' claims were true. To their great relief Moran indicated that he would willingly receive any sisters coming from South Australia.<sup>100</sup> At this juncture Russell intervened. He appealed to Moran to

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99. Reynolds to Murray, 7 June 1884, MDA A-4-67 and 7 April 1885, MDA A-4-89. Reynolds to Moran, 28 October, 30 October, 16 November 1884; 22 January & 7 April 1885. Monica Phillips, Report on events of Easter Week, 1885, in Resource 9, pp. 55-58.

100. Resource 9, pp. 6-9.

withdraw his offer to accept these sisters only to receive the following sharp rebuke for his trouble:

I would be unfaithful to the duty imposed on me by the Holy See were I to prejudice its decision by refusing to receive them.... my duty to the Holy See requires me, in dealing with any sisters that may come to Sydney, to completely ignore any new regulations that his Lordship may have made.

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Moran's reply was dictated by his unswerving loyalty and obedience to the Holy See. However, he was also trying to place his Catholic school system on a secure footing and needed as many religious teachers as could be secured. Hence, it seems that he was delighted at the prospect of obtaining the services of a significant number of experienced teachers without effort or cost to himself.<sup>102</sup>

Back in Adelaide Reynolds' efforts to bring the Josephites into line with his thinking and to assume absolute control over them was proving an exercise in futility. They appealed insistently to Rome that they be allowed to retain their central government and, when it became clear that the bishop did not intend allowing MacKillop to return to South Australia, asked that the Mother House of the Institute be transferred to Sydney.<sup>103</sup>

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101. Russell to Murray, 15 April 1885, MDA. Moran to Russell, 20 April 1885, ACA copy is in Russell's hand, ACA S15, Josephite file.

102. MacKillop to Monica, 21 April 1885, in Resource 9, p. 88: "The Archbishop ... seems very pleased so many Sisters are coming over."

103. Patricia Campbell and 15 others, from Georgetown, South Australia, to Cardinal Simeoni, Rome, January 1885, in Resource 9, pp. 1-3.

Why Reynolds should have gone to such lengths to force the sisters to submit to him is a question that requires some consideration. The situation among the Josephites in South Australia might have been serious and outside intervention might have been required before it could be rectified, but, as already noted, he had no legal or canonical right to interfere in their internal affairs. It may be asked whether he acted as he did because he had not understood the meaning of central government or the exact nature of his rights and responsibilities where the Institute was concerned. On the other hand, did the size of the sisters' debt and their apparent irresponsibility in the handling of money force his hand? Or was it his fear of Sydney's gaining the ascendancy over Adelaide and his annoyance at the establishment of the second novitiate there?

All of the above were important issues from Reynolds' point of view, but one can only wonder whether the situation was serious enough to have warranted his using less than honourable means to attain his ends. In 1883, when he announced the visitation, he told the sisters that he was doing so by virtue of special instructions he had received from Rome. No such instructions were ever issued.<sup>104</sup> In September 1883, when the visitation was all but over, Reynolds informed MacKillop that he had been

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Monica Phillips to Simeoni, 15 February 1885, in Resource 9, pp. 6-9.

104. Reynolds to Moran, 22 January 1885, CCSA. Moran to Simeoni, 7 March 1885, copy, CCSA.

able to send a very consoling report of all that had transpired to Rome. He had not done so, because Rome knew nothing of the visitation. Under pressure from Moran he did eventually send a transcript of the evidence and several related documents there in November 1884, more than twelve months after he told MacKillop that he had done so.<sup>105</sup> At Easter 1885, when he demanded that the sisters let him know where they stood regarding the government of the Institute he prefaced his remarks with the statement:

I, as Bishop of Adelaide, received letters from Rome during Passion Week which empowered me to act, and it has been decided that the Institute of St Joseph is to be divided into diocesan communities, and the Bishop in each case to be superior in his own Diocese.

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There is no evidence that Rome ever reached such a decision and no record of any such letters having been sent to the bishop. Did he expect that the very mention of the word Rome would frighten the sisters into submission?

This question does not admit of an easy answer. However, it seems likely that Reynolds was confident that when the Australasian bishops met in Sydney in November for their first Plenary Council they would support his stand by deciding that all religious under their

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105. Reynolds to Murray, 7 June 1884, MDA A-4-67. Reynolds to Moran, 16 November 1884, CCSA. Campbell to MacKillop, 16 February 1884 in Resource 7, p. 19. Simeoni to Moran, 14 September 1885, ASSJ.

106. Sister Monica's report on Easter week events, 1885, in Resource 9, p. 55.

jurisdiction, and especially the Sisters of St Joseph, should have a diocesan rather than a centralised authority structure. The assembled bishops did just that, by a majority of fourteen votes to three. The sisters learned of the result of the bishops' vote and immediately appealed to Rome for assistance.<sup>107</sup> As had been the case in 1874, Rome again decided in the sisters' favour. Therefore, when the conciliar decrees were presented for ratification and approval, the one relating to the government of the Institute was deleted altogether on the grounds that the bishops had no authority to interfere in matters concerning an institute under pontifical protection and that they had failed to give their reasons for this particular decision.<sup>108</sup>

Immediately upon receipt of this news from Rome, Moran wrote asking that a firm decision regarding the canonical position of the Institute be made.<sup>109</sup> Propaganda responded by issuing a formal decree erecting the Institute of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart into a regular Congregation of pontifical right having its Mother House in Sydney. According to the terms of this decree, any

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107. Resource 9, p. 101. O'Neill, McKillop, p. 343. The Plenary council met in Sydney, 14-29 November 1885. Its formal decrees are recorded in Acta et Decreta, Concilii Plenarii, Australasiae, Habiti apud Sydney, A.D. 1885, F. Cunningham, Sydney, 1887. M. Bernard Walsh to Simeoni, Bianchi and Cardinal Howard, all of Rome, in Resource 9, pp. 102 & 122-125.

108. Acta of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, Rome, 1887, vol. 257, pp. 111-113, Report with Summary and note of the Archive concerning the Acts and Decrees of the Plenary Synod of Australasia, issued March 1887, Copy in ASSJ.

109. Moran to Propaganda, June 1888, SRCO vol. 16, f. 29.

bishops wishing that the communities in their dioceses remain distinct from the centrally-governed Congregation were to constitute them as diocesan institutes. However, before doing so, they were to give all the Josephites in their dioceses an opportunity to decide whether they wished to stay where they were or to transfer to the Mother House. The decree further stated that the present Mother General was to remain in office for the next ten years and that any diocesan institutes formed by the different bishops were to alter their rules and habits in such a way as to make them easily distinguishable from the regular Congregation.<sup>110</sup>

The bishops of Armidale, Auckland, Port Augusta and Wellington, all of whom had houses of the Institute within their territories, immediately indicated their willingness to allow the sisters to retain their affiliation with the Mother House. The bishop of Perth decided in favour of a diocesan institute.<sup>111</sup> Reynolds refused to make a decision one way or the other. He did not want his sisters to be part of the centrally-governed Institute now that its Mother House was to be in Sydney. Yet he was afraid that he might lose all the sisters presently in his diocese to Sydney if he insisted on forming a diocesan institute and that he might be left to pay their debts,

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110. Decree of Approval, issued at Rome, 25 July 1888 over the signatures of Cardinal Simeoni and his secretary, Archbishop D. Tyren. Received in Sydney, 8 December 1888, CCSA and ASSJ.

111. Moran to Reynolds, 25 February 1889, ACA.

which now amounted to £9,000, as well as his own.<sup>112</sup> It required a firm assurance from the sisters that they would willingly meet their financial obligations if allowed to remain united to the Mother House and a sharp reminder from Cardinal Moran that the Holy See would "regard it as a slight upon the authoritative decree relating to the sisters" if he persisted in his refusal to accept either of the courses offered him.<sup>113</sup> Even so, a further four months were to elapse before he announced that he would allow the Sisters of St Joseph in his archdiocese to remain united to the Sydney Mother House.<sup>114</sup>

None can know what that decision must have cost the ailing prelate, but it seems safe to say that this bishop, who had once written that "the greatest means of preserving stability [in a religious community] is central government" had probably suffered as much, if not more, than the sisters during the six years that had passed since he announced the visitation.<sup>115</sup> During that time the Josephite community had diminished markedly and several priests had left the diocese, some through death and others because of his intransigence where smoking and

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112. Reynolds to M. Bernard Walsh, 31 January and 12 February 1889, ACA & ASSJ. Reynolds to Moran, 2 March 1889, ACA.

113. M. Bernard Walsh to Reynolds, 5 February 1889. Moran to Reynolds, 6 March 1889, ACA.

114. Bishop John O'Reily, Port Augusta to Monica Phillips, 4 August 1889, in Resource 9, p. 110. Moran to O'Reily, 29 July 1889, ACA, S17.

115. Reynolds to Kirby, 18 June 1873, ICA K240.

alcohol were concerned.<sup>116</sup> The area under his jurisdiction had become smaller because of the formation of the new diocese of Port Augusta, which embraced all the northern areas of the colony. (He had refused to agree to the proposed diocesan boundaries because he felt that he was in danger of losing some of his most generous supporters and it required the threatened resignation of the newly-appointed Bishop John O'Reily and the intervention of both Moran and Rome before he would give in on this score.)<sup>117</sup>

Finally, reports that the Adelaide diocese was on the verge of bankruptcy having reached Rome, Reynolds was subjected to the added humiliation of having a fellow bishop examine his financial position. James Murray of Maitland, the prelate delegated to perform this task, reported that, although the debts were large and were increasing at the rate of £6 or £7 a day, a financial

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116. Between his return from Rome in 1881 and 1887 eleven priests left the Adelaide diocese and one young priest, Edmund O'Brien, died of tuberculosis. A number seem to have moved out because of Reynolds' almost paranoid fear of alcohol and debt. Correspondence on this matter abounds. It includes: (1) re Father J.P. Kehoe: Reynolds to Simeoni, 9 April 1886, SRCO vol. 15, ff. 815-817. Kehoe to Simeoni, SRCO vol. 15, f. 816. (2) re Father Edmund O'Brien: O'Brien to Simeoni, 14 November 1887, SRCO vol. 16, ff. 406-413. (3) re Father William Unsworth: Unsworth to Simeoni, n.d. but between July and October 1887, SRCO vol. 16, ff. 414-424. (4) re Father James Hackett: Reynolds to Murray, 7 April 1885, MDA A-4-89. (5) re Father Peder Jorgenson, who remained in the diocese in spite of strong pressure from Reynolds that he take the pledge: Jorgenson to Simeoni, 18 November 1887, SRCO vol. 16, ff. 385-388.
117. Moran to O'Reily, 6 February, 3 April & 17 May 1888, ACA. Moran to Reynolds, 10 & 17 October 1887; Nevin to O'Reily, 10 October 1887; O'Reily to Reynolds, 4 October 1887, ACA. O'Reily & Moran to Propaganda, report on Port Augusta, 9 November 1887, SRCO vol. 16, ff. 371-376; Reynolds to Moran, 14 October 1887, CCSA.

crisis was not imminent. However, he believed that, unless immediate action were taken, such an outcome was inevitable. The diocese did not go bankrupt, although there is no evidence to suggest that Reynolds put any of Murray's suggestions into practice.<sup>118</sup>

The reason for his inaction seems to have been that he was now a sick man upon whom the burdens of office were falling with increasing weight. Photographs from this period, especially those taken when the 53 year old prelate was elevated to the dignity of archbishop in 1887, show the face of a prematurely aged and unhappy man.<sup>119</sup> His unhappiness could well have stemmed from his inability to rise above the many hurts and humiliations he had suffered during the course of his episcopate. Certain of his actions also suggest quite strongly that he could neither forgive nor forget the wrongs he believed others had done him.

The changeover of management of St Vincent de Paul's Orphanage is a case in point. Thanks to a substantial legacy left to the church he had been able to purchase a fine property at Goodwood and, in August 1888, the orphans, who had previously occupied very unsatisfactory

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118. Moran to Reynolds, 18 February 1888, ACA. Murray, Report of Inquiry in Financial Affairs of the Archdiocese of Adelaide, 10 April 1888, CCSA, copy in ACA.

119. Photographic collection, ACA. SC, 16 June 1893, Supplement. Reynolds to Monica, 4 March 1887, ASSJ.

rented premises at Burnside, moved there.<sup>120</sup> The Sisters of St Joseph, who had had charge of this institution for the past twenty years were delighted that, at last, the children had a suitable home. Then, on 17 December 1889, he announced without prior warning of any kind that he had arranged for the Sisters of Mercy to take charge of the orphans as from 1 January 1890.<sup>121</sup> He informed Sister Maria, the superior of the orphanage, that he was more than satisfied with the way she was running the place but that he felt compelled to make the change if he was to fulfil his duty to religion and to the children because, as he put it:

I have long felt there is no hope of any permanent good to be expected in the management of the Orphanage whilst the Sisters of St Joseph are as they are. 122

One cannot help feeling a certain sympathy for Reynolds, who is a classic example of a man who performed well at a lower level being elevated to a higher level for the duties of which he possessed neither the skills nor the ability. However, the situation might have been less serious for him if he had been blessed with a more able and disinterested vicar general than Russell, who seems to have been responsible for much that happened during this period. It was Russell who accompanied the bishop to the

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120. Minutes of meetings of Orphanage Board, 1883-1885, meeting, 29 October 1883, ACA, S20. CM, 12 April & 5 July 1888. M. Bernard Walsh to Reynolds, 21 December 1889, ACA.

121. Reynolds to M. Bernard Walsh, 17 December 1889, ACA, S15.

122. Reynolds to Sister Maria Skudder, 27 December 1889, ACA, S15.

Josephite convent whenever he went there on business relating to the visitation or its aftermath. He was the one who appealed to Moran to exclude the South Australian Josephites from the Sydney archdiocese and who went over Reynolds' head and sent a detailed account of the diocese's current financial position to Moran.<sup>123</sup>

A priest of the Adelaide diocese who knew Russell well considered that he was a man without sympathy who gave credence to any story, even against a priest, and acted upon it without first checking its veracity. MacKillop believed that he was neither her friend nor Reynolds' and one of the sisters commented that he went about everywhere trying to find information against MacKillop. In this he succeeded all too well and, as Father Bernard Nevin of Port Augusta remarked, he made the two greatest friends in Adelaide the greatest enemies.<sup>124</sup> The tragedy of it all was that Reynolds came to believe that MacKillop had acted dishonourably towards him and that, instead of confronting her with the allegations laid against her, he tried and condemned her behind her back. In spite of several

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123. Russell to Moran, 12 December 1885, sent account of debts. He wrote again on 24 October 1889 stating that after the Council of 1885 he sent as true a copy as possible of the debts to Moran, because Moran had asked for it, and that he had been very unpopular ever since, CCSA & copy ACA. Reynolds to Moran, 12 January 1886, CCSA, indicates Reynolds' annoyance with Russell.

124. Thorpe, "General Survey," Resource 5, pp. 58-59, named Monsignor T.P. Davis, who was ordained in 1895 and hence, who served in the diocese during the last seven years of Russell's life, and Sister Annette Henschke, R159, who entered the Institute in 1874 and worked in South Australia for the greater part of her long life, as his informants. MacKillop to Campbell, 30 March 1884, Resource 7, p. 27. Patricia Campbell, Georgetown, to MacKillop, 6 January 1884, Resource 7, pp. 10-11.

tentative approaches on her part, she and Reynolds were never reconciled.<sup>125</sup>

Cardinal Moran of Sydney was another person who played a key role in the events surrounding the Josephites' struggle for central government. In her masterly analysis of Moran's attitudes towards and dealings with the Institute, Josephine Mitchell argues that his position was ambivalent. She claims that, on the one hand, he appeared to be a friend to MacKillop and the Institute and on the other, that his ideas regarding its management differed markedly from hers and that he initiated events and endorsed actions which profoundly affected the sisters' lives and wounded their sensibilities.<sup>126</sup>

Moran, whose decided preference was for diocesan government, had observed that the bishops of Adelaide, Bathurst and Brisbane came off second best when they engaged in open confrontation with the Institute. Therefore he adopted a more diplomatic approach and succeeded in gaining a degree of control over its internal affairs that far exceeded his rights according to the constitutions. Although he did not say so openly, it seems certain that he believed much of the adverse criticism levelled against MacKillop during the Adelaide

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125. MacKillop to Reynolds 1 December, 1888, in Resource 9, pp. 108-109. Reynolds to Murray, 22 December 1888, described MacKillop's letter as "insolent," MDA A-4-167.

