

Divine Horizons: Religion and Social Class in the Lives of Two Leading Australian Women, Betty Archdale and Kylie Tennant

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Abstract: In this chapter I examine the experiences of two influential twentieth-century women, Betty Archdale (1907–2000) and Kylie Tennant (1912–1988), through the lenses of social class and religion. Both women were born into middle–upper-class families and both had mothers who continued to identify as Christian Scientists until they died. Archdale and Tennant, however, both converted to the Anglican Church as adults, sharing this as well as their ongoing critiques of the Australian establishment. Despite their conversion to mainstream Christianity, I argue that some aspects of Christian Science doctrine influenced both women in their public lives.

Keywords: Betty Archdale, Kylie Tennant, social class, Christian Science, women’s leadership, social conditions, women in sport, girls’ education

Betty Archdale (1909–2000) was a leader in women’s sport, particularly cricket. As a prominent educationalist during the 1950s and 1960s she was also an early advocate for what is now known as ‘lifelong learning’ and encouraged girls to take up studies in the ‘hard’ sciences in advance of the second wave feminist movement. Born in London, Archdale first became well known in Australia as captain of the English women’s cricket team during the significant first test match between the Australian women’s cricket team and the English women’s cricket team in the Australian summer of 1934–1935. During this first tour of Australia, Archdale was particularly struck by the egalitarian composition of the Australian women’s cricket team, a factor which influenced her decision to make her home in Sydney after World War II. Here she became a radio and television personality.

Kylie Tennant (1912–1998) was born in Manly, New South Wales, and became one of Australia’s most prominent writers from 1935 when she published her first book, *Tiburon*, which won that year’s S.H. Prior Memorial Prize. From a middle-class background, Tennant was particularly notable for her spirited and respectful engagement with the actual lives of poor and working-class people as she gathered material for her novels, which aimed to expose oppressive social structures. Her writing was popular with those she

wrote about, and the gritty social realism of her novels meant they were compared with the works of Charles Dickens and John Steinbeck. Two of her books, *Ride on Stranger* and *Battlers*, were later dramatised for television.

There is no evidence Betty Archdale and Kylie Tennant ever met each other, but they have much in common. Both came to prominence in Australia during 1935 and influenced public opinion on women in sport, girls' education, literature and social conditions. They also shared middle to upper-class heritage, and social class was to play a considerable role in their lives and leadership trajectories. So did religion. Both women were raised in the church of their mothers, Christian Science. Both women then left that tradition as adults and became Anglicans.

As Jill Roe has pointed out, 'Christian Science has been a very small affair in Australia'.¹ Despite lacking numerical dominance, however, the nineteenth-century woman-founded church – known for its emphasis on physical healing through prayer – has been associated with a number of significant early feminists. These include Vida Goldstein (1869–1949) who, along with her mother Isabella and sister Aileen, was involved in founding the church in Melbourne in 1903. Roe's research demonstrates that the appeal of Christian Science in Australia was similar to that in America; that is, Mary Baker Eddy's transcendent, gender-inclusive theology inspired Victorian women with the possibility of health. They could, as Eddy had done, resist the medical, sentimental and religious discourses that constructed women as inherently sick.² That the material or mundane world is illusory is at the core of Eddy's religious doctrines and healing practice. According to Eddy, creation is wholly comprised of God, Love. God is All-in-all; the very substance of the universe and humanity is the reflection of this perfection. In turning away from their sick bodies and toward God in prayer, women could demonstrate their inherent perfection and heal their bodies. For Victorian women, Christian Science also provided a theologically reasoned argument for resisting the hegemonic separate spheres ideology of the day, the opportunity for leadership within a religious context and the possibility of a financially viable career as healer (which Vida Goldstein was to take up in her fifties).³

While Christian Science appealed to their Victorian mothers, Archdale and Tennant eventually rejected it in favour of the considerably more popular mainstream Anglican Church. In this chapter I explore the intersection of religion and social class in the lives of these women, both significant in twentieth-century Australian public life, and show how that intersection played out differently for each. I begin by considering the formative family influences on each woman and illustrate how social class and Christian Science were both factors that shaped their public lives. I then look at why the

Anglican tradition became a more appealing spiritual home, into which they brought some continuing influence of Christian Science.