126. Josephine Mitchell, "Cardinal Moran and the Sisters of St Joseph, 1884-1898: A study in Contradictions," Dissertation for B. Litt. University of New England, 1982, p. 1.

visitation of 1883 and, consequently, that he considered her unfit to hold the position of superior general. It is also likely that he was not anxious to have as superior a woman who knew her way around the Roman bureaucracy and who was prepared to stand up to ecclesiastics whose ideas as to how the Institute should be run cut across hers. At the same time, he had good reason to believe that the sisters' loyalty to MacKillop was unshaken and hence, that even if she were deposed, they would re-elect her at the first possible opportunity. As well, he knew something of their loyalty to the Holy See and that, according to their constitutions, it alone had the power to remove a superior general from office. Therefore he appealed to Rome for a rescript authorising the line of action he favoured and then presented it to the sisters as an accomplished fact. By this means he succeeded in having MacKillop deposed in 1885, on the grounds that her 1881 election had been invalid, even though four years had elapsed since that event. He also managed to have Sister Bernard Walsh, who succeeded MacKillop as superior general, appointed to this position for a total of more than seventeen years and, by so doing, kept MacKillop out of office for the same length of time.<sup>127</sup>

The Cardinal presided at the sisters' third General Chapter, which was held in Sydney in December 1889 and there "decided" a number of matters which the sisters

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127. *ibid. passim.* The statements made in this section follow Mitchell's interpretation of the evidence, which appears to be a valid one.

should have been left free to settle for themselves. In fact, his presence at this particular Chapter was so strong that it could almost have been one of a diocesan institute of which he was the immediate superior.<sup>128</sup> Yet his manner towards the sisters was always so friendly that they agreed with whatever he proposed without demur. One wonders whether, after all they had suffered for the preservation of their central government and the right to observe the constitutions given them by Rome, they would have trusted him so implicitly if they had read a recent comment of his to Bishop John O'Reily of Port Augusta. The point at issue was the admission of some sisters to their final profession. His comment read:

All the details of the rule relating to the vows are a matter which cannot well be interfered with, as the validity of the vows might be questioned. But, if the present Rule shd [sic] be found inconvenient we can easily get some alteration made which may be sanctioned by Rome. 129

Moran was not the Institute's ecclesiastical superior but he did not scruple to use its existing structures to gain his own ends. O'Reily's reaction to the statement cited above is not on record but he appears to have been consistently straightforward in his dealings with the sisters and to have encouraged those stationed in his diocese to remain faithful to their rule and constitutions and united with their Sydney Mother House.<sup>130</sup>

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128. Minutes of the Third General Chapter of the Sisters of St Joseph, 16-20 December 1889, ASSJ.

129. Moran to O'Reily, 29 July 1889, ACA, S17.

One of the final motions passed by the sisters assembled at the 1889 General Chapter authorised the superior general to arrange for the sale of the "late Mother House" at Kensington in order to lessen the debt. They made this decision because the sisters in South Australia were finding it impossible to raise the £620 due in interest annually.<sup>131</sup> The proceeds of the sale of this convent might have helped reduce the debt by a significant sum. However, it would also almost certainly have spelt the end of the Josephite presence in South Australia because the sisters would no longer have had a home large enough to house them all whenever they wished to assemble for retreats or school holiday periods. As it happened, the sale did not go ahead and the Josephites remained in the colony. However, the very fact that it was an issue at the Chapter serves to indicate the seriousness of the sisters' position in South Australia and, particularly, in the Archdiocese of Adelaide.

The sisters in that colony had suffered a great deal because of the size of their debt and Reynolds' intransigence over the question of central government. Yet, through it all, most of them remained loyal to MacKillop and their constitutions. In fact, it seems likely that it was their courage and determination that

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130. MacKillop to O'Reily, 31 December 1889, ASSJ. O'Reily to MacKillop, 15 August 1895, ACA, O'Reily letter books, vol. 2, no. 29.

131. Minutes of the Third General Chapter of the Sisters of St Joseph, 1889, ASSJ.

ultimately convinced Rome that the Institute should retain its central government and that it was now ready for formal approval.<sup>132</sup> However, the price they paid for this privilege was high.

In September 1882 there were 172 sisters in South Australia and, as already noted, they were responsible for the management of 46 schools and three charitable institutions. By 1895 the number of schools under their charge had fallen by almost half to 26 while the orphanage was in other hands.<sup>133</sup> Byrne, who administered the archdiocese of Adelaide between the time of Reynolds' death in June 1893 and the instalment of his successor in March 1895, commented that the Josephites were then established only in the city and the larger country towns, to the neglect of the smaller country settlements for whose benefit they had originally been founded.<sup>134</sup>

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132. This statement is based on the volume of letters that the South Australian sisters addressed to MacKillop during the years 1883-1885, as cited in Resource 5, 7 & 9. However, not all supported her for on 12 November 1884 one sister, who chose to remain anonymous, wrote to Moran that some who signed petitions denying that MacKillop was addicted to alcohol and had lost the sisters' confidence, did so only out of fear of reprisal. This writer concluded that MacKillop was very popular as a superior and that she [the writer] considered that MacKillop should be placed under obedience for a term. Cited in Resource 7, p. 110. Original CCSA. MacKillop, circular to the Sisters, 16 October 1885, in Circulars, p. 135, acknowledged the contribution the sisters had made to the unity of the Institute by the firmness of their stand.

133. MacKillop to Reynolds, n.d. but by internal evidence, ca. September 1882, ACA, S15. Byrne, Report of his administration of the diocese from 12 June 1893 - 15 March 1895, O'Reily letter Books, vol. 1, pp. 10-12, ACA.

134. Byrne, "Report," p. 9.

What he said was true. When O'Reily took possession of the newly-formed Port Augusta diocese in 1888 he found vacant no less than seven cottages which had formerly housed small Josephite communities and their attached schools. He also found lay teachers ensconced in six schools at a time when the number of lay teachers employed in Catholic schools had fallen off markedly in other parts of the colony.<sup>135</sup> Two of these schools had formerly been under Josephite management while at a third, Petersburg (Peterborough) the parish priest, Father John Norton, had asked repeatedly for sisters to replace his lay teachers. In that particular case, eight years elapsed between his first request for sisters and their eventual arrival in his district in 1897.<sup>136</sup>

In the Adelaide archdiocese the situation was somewhat

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135. O'Reily, Report of the Liabilities of the Diocese of Port Augusta, Port Augusta, 1890, p. 16, ACA. Vin Thomas and others, "Some aspects of the Development of Catholic Education in Colonial South Australia," unpublished conference paper, ACE & ACEA Conference, Adelaide, September 1986, p. 10. According to Thomas, the number of lay-conducted Catholic schools reached a peak of 34 in 1868-1869, had fallen to four by 1880 and then hovered around the 12-13 mark from about 1885 until the late 1890s. He claims that most of these later schools were located in the area which became the Diocese of Port Augusta in 1888.
136. The two schools in question were those at Willochra (Hammond), where the sisters taught for the years 1882-1883, and Georgetown, which they left in 1887 after a stay of 14 years. On 16 December 1888 a meeting of the Catholics of Petersburg chaired by Norton decided to invite the Sisters of St Joseph there, and appointed some men to arrange for the purchase of a block of land for a convent. (Mission and Station Book, Norton Papers, Catholic Presbytery, Peterborough, entry for 16 December 1888.) MacKillop to O'Reily, 31 December 1889, discussed the possibility of the sisters' going to Petersburg, as it was then called. On 16 January 1897 MacKillop accompanied the first four sisters to form a community in Peterborough, (Mission and Station Book entry for 16 January 1897.)

similar except that, in most cases, when the sisters withdrew, the only alternative available was the local state school. Eleven of the eighteen Josephite schools in the archdiocese in 1895 were situated within the Adelaide metropolitan area and all the smaller country ones with the exception of Macclesfield, Hamley Bridge and Sevenhill had closed.<sup>137</sup> Some of the schools which closed before 1884, especially those in the more remote areas, were probably abandoned because of the drought and subsequent depression. After that date the sisters seem to have moved out because their numbers were so depleted that they could no longer staff the schools in question.

South Australia lost at least 65 sisters between September 1882 and the third General Chapter of the Institute in December 1889. By that date 146 sisters, or just over half the Institute's total membership of 288, were in New South Wales. There were also at least 25 sisters in New Zealand, six in Western Australia and four in Victoria. This left South Australia with only 107 altogether. During the interval in question nine South Australian sisters had died and eleven had left the Institute, but these losses had been partly offset by the arrival of fourteen new recruits. Consequently, it seems likely that at least 59 sisters had moved elsewhere and it is almost certain that more than 50 of this number went to New South Wales.<sup>138</sup>

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137. Byrne, "Report," pp. 10-12, ACA.

138. Ordo, 1888, 1889 & 1890. Register of the Sisters, ASSJ. Power, New Zealand Story, passim.

This wholesale exodus during the middle and late 1880s can be explained almost entirely in terms of Reynolds' determination to separate South Australia from the other provinces of the Institute and to force diocesan government upon it. As already noted, at the time of the 1881 chapter he had expressed his willingness to allow sisters to go to New South Wales so that the postulants from there could go to Adelaide for their novitiate training. Then, when the first New Zealand foundation was mooted in 1882-1883 MacKillop had discussed the matter with him and he had agreed to sisters going there from his diocese.<sup>139</sup> Two more went in 1884 after he had deposed MacKillop and tried to take the management of the Institute into his own hands. However, their departure was delayed because he now considered that, because New South Wales had its own novitiate, it should have been able to provide sisters for this foundation.<sup>140</sup> As it happened, these were the last sisters to go direct to New Zealand from Adelaide. A large number of New Zealand girls joined the Institute during the 1880s and these all went to Sydney for their novitiate training. Consequently, the Mother General considered it more appropriate that any further requests for foundations in that country be filled from among the sisters in New South Wales.<sup>141</sup>

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139. Redwood to Reynolds, 29 September 1881. MacKillop to Redwood, 2 January 1882, [not sighted]. Redwood to MacKillop, 27 January 1882, ASSJ.

140. Power, New Zealand Story, pp. 19-20.

141. MacKillop to Campbell, 30 March 1884, in Resource 7, p. 31.

The greatest proportion of the sisters who left South Australia did so during 1885. In May of that year Reynolds complained to Kirby that 25 sisters had recently gone east and that, since his last letter, written only a few weeks earlier, five Josephite schools had been closed.<sup>142</sup> The evidence suggests that as many as eight convents and schools were closed that year. These were very likely the ones at Bagot's Gap, Gulnare, Maitland, Orroroo, Penola, Port Elliott, Stockport and Virginia, all of which were small country towns where there was not a resident priest.<sup>143</sup>

In 1887, four Josephites went from Adelaide to Western Australia in response to a request from the newly-appointed Bishop Matthew Gibney of Perth for assistance with the work of educating the children of his vast, thinly-populated diocese. Two more sisters went there in 1888 but their stay in the West was shortlived because Gibney, like most of his brother bishops in other parts of Australia, made it quite clear that he preferred diocesan to central government for any Institute of sisters working with him. Consequently, in 1890, just two years after their arrival, these sisters were given the option of returning to Adelaide or being separated from their Sydney Mother House.<sup>144</sup> Five returned but the

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142. Reynolds to Kirby, 18 May 1885, ICA K194. The earlier letter referred to by Reynolds was written on 4 May 1885, ICA K174.

143. Records of Josephite schools, MacKillop Crypt, St Joseph's Convent, Kensington, South Australia. See Appendix XXII for details of South Australian foundations, 1866-1895.

sixth, Ursula Tynan, decided to remain with the two local girls who had joined the Institute and help them form the bishop's new diocesan group.

The situation in Western Australia was similar to that in Bathurst fifteen years earlier, although this time the withdrawal was achieved much more quietly and none of those who returned to South Australia was a local Western Australian girl. MacKillop was bitterly disappointed that Ursula should have decided to remain behind and that she had not sought a dispensation from the vows she had made according to the constitutions.<sup>145</sup> (That she failed to do so suggests that Bishop Gibney of Perth was another prelate who did not understand Church law regarding the validity of religious vows and the sisters' obligations according to their constitutions.)

From the vantage point of hindsight, it is hard to condemn Ursula for her seeming disloyalty to the constitutions and the Mother House. At that time there was a great need for sisters who were willing and able to go to country settlements where conditions were harsher and much more primitive than any to be encountered in South Australia. Ursula responded to that need even though she knew that she would become separated from her sisters in the eastern colonies. She worked with the

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144. Notes on Western Australian foundation, ASSJ. See Appendix XXIII for details.

145. MacKillop, circular to the sisters, 1 April 1890, in Circulars, p. 148.

bishop to form an institute whose rules very closely resembled the ones she had observed since joining the Josephites in 1874. After some time she initiated moves to have it amalgamate with the parent Congregation but these had not been finalised when she died in 1905. Union with the Sydney Mother House was eventually achieved in 1912.<sup>146</sup>

Reynolds complained bitterly that two of his schools had been closed without his knowledge or consent in order to free sisters for the Western Australian foundation.<sup>147</sup> During 1887 the Josephites withdrew from Auburn, near Clare, and also from Laura and Georgetown in the mid-north. It is possible that Reynolds was referring to one or other of the two last named. However, the number of children attending them had fallen off quite markedly during the previous year or so and Father Reshauer, the priest in charge of that district, had considered the possibility of their closure at least twelve months before sisters were needed for Gibney's diocese.<sup>148</sup>

A great many sisters left South Australia, especially during 1885. However, MacKillop did not insist, as she

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146. Register of the Sisters, copy held in the Mother House, North Sydney. Entries 944-969 are preceded by the note: "The sisters at Boulder, W.A. amalgamated with us, November 1912."

147. Reynolds to Kirby, 22 October 1887, ICA K530.

148. Patricia Campbell to MacKillop, from Georgetown, 9 February 1886: "We have a very small attendance here. So many people have left Father Reshauer thinks it will not be worth keeping open."

had in Bathurst and Brisbane, that all should depart. The Quinns had had ready access to replacements for the Josephites and most of their schools carried on uninterruptedly. Reynolds had no-one upon whom he could call to fill the Josephites' place in his poor diocese and so MacKillop urged as many sisters as possible to stay where they were and "for the sake of religion" to keep on with their schools.<sup>149</sup> In late April 1885, just a few weeks after the bishop had delivered his ultimatum to them, she wrote to Monica Phillips, her loyal and trusted deputy in Adelaide:

Advise [the sisters] to suffer anything short of consenting to separation rather than have to leave the place without sisters. Of course, those who are really in danger or whom the Bishop particularly dislikes had better leave as quietly as they can. If they would only have courage and not be afraid of his threat of expulsion, I would tell them to wait on. 150

MacKillop went on to say that, should Reynolds insist on Monica's departure from Kensington, she must tell him that she could not go anywhere except to Sydney and that she would rather stay where she was to encourage the sisters.<sup>151</sup>

Monica stayed on. In spite of Reynolds' harshness towards her and his subsequent efforts to have her deposed

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149. MacKillop to Monica Phillips, 21 April 1885, Resource 9, p. 88, emphasis hers.

150. Resource 9, p. 89.

151. *ibid.*

because of her loyalty to MacKillop, she encouraged and supported the remaining sisters in their determination to be true to their constitutions and their mother general.<sup>152</sup> Few, if any, except themselves, knew the pressures the sisters were under, although the more observant must have noted that there were fewer of them than formerly. One young sister, Eustelle Woods, was afraid that if her father, who had been so vocal during the excommunication crisis, discovered how badly the bishop was treating the sisters, it would be hard to keep him quiet. She would have liked to have gone to Sydney with so many of her companions, but was sure that if they "all kept quiet and minded their schools" the trouble would soon blow over.<sup>153</sup>

Fortunately for the Church in South Australia, there were enough sisters who thought like Eustelle and who held on in spite of the hardships they had to undergo. However, there was now little of the life and movement that had characterised them in the previous decade or so. Instead, this was a time of withdrawal and retreat. Between 1885 and 1895 the sisters withdrew from 21 schools and the orphanage while, during the same period they

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152. Monica Phillips to Simeoni, 22 December 1885, in Resource 9, pp. 102-104. SC, 6 June 1894, "Silver Jubilee of the Provincial of the Sisters of St Joseph," tells of the celebrations in honour of Sister Monica's jubilee and is a testimony to the high regard in which she was held by the sisters in South Australia.

153. Eustelle Woods to MacKillop, 17 May 1885. Eustelle was a younger sister to Mechtilde and their father, J.D. Woods, was a brother to Father Woods and the man involved in the controversial publicity surrounding MacKillop's excommunication and its aftermath in 1871-1872. See Chapter 5, fn. 182 & 183, p. 229.

opened only one new school, that at Gladstone in the mid-north in 1891.<sup>154</sup>

The pattern of the sisters' movement in the other colonies and New Zealand was very different from that in South Australia. Between 1867 and 1895 those in the home colony had taught in approximately 85 different localities, from about 60 of which they had withdrawn by 1895.<sup>155</sup> Elsewhere communities of sisters tended to remain continuously in the same place for extended periods of time. Thus, in 1895 they were still working in 48 of the 56 schools and institutions they had moved into since 1880.<sup>156</sup> Because of their relative stability these sisters did not merit Reynolds' criticism that the Josephites were restless or Byrne's that they were "fond of rambling about."<sup>157</sup>

By the mid-1890s the sisters were, in fact, beginning to consolidate their forces. Western Australia was now but a memory and numbers were down in South Australia. Only three schools were opened in New South Wales between 1890 and 1895 and a further five between then and 1900. Five new schools, in one of which the sisters remained for only two years, were opened in New Zealand during this

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154. Records of Josephite schools, MacKillop Crypt, Kensington, S.A. Ordo, 1885-1895.

155. See Appendices XVII & XXII for details. This information has been presented in both tabular and graphic form.

156. See Appendices XIX-XXI & XXIII for details.

157. Byrne, "Report," 18 March 1895, p. 9, ACA, O'Reily Letter Books, vol. 1. Reynolds to Kirby, 22 October 1887, ICA K530.

decade. Progress in Victoria was slower than elsewhere, probably because there was already a well-organised Catholic education system, using mostly lay teachers, in operation there. The sisters were invited into only four schools and two charitable institutions between their arrival at Numurkah in the Bendigo diocese in late 1889 and the year 1895, and then were offered nothing further until after the turn of the century.<sup>158</sup>

The Institute gained its first foundation in Victoria when Father Michael O'Connor of Numurkah invited the sisters to come and take charge of his parish school. This was the same Father O'Connor who, when at Penola in 1871, had indicated his preference for a lay master. In the following year he had moved to Port Adelaide, and had refused to invite the sisters back there after their reinstatement in 1872. He had since transferred to the Sandhurst diocese in Victoria because of difficulties between himself and Reynolds. He must have been satisfied with what he had observed of the Josephites in the meantime or he would almost certainly have looked elsewhere for sisters to staff his school.<sup>159</sup>

While the expansion and consolidation outlined above was taking place and the membership of the Congregation outside South Australia was increasing apace, the sisters

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158. Ordo, 1890-1900. See Appendices for details.

159. SC, 11 May 1906, "Death of Very Rev. M. O'Connor." Ordo, 1888-1892. HSC, 30 July 1875, farewell to Father O'Connor from Port Adelaide. MacKillop to Josephine McMullen, 27 January 1877, regarding the reopening of the sisters' school at Port Adelaide.

in that colony laboured on, weighed down by the burden of their debts. As soon as Reynolds agreed to their retaining their affiliation with the Sydney Mother House, they assumed full responsibility for these debts. Acting on his advice, early in 1889 they took out two large mortgages at a medium rate of interest in place of several smaller ones at very high rates. One was for £6,000 at 7% with the South Australian Mortgage Company and the other for £4,000 at 5% with the Catholic Church Endowment Society. Their annual interest bill came to £620, a large sum indeed given the poor economic climate of the time and the smallness of their income.<sup>160</sup> Fundraising again became the order of the day and the sisters scrimped and saved every penny they could towards the reduction of their debt.

This was a hard struggle indeed but, by dint of hard work, they had reduced it to just under £7000 by the time John O'Reily of Port Augusta succeeded Reynolds as Archbishop of Adelaide in 1895.<sup>161</sup> O'Reily, who was a competent administrator, brought new confidence to the Archdiocese of Adelaide. He attacked the diocesan debt by organising a system of planned giving in every parish and he helped the sisters by persuading their creditors to

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160. P. McMahon Glynn, lawyer for SSJ, memo. n.d. but by internal evidence, 1888, listed five mortgages, for a total value of £8,020 and a bank overdraft for £1,600, making a total of £9,620, ACA. Report of Third General Chapter, December 1889, m/s, ASSJ.

161. O'Reily, First Report on the Liabilities of the Archdiocese of Adelaide, Adelaide, 1896, ACA, S26, Annual Financial Reports. Table I lists the Josephite debt £6,974-17-4.

lower their interest rates.<sup>162</sup> Thanks to his encouragement and support, their debt was finally liquidated and they were able to build much needed accommodation and facilities at their Kensington convent.<sup>163</sup> In August 1910, he warmly congratulated Sister Victor Lane, the then provincial of the South Australian Province of the Congregation, on the sisters' success in reducing their debt and informed her that they now owed only £443. He summarised their accounts thus:

Debt, March, 1895 .. .. .	£6,974	17	4
Expenditure from March, 1895, to March, 1910 .. .. .	5,956	6	8
Total liability to be met .. .. .	£12,931	4	0
Total receipts .. .. .	12,487	10	7
Debt, March, 1910 .. .. .	£443	13	5

and then went on to say:

Kensington was the first permanent mother house of the Josephite Sisters. It was the cradle of their Institute. Its establishment dates back to 1872. Bought and built with borrowed money, its tale from the beginning has been a tale of struggle with debt. After thirty-eight years the struggle draws nigh its close. Every little helps; and my cheque for £10, herewith enclosed, may, in giving impetus to the effort for which the occasion would seem to call, be of real, even if of little help. I hope it will so prove of

162. O'Reily to MacKillop, 13 August 1895, ACA, O'Reily letter books, vol. 2, p. 63. O'Reily, First Report on the Liabilities, ACA.

163. O'Reily, Fourteenth Annual Report on the Liabilities, 31 March 1910, gave the Josephite debt as £443-13-5, while the Fourteenth Annual Report, published on 31 March 1911 listed it as clear. In the meantime, the sisters had also raised sufficient finance to pay for a new wing at Kensington. SC, 25 May 1906, p. 347, announced the opening of this building and included an appeal by O'Reily for funds. He noted that the new building cost £7,000 and that generous donors had already contributed over £3,000 towards its liquidation. SC, 22 June 1906, p. 412, leading article; 29 June 1906, pp. 432-433 & 436.

help. To none will it be a cause of greater satisfaction than it will be to me, when the first home of the devoted Sisters of St Joseph, South Australian in origin, but now widespread throughout the length and breadth of our sunlit Austral land, shall have monetary burden to bear no longer, and shall, in gladness of heart, stand financially free. [sic] 164

That debt had coloured their lives ever since MacKillop had mortgaged the Kensington property back in 1876 in order to pay for their first building there and to raise money for the sisters' fares and other necessities. They had carried it virtually alone because Mother Bernard Walsh had deemed it inopportune to commit the Sydney Mother House to finding £100 annually towards it even though so many sisters in other provinces of the Congregation, including herself, had begun their religious lives in South Australia and had been provided with all their needs while there.<sup>165</sup> Consequently, it was through their own efforts, and thanks to several generous benefactors and the consistent support of the Catholic people, that the South Australian sisters finally succeeded in paying it off.

The debt still weighed heavily upon these sisters when in March 1891 they commemorated the silver jubilee of the foundation of the Institute. After 25 years they were

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164. O'Reily to Sister Victor, 26 August 1910. O'Reily had this letter printed and distributed it as an acknowledgement of the Josephites' achievement in liquidating their debt, ACA.

165. O'Reily to MacKillop, 13 August 1895, ACA, O'Reily letter Books, vol. 2, pp. 64-65.

secure in the knowledge that Rome had formally approved their Institute and, consequently, that their constitutions were now unassailable by local bishops. The attainment of pontifical approval so soon after their foundation was a great achievement and one which was doubtless hastened by the very fact that so many bishops had opposed the Institute so often and so strongly during the preceding years. MacKillop had early realised the importance of a centralised authority structure if the sisters, who worked in small groups in widely separated localities, were to remain united in their ideals and their interpretation of the rule. She never wavered in her single-minded determination to preserve unity, regardless of the cost to her personally. The sisters caught her enthusiasm for it and stood by her in her fight for its preservation.

By the time of the silver jubilee Reynolds was too ill to attend to more than the most pressing engagements. He never recovered his health and died on 12 June 1893 after a long and painful illness. He was not quite 59 years old but was worn out from the physical and mental sufferings he had endured during his 20 years as bishop of Adelaide.<sup>166</sup> Reynolds' passing marked the end of an era for the Catholic Church in South Australia, where there were now churches in most districts and Catholic schools in the larger centres of population. The pioneering work

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166. SC, 16 June 1893, pp. 7-8, "Death of Archbishop Reynolds."

had been done, although much of it had yet to be paid for. The Josephites, who were then settled in 27 schools and two charitable institutions, were also weighed down by debt. Reynolds had been hard on them during the previous decade but MacKillop never let them forget that he had been a true friend to them in their hour of need.<sup>167</sup>

In fact, the Josephites owed more to Reynolds than they realised. He was the one who had restored the Institute after Sheil's death in 1872, had sent MacKillop to Rome during the following year and had supported and encouraged her during the time of her difficulties with the Bishops Quinn. When, in the 1880s, he had changed his stance and tried to impose diocesan government upon the Institute, the sisters were forced to confront the reality of their position. In so doing they came to a stronger conviction than before of the advantages of central government for their Institute. In fact, the troubles of the 1880s served to draw them closer together under the leadership of their superior general. The Church in the other colonies, especially New South Wales, benefited greatly from the exodus of sisters from South Australia during this decade. Therefore it might be said with truth that Reynolds was the ecclesiastic who did most, albeit

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167. MacKillop to Vaughan, 8 August 1881; to Laurence O'Brien, 20 February 1885, in Resource 9, p. 35; to the Adelaide sisters, 16 October 1885, Resource 9, p. 99.

unintentionally, to ensure that the Sisters of St Joseph retained their central government, remained united under their mother general and gained formal approval from the Holy See as soon as they did.

With Reynolds' demise the Institute's time of youth and early maturity came to an end. Its members could now settle into a life where they could enjoy the fruits of their early struggles and carry on with their work, secure in the knowledge that no bishop could again interfere with their rule or try to force them to abandon their existing structures.

## CHAPTER 9.

### TOWARDS CALMER WATERS.

The Catholics of South Australia gathered on 14 June 1893 to pay their last respects to Archbishop Christopher Reynolds. Among the mourners who packed the cathedral were a number of Josephites, including Mother Bernard Walsh, the ruling superior general of the Institute, who had come from Sydney especially for the occasion. Mary MacKillop was not there.<sup>1</sup> Seemingly, she had considered that it would be unwise for her to appear in Adelaide so soon after Reynolds' death as she had not set foot there since her dismissal in 1883. The many and complex issues underlying their quarrel were never resolved to Reynolds' satisfaction and consequently he and MacKillop had not been reconciled.

This was a cause of great personal sorrow to MacKillop but did not threaten the well-being of the Institute because it was now firmly established in six Australian and two New Zealand dioceses and enjoyed papal approval. Its Mother House and central administrative offices were located in Sydney and almost two thirds of its 337 members were living and working outside South Australia. It had come a long way since its foundation back in 1866.

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1. O'Neill, McKillop, p. 363.

South Australia was its birthplace and was probably the only colony then ready for the establishment of an institute of this kind. That colony's commitment to providing religious and political freedom for all, had encouraged the development of a climate of greater religious tolerance than was to be found in most other parts of Australia. However, the consequent early withdrawal of state aid from religion and the establishment of a state-controlled system of non-sectarian education had troubled the local Catholic bishops deeply and was the immediate cause of their decision to establish separate schools for the education of young Catholics. The foundation of the Institute of the Sisters of St Joseph was a direct result of this decision.

Bishops Geoghegan and Sheil of Adelaide both played key roles in these developments, the first by his insistence that priests and people take immediate action and the second by his easygoing style of leadership and the freedom he allowed Woods in his management of the department of Catholic education. Sheil's style of leadership, coupled with his many and protracted absences from the diocese, also laid the way open for the development of factionalism among his priests and people. This, in turn, caused much of the trouble which disrupted diocesan life during the years 1870-1872 as well as many of the misunderstandings and financial problems which dogged Reynolds and the Josephites during the ensuing twenty years and more.

Geoghegan and Sheil enabled the foundation of the Institute. The Australian and New Zealand bishops of the 1870s and 1880s had a powerful influence on its development. That they invited the sisters into their dioceses was a direct consequence of the withdrawal of state aid from denominational schools. As members of an indigenous group which made few demands on the local church community, the Josephites showed promise of being useful to bishops committed to providing Catholic schooling in their respective dioceses but unable to do so because of the limited funds at their disposal. The sisters themselves were glad to be asked to go into new areas and generally worked hard for the benefit of the local Catholic children.

They endured great hardship in the course of their work but perhaps the most demoralising of all the difficulties they had to face was their almost constant conflict with bishops and clergy over the questions of their control and support. The Irish bishops into whose dioceses they moved were particularly jealous of their episcopal authority. Hence, their determined opposition to the idea of central government for the Institute and their insistence that the sisters become self-supporting by taking music pupils. The Josephites' struggle for central government was long and painful and there were casualties on both sides. The bishops' persistence in trying to force the Institute to adopt the structures they

preferred, indicates the strength of their belief that its members were capable of making an important contribution in the field of Catholic education.

Rome observed their struggle for independence from afar and then, in spite of great pressure from the Australian hierarchy under the leadership of Cardinal Moran of Sydney, confirmed the sisters' rule as it stood. In listening to the representations of the members of this small, obscure religious community from a distant colony ahead of those of the local bishops it seemed that Rome was concerned, first and foremost, with the sisters' welfare. However, another consideration which probably carried weight in its counsels was its desire to maintain closer control over the Church in the colonies. From this point of view, the Josephites were little more than pawns in an episcopal power game and Rome's move to make them independent of the local bishops was an attempt to check those bishops' power. They lost the first move but, under Moran's leadership, cleverly outmanoeuvred Rome and gained a degree of control over the Institute which greatly exceeded that allowed them in its constitutions.

MacKillop and her sisters proved amenable to episcopal manipulation because they believed that any instructions emanating from Church authorities in Rome were the Will of God for them. Hence, they accepted MacKillop's deposition in 1885 and the gradual process of institutionalisation

imposed upon them from above, even though it checked much of their initial freedom and spontaneity and placed many of their structures on a par with those of contemporary Irish Institutes. However, the bishops did not try to prevent the sisters from going out in small groups of two or three to distant country settlements where there was no resident priest. It was doubtless expedient that the Josephites should retain this aspect of their rule because it enabled the hierarchy to maintain a wide network of parochial schools in areas where the cost of doing so would otherwise have been prohibitive.

The sisters were prepared to go into working-class suburbs and smaller country towns because they were committed to serving the poor. In South Australia, where they began their work, few Catholics were even moderately well off. Hence, the Church and its associated institutions were also poor and suffered many of the limitations of poverty, including the inability to meet their financial commitments. The weight of the Church's indebtedness caused Reynolds to react angrily to the discovery that the sisters were also heavily in debt. That, in turn, led to the exodus of a significant proportion of the sisters from South Australia to New South Wales, enabled the Institute to become firmly established in that colony and paved the way for the eventual transfer of the Institute's administrative centre from Adelaide to Sydney. In South Australia the Institute

was burdened with debt for several decades. That this debt was eventually paid off and the Institute began to prosper was due, in large measure to the support given the sisters by the laity.