Formative influences: Betty Archdale

According to Betty Archdale, her mother was a significant influence in her life. The English-born Helen Archdale (1876–1949), despite her own mother having been one of the first women to attend medical school, wasn't expected to 'to do anything' with her life and she became ill from boredom and dissatisfaction on leaving school. Travel and marriage did improve her general wellbeing for a short time – at least until, as an army wife with three small children who were cared for by nannies and governesses, she again became ill. For Helen, this privileged life was unreal and it wasn't until she rejected it in favour of activism with the suffragist movement that she came to life; she finally had a sense of purpose. Like many other women, Helen 'experienced a release of energy, a sense of usefulness, adventure and excitement' in working for the women's movement and she remained an active feminist for the rest of her life.⁴ Indeed, the women who feature in the life of Betty Archdale as a child and young woman reads like a who's who of the first wave feminist movement. Her governess at one point was Adela Pankhurst, while another was Jennie Kenney, teacher and sister of prominent suffragettes Annie and Jessie Kenney. According to Betty Archdale, all the governesses she and her two brothers had at this time were 'suffragettes having a rest'. Her mother's health concerns, however, continued until she became a Christian Scientist.⁵

Betty's father, a professional soldier, came from Irish landed gentry. Not surprisingly, her mother Helen's militant engagement with the suffrage movement caused a rift not only in her marriage but also in her relationship with her husband's family. Still, Betty's paternal grandparents did assist with school fees after her father died in 1919, which allowed Betty to attend a Scottish boarding school, St Leonards. St Leonards was where Helen Archdale, the daughter of an eminent reform-oriented Scottish journalist and editor of *The Scotsman*, had gone to school. It provided a stabilising influence for the young Betty, particularly given her mother's peripatetic life. St Leonard's was a school with a strong academic push; it was the first boarding school for girls in Britain that expected and encouraged girls to be anything they wanted to be, where 'being a girl was no excuse for failure'.⁶ Betty thrived at the school, where her love of sport was encouraged and her leadership qualities developed. The experience there informed her kind and tolerant attitude toward the boarders at Abbotsleigh much later, as well as the way in which she sought to enhance the students' academic experience. Betty's affiliation with Australia also began with St Leonard's as her best

friend was Mavis Mackenzie from Goondiwindi in Queensland. From St Leonards, Betty joined her brother at McGill University in Canada to study economics before returning to England to study law.

A Christian Science moment in Australian cricketing history

When Betty Archdale captained the English women's cricket team during that first test match against Australia during the summer of 1934–35, she identified as a Christian Scientist, following her mother. Margaret Peden, the captain of the Australian women's team, also identified as a Christian Scientist at that time – also following her mother.

This 'Christian Science moment in Australian cricketing history' began in Sydney in 1934 when Margaret Peden, a cricketing enthusiast, began organising a tour to Australia of the then non-existent English women's cricket team. Her sister Barbara, an architect, was newly arrived in England, and had met Betty through their mothers' Christian Science connections. The two had become friends. Through the Peden sisters an invitation was extended to Betty to captain an English women's cricket team and tour Australia and New Zealand the following summer. Thus Betty's inclusion in the English women's cricket team was enabled by her religious affiliations. It was also enabled by class privilege, because English women cricketers only came from the middle and upper classes, whereas in Australia cricketers included working-class women too.⁷

Archdale's friends, Margaret and Barbara Peden, later also let her know about two other significant positions. In 1947, Barbara Peden suggested Archdale might consider applying for the position of principal of Women's College at the University of Sydney. The decision was not easy, but Archdale decided to take up the position partly because she was thirty-eight years old, an age she thought would make it difficult to establish herself in a legal practice in England given that her career had been interrupted by her war service.⁸

Despite conflicts with the council of Women's College and some privileged parents, who were rather alarmed by Archdale's lack of attention to dress codes, she infused the college with life and an egalitarian spirit.⁹ Informed by a brief interest in Communism and a continued desire to remove social exploitation, as well as her experience with the Australian women's cricket team, Archdale ensured young women from non-privileged backgrounds, as well as recent migrants, were enabled to live at Women's College along with girls from more privileged circumstances.¹⁰