In fact, lay Catholics played a very important role in the foundation and early life of the Institute. Their poverty and lack of outside resources upon which to call for financial assistance had forced them to develop a certain independence of spirit and a determination to survive without government aid. Therefore, they were prepared to finance their own schools and support the sisters who taught in them. As well, they provided the Institute with members and it is likely that its history, if indeed, it had one after 1872, would have been very different had it not been for lay intervention in Adelaide in 1871. However, once these people were satisfied that the Institute had survived the crisis and their daughters were safe, they withdrew to the wings and allowed the bishops and clergy to resume the lead roles. Except for a brief re-emergence in Queensland in 1879-1880, the laity in all the colonies settled into the role of providers of the money required for the erection and maintenance of churches, schools and charitable institutions and left the hierarchy and clergy to run the Church and the sisters to manage the schools.

While it was undoubtedly Woods' charismatic leadership

that attracted the first sisters to join the Institute, postulants continued coming even after he ceased being its director. After a slump in recruitment during the period 1875-1883, a new wave of young women came seeking admission and this time their numbers did not slacken. Many of these later arrivals had attended Josephite schools and were attracted to the religious life by the influence of their former teachers. Most entrants during the period under review came from lower-middle or working-class families and subsequently spent their lives working among members of these same classes. Woods once remarked that there was no "fine ladyism" about the Sisters of St Joseph of Puy.<sup>2</sup> The same could have been said of their Australian counterparts in their tiny communities in small country towns and working-class suburbs.

These women made a significant contribution to the growth and development of the Institute and the work of Catholic education in Australia and New Zealand. Whatever their motives for becoming sisters might have been, those who remained when the going became hard paid a high price for their continued membership of this centrally-governed religious congregation. Some experienced the trauma of MacKillop's excommunication and the subsequent turmoil and confusion and then mourned the loss of Woods as their Father Director. Others lived through the painful events preceding their withdrawal from the Bathurst and Brisbane

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2. Woods, "Memoirs," book 1, p. 163.

dioceses only to suffer from homesickness and lack of acceptance by sisters in other colonies. The episcopal visitation of 1883 and its aftermath took their toll of the physical and mental health of the South Australian sisters while the crushing weight of their debt caused them added distress. All members of the Institute, regardless of their dioceses of origin or subsequent experiences as Josephites, bore their share of the hardships attendant upon this pioneering venture. Without their determination and tenacity of purpose, the Institute could not have survived, much less grown and developed as it did, for neither MacKillop nor any of its other leaders was capable of carrying it alone.

Woods' direct influence on Josephite affairs ceased after 1875 but MacKillop's involvement with them lasted throughout her lifetime. She was superior general until 1885, assistant general for the next fourteen years and then superior general again until her death in 1909. To Woods, visionary and dreamer, must be given the credit for the idea of the Institute and for having enabled its initial foundation. However, its later development and ultimate survival were largely due to MacKillop's single-minded determination to bring his idea to reality. She stands out, especially during the period 1871-1885, as the one who held the Institute together. She was able to do this because she commanded the sisters' loyalty and was genuinely concerned for their personal well-being.

Yet the path she trod in the pursuit of her ideals, especially those of poverty, unity and loyalty to Rome, was frequently one of alienation and division. It was littered with broken friendships, abandoned Josephite foundations and lost religious vocations. The cost to her personally was high but she did not deflect from her purpose. Thus Woods, Sheil, Reynolds and the Quinns all walked with her for a time. Each was left behind when he tried to have the Institute take turnings other than the ones she believed had been mapped out for it in either the original rule or the Roman constitutions. The dioceses of Bathurst, Brisbane and Perth were abandoned along the way because their bishops preferred diocesan to central government. Many who joined the Institute, especially those who came at Woods' invitation during its formative years, turned from the path because they felt that they could not follow it under MacKillop's leadership alone.

The Church in Australia and New Zealand is indebted to Woods and MacKillop for having had the courage to persevere with the establishment of the Institute against great odds. These included clerical and episcopal opposition, the problems consequent upon the rapid increase in its membership and its almost equally rapid spread to widely separated dioceses, as well as their own human weaknesses and limitations. Woods almost destroyed the work he had begun by his inability to understand the realities of institutional life and to act prudently in

his dealings with the young impressionable women who became sisters during its early years. Nevertheless, MacKillop and its foundation members were heavily indebted to him for the guidance he gave them during that period.

He and MacKillop began to drift apart as early as 1870 because he had decided that the "visionaries" were the ones most capable of bringing his dream of the Institute to reality. The excommunication crisis of 1871-1872 served to highlight the differences between the two founders and set the scene for their eventual estrangement. Woods removed the visionaries from South Australia and the Institute in the hope that they might be able to live out his dream elsewhere. MacKillop remained behind and worked to bring order and stability into those areas of the Institute's life most disturbed by the visionary episode and its aftermath. Her ready acceptance of Rome's decision that the Josephites should no longer depend solely on Divine Providence for their subsistence and that the Institute should own at least some property in its own right, completed the break between them. Woods became convinced that MacKillop was set on destroying his life's work and they were never reconciled.

MacKillop herself was sufficiently sane and level-headed to be able to counter the effects of many of Woods' imprudent actions by her insistence on order and

discipline. After her reinstatement in 1872 she tried hard to limit the Institute's expansion. However, with time, she too succumbed to the constant pressure from bishops and priests for further Josephite foundations and the Institute again became over-extended. It is difficult to understand why, in the light of her earlier experiences in Adelaide and Queensland, she did not stand out against this second wave of over-expansion. However, she may have permitted it because of the overwhelming pressure placed upon her by bishops desperate for religious to staff their schools and also because of her lasting commitment to the Josephite ideal that:

their duty is to do all the good they can, and never see an evil without trying how they may remedy it, ... to leave nothing untried, no matter how difficult, provided it may advance the glory of God, the good of souls and the prevention of sin in the world.

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Reynolds appears to have been largely responsible for the rift that developed between himself and MacKillop during the 1880s and he has been criticised severely for his seemingly arbitrary behaviour towards her and her sisters. However, he was bishop of Adelaide and hence the person ultimately responsible for the Josephite debts. As well, he was upset over the way MacKillop appeared to be favouring Sydney ahead of Adelaide, and especially because she had taken some of South Australia's best teachers to New South Wales and had gone ahead with moves to establish

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3. Woods, "Rules," Resource 3, pp. 23-24.

the Sydney novitiate even though he and many of the sisters in South Australia were strongly opposed to it.

The Sydney novitiate became firmly established during the late 1880s and the number of novices in training there quickly exceeded that in Adelaide. Although few may have realised it at the time, the existence of two novitiates did place a strain on the unity of the Institute, especially since, as a rule, any sisters who did their training in Adelaide remained permanently in South Australia. As time passed, the second novitiate, the transfer of the Mother House to Sydney and the debt all caused the sisters in South Australia to feel a growing sense of separation from the rest of the Institute. It seemed to some of them that they had been abandoned by their Sydney counterparts. These sisters became particularly upset when, in spite of all that they had suffered during the visitation and its aftermath, MacKillop seemingly held them responsible for the troubles between herself and Reynolds.<sup>4</sup> They did not sever their connection with the Sydney Mother House but fifty years and more were to elapse before the last vestiges of the hurt they then felt disappeared from among them.

MacKillop's apparent change of attitude towards South Australia may be explained in terms of the difficulties she had encountered as superior of the Institute after

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4. MacKillop, Circular to the Adelaide sisters, 14 December 1890, in Circulars, pp. 161 - 167.

Woods' departure from Adelaide in 1872. For reasons beyond her control, she spent much of the 1870s outside that colony. The effects on the sisters of her prolonged absences were similar in some ways to those of Sheil's overseas journeys on the diocese earlier on. Most of the sisters were still young and, as yet, no strong leaders had emerged from among them. Hence, in their struggle to forge their identity as Josephites and to move from a position where individual direction had been the norm to one where their activities were more community-centred, they suffered conflict and tension. All this occurred at a time when MacKillop herself was exhausted from her confrontations with the Quinns and so was less able than before to check any abuses that might have been taking root among the sisters. As well, after Tappeiner's death in 1882 she no longer had a strong priest to whom she could turn for guidance and support. Thus she stood virtually alone at one of the most critical points in the Institute's history, the point where the Bishop of Adelaide made a final, all-out assault on its centralised authority structure and Sydney was about to supersede Adelaide as the home of its Mother House and the diocese which would employ the greatest number of sisters.

MacKillop has generally been presented as the strong woman, the one whose faith never wavered, even under great pressure, and who always stood out front giving sure leadership to the Institute. However, during the 1880s she was often tired and ill, and hence, unable to control

the course of her own or the Institute's life as she would have wished. As well, she lacked business acumen and, in her anxiety for the spread of the work of the Institute, allowed it to fall into serious financial difficulties. The secular historian may marvel that a human being can achieve greatness during the course of his or her life. From a Josephite perspective, however, the discovery that this person who has long been unofficially canonised was made of the same clay as the rest of womankind comes as a startling revelation. Her real greatness must surely lie in her having persevered in her chosen way of life in spite of the many and great difficulties she encountered along the way.

Reynolds, his vicar general and a small group of the Adelaide sisters blamed her for having allowed the Josephite debt to assume such alarming proportions. However, as Monica Phillips testified when she wrote the following, many of them still held her in high regard:

Saints even have often been in trouble about money,  
and the holiest persons have not always been the  
best managers in business matters.

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The difficulties between MacKillop and Reynolds and the South Australian sisters' reaction to the transfer of the Mother House to Sydney were internal matters known to few outside the walls of the local Josephite convents. Even when they were at their worst, the sisters continued

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5. Monica Phillips to Dr Grant, Scots College, Rome, 30 April 1884, in Resource 7, p. 43.

with their work of teaching and caring for their charitable institutions. Taken overall, the number of schools under their charge gradually increased, even though there were less in South Australia in the 1890s than there had been at any time since 1869. In that colony, Woods and MacKillop established a system of education which was better organised initially than that run by the state. They set up a model school in Adelaide and tried, as far as possible, to compel all the local Catholic children to attend school, even to the point of offering them free education. All this was done several years before the South Australian government erected its first model school and education became compulsory under the law.<sup>6</sup>

It is now difficult to assess the Josephites' success as educators because few school records have survived until the present day. However, that bishops continued asking them to staff parish schools implies that their teaching was of an acceptable standard. An examination of the South Australian Catholic marriage registers for the period 1842-1882 reveals a marked improvement in basic literacy among adult Catholics there. (During that time the couples and their witnesses actually signed the registers held by the churches.) No figures have been prepared. However, before 1860 some members of almost every wedding party were unable to sign their names

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6. South Australian Statutes, Act no. 11 of 1875, articles 12 & 20. Twenty-first Annual Report of the Central Board of Education, for the year 1872, SAGG, 8 May 1873, p. 695.

whereas, by 1880, the mark had become the exception rather than the rule.<sup>7</sup>

Initially, the Josephites formed a part of Woods' centralised system of Catholic education in South Australia. When he left there in 1872 his system collapsed and subsequently most schools run by lay teachers closed. However, the sisters had both the numbers and the structures to enable them to carry on using the methods taught them by MacKillop. During the course of the 1883 episcopal visitation, Reynolds asked if it might not be better for them to conform their time-tables, curriculum and methods of school management to the government system in everything that was not against Catholic teaching.<sup>8</sup> Since the Institute was then fighting for its very life the sisters' response to this question has not been documented. However, given that uniformity with government schools regarding curriculum and standards was to become the norm in most Australian dioceses during the next two decades, it seems safe to assume that the Josephites in South Australia and elsewhere followed suit, without prejudice to the teaching of religion and the overall religious atmosphere of each school.<sup>9</sup>

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7. Catholic Marriage Registers, Adelaide, Gawler, Kapunda, Sevenhill, Morphett Vale, Mount Barker and Willunga, 1842-1882, ACA.
  8. Episcopal Visitation, 1883, Questions on the Constitutions of the Sisters of St Joseph in Australia, Section on Schools, ACA.
  9. Fogarty, Catholic Education in Australia, vol. 2, pp. 356-358.

The Josephites generally worked quietly in their various schools and institutions and did little to draw attention to themselves. With time, the local Catholics came to take it for granted that there would be Josephite convents and schools in most country parishes and poorer working-class suburbs. Only visitors and recent arrivals took special notice of the sisters and their work. Among these were Mother Rose Columba Adams, the recently-arrived superior of a group of English Dominican sisters who settled in Adelaide in 1883. In September of that year she wrote:

The Sisters of St Joseph have all the poor schools... [They] are of native growth, very hardworking, and live much like the Little Sisters of the Poor. I like their Mother General very much. She is a large-hearted woman. They do much good here and "up country" where they go in twos or threes to keep up religion where there is no priest. 10

Another who commented favourably on the Josephites and their work was Julian Thomas, a freelance writer who visited the Kensington convent, the Orphanage, Refuge and Providence during 1882. He was loud in his praises of the sisters and remarked that they were doing a "really good work" and that the only troubles inflicted upon them had been by officials of their own faith. Observers such as Thomas were amazed to find that the Institute had encountered so much opposition from high-ranking churchmen because it seemed that these were the men who should have

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10. Rev. R.W. Brownlow, Memoir of Mother Mary Rose Columba O.P., Burns & Oats, London, 1895, p.236.

given it the most support.<sup>11</sup>

The issues faced by the young Institute were complex and the struggle to resolve them was often difficult. One result of that struggle was that the Institute represented by the sisters present at Reynolds' requiem was as different from the one envisioned by Woods and MacKillop at Penola in 1866 as the mature adult is from the new-born infant. It was animated by the same spirit but the passage of time - the crises it had faced and the conflicts in which it had become involved, as well as the normal processes of growth and change - had served to shape it along lines which differed somewhat from those first outlined by its founders. Its members still worked in the poorer suburbs of several Australian and New Zealand cities and in small rural settlements. They taught elementary schools only, visited the sick and poor and cared for distressed women and children at home and in their charitable institutions. Their dress closely resembled that designed by MacKillop and her first companions in 1867. They continued to live very frugally but were no longer totally dependent upon alms and school fees for their support. Instead, they now owned some of the houses they occupied and, because they taught music in some centres, had a small and steady income upon which they could rely.

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11. Julian Thomas, "An Australian Order," Victorian Review, vol. 7, no. 9, p. 239.

However, much of the freedom and spontaneity that had marked the period before MacKillop's excommunication and the subsequent formalisation of the rule had been lost. This change may be attributed in part, at least, to the normal processes of growth and aging. In the Institute's earliest years all the sisters were young and eager. By the 1890s some of them were approaching their sixtieth birthdays while a considerable proportion of them were in their forties and early fifties. Other factors which contributed to the change were the Institute's rapid growth and expansion, the difficulties it had encountered along the way and the poverty and other hardships its members had had to endure in the ordinary course of their work. Hence, institutionalisation with all its limitations was a necessary part of its life - one so important that without it the Institute could well have disintegrated by the turn of the century.

It did not disintegrate but, like the Church of which it formed a part, continued to grow and develop into the twentieth century. However, its subsequent history lacked much of the excitement and drama that characterised its earlier years because what then seemed innovative and a threat to the established order of things had now become acceptable and commonplace. The question of state aid for denominational schools had not been resolved and separate Catholic schools for Catholic children had become the norm. The Church relied heavily on the Josephites for the

establishment and maintenance of parish primary schools in the country and the poorer urban areas. Hence, bishops keen to maintain their systems of Catholic education could no longer afford to fight with a group which provided, at very little cost, a large proportion of the teachers they required. After a stormy early passage, the Institute was at last entering calmer waters.

APPENDIX I: DETAILS OF THE EXPANSION OF THE INSTITUTE  
OUTSIDE SOUTH AUSTRALIA, 1869 - 1895.

<u>Name of Diocese</u>	<u>Dates</u>
1. Brisbane, Queensland	December 1869 - July 1880
2. Bathurst, New South Wales	July 1872 - January 1876
3. Sydney, New South Wales	January 1880 -
4. Armidale, New South Wales	January 1880 -
5. Wellington, New Zealand	October 1883
6. Auckland, New Zealand	February 1884 -
7. Perth, Western Australia	December 1887 - March 1890
8. Sandhurst, Victoria	January 1890 -
9. Melbourne, Victoria	April 1890 -

Source: Records of Josephite foundations, ASSJ.

APPENDIX II: LENGTHS OF BISHOPS' ABSENCES FROM ADELAIDE,  
1858 - 1873.

<u>DATES.</u>	<u>LENGTH OF TIME WITHOUT BISHOP.</u>
Murphy's death, 26 April 1858 - Geoghegan's arrival, 29 October 1859.	1 yr 6 mths
Geoghegan's departure, 25 February 1862 - his death 8 May 1864 - arrival of his successor, Sheil, 14 September 1866.	4 yrs 7 mths
Sheil's overseas journeys:	
26 April 1867 - 8 December 1868	1 yr 7 mths
October 1869 - 1 February 1871	1 yr 3 mths
Sheil's death, 1 March 1871 - Reynolds' consecration, 2 November 1873	1 yr 8 mths
Geoghegan's absences in other colonies, at least	3 mths
Sheil's absences in other colonies, at least	4 mths
TOTAL TIME WITHOUT A BISHOP	11 YRS 2 MTHS

Source: Bishops' Papers, Series 1 - 4, ACA.

APPENDIX III: SYLLABUS AND TIME-TABLE.

Source: Woods, Directory and Order of Discipline, Adelaide, ca. 1870, pp. 84 - 86.

A: SUBJECTS FOR EACH CLASS.

First Class, First Division: Letters, Poetry or Hymns, making Strokes on Slates, and Prayers.

First Class, Second Division: Part Second of First Book, Hymns, Small Letters on Slates, Figures, Prayers.

First Class, Third Division: Part Third of First Book, Capital Letters and Small Words on Slates, Addition Tables and Figures on Slates, Learn First-sized Catechism, Girls sew.

Second Class, First Division: Read Second Book, Spell from Same, Write in copies, Short easy Sums in Addition, Addition and Multiplication Tables, Small-sized Catechism and Acts, Girls sew. The Lessons assigned to this class in the School Grammar and Geography.

Second Class, Second Division: Read Bible Stories, Spelling by Dictation and from Reading Book, Write in Copies, the four simple rules in Arithmetic, Second Class Lessons in Grammar and Geography, Girls sew and make Samplers, Third-sized Catechism and Acts.

Third Class: Read Third Book, or English History, Spelling by Dictation, Write in Copies, Arithmetic - the Compound Rules, Third Class Lessons in Grammar and simple Parsing on Slates, Geography for Third Class, Historical Catechism and the Acts, Plain and Fancy Work.

Fourth Class: Read English History - learn same - and Ancient History, Spelling by Dictation, Write in Copies, Arithmetic as far as Proportion, Should enter Sums in Books, Parsing nicely entered in Books, according to the Rules of Syntax, Fourth Class Lessons in Grammar and Geography, Mapping. Should write short, easy Essays, Learn the Latin and Greek Roots, Historical Catechism, Plain and Fancy Work, Boys Book-keeping by Single Entry.

Fifth Class: Should Read and Study English and Ancient History, Write Essays, Parse and Transpose, and know generally School Grammar, Latin and Greek Roots, Descriptive and Political Geography of the Continents and of Australia, and have a fair idea of School Geography, Arithmetic as far as Simple Interest. Should know and understand all the different Catechisms, Plain and Fancy Work, Boys Book-keeping by Double Entry, First Book of Euclid, and Mensuration.

B: DAILY LESSONS FOR EACH CLASS.

Second Class. Monday, Tables, Spelling, Poetry, and the same for the week.

First Division of Second Class. Monday, Grammar, Spelling, Tables.

Tuesday, Geography, Spelling and Tables.

Wednesday, Grammar, Spelling and Tables.

Thursday, Geography, Spelling and Tables.

Second Division of Second Class.

Monday, Grammar, Spelling, Poetry and Tables.

Tuesday, Geography, Spelling, Poetry and Tables.

Wednesday, Grammar, Spelling, Poetry and Tables.

Thursday, Geography, Spelling, Poetry and Tables.

Third Class. Monday, Grammar, Spelling and Mathematical Geography.

Tuesday, Geography, Spelling and Weights and Measures.

Wednesday, Grammar, Spelling and Poetry.

Thursday, Geography, Spelling, Weights and Measures.

Fourth Class. Monday, Grammar, Spelling, Mathematical Geography and Weights and Measures.

Tuesday, Geography, Spelling, Poetry and English History.

Wednesday, Grammar, Spelling, Prose and Irish History.

Thursday, Geography, Spelling, Poetry and English History.

Fifth Class. Monday, Grammar, Greek Roots, Ancient History and Poetry.

Tuesday, Geography, Latin Roots, English History, and Irish History.

Wednesday, Grammar, Spelling, Ancient History and Prose.

Thursday, Mathematical Geography, English History, Irish History.

Friday, repetition in all classes.

C: TIME-TABLE.Morning:

- 9.15 Hymn to St. Joseph, Morning Prayers, Dictation.  
 9.30 Writing.  
 10.00 Arithmetic.  
 11.00 Tasks.  
 12.00 Examination of Conscience, Angelus, Calling the Roll, Catechism.  
 12.30 Recreation and Dinner.  
 1.30 Children Reassemble.

Afternoon:

1.30	CHILDREN TAKE THEIR PLACES, SINGING HYMN AS THEY DO SO					
	1st Class		2nd Class	3rd Class	4th Class	5th Class
1.30	Little Girls sew, Boys copy on slates	1.30	TUESDAYS, WEDNESDAYS & FRIDAYS			
to 2.00		to 2.00	Read	Parse on slates	Read	Parse & enter same in books
2.00	Object Lesson	2.00	Copy Grammar or Geography	Read	Parse & enter same in books	Read
to 2.15		to 2.30				
2.15	Make Figures and Letters on Slates	1.30	MONDAYS & THURSDAYS			
to 2.45		to 3.30	Plain and Fancy Needlework, Boys Book-keeping, etc.			
2.45		2.30	TUESDAYS, WEDNESDAYS & FRIDAYS			
to 3.15	Spell and Read Lessons	to 3.00	Lecture or Gallery Lesson, that is, explanation of either Maps or Science Charts, Globes, etc.			
3.15	Exercises	3.00	TUESDAYS & WEDNESDAYS			
to 3.30		to 3.30	Mapping Lessons			
3.30		3.00	FRIDAYS			
		to 3.30	Darning and Patching, Boys Book-keeping, etc.			
3.30	AFTERNOON ATTENDANCE MARKED, AND CHILDREN DISMISSED, SINGING AS THEY GO OUT.					

APPENDIX IV: SISTERS WHO ENTERED, 1867-1871, LISTED ACCORDING TO PLACE OF BIRTH.

LEGEND:

- \* Left Institute during 1871 - 1872
- ° Left Institute before 1871
- # Left Institute after 1872

Unmarked indicates that the sister died in the Institute.

1. AUSTRALIAN BORN

a) Born in South Australia

<u>NAME.</u>	<u>REGISTER NUMBER</u>	<u>BAPTISM RECORD</u>
Aloysius - Ellen O'Leary	R19	Adelaide, A250
#Ambrose - Jane Hughes	R50	do A1576
Anselm - Mary Ellen Smith	R55	do B2000
Bernardine - Margaret Ledwith	R65	do A325
Elizabeth - Susan Etheridge	R20	do A1038
Francesca - Mary Holland	R125	Sevenhill 5263
#Francesca - Eliza O'Brien	R104	Adelaide A1594
Francis de Sales - Julia O'Sullivan	R27	do A856
*Gabriel - Bridget McGuire	R61	do B2015
Germaine - Mary Scanlon	R66	do B1859
#Helena - Mary Anne Myles	R130	cannot be traced
Hilda - Bridget Teresa McNamara	R108	Sevenhill
#Hyacinth - Bridget Quinlan	R33	Clare A/C10
Isadore - Ellen O'Loughlin	R69	Kapunda K12
*Jane Francis - Jane Britt	R25	Adelaide A1416
*Louis - Julia Lyddy	R101	do B2302
Mary Joseph - Bridget O'Brien	R113	do B2381
Matilda - Henrietta Rogers	R96	cannot be traced
Mechtilde - Mary McNamara	R128	Sevenhill (sister to Hilda)
Mechtilde - Ellen Henrietta Woods	R59	Adelaide B2350
Michael - Ellen Quinlan	R60	do A923 (sister to Hyacinth)

°Nicholas - Priscilla Giles	R39	do	H/converts
Raphael - Susan McKeown	R31	Gawler	G53
Raymond - Mary Smyth	R81	Kapunda	K117

b) Born in other colonies

Agatha - Margaret Nolan	R18	Portland, Vic.
Bridget - Bridget Cremin	R12	Sydney, N.S.W.
*Celestine - Mary Anne Hudson	R100	Victoria? cannot be traced
#Clare - Mary Wright	R5	Portland, Vic.
Colette - Catherine Carolan	R107	Tasmania
Gertrude Mary - Annie Bertheau	R116	New South Wales
Gertrude - Agnes Byrne	R82	Sydney, N.S.W.
#Gertrude - Julia Wright	R83	Portland, Vic.
*Ignatius - Mary Jane O'Brien	R11	Sydney, N.S.W.
John Baptist - Honora Fitzgerald	R6	Sydney, N.S.W.
Josephine - Ellen Carolan	R106	Tasmania
Mary of the Cross - Mary MacKillop	R1	Melbourne, Victoria
Vincent - Mary Smith	R98	Perth, W.A.

2. OVERSEAS BORNa) Came with families(i) IRISH

<u>NAME</u>	<u>REGISTER NUMBER</u>	<u>NAME OF SHIP</u>
Agnes - Elizabeth Smith	R15	"Sultana" 2 Feb. 1854, 54/4
Aloysius - Mary Anne Lenihan	R86	"Charlotte Gladstone" 17 June 1866, 66/4
Andrea - Annie Howley	R64	"Marshall Bennett" 2 Feb. 1852, 52/3
*Angela - Catherine (Kate) Carroll	R26	Possibly "Gloucester", 13 August 1852, 52/13. Her parents were certainly in S.A.
Angelica - Catherine Greene	R42	"Taymouth Castle" 3 May 1854, 54/8

Anne - Anne McMullen	R47	"Rodney" 20 Feb. 1855, 55/6
Augustine - Ellen Brady	R75	"Olivia" 14 Nov. 1853, 53/14
Bernard - Grace Walsh	R22	Came to Victoria
Calasanctius - Bridget Howley	R67	As for Andrea above
Casimir - Mary Anne Mescal	R74	"Epamanondas" 25 Dec. 1853, 53/15
#Clement - Catherine Fox	R91	Possibly on "Constance" 5 Nov. 1849, 49/20
Colette - Anne Conway	R90	"Switzerland" 1855, 55/29
Eulalia - Mary Jane McDermott	R103	"Telegraph" 23 June 1855, 55/3
Francis - Julia Fitzgerald	R7	To N.S.W. ca. 1840
Ignatius - Annie McCarthy	R119	To Victoria, date unknown
°Imelda - Annie Fitzpatrick	R24	Possibly on "Pestonjce Bomanjce" 8 Oct. 1854, 54/28
Josephine - Ellen McMullen	R4	In Adelaide by 1858 - see Anne McMullen above
Joseph Mary - Jane Fitzgerald	R14	To N.S.W. between 1840 & 1844. In S.A. in 1848
Laurence - Veronica O'Brien	R51	In S.A. during the 1850s
#Margaret Mary - Mary Anne Fox	R57	As for Clement above
*Martha - Catherine Ryan	R34	Came to S.A. when about 12 yrs. old, with parents. Details of travel unknown
Mary Joseph - Mary Dwyer	R16	"Trafalgar" 28 June 1854, 54/14
Modesta - Bridget Noonan	R63	Parents in 1851, 51/6; Bridget ca. 1868
Monica - Anna Phillips	R21	To Victoria in March 1855
°Seraphim - Mary Griffin	R58	Possibly on "Bucephalus" 14 Oct. 1855, 55/2
#Stanislaus - Anne Lyddy	R23	In S.A. before 1855
*Mary Xavier - Helena Coglin	R88	To Tasmania with family in 1830s. To S.A. in 1860s.

(ii) ENGLISH

Francis - Mary Conway	R115	"Standard" 15 June 1854, 54/29
Francis Xavier - Blanche Amsinck	R2	With father in Victoria
Gertrude - Emily Hayman	R10	"John Banks" 29 May 1855, 55/18
*Julian - Jane Brown	R68	Family in Adelaide

(iii) SCOTTISH

Teresa - Margaret MacDonald	R8	In W.A. with family. Came to S.A. on "New Perseverance" in 1857
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(iv) EAST INDIES

*Ursula - Anne Ross	R36	Not known, but father living in S.A.
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b) Came Alone(i) IRISH

Alexis - Ellen Mary Sheedy	R62	Came from Victoria to enter
Alphonsus - Margaret Drislane	R46	"Atlanta" 15 April 1866, 66/3
Anastasia - Margaret Goonan	R56	ibid.
Anne - Mary Anne Byrne	R77	<u>SC</u> 28 September 1934 says she came from Ireland and entered
Antonia - Catherine O'Brien	R121	Had a brother in the colony, <u>SC</u> , 12 October 1906, p. 685
Beatrice - Anne Blackwell	R99	"Sibella" 17 March 1852, 52/6
Benedict - Mary Phelan	R30	"Epaminondas" 2 August 1852, 52/1
#Cecilia - Anna Maria Hehir	R76	"Eastern Empire" 20 June 1864, 64/4
*Dominica - Mary Hart	R32	"Eliza" 22 August 1849, 49/16
Francis Regis - Ellen Butler	R78	Came to S.A. from Tasmania, <u>SC</u> 14 Feb. 1930, p. 7
Gonzaga - Mary Lynch	R89	"Charlotte Gladstone" 17 June 1866, 66/4

Joseph - Catherine Lonergan	R9	"Rockliffe" 20 Dec. 1864, 64/8
Marianna - Ellen Wall	R95	Came to S.A. in 1870, <u>SC</u> , 19 October 1934
Martina - Bridget Bunfield	R80	"Tarquin" 4 December 1864, 64/7
*Patrick - Mary Brazil	R49	"Sea Park" 25 June 1855, 55/20
Philippa - Johannah Callaghan	R40	Possibly on "Adamant" 27 September 1863, 63/3
Rose - Rose Cunningham	R3	Came to S.A. from Victoria
Thecla - Catherine Harding	R37	"Victoria Regia" 25 July 1855, 55/34
#Veronica - Margaret Martin	R13	"Nugget" 3 April 1858, 58/3
(ii) <u>SCOTTISH</u>		
#Faith - Mary Daniels	R126	A convert of Woods. Baptised on 3 February 1869

c) Sisters for whom dates & other details of migration cannot be traced

(i) IRISH

Angela - Mary Crugan	R112
Augustine - Bridget Keogh	R29
Baptista - Minnie Long	R127
Bonaventure - Jane Mahony	R48
*Camilla - Catherine Galvin	R28a
Catherine - Susan Ruine	R111
#Catherine - Catherine O'Brien	R28
Evangelista - Isabella Weir	R93
Flora - Jane Doherty	R85
Francis Borgia - Anne McNally	R109
Francis Mary - Mary McHugh	R117
*Genevieve - Margaret Ryan	R46
Helena - Mary Anne Hartney	R52
Imelda - Margaret O'Brien	R92
*Innocent - Bridget McGrath	R97
Ita - Catherine Moriarty	R72
John Evangelist - Mary Agnew	R38
Josephine - Catherine Mahony	R87
Leo - Bridget Whelan	R102
Lucy - Mary Crowley	R73
Ludwina - Mary Anne Ford	R120
Magdalen - Margaret O'Keefe	R17
#Magdalene - Mary O'Brien	R118
Margaret - Catherine O'Loughlin	R53
Maria - Bridget Healy	R70
Maria Joseph - Bridget Hearney	R110
Matthias - Judith King	R84

*Paula - Elizabeth Green	R41
Philomena - Mary Galvin	R35
Regina - Julia Magee	R94
*Sebastian - Mary Bridget Fitzgerald	R54
Sylvester - Margaret Long	R114
Teresa - Bridget Maginness	R71
Vincent de Paul - Julia Martin	R79
Winifred - Margaret Hogan	R44

(ii) ENGLISH

*Dorothea - Catherine Ryan	R43
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(iii) GERMAN

#Francis - Antonia Bartolsmeier	R105
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SOURCES:

Register of the Sisters, ASSJ.

Catholic Baptismal Registers, various South Australian, Victorian, New South Wales and Tasmanian parishes.