During her time at Women's College Archdale began to give public lectures which provided an opportunity to voice her feminist ideas, many of which were later taken up by the second wave feminist movement in the early

1970s. Archdale benefited from the considerably smaller pond of Australia where her outspokenness became a feature of her public persona, and her public appearances and forthright opinions about girls positioned her well when, ten years later and prompted this time by Margaret Peden, she applied to become principal at Abbotsleigh, an exclusive Anglican school for girls on the upper north shore of Sydney.¹¹

Archdale had early rebelled against becoming a teacher, because for her mother's generation this was almost their sole option. Despite this she was to become much loved by the Abbotsleigh students, although the staff and school council were not always as enamoured of her. A not entirely popular decision with the latter, for example, was when, influenced by her feminism, Archdale made it a policy to employ married women.¹² No doubt Archdale's willingness to participate in public debates, such as her regular involvement in the ABC radio program, *Any Questions*, helped to promote Abbotsleigh as a progressive school for girls and ameliorate some of the governing council's antagonism. For the most part the girls, however, affectionately called their headmistress 'Archie' and according to Deidre McPherson, herself an Abbotsleigh old scholar, were proud of her being a public figure. For many of the Abbotsleigh girls, Archdale 'became the model of a woman they wanted to be like, free and independent, important in her world and visible in society', and a significant number proceeded to university and professional careers.¹³

Felix Arnott, Archbishop of Brisbane from 1970 till 1980, a young priest and close friend of Archdale's during her time at the University of Sydney, was instrumental in her conversion to the Anglican Church. As a child in boarding school Betty had been required to nominate a religious affiliation and, advised by her mother, chose to identify as Presbyterian because of the comparatively fewer demands for attending church.¹⁴ As an adult, however, she identified as a Christian Scientist at least up until she went to Women's College – although during the war she had become more open to exploring other Christian traditions. Being confronted with the brutality of war appears to have jolted Archdale's inherited religious beliefs, but it wasn't until her mother was rejected by a Christian Science hospice because she had gone to a regular hospital after suffering a heart attack that Archdale began in earnest to visit other churches. She also read widely among the popular male theologians of her day: for example, Karl Barth (1886–1968) and Paul Tillich (1886–1965).¹⁵ Although not initially enamoured of the patriarchal Anglican Church, education was one area of Anglican Church life in which women had been exercising leadership in Australia since the middle of the nineteenth century. As well, her ongoing conversations with Felix Arnott, whom she regarded as a decent and intelligent Christian, were a significant factor in her conversion to that tradition in 1955.¹⁶ By the time Archdale took up her appointment at

Abbottsleigh she had become an Anglican, somewhat conveniently since otherwise she would have been ineligible for the position of headmistress!

Formative influences: Kylie Tennant

Kylie Tennant's maternal grandmother was a member of the Australian aristocracy who married a working-class migrant from England. Even though Grandmother Tolhurst was a shy woman who never met strangers at the door, it seems that within the family she was an indomitable force and it was through her that everybody else took up the mantle of the Christian Science church.

For Kylie Tennant, there is a lasting, unfavourable impression of the church created by her grandmother's enthusiasm for it. One story she tells is of the Sunday ritual her family would make to get to the newly built church in Sydney from the family home in Manly. Before there was a church, religious instruction would happen spontaneously at home with hymn singing around the piano and the regular recitation of psalms during the week, but the new building created the dilemma of how to get to church from Manly while also maintaining the institution of Grandmother Tolhurst's Sunday lunch. The family would race off to catch the ferry, having had time only for a perfunctory breakfast, and go over their weekly bible lesson on board rather than allow the children to run around and play. From Circular Quay they took an exceedingly slow tram ride and got off on the corner of a street in 'one of the most miserable slums in the city', close to where Kylie's future husband lived.¹⁷ After the church service, the family would return home via the same route and only then would Grandmother Tolhurst begin cooking lunch, meaning it was 3 pm before they sat down to eat. Given that no food was allowed between the 8 am tea and toast and the 3 pm feast, religion in the mind of the young Kylie became associated with 'an aching void in the stomach' and dissatisfaction in her mind because questions weren't satisfactorily answered by Sunday School teachers either.¹⁸ For example, she was taught that 'Divine Love always has met and always will meet every human need',¹⁹ and yet her experience of travelling through the Sydney slums clearly demonstrated that some people lived in appalling conditions, obviously not having their needs met for sanitary and commodious living conditions.