Shipping Lists, MLSA.

Various: Josephite correspondence, ASSJ.  
Obituaries, etc. in Catholic Newspapers.

APPENDIX V: DEPARTURES ACCORDING TO AGE AT TIME OF ENTRY.

<u>AGE:</u>	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
<u>NO. OF ENTRANTS.</u>	9	6	10	10	5	10	5	13	4	12	2	8	1	6	1	6	2	2	1	-	5	3	-	-	-	-	1
<u>NO. OF DEPARTURES.</u>	5	2	3	2	2	3	3	6	-	4	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Note: Three of the five sisters whose birth dates were not recorded were also among those who left.

Source: Register of the Sisters, R1 - R127.

APPENDIX VI: DEPARTURES ACCORDING TO YEAR OF ENTRY.

<u>YEAR</u>	1867	1868	1869	1870	1871	<u>TOTALS</u>
<u>NO. OF ENTRANTS</u>	10	40	34	30	13	127
<u>NO. OF DEPARTURES</u>	1	17	8	9	3	38
<u>PERCENTAGE DEPARTED</u>	10%	42.5%	23.5%	30%	23%	29.9%

Source: Register of the Sisters, R1 - R127.

APPENDIX VII: LATER CAREERS OF PRIESTS WHO LEFT THE DIOCESE.

Cleary, Robert: According to Linane, ed. From Abel to Zundolovich, H.H. Stephenson, Melbourne, 1979, vol. 2, p. 50, Father Cleary left Adelaide early in 1874 and transferred to the Ballarat diocese. He worked in several different parishes until the end of the decade when he suffered a bout of ill health. He then returned to Ireland where he died on 7 March 1881, aged 35 years.

Corcoran, Patrick: Linane, op cit, indicates that he left South Australia in 1876 for the Ballarat diocese where he worked until 1887. After an overseas trip he returned to New South Wales, where he was posted at Camden until 1895 and then at Liverpool until 1897. Ill health forced him to resign his charge and he returned to Ireland where he died some time during 1904.

Henderson, Andrew Modestus OFM Cap. This priest was ordered to leave the Adelaide diocese by the Apostolic Commission of 1872 for his alleged complicity in the excommunication of Mary MacKillop and the troubles which subsequently tore the diocese apart. (M. Quinn to Barnabo, 17 June 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, f. 1327.) The principal reason for his banishment seems to have been that, like Horan and Nowlan, he was a member of a religious Order. He left South Australia in 1874 and returned to England, where he was twice Provincial Superior of his Order. In 1889 he went to the United States of America where he worked in Denver, Colorado and in Mendocino County, California. He returned to England after 20 years and died in the Franciscan Monastery at Crawley on 5 January 1931, aged 90 years. (Franciscan Annals, Vol. LV no. 650, February 1931.)

Horan, Charles Hugh OFM. Father Horan was also ordered to leave the diocese by the Apostolic Commission of 1872. He departed in about August 1873 and, after a short stay in Auckland, returned to Ireland. In 1876 he went to the United States of America where he worked for some time in the dioceses of New York and Milwaukee. He returned to Ireland in 1893 and was stationed at Waterford and Limerick, where he died on 27 January 1900, aged 62 years.

Keating, Ambrose Patrick OFM. Father Keating returned to Ireland after his dismissal by Smyth in June 1870. He served there continuously until his death on 1 June 1924 at the age of 83 years. (P. Conlan, "The Irish Franciscans and Australia in the Nineteenth Century," Footprints, vol. 4, no. 10, February 1983, pp. 8 - 10, information regarding Horan and Keating.)

Kennedy, Michael. Father Kennedy transferred to the Sandhurst (Bendigo) Diocese in Victoria in March 1877. He worked in the Shepparton and Yarrawonga parishes and was raised to the dignity of Archpriest in appreciation of his services to the diocese. He left for an overseas trip in 1905, and died in Rome on 10 May, aged 61 years. (SC, 19 May 1905, p. 313.)

Murphy, Timothy was stationed at Mount Gambier from 1876 until about April 1882. He then transferred to the Bendigo diocese where he worked until his death at Shepparton on 2 April 1908. (St Paul's Record, no. 4, Mount Gambier, 1 July 1908, SC, 10 April 1908, p. 247.)

Nowlan, James Ambrose OSA, also left South Australia as a result of the Apostolic Commission of 1872. He went to Rome immediately after he left Adelaide and there pleaded his cause with his superiors and the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda Fide. (Nowlan to Barnabo, 9 September 1872, SRCO vol. 9, ff. 1512 - 1520.) He subsequently worked in Ireland until his death on 8 December 1911, aged 74 years. (Augustinian Archives, Dublin, per Fr. T. Linane, Torquay, Victoria.)

APPENDIX VIII: ANTI-JOSEPHITE MEMORIAL, PRESENTED TO BISHOP SHEIL, FEBRUARY 1871, AND USED BY FATHER HORAN IN HIS PANEGYRIC ON SHEIL, MARCH 1872.

The four versions here presented are:

- I: A typescript of an original draft which appears to be in Horan's handwriting. The original is among Horan's papers, S10, ACA.
- II: A typescript of a translation of the official copy sent to Rome by the Apostolic Commissioners, June 1872, SOCG 1873, vol. 1000, ff. 1378 - 1382. Translator: Monsignor V. Tiggeman, Adelaide, 1983.
- III: Photocopy of the version used by Horan in his Funeral Oration, 24 March 1872, and included by him in the printed version of his sermon, pp. 7 - 8.
- IV: Photocopy of the version of the sermon which Byrne included in his History of the Catholic Church in South Australia, 1914, pp. 217 - 218.

I; COPY OF ORIGINAL DRAFT IN FATHER HORAN'S HAND.

May it please Your Lordship, we the undersigned beg leave to lay before you the following allegations:

That having, since your Lordship's departure for Europe looked on with pain and without power of remedy at the detriment caused directly to Education and indirectly to Religion by the Sisters of St Joseph in this diocese we have considered it our bounden duty (as being responsible for the souls committed to our charge) to bring the matter officially under your Lordship's notice.

That having had an opportunity in our respective districts of judging of the efficiency of the aforesaid sisters in the matter of imparting a satisfactory education to our children we conscientiously declare that they are utterly inadequate to such an object and that consequently a gross injustice is being done to the children of the Catholic community by withholding from them a class of education that should place them on a par with their fellow colonists of other denominations.

That in many of the outlying districts no provision whatsoever is made for the education of the male sex and that in consequence thereof Catholic boys have to attend the schools belonging to other religious persuasions.

That consequent on such an imperfect system of education the Catholic children throughout the greater portion (if not all) of your Lordship's diocese are in comparative ignorance when contrasted with the youth of other denominations around them.

That this state of things if suffered to continue cannot but redound to the discredit and disgrace of the Catholics of this diocese.

We also wish to state that exclusive of their "Father Director" the priests of the diocese are by the aforesaid sisters virtually and practically looked upon as nonentities and as a proof of the truth of this statement we offer as an instance - a single instance - that on the late lamentable occasion when the blessed Sacrament had been abstracted from the tabernacle - and that nine priests (virtually on their oaths) without a single dissenting voice gave a verdict against an individual sister as the unfortunate and infatuated being who had been guilty of the sacrilege - that same condemned sister was in defiance and in the teeth of such verdict retained in the responsible position of Mistress of Novices.

We furthermore wish to state that the opinion of the local pastors is never sought or respected in the matter of education - also that without their permission (and sometimes even against their express orders) collections are made by the Sisters of St Joseph in their districts. - That the said sisters have been known to establish of their own accord and without the local Pastor's knowledge have religious Confraternities - from which they have been in receipt of monies that have been forwarded to Adelaide for Masses to be said in globo (?) for the members of the said contributing confraternities.

That girls - ignorant girls - are constantly admitted into the community of the Sisters of St Joseph who have had neither character nor recommendation nor spiritual counsel on the matter of their religious vocation from their local Pastor. - That it is our firm belief - founded on circumstantial evidence - that the sisters (or those by whom they are guided) instruct to the foregoing effect the individuals who present themselves as postulants.

That at least three fourths of the present members of the society are utterly useless for educational purposes and finally - that if the number of candidates to be hereafter admitted continue at the present formidable rate - the diocese shall in a short time become inundated with a host of uneducated and ignorant sisters (in religion) who while they shall be an unbearable onus on both priests and people shall be of no use whatsoever towards the enlightenment of the growing Catholic youth of the colony.

Signatures: Venerable Archdeacon Russell  
 Very Rev. C. Reynolds  
 Very Rev. F. Byrne  
 Very Rev. P. Hughes  
 Rev. Michael Kennedy  
 Rev. J.J. Roche  
 Rev. C. Horan  
 Rev. T Murphy  
 Rev. R. Cleary  
 Rev. B. Nevin  
 Rev. James Maher

P.S. We wish to state that it is our opinion that much injury is done to religion by the publication of visions, revelations and prophecies said to be received by the sisters and [the Very Rev. J.E.T. Woods.]

II: COPY OF TRANSLATION OF OFFICIAL VERSION SENT TO ROME.

May it please Your Lordship,

We the undersigned request your permission to explain to Your Lordship the following allegations.

Since the departure of Your Lordship we have observed with sorrow and without being able to apply a remedy to the loss caused directly to education and indirectly to religion by the Sisters of St Joseph in this Diocese. We have considered it our imperious duty as persons responsible for the souls committed to our care to bring this matter officially to your Lordship's observation.

Having had the opportunity in our respective districts to judge of the ability of the said Sisters to give a satisfactory education to our children, we conscientiously direct, that they are in fact unable for such a purpose and that consequently a big /1379 injustice is being done to the children of the Catholic community in denying them a proper education that would put them on a par with the colonists of the other denominations.

In many of the far-off districts no provision in fact has been made for the education of young boys and therefore Catholic boys have to frequent the schools of other denominations.

As a consequence of such an imperfect system of education Catholic boys in most of the Diocese (if not in all of it) are ignorant when compared to the youth of other denominations around them.

And if this state of things continues to exist it can only work to the discredit and to the shame of the Catholics of this Diocese.

We wish however to declare that with the exception of their father director, the priests of this Diocese are regarded by the Sisters as persons of /1380 no regard (non-entities) and as proof of the truth of this declaration, we offer as an example (only one example) that on a recent lamentable occasion when the Blessed Sacrament was taken from the tabernacle and that the priests on their oaths without a sole voice of disagreement gave judgement against the individual Sister as being the unfortunate and foolish one that was guilty of the sacrilege, that same

accused Sister was in disrespect of such judgement retained in a responsible position of Mistress of Novices.

We wish further to declare that the opinions of the local priests is never sought or respected in the matter of education; and furthermore that without their permission (and sometimes against their express orders) collections are made in their districts by the Sisters of St. Joseph

It is known that the said Sisters have /1381 of their own initiative and without the knowledge of the local priest established religious confraternities, from which they receive money which was sent to Adelaide for Masses to be said for the members of their contributing confraternities. The young girls/ignorant young girls/are continually joining the community of the Sisters of St. Joseph, who have neither character nor recommendation nor spiritual advise in the matter of their religious vocation from the local priests.

It is our firm persuasion based on the circumstantial evidence above that the Sisters or those by whom they are guided are instructing to the foregoing effect the individuals that come along as postulants.

That at least 3/4 of the actual members of the community are in fact incapable of teaching /1382 that if the number of candidates admitted in future continues in the present formidable ratio the Diocese will be within a short time inundated with a multitude of uneducated and ignorant Sisters, who while they will be an intolerable burden on priests and people will be of no profit for the instruction of the Catholic young people of this colony.

(Signed) Patrick F. Russell  
 Frederick Byrne  
 C.A. Reynolds  
 Peter Hughes  
 Timothy Murphy  
 C.H. Horan O.S.F.  
 Bernard Nevin  
 James Maher  
 Modestus Henderson  
 Michael Kennedy  
 John J. Roche.

III: MEMORIAL AS READ BY FATHER HORAN, 24 MARCH 1872,  
AND ALSO HIS REMARKS CONCERNING THE EXISTENCE OF A SECOND  
DOCUMENT AGAINST THE SISTERS OF ST JOSEPH.

Source: Horan, Funeral Oration, March 1872, pp. 7 - 8.

"May it please your Lordship, we the undersigned beg leave to lay before you the following allegations:—

"That having since your Lordship's departure for Europe looked on with pain, and without the power of remedy, at the detriment caused directly to education, and indirectly to religion by the Sisters of St. Joseph, in this colony, we have considered it our bounden duty (as being responsible for the souls committed to our charge) to bring the matter officially under your Lordship's notice.

"That having had an opportunity in our respective districts of judging of the efficiency of the aforesaid Sisters in the matter of imparting a satisfactory education to our children, we conscientiously believe that they are utterly inadequate to such an object, and that consequently a gross injustice is being done to the children of the Catholic community in withholding from them a class of education that would place them on a par with their fellow colonists of other denominations.

"That in many of the outlying districts no provision whatsoever is made for the education of the male sex, and that in consequence thereof Catholic boys have to attend the schools belonging to other religious persuasions.

"That consequent on such an imperfect system of education the Catholic children throughout the greater portion (if not all) of your Lordship's diocese are in comparative ignorance, when contrasted with the youth of various other denominations around them.

"That this state of things, if suffered to continue, cannot but redound to the discredit and disgrace of the Catholics of this diocese.

"That it is our opinion that much injury is done to religion by the publication of visions, revelations, and prophecies said to be circulated by the Sisters of St. Joseph.

"That at least three-fourths of the present members of the aforesaid society are utterly useless for educational purposes; and finally, that if the number of candidates to be hereafter admitted continue at the present formidable ratio, the diocese shall, in a short time, become inundated with a tide of ignorant and uneducated sisters in religion, who, while they shall be an unbearable onus on both priest and people, shall be of no use whatsoever

towards the enlightenment of the growing Catholic youth of this colony.

(Signed)

"VEN. ARCHDEACON RUSSELL.

"VERY REV. C. REYNOLDS.

"VERY REV. F. BYRNE.

"VERY REV. P. HUGHES.

"REV. MICHAEL KENNEDY.

"REV. J. ROCHE.

"REV. C. HORAN.

"REV. T. MURPHY.

"REV. B. NEVIN.

"REV. R. CLEARY."

Now, my brethren, you can deduce, nay more, you are forced to admit, from a consideration of the existence of that document, whose genuineness none can for a moment call in question, that the Bishop has had more than his advisers in the matter of the disbanding of the sisterhood of St. Joseph. You can see that he had been called on—officially called on—imperatively called on—to make some material alterations in the discipline of that Institute by the unanimous voice of those priests who had charge of the most important districts in his diocese.

This, my brethren, I am sure, comes on you by surprise, but I am not done yet with that statement of the *Irish Harp*, that two or three priests of the diocese have been solely responsible for having brought about by (as the *Harp* would term it) their "pernicious influence" all the acts of injustice that have been during the last few months perpetrated in the diocese of Adelaide.

There is another document against the Sisters of St. Joseph, signed by the following priests:—Father Hinterocker, Father Tappeiner, Father Hughes, Father Reynolds, Father Byrne, Father Horan, Very Rev. Father Fitzgibbon, Father Theodore Bongaerts, and Ven. Archdeacon Russell.

IV: MEMORIAL AS PRINTED BY BYRNE IN HIS HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA and also his comment regarding another document against the Sisters of St Joseph.

Source: Monsignor F. Byrne D.D. History of the Catholic Church in South Australia, J.P. Hansen, Adelaide, 1914, pp. 217 - 218.

"May it please your Lordship, we, the undersigned, beg leave to lay before you the following statement:—

"(1) That having, since your Lordship's departure for Europe, looked on with pain and without the power of remedy, at the detriment caused directly to education, and indirectly to religion, by the Sisters of St. Joseph in this colony: We have considered it our bounden duty (as being responsible for the souls committed to our charge) to bring the matter officially before your Lordship.

"(2) That having had an opportunity in our respective districts of judging of the efficiency of the aforesaid Sisters in the matter of imparting a satisfactory education to our children; we conscientiously believe they are utterly inadequate to such an object, and that consequently a gross injustice is being done to the children of the Catholic community in withholding from them a class of education that would place them on a par with their fellow colonists of other denominations.