Another formative influence for Kylie was her maternal Grandfather Tolhurst, a working-class migrant from England. She loved the work he did as a builder, from the intellectual work of constructing plans to the practical work of transforming the beauty of trees into two-storey houses. She also loved the close working relationships he formed with employees and that, to

her middle-class grandmother's horror, his hands and clothes would end up as dirty as those of his staff.²⁰

Kylie completed her primary and secondary education at a private girls' school, Brighton College in Manly, which was one of the first private schools for girls in New South Wales. Her parents' decision to send her to Brighton College was influenced by Kylie's first experience of a public school as imprisoning, rather than by her father's class bias.²¹ It may well have been that early experience of school as a prison which first alerted Tennant to the matrix of institutions that shape people's lives, a theme that informs much of her later work.

Proving 'the reality of the material world'

By the time Betty Archdale made her first trip to Australia, Kylie Tennant was twenty-three years of age, married, had left the Christian Science church, and was about to publish her first novel, *Tiburón*. Tennant had married Lewis Rodd in 1933 and she adopted Rodd's religious affiliation by converting to the Anglican Church. There probably could not have been a greater contrast between the simple Christian Science service and the 'incense, confessions and stations of the cross' involved in her new 'high' or Anglo-Catholic church, but her family's horror of Roman Catholicism and ritual, common in Australia, were set aside in support of their daughter's choices.²² That Lewis Rodd had meant to be a priest and that Tennant's mother became the Christian Science equivalent of that vocation, a Christian Science practitioner, may have given them all a sense of shared interest in religion and spirituality.

Rodd came from the sort of background that Tennant was to write about; his mother was widowed and raised three children 'in the slums of Surry Hills'.²³ The couple met while Kylie was studying at the University of Sydney, but Rodd was more successful than she in finishing his degree. Rodd was posted to Coonabarabran early in his teaching career as part of his country service, and it was here Tennant began her married life, which consisted of researching and writing her own books in addition to helping out in the local school as needed.

Tennant's intellectual interest was very much the material suffering caused by the class system and by the time of her marriage she had become interested in the plight of the 30 per cent of people who could not find work at all as the Great Depression deepened, many of whom were tramping about the countryside in search of it.²⁴ To discover how poor people actually lived, she insisted on experiencing poverty for herself and so she lived on the road and in camps with unemployed people for *The Battlers*, and rented rooms in the slum areas of Redfern, Surry Hills and Paddington for *Foveaux*.²⁵ Tennant's research even extended to getting herself thrown in jail for a week for the

novel *Tell Morning This*. To her astonishment, she found that authorities would not allow her as a middle-class woman to spend any time in prison, but when she resorted to dressing up as advised by a prostitute, loitering and giving a policeman a bit of cheek, she was quickly flung inside. Although Tennant was also in the privileged position of being a financially supported schoolteacher's wife, she still found her health adversely affected by the living conditions she experienced when conducting research. She concluded that 'living rough' was aging.²⁶

The legacy of Christian Science

At first glance it would seem odd that an ardent feminist such as Betty Archdale and an anti-establishment figure like Kylie Tennant would leave what Margery Fox in 1973 had resolved was an ideal church for women.²⁷ After all, the Anglican Church was inextricably entangled with the establishment in Australia, it had a patriarchal and monarchical conception of the Divine, and there was a significant and ongoing absence of women as leaders in the church outside missionary work and education.²⁸ My own research, however, outlines a number of reasons for the reduced appeal of the Christian Science church after Mary Baker Eddy's death in 1910. From then it operated with a male dominated board of directors which became increasingly rigid in its definition of Christian Science during the twentieth century. The board of directors 'dropped from the membership' those who promoted varying perspectives on church theology; proscribed reading matter; mandated that church members not seek medical attention, drink alcohol or smoke tobacco; and promoted a view of the material world that continued a Western tendency toward somatophobia (a fear or hatred of bodies). By contrast, there was a loosening in the Anglican Church promoted by World War I and the Great Depression. These events had been catalysts for the 'more cautiously critical outlook towards the social status quo' of many Anglicans, a shift that coincides with Tennant joining the church as a young woman.²⁹ It was also home to a number of 'rebels and mavericks' and had a strong tradition of church members being actively involved in public life.³⁰ Moreover, both Archdale and Tennant could be described as 'Type B' Anglicans; that is, those who are less rigidly bound to church doctrine and who 'see the Christian faith primarily as a set of ethical principles' and a pathway to leading a meaningful life.³¹