"(3) That in many of the outlying districts no provision whatever is made for the education of the male sex, and that in consequence Catholic boys attend the schools belonging to other religious persuasions.

"(4) That consequent on such an imperfect system of education the Catholic children, through the greater part (if not all) of your Lordship's diocese, are in comparative ignorance when contrasted with the youth of various other denominations around them.

"(5) That this state of things, if suffered to continue, cannot but rebound to the discredit and disgrace of the Catholics of this diocese.

"(6) That in our opinion much injury is done to religion by the publication of visions, revelations, and prophecies, said to be circulated by the Sisters of St. Joseph.

"(7) That at least three-fourths of the present members of the Sisters of St. Joseph are utterly useless for educational purposes; and, finally, that if the number of candidates to be hereafter admitted continue at the present formidable ratio, the diocese shall in a short time become inundated with a tide of ignorant and uneducated Sisters, who while they shall be an unbearable onus on both priests and people, shall be of no use whatever towards the enlightenment of the growing Catholic youth of the colony.

"Signed—Archdeacon Russell, C. A. Reynolds, F. Byrney, Peter Hughes, William Kennedy, John Roche, C. Horan, Timothy Murphy, Bernard Nevin, and Robert Cleary."

As some priests did not sign the above statement, the Bishop, very properly, wished to have their opinion on the matter; and in a few days a statement similar to the above, and signed by Fathers Tappeiner and Hintterocker, Dean Fitzgibbon and Rev. Theodore Bonquarts, was presented to him.

APPENDIX IX: NATIONALITIES OF CLERGY SERVING IN SOUTH

AUSTRALIA, 1850 - 1871.

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>ENGLISH</u>	<u>SCOTTISH</u>	<u>ITALIAN</u>	<u>DUTCH</u>	<u>GERMAN</u>	<u>TOTAL NON-IRISH</u>	<u>TOTAL IRISH</u>	<u>OVERALL TOTAL</u>	<u>SOURCES.</u>
1850	3	-	2	-	2	7	5	12	(1)
1858	2	-	2	-	2	6	7	13	(2)
1864	1	-	1	3	5	10	9	19	(3)
1867	1	-	-	2	7	10	12	22	(4)
1869	1	1	-	2	7	11	19	30	(5)
1871	1	1	-	2	8	12	20	32	(6)

SOURCES:

(1) Condon, ed. Journal of Francis Murphy, vol. 1, passim. Poelzl, op cit. pp. 1 - 10.

(2) *ibid.*

(3) Geoghegan, Report on the diocese, 1864, ACA.

(4) SCCH, 19 October 1867, p. 16.

(5) *ibid.* 25 September 1869, pp. 390 - 391.

(6) CSC, 27 May 1871, pp. 216 - 217.

APPENDIX X: PRIESTS IN THE ADELAIDE DIOCESE, SEPTEMBER 1871.1. SECULAR CLERGY:

<u>NAME</u>	<u>BIRTH DATE</u>	<u>ORDAINED</u>	<u>ARRIVED IN S.A.</u>	<u>AGE IN 1871</u>
Peter Hughes	1823	1852	1853	48
Julian Woods	1832	1857	1856	39
Daniel Fitzgibbon	1833	1858	1860	38
Christopher Reynolds	1834	1860	1857	37
Frederick Byrne	1834	1860	1857	37
James Nowlan OSA	1837	1861	1868	34
Charles Van Der Heyden	1837	1862	1863	34
Theodore Bongäerts	1837	1862	1863	34
Charles Horan OFM	1837	1863	1868	34
Michael O'Connor	1840?	1865	1865	31
William Kennedy	1838	1865	1866	33
Timothy Murphy	1842	1867	1867	29
Michael Kennedy	1842	1867	1868	29
James Quinlan	1843	1868	1868	28
Modestus Henderson OFM Cap.	1840	1865	1868	31
James Maher	1840	1868	1868	31
John J. Roche	1842?	1868	1868	29
Patrick Corcoran	1840	1869	1868	30
Cornelius McCluskey	1826	1869	1868	45 (blind)
Bernard Nevin	1839	1869	1869	31
Robert Cleary	1846	1870	1870	25
John J. O'Sullivan	1845	1870	1870	26
Patrick Byrne	1845	1870	1871	26

2. JESUITS:

Joseph Tappeiner	1820	1848	1852	51
John N. Pallhuber	1822	1849	1856	49
Joseph Polk	1820	1849	1856	51
John Ev. Hinteröecker	1820	1851	1866	51
Anthony Strele	1825	1854	1867	46
Matthias Hager	1831	1865	1867	40
Anthony Kreissl	1831	1865	1870	40
Leo Rogalski	1830	1855	1870	41

Source: Priests' Files, Adelaide Catholic Archives.

APPENDIX XI: SISTERS WHO CEASED WEARING THE JOSEPHITE HABIT  
AT THE TIME OF MARY MACKILLOP'S EXCOMMUNICATION.

1. Professed Sisters.

a) Those who resumed habit.

Mary MacKillop  
 Agatha Nolan  
 Agnes Smith  
 Alexis Sheedy  
 Anastasia Goonan  
 Bonaventure Mahony  
 Calasanctius Howley  
 Casimir Meskil  
 Francis de Sales Wright  
 Francis Xavier Amsinck  
 Gertrude Hayman  
 Gonzaga Lynch  
 Hyacinth Quinlan  
 Isidore O'Loughlin  
 Ita Moriarty  
 Laurence O'Brien  
 Lucy Crowley  
 Magdalen O'Keefe  
 Margaret Mary Fox  
 Michael Quinlan  
 Mechtilde Woods  
 Monica Phillips  
 Philippa O'Callaghan  
 Teresa MacDonald  
 Raymond Smyth

b) Those who did not return.

Angela Carroll  
 Camillus Galvin  
 Dominica Hart  
 Gabriel Maguire  
 Genevieve Ryan  
 Ignatius O'Brien  
 Jane Francis Britt  
 Julian Brown  
 Martha Ryan  
 Patrick Brazil  
 Paula Green  
 Sebastian Fitzgerald  
 Ursula Ross

c) Dismissed in 1872.

Mary Xavier Coglein

2. Novices.

a) Those who resumed habit.

Christina (Catherine) Ruine  
 Evangelista Weir  
 Mary Francis Conway  
 Gertrude Mary Bertheau  
 Ignatius McCarthy  
 Matilda Rogers  
 Sylvester Long

b) Did not return.

Angela Crugan  
 Celestine Hudson  
 Innocent McGrath  
 Louis Liddy

4. Postulants.

a) Those who returned.

Baptista Long  
 Francesca Holland  
 Helena Myles  
 Mechtilde McNamara

b) Did not return.

No records kept of postulants  
 who left the Institute and did not  
 return.

APPENDIX XII: AGES OF SISTERS WHO LEFT THE INSTITUTE DURING  
THE EXCOMMUNICATION PERIOD.

<u>Age</u>	<u>Returned</u>	<u>Did not return</u>	<u>TOTALS.</u>
Under 21	11	9	20
21 - 25	10	6	16
26 - 30	6	-	6
31 - 35	5	1	6
36 - 40	2	-	2
41 - 42	1	-	1
	35	16	51
<u>TOTALS:</u>			

Note: The age of one sister who did not return was not recorded.

Source: Register of the Sisters.

APPENDIX XIII: DETAILS OF THE BATHURST FOUNDATION.

I: CONVENTS AND SCHOOLS.

Date of  
foundation.      Name of foundation.      Duration of stay in years.

July 1872      Perthville  
March 1873      Wattle Flat  
August 1874      Trunkey Creek  
Late 1874      German Hill  
Early 1875      Borenore

1872	1873	1874	1875	1876
██████████	██████████	██████████	██████████	██████████
██████████	██████████	██████████	██████████	██████████
██████████	██████████	██████████	██████████	██████████
██████████	██████████	██████████	██████████	██████████
██████████	██████████	██████████	██████████	██████████

All those sisters who wished to retain their affiliation with the Adelaide Mother House left the Bathurst diocese in February 1876.

II: SISTERS WHO WORKED IN THE BATHURST DIOCESE.

a) Those who went from Adelaide.

- July 1872: Teresa MacDonald, died at Perthville, January 1876.  
 Mary Joseph Dwyer, returned to Adelaide, March 1876.  
 Hyacinth Quinlan, stayed on in Bathurst.  
 Ada (Aloysius) Braham, went as a lay woman, entered soon afterwards, returned to Adelaide in 1876 and subsequently left the Institute.
- Early 1873: Joseph Mary Fitzgerald, went on to Queensland in 1875.  
 Philomena Galvin, returned to Adelaide, mid-1875.  
 Helena Myles, do.

b) Those who entered the Institute in Bathurst.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Where transferred in 1876.</u>
1872	*Patrick Keaverney ¶	Ireland	
	*Gertrude O'Gorman	Ireland	South Australia
	*Matthew Welsh	England	do.
1873	*Evangelista Houlihan¶	Bathurst	Remained at Bathurst
	*De Sales Tobin	Bathurst region	South Australia
1874	*Theophilus Baker ¶	Sydney	South Australia
	*Ethelburga Blackle ¶	Wattle Flat	do.
	*Benizi Casey	Tasmania	do.
	*Louis Bertrand Hayes¶	do.	do.
	*Borromeo Hurley	do.	do.
	*Angelina Kent ¶	Bathurst	do.
	*La Merci Mahony	Tasmania	do.
	*Regina Martin	do.	do.
	*Stanislaus Punyer	Bathurst	do.
	*Bernard Ryan ¶	Ireland	

Note: Patrick Keaverney and Bernard Ryan left the Institute from Bathurst.

Key: \* recruited by Woods  
 ¶ left the Institute at a later date

Sources: Register of the Sisters. Tobin, "History," passim.  
 MacKillop Correspondence and Bathurst files, ASSJ.



APPENDIX XV: SISTERS WHO WORKED IN QUEENSLAND, 1869 - 1880.I: Sisters who went to Queensland from Adelaide.

- a) December 1869: Mary MacKillop, returned February 1871.  
 Clare Wright, " March 1875  
 Augustine Keogh, died, Maryborough, December 1875.  
 Francis de Sales Sullivan, returned March 1875.  
 Teresa Maginness.
- b) January 1871: Helena Hartney  
 Mary Francis Bartolsmeier, left Institute, 1877.  
 Francesca O'Brien, returned March 1875.  
 Vincent (Sylvester) Smith.
- c) January 1872: Bonaventure Mahoney  
 Agnes Smith  
 Laurence O'Brien, returned 1877.  
 Francis de Sales (Gertrude) Wright, left Institute 1879.  
 Catherine (Christina) Ruine.
- d) ca June 1875: Joseph Mary Fitzgerald, went there via Bathurst.
- e) June 1875: Josephine McMullen, went as Provincial.
- f) December 1875: Gertrude Mary Bertheau.  
 Eulalia McDermott  
 Francesca Holland.

II: Sisters who entered in Queensland.

	<u>Name.</u>	<u>Place of origin.</u>
a) 1870	Gertrude Byrne	Sydney
	Josephine Carolan	Tasmania
	Colette Carolan	Tasmania
b) 1872	*Aloysius Ferrick	Ireland
	*Baptista Molloy	"
	*Joseph Wynne ¶	"
	*Magdalen Foley ¶	"
c) 1873	*Benedict Ahern	Ireland
	*Patrick Barry	"
	*Evangelista Cairns ¶	"
	*Margaret Crowe	"
	*Angela D'Arcy	"
	*Bernard Drew	"
	*Elizabeth Gunn	Bathurst
	*Alphonsa Kennedy	Ireland
	*Gonzaga Kennedy	"
	*Rose Lehane	"
	*Dominic McLaughlin ¶	N.S.W.
	*Lucy O'Neill	Ireland
	*Stanislaus Purcell ¶	"
	*Anne Stone	"
	*James Toppin	Queensalnd
	*Monica Wynne ¶	Ireland

Queensland Sisters, cont.

	<u>Name.</u>	<u>Place of Origin.</u>
d) 1874	*Benigna Daly ¶	Tasmania
	*Claver Dooley ¶	"
	*Borgia Fay	"
	*Ignatius Griffin	"
	*Bede Gunn	Bathurst
	*Bridget Kelleher	Ireland
	*Justine Lupton	Tasmania
	*Isadore McCarthy	"
	*Gabriel Maloney ¶	"
	*Columba O'Leary	"
	*Austin O'Meara	"
	*Martina O'Neill ¶	Scotland
	*Philomena O'Neill ¶	?
	*Rosalia Ryan	Queensland
	*Bertha Walker	Tasmania
e) 1875	Louis Molloy	Ireland
	Wilhelmina Downey ¶	Scotland
f) 1876	Ambrosine O'Donnell	England
g) 1877	Celsus Deering	Ireland (entered in Adelaide)
h) 1878	Winifred Amos	England
	Bega Fitzgerald	Ireland
	Mildred Bogan	"
	Laurentia Cosgrove	Queensland
	Bruno Donnelly	Ireland
i) 1879	Genevieve Bird	Ireland
	Dympna Cowan	"
	Camilla Doran	"
	Agatha Doherty	Queensland
	Fabian Gildea ¶	Ireland
	Donatus Kreutzer	Queensland
	Victor Lane	"
	Luigi Meade	Ireland
	John Naughton	"
	Irene Ryan	"
	Leonard Schmidt	Germany
	Celestine Windmill	Queensland

Note: \* before a name indicates that this sister was almost certainly recruited by Woods.

¶ after a name indicates that this sister subsequently left the Institute

It is almost certain that all except those listed as having been born in another Australian colony were living in Queensland at the time they decided to become Josephites.

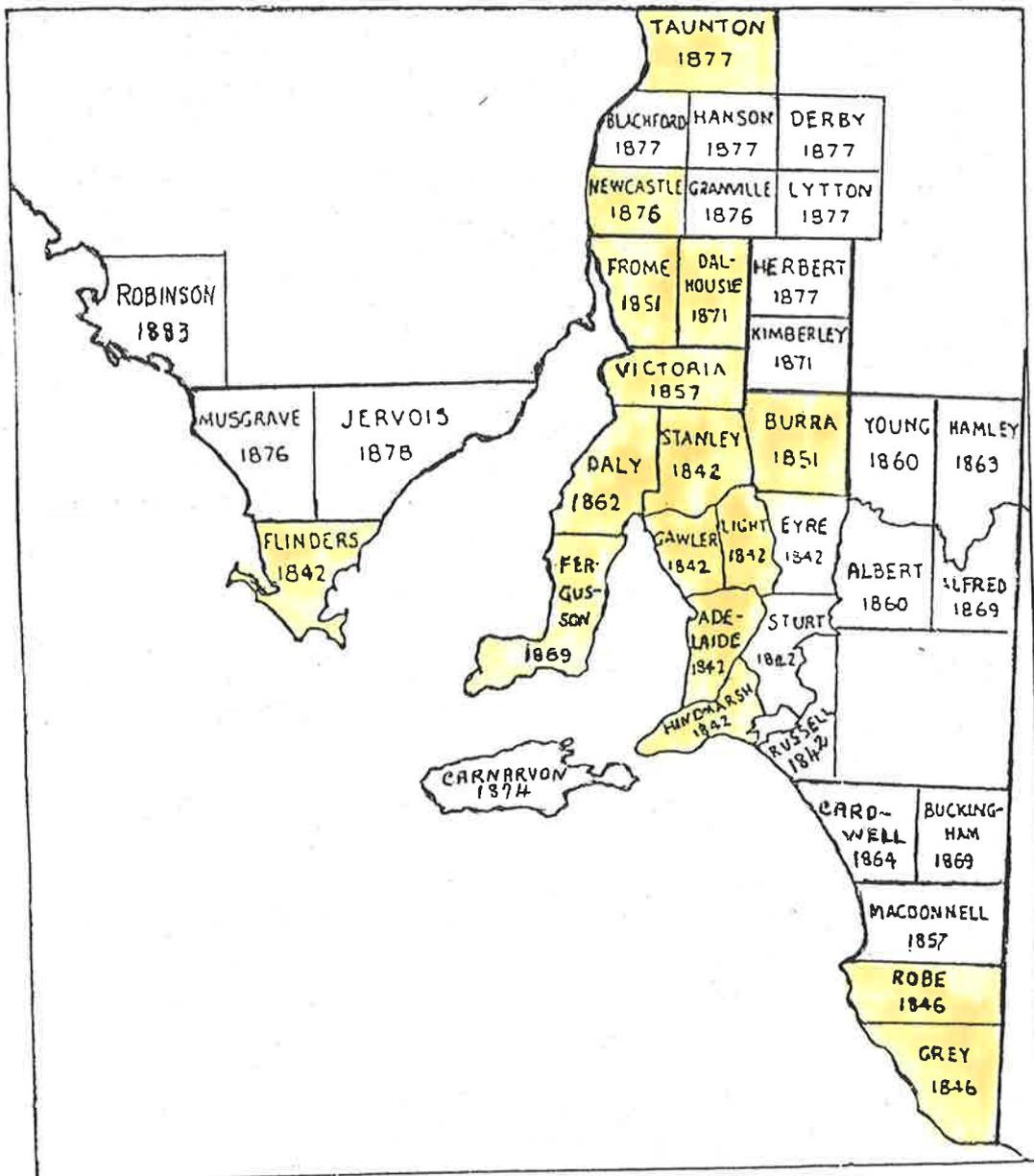
As far as can be ascertained, at least 18 sisters went from South Australia and 59 young women joined the Institute in Queensland.