Although both Betty Archdale and Kylie Tennant rejected the Christian Science tradition, they remained influenced by it in significant ways during their public lives. For example, both women developed a physical toughness and disregard for ill health that can be directly attributed to their Christian Science experience. Betty Archdale's blasé attitude toward physical illness,

particularly her failure to respond quickly if students at Women's College or girls at Abbotsleigh became sick, is likely to have been informed by her Christian Science perspective on the need to mentally turn away from illness in order to effect healing.³² Archdale is unlikely, therefore, to have been enthusiastic about the late twentieth-century feminist turn toward embodiment. She did not even desire an embodied after life, because she found that 'our bodies are nothing but a nuisance. As we get older they become increasingly painful and irritating.'³³

Kylie Tennant's physical stoicism was of great benefit when she was 'roughing' it for research, but she did develop significant health concerns later in her life. However, even though Tennant eventually succumbed to visiting doctors, in opposition to what her grandmother had advised, she continued to avoid painkillers and sleeping tablets. Instead, even after a mastectomy, she recited poetry to distract herself from pain.³⁴ As an adult, Tennant seems to have come to appreciate having had a childhood not focused on illness. She believed her husband, who had always gone to doctors, suffered more for this as a result, being one of those 'so wrapped up in their bodies that they were never really free. They never forgot themselves for a minute.'³⁵ Her physical stoicism seems to have flowed over into her ideas of what constituted a good Christian generally, at least as they are summed up in her attitude to her dear friend the Reverend Alfred Clint on his death. Since Clint had embraced life and laughed at the absurdity of it, but particularly 'because he took no notice of pain and was perfectly disciplined', she concluded he had 'died as a Christian should'.³⁶

When they were well established as significant public figures Archdale and Tennant both wrote autobiographies and reflected on the considerable influence of religion in their private and public lives. Of the two, Archdale is the most explicit about her theology, which follows much of Mary Baker Eddy's. For example, heaven for Archdale is a 'union with the force behind this world', experienced as 'the spontaneous, unselfconscious and unself-righteous glow when I know I have made the right choice in some action and this has been good for someone else'. Hell for her was a sense of separation from this force. These ideas of heaven and hell as states of mind rather than locations are similar to those of Eddy's.³⁷ Archdale's rejection of the idea that anyone could be condemned to hell because they aren't Christian also reminds me of the seventeen-year-old Mary Baker rejecting the ideas of predestination.³⁸ What Archdale seems to have ended up rejecting from Christian Science, then, was not the theology so much as the church's twentieth-century injunctions against smoking tobacco, drinking alcohol and visiting medical doctors.³⁹

Archdale was also critical of the Anglican Church after her conversion. In particular, she experienced the Sydney diocese with its 'evangelical,

fundamental and anti-intellectual attitudes' as frustrating and its stance of resorting to 'The Bible says' inimical to its survival.⁴⁰ Archdale's solution was to have a chapel built on Abbotsleigh grounds so that views other than those held by the conservative Sydney diocese could be heard.⁴¹ She also rejected school tradition and accommodated girls from a range of different faiths, and she was critical of the appointment to the school council of church members whose only qualification was 'attendance at the right church'.⁴²

Religion continued to be an important aspect of Archdale's life until her death, but she wasn't dogmatic or zealous in her beliefs. Early school experience at St Leonards had taught her of the varieties of Christianity and the importance of tolerance, and she thought she was a Christian in large part only because of her cultural context.⁴³ She prayed every night for guidance, and in a manner very reminiscent of many letters published in Christian Science magazines over the years believed her prayers had been answered when she felt impelled to proceed in a particular direction.⁴⁴

Despite her early rejection of Christian Science, Kylie Tennant was also informed by it in crucial ways. For example, she states she was pushed by Eddy's transcendent theology and idealist philosophy to 'prove the reality of the material world' having been puzzled when her Sunday School teachers denied any situation which contradicted the core church teaching that 'the universe was run by Divine Love and all was peace, joy and harmony'.⁴⁵ In contrast to the promise of 'peace, joy and harmony' were the reality of the slums the family would pass through to go to church and Sunday School, so it is likely that Tennant found the church too ephemeral or, like Helen Archdale, her own more privileged life 'unreal'.

Tennant includes a critique of Christian Science in her writings. In *Foveaux*, for example, Mrs Montague, a member of the fallen middle class based on Tennant's mother, conforms to what I've described elsewhere as the model of a 'good' Christian Scientist. She is depicted by Tennant, though, as rather deluded in trying to convince herself 'that her life was full of gladness' when she lived in desperately poor circumstances with a violent and controlling husband.⁴⁶ Later, Mrs Montague interprets the throat cancer she dies from as evidence of her hard, unloving and resentful thoughts toward the husband who had abused her. However, Tennant seems as harsh in her criticisms of the medical profession in this book. When it is suggested that Mrs Montague subject herself to the new and expensive ray treatment, Tennant has the doctor still happy to pocket the fees despite the doubtful efficacy of the treatment. Towards the end of her life Mrs Montague derives at least noteworthy comfort from her religion, a comfort not available from the medical profession.⁴⁷

Tennant was not much more positive about mainstream Christianity, particularly Christian charity. In *Tell Morning This* she takes issue with the

Salvation Army and Roman Catholic Church because of their dominance in what she sees as the child protection racket, while towards the end of *Foveaux* Mrs Montague's daughter, Linda, is forced to take refuge in a Roman Catholic-run home because of the Depression. The anger that begins to well up in her at the cruel treatment of the nuns toward the inmates, as well as toward stray cats and kittens, sees Linda generating the energy to move through the apathy induced by her mother's death. The home featured in the story provided accommodation for just the number of homeless women needed to clean the Benevolent Board's premises. Feeding the women on meagre donations of food, the board thus saved on cleaning costs while appearing to be charitable. Before the women could eat they were required to listen to a Bible lesson, a practice Tennant decided would not have endeared any of them to religion. It is a story similar to the one of young Kylie being compelled to wait for lunch on an empty stomach after church.⁴⁸

Despite her initial intentions with writing Tennant developed an acute awareness of the limitations, particularly of politics, to orchestrate social change – as the character Shannon from *Ride on Stranger* also comes to find. This, ironically, was also Mary Baker Eddy's position, but whereas Eddy advocated prayer as a means to effect a change in consciousness leading to positive outcomes for the health of individual bodies and/or societies, Tennant speaks of having given up praying for others by the time she wrote her memoirs. Tennant continued a desire for healing, again in common with Eddy and other Christians, but instead of wanting a specific change for people in need, she would 'just surround them with white light' in a manner similar to practitioners of various New Age modalities – whereas previously she could apparently heal people by laying her hands on them.⁴⁹

Tennant's reverence for life can also be likened to that of Mary Baker Eddy's. There are three stories that illustrate this reverence, including that manifested by insects, animals and plants. The first is when Tennant bought a potted eucalypt because it was in poor condition, so she could plant it out and watch it flourish.⁵⁰ The second is her refusal to kill bugs that were infesting her slum dwelling. 'I went up to poison them', she said, 'and a mother bug gathered her young behind her and dared me with furiously waving antennae. I admired that bug and respected her. So I left her and the hundreds in the cracks and we slept downstairs.'⁵¹ Finally, she refused to harbour hatred toward those responsible for the death of her son, who was assaulted, robbed and left for dead while living alone in Sydney. Instead, she sent money to one of the culprits while insisting that languishing in jail is of no value to anyone.⁵²

Conclusion

It appears as if Betty Archdale and Kylie Tennant never met each other, and therefore it is likely they didn't know they had both been raised within the Christian Science tradition, or that they had both rejected it in favour of Anglicanism as adults. They were, however, both influenced in their public lives in significant ways by the religion of their mothers. Christian Science enhanced Archdale's social capital and this subsequently enabled her to participate in a historically significant cricket tour in Australia as well as apply for key positions as an educationalist when she migrated here after World War II. According to Tennant, Mary Baker Eddy's transcendent theology as interpreted by her family and local church challenged her to expose the scandalous material conditions faced daily by many Sydney residents. She made this her life's work. Both women also continued to disregard as far as possible their incarnate selves, and neither was averse to critiquing mainstream Christianity which they found wanting too. Although the Anglican Church became their spiritual home, for both women Mary Baker Eddy's Christian Science Church significantly shaped their career trajectories and continued to influence them in their public lives.