Sources: Register of the Sisters. MacKillop, Woods & Queensland Correspondence, ASSJ. McEntee, op cit, passim.

APPENDIX XVI a: MAP SHOWING EASTERN SOUTH AUSTRALIA  
AS DIVIDED INTO COUNTIES, 1842 - 1885.

Date of proclamation is shown in each case. The order of the opening up of these areas of land was one of decreasing rainfall and the northern boundary was dictated by rainfall.

Those shaded in yellow are the ones where there were Josephite convents and schools during the period 1866 - 1895.



Source: Charles Fenner, "Geographical Inquiry into the growth, Distribution and Movement of Population in South Australia, 1836 - 1927," Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia, vol. liii, 1929, p. 99.

APPENDIX XVI b: SOUTH AUSTRALIAN CONVENTS, SCHOOLS & INSTITUTIONS LISTED ACCORDING TO COUNTIES.

ADELAIDE:

Adelaide city:  
 St Francis Xavier's Hall  
 Poor School, West Adelaide  
 Pirie Street  
 Russell Street  
 Orphanage  
 Providence  
 Refuge

Bowden  
 Glen Osmond  
 Grand Junction  
 Glenelg  
 Hectorville  
 Kensington  
 Le Fevre Peninsula  
 Lower North Adelaide  
 Magill  
 Marion  
 Mitcham  
 Morphett Vale  
 North Adelaide  
 Norwood  
 Port Adelaide  
 Queenstown  
 Thebarton  
 Virginia  
 Willunga

HINDMARSH:

Macclesfield  
 Mount Barker  
 Port Elliott  
 Strathalbyn  
 Yankalilla

GAWLER:

Gawler  
 Hamley Bridge  
 Port Wakefield  
 Stockport

LIGHT:

Baker's Flat  
 Bagot's Gap  
 Freeling  
 Gilbert  
 Greenock  
 Head Station  
 Kapunda  
 Marrabel  
 Navan  
 St John's  
 Tarlee  
 Undalya

STANLEY:

Armagh  
 Auburn  
 Clare  
 Farrell's Flat  
 Hanson  
 Hoyleton  
 Lower Wakefield  
 Manoora  
 Mintaro  
 Mintaro Station  
 Polish Hill River  
 Rhynie  
 Sevenhill

DALY:

Kadina  
 Moonta  
 Wallaroo

FERGUSSON:

Maitland  
 Warooka

BURRA:

Burra

VICTORIA:

Caltowie  
 Georgetown  
 Gladstone  
 Gulnare  
 Jamestown  
 Laura  
 Whyte-Yarcowie

DALHOUSIE:

Pekina  
 Orroroo

FROME:

Appila-Yarrowie  
 Port Augusta  
 Saltia  
 Willochra (Hammond)

NEWCASTLE:

Quorn

TAUNTON:

Blinman

FLINDERS:

Port Lincoln

GREY:

Mount Gambier  
 Penola

ROBE:

Robe

APPENDIX XVII: FOUNDATIONS WITHIN AND FROM SOUTH AUSTRALIA,

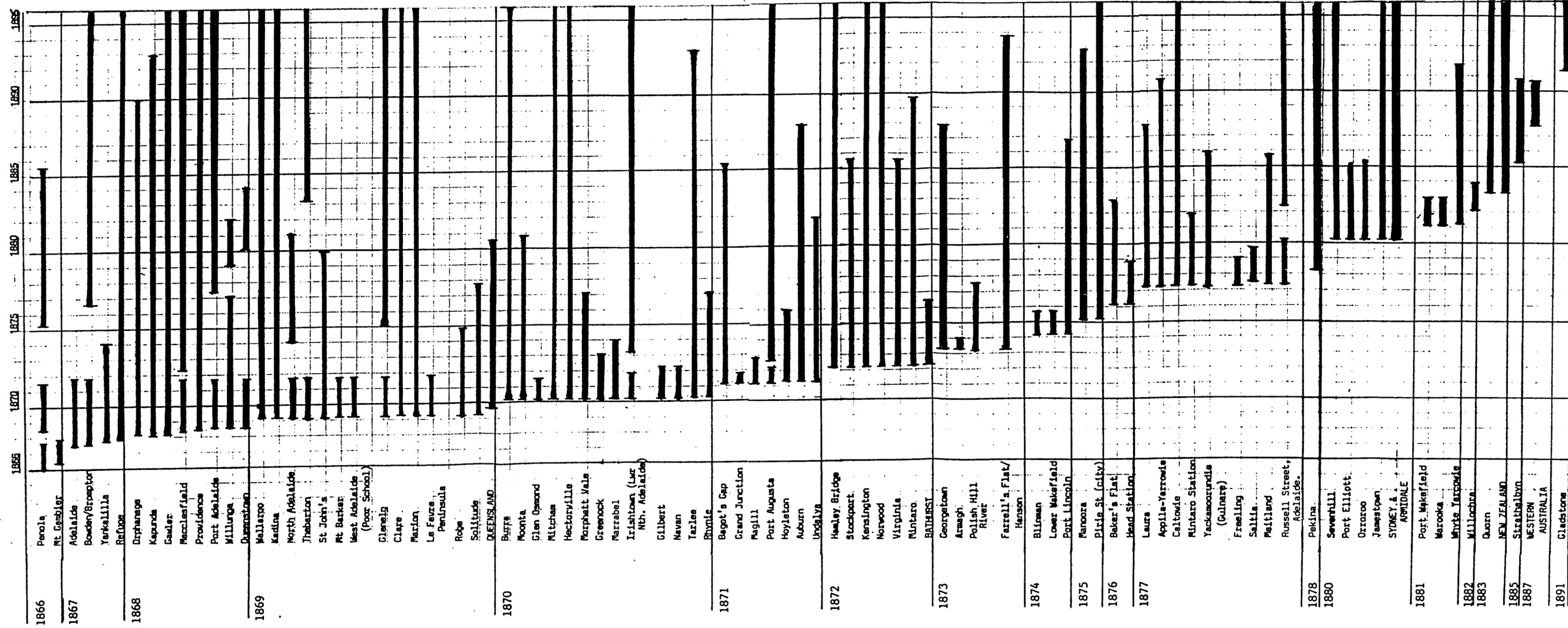
1866 - 1895.

Sources: Ordo, 1880 - 1896.  
 Woods, MacKillop & General Correspondence, ASSJ.  
 Assorted newspapers & Local Histories.  
 Bishops' papers, Woods papers, etc, ACA.

<u>Date of Foundation</u>	<u>Name of Foundation</u>	<u>Duzation of stay.</u>
1866	Penna	
		1870
		1875
		1880
		1885
		1890
		1895

Date of  
FoundationName of  
Foundation

Duration of stay.



APPENDIX XVIII: PRIESTS RECRUITED BY BISHOP REYNOLDS.A: Priests brought to South Australia by Bishop Reynolds, 1879 - 1881.1880:

Fathers Patrick Louis Coonan  
 Philip Cleary  
 Mark Delahunty  
 Patrick Enright  
 Richard Louis Guinnane O.P.  
 Matthias Kennedy  
 Edmund Kenny  
 Thomas O'Connor  
 Thomas Francis O'Neill  
 Maurice O'Regan  
 John J. Power  
 John Basil Roper  
 John Sheridan.

1881:

Fathers Aristide Gandolfi  
 John Healy  
 Philip Landy

Joseph Butler OCC  
 Hilarion Byrne Occ  
 Ignatius Carr OCC  
 Brocard Leybourne OCC  
 Patrick Shaffrey OCC

Note: These last five were all Carmelite priests whom Reynolds invited to take charge of the Gawler mission district.

B: Losses incurred during the same period.1) Deaths:

Fathers Patrick Kehoe - 1879.  
 William Cormack - 1880  
 James Quinlan - 1880.

2) Departures:

Fathers Wilfrid Alcock OSB  
 Patrick Byrne  
 Anselm Fox OSB  
 Richard Guinnane O.P.  
 John Sheridan

Note: Fathers Guinnane and Sheridan left within weeks of their arrival.

Sources: Ordo, 1881 - 1882, ACA.  
 Reynolds - Byrne Correspondence, 1879 - 1881, ACA S4.  
 Records of Priests in South Australia, 1872 - 1900, ACA S10.

APPENDIX XIX: FOUNDATIONS IN THE ARCHDIOCESE OF SYDNEY, 1880 - 1895.

<u>Date of foundation.</u>	<u>Name of Foundation.</u>	<u>Duration of Stay.</u>															
		1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895
1880	Providence, Cumberland Street. Kent Street, Sydney, School. Wallerawang Cooranbong Penrith Picton St Mary's, South Creek Lithgow Dapto																
1881	Camperdown																
1882	Bulli																
1883	Albion Park Camden Hunter's Hill Ryde (school only)																
1884	Jamberoo/Kiama Moss Vale North Sydney - Novitiate																
1885	Granville																
1887	Kincumber Menangle																
1888	Araluen Bombala Bungendore Irishtown Leichhardt Rookwood																
1891	Berry Eden Mittagong																

Sources: Ordo, 1880 - 1896. Files for New South Wales foundations, ASSJ.

APPENDIX XX: FOUNDATIONS IN THE ARMIDALE DIOCESE, 1880 - 1895.

<u>Date of foundation.</u>	<u>Name of Foundation.</u>	<u>Duration of Stay.</u>															
		<u>1880</u>	<u>1881</u>	<u>1882</u>	<u>1883</u>	<u>1884</u>	<u>1885</u>	<u>1886</u>	<u>1887</u>	<u>1888</u>	<u>1889</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1891</u>	<u>1892</u>	<u>1893</u>	<u>1894</u>	<u>1895</u>
1880	Tenterfield																
	Inverell																
1882	Glen Innes																
1883	West Kempsey																
1885	Narrabri																
1886	Uralla																
1888	Quirindi																
1889	Swan Bay																
	Bingera																
1890	Tingha																
	Hillgrove																

Sources: Ordo, 1880 - 1896.  
 Armidale files and correspondence, ASSJ.

APPENDIX XXI: FOUNDATIONS IN NEW ZEALAND, 1883 - 1895.

<u>Date of foundation.</u>	<u>Name of Foundation.</u>	<u>Duration of Stay.</u>												
		<u>1883</u>	<u>1884</u>	<u>1885</u>	<u>1886</u>	<u>1887</u>	<u>1888</u>	<u>1889</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1891</u>	<u>1892</u>	<u>1893</u>	<u>1894</u>	<u>1895</u>
1883	Temuka	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
1884	St Benedict's/Grey Lynn		■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
	Kerrytown		■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
1886	Meanee				■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
	Rangiora				■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
1889	Remuera							■	■	■	■	■	■	■
1890	Matata								■	■	■	■	■	■
1892	Waimate									■	■	■	■	■
	Palmerston North										■	■	■	■

Sources: Ordo, 1883 - 1896.  
Power, New Zealand Story, passim.

## APPENDIX XXII: OPENINGS &amp; CLOSURES, SOUTH AUSTRALIA,

1872 - 1899.

YEAR.	SCHOOLS			INSTITUTIONS	OVERALL TOTAL
	New Openings	Closures	Total at 31 Dec.		
1872			33	4	37
1873	4	2	35	4	39
1874	3	1	37	4	41
1875	3	3	37	4	41
1876	3	2	38	4	42
1877	10	1	47	3	51
1878	1	2	46	3	49
1879	-	3	43	3	46
1880	5	3	45	3	48
1881	3	2	46	3	49
1882	2	3	45	3	48
1883	2	1	46	3	49
1884	1	1	46	3	49
1885	-	8	38	3	41
1886	-	1	37	3	40
1887	-	3	34	3	37
1888	-	-	34	3	37
1889	-	1	33	2	35
1890	-	2	31	2	33
1891	1	1	31	2	33
1892	-	2	29	2	31
1893	-	2	27	2	29
1894	-	-	27	2	29
1895	-	1	26	2	28
1896	-	-	26	2	28
1897	1	1	26	3	29
1898	-	-	26	3	29
1899	-	-	26	3	29

Sources: Various South Australian Records.

APPENDIX XXIII: WESTERN AUSTRALIAN & VICTORIAN FOUNDATIONS.

I: Western Australia.

<u>Date of foundation.</u>	<u>Name of Foundation.</u>	<u>Duration of stay.</u>			
		1887	1888	1889	1890
1887	Northampton	████████████████████			
1888	Geraldton	████████████████████			

On 16 December 1887 four Sisters of St Joseph arrived in Northampton, Western Australia. Two remained there and two went on to Geraldton early in the New Year. Two more sisters went across from Adelaide in 1890.

Bishop Gibney wanted his own novitiate and diocesan control. Consequently, in March 1891 five sisters returned to South Australia. One remained with the two postulants who had entered in 1890 to help form Gibney's diocesan group.

Sisters from S.A. 1887: Ursula Tynan  
Mechtilde McNamara  
Irene Ryan  
Camilla Doran

1890: Germaine Scanlon  
Alvera Murphy

Remained in Western Australia 1890: Ursula Tynan.  
Magdalen Toohey. }  
Martha (Augustine) } Postulants.  
Postans. }

II: Victoria.

<u>Date of foundation.</u>	<u>Name of Foundation.</u>	<u>Duration of Stay.</u>							
		1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896
1889	Numurkah	████████████████████							
1890	Bacchus Marsh	████████████████████							
	Surrey Hills	████████████████████							
1891	East Melbourne	████████████████████							
1894	Footscray	████████████████████							
1895	Yarraville	████████████████████							

Note: The sisters who made the first foundations in Victoria went there from Sydney, not South Australia.

Numurkah was in the Diocese of Sandhurst and the other houses in the Melbourne Archdiocese.

Surrey Hills was an orphanage, East Melbourne a House of Providence and the others were schools.

Sources: Ordo, 1886 - 1896.  
Victorian & Western Australian files, ASSJ.

APPENDIX XXIV: MEMBERSHIP OF THE INSTITUTE, 1867 - 1899.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Entries</u>	<u>Departures</u>	<u>Deaths</u>	<u>Cumulative Totals</u>
1867	10	-	-	10
1868	40	-	-	50
1869	34	2	-	82
1870	30	1	-	111
1871	16	4	-	123
1872	18	14	-	127
1873	26	1	3	149
1874	52	3	2	196
1875	7	-	2	201
1876	9	9	4	197
1877	5	7	2	193
1878	8	1	2	198
1879	14	9	-	203
1880	5	8	-	200
1881	12	3	3	206
1882	6	2	1	209
1883	15	7	4	213
1884	19	2	1	229
1885	18	3	2	242
1886	11	-	2	251
1887	12	2	2	259
1888	12	-	1	270
1889	21	1	1	289
1890	28	5	4	308
1891	12	1	1	318
1892	16	3	1	330
1893	11	2	2	337
1894	20	2	2	353
1895	16	-	1	368
1896	22	1	3	386
1897	25	2	5	404
1898	32	-	6	430
1899	32	-	4	458
<u>TOTALS:</u>	<u>614</u>	<u>95</u>	<u>61</u>	<u>458</u>

SOURCE: Register of the Sisters, Sydney &amp; Adelaide ASSJ.

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