¹ Jill Roe, "'Testimonies from the Field': The Coming of Christian Science to Australia, c. 1890–1910", *Journal of Religious History* 22, no. 3 (1998): 304–19.

² Deidre Michell, *Christian Science: Women, Healing and the Church* (Lanham, MD: University of America Press, 2009), 6.

³ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁴ Deirdre MacPherson, *The Suffragette's Daughter: Betty Archdale* (Kenthurst, NSW: Rosenberg Publishing, 2003), 12, 37, 44,

⁵ *Ibid.*, 63, 122.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 57, 61.

⁷ Betty Archdale, *Indiscretions of a Headmistress* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1972), 108, 113.

⁸ MacPherson, 156.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 158.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 159.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 141, 173, 181, 184.

¹² Archdale, 110.

¹³ MacPherson, 207.

¹⁴ Betty Archdale, Interview by Jill Lennon, 'The Greening Years', *Verbatim*, Radio National, 2008, <http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/verbatim/betty-archdale/3197494> (accessed 28 May 2012).

¹⁵ Archdale, 83, 186, 192; MacPherson, 170.

¹⁶ MacPherson, 184; David Hilliard, 'How Anglican Lay People Saved the Church', *St Marks Review* (March 2009): 41–54.

- ¹⁷ Kylie Tennant, *The Missing Heir: The Autobiography of Kylie Tennant* (Melbourne: Macmillan, 1986), 35–6.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 36.
- ¹⁹ Mary Baker Eddy, *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures* (Boston: The First Church of Christ, Scientist, 1906/1994), 494.
- ²⁰ Tennant, *The Missing Heir*, 26–8.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, 39.
- ²² *Ibid.*, 3, 29.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, 11.
- ²⁴ Jane Grant, *Kylie Tennant: A Life* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2005), 2.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, 23, 32.
- ²⁶ Tennant, *The Missing Heir*, 132; Grant, 44.
- ²⁷ Margery Fox, ‘Power and Piety: Women in Christian Science’ (PhD thesis, New York University, 1973).
- ²⁸ Hilliard, 46–7; Peter Sherlock, ‘“Leave it to the Women”: The Exclusion of Women from Anglican Church Government in Australia’, *Australian Historical Studies* 39, no. 3 (2008): 288–304; Rowan Strong, ‘An Antipodean Establishment: Institutional Anglicanism in Australia, 1788–c.1934’, *Journal of Anglican Studies* 1, no. 1 (2003): 61–90.
- ²⁹ Strong, 61.
- ³⁰ Hilliard, 49–51.
- ³¹ Hilliard, 42.
- ³² MacPherson, 176; Michell, 186.
- ³³ Archdale, 197.
- ³⁴ Tennant, *The Missing Heir*, 52.
- ³⁵ Kylie Tennant, *Ride on Stranger* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1943), 97.
- ³⁶ Tennant, *The Missing Heir*, 108.
- ³⁷ Archdale, 200, 205; Eddy, 266.
- ³⁸ Archdale, 205; Michell, 49.
- ³⁹ Archdale, 147.
- ⁴⁰ Archdale, 82–3.
- ⁴¹ MacPherson, 235.
- ⁴² Archdale, 88.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*, 189, 206.
- ⁴⁴ Cited by MacPherson, 235, 244, 287.
- ⁴⁵ Tennant, *The Missing Heir*, 24.
- ⁴⁶ Kylie Tennant, *Foveaux* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1939), 37–9; Michell, 91.
- ⁴⁷ Tennant, *Foveaux*, 280.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 359.
- ⁴⁹ Tennant, *The Missing Heir*, 145, 169.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 26–7.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 110.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, 249.