STORY | THEOLOGY | VOICE

FULLER

WOMEN

"We believe that the ministries of Christ happen inside and outside the walls of the church—in banks and schools and theaters and hospitals as well as in congregations. And we believe that men and women are equally called to and gifted for all these ministries: gender is no barrier when the Lord calls and equips someone for service, whatever it might be."

—MARIANNE MEYE THOMPSON, GEORGE ELDON LADD PROFESSOR OF NEW TESTAMENT

40 YEARS ON . . .

40 AÑOS EN . . .

40년의 여정 그리고 . . .

John L. Thompson and Marianne Meye Thompson,
Guest Theology Editors

Forty years ago, we were new students at Fuller. The seminary was in the midst of an unexpected enrollment boom—a massive influx that increasingly shifted the gender profile of the student body. Women students were no longer present as a mere handful—their numbers were significant, and the change was impossible to miss in the classroom, the library, the Garth, and the refectory. Fuller had long had women students in class, but their presence in programs leading to pastoral ministry was decidedly new.

Forty years later, Fuller continues to add women to its students, staff, administration, and faculty. Our commitment to the preparation of men and women for the manifold ministries of Christ and his church is embodied in all three of our schools—Theology, Psychology, and Intercultural Studies. Our

Hacen cuarenta años éramos estudiantes nuevos de Fuller. El seminario estaba experimentando un crecimiento en la matrícula con un éxito inesperado y una afluencia masiva que cambió cada vez más el perfil de género en la población estudiantil. Las estudiantes ya no estaban presentes como un grupo pequeño, su número era significativo produciendo un cambio que les hizo imposible perderse en el aula, la biblioteca, el patio central, y en la cafetería. Durante mucho tiempo Fuller había tenido mujeres estudiantes en las clases, pero su presencia en los programas destinados al ministerio pastoral era completamente nuevo.

Cuarenta años más tarde, Fuller continúa añadiendo mujeres a su cuerpo de estudiantes, facultad y empleados. Nuestro compromiso con la preparación de "hombres y mujeres para los múltiples ministerios de Cristo y de su Iglesia" está presente en todas nuestras escuelas: Te-

commitment to cultivating leaders for an increasingly multicultural world and for the mission of the church in that world has entailed a like commitment to the full and equal partnership of women in all its programs and in the work of the church. In a word, while Fuller's schools and programs have evolved, as a seminary we have been supporting women for rather a long time.

This issue of *FULLER: Theology* sketches some of the context for Fuller's commitment, focusing on questions of Scripture, history, and culture. Those commitments emerge in the first instance, we believe, from the way we read Scripture. But it is equally true that a host of trajectories lead in our direction from as far back as the Reformation, as well as from the Great Awakenings in our country—and the stories of women and their ministries in these earlier centuries are part of Fuller's story, too.

But the recognition of women's gifts and callings is still diversely received by the complex and diverse cultures of the church around the world. So this issue also features a selection of voices that help us appreciate the struggles and triumphs that characterize women's experiences in various church settings. As we anticipate the next 40 years, we hope for the strengthening of the global church's commitment to celebrating and employing the gifts of women in the ministries of Christ's church, carrying on the trajectories begun with Priscilla, Phoebe, Lydia, and other early workers for the gospel of Jesus Christ.

ología, Psicología y los Estudios Interculturales. Nuestro compromiso en preparar líderes para un mundo cada vez más multicultural y para la misión de la iglesia en este mundo, ha implicado un compromiso completo con una asociación de igualdad de la mujer en todos los programas y en la obra de la iglesia. En pocas palabras, a pesar de que las escuelas y los programas de Fuller continúan evolucionando, como seminario hemos estado apoyando a las mujeres por bastante tiempo.

La sección de teología de este número de FULLER esboza algunos contextos para el compromiso de Fuller, concentrándose en Las Escrituras, la historia y la cultura. Aquellos compromisos surgen primeramente, a nuestro juicio, de la manera en que leemos Las Escrituras. También es cierto que una gran cantidad de eventos nos conducen en esta dirección como pasó en la Reforma, así como de los Grandes Despertares en nuestro país. Las historias de las mujeres y sus ministerios en siglos anteriores también son parte de la historia de Fuller.

El reconocimiento de los dones y el llamado de las mujeres sigue siendo recibido en forma diversa por la variedad y complejidad de las culturas de la iglesia alrededor del mundo. Así que ésta cuestión también cuenta con una selección de voces que nos ayudan a apreciar las luchas y los triunfos que caracterizan las experiencias de las mujeres en diversos ámbitos de la iglesia. Como anticipamos los próximos 40 años, esperamos que para el fortalecimiento del compromiso de la iglesia mundial, para la celebración y el empleo de los dones de las mujeres en los ministerios de la iglesia de Cristo, sigan llevando las trayectorias iniciadas por Priscilla, Phoebe, Lydia, y otras mujeres que fueron trabajadoras para el evangelio de Jesucristo.

40년 전, 우리는 풀러 신입생들이었습니다. 전교생의 성별 대비를 점증적으로 바꾸어 버렸던 대대적인 여학생 유입으로 학교는 예기치 못한 등록 호황을 누리고 있었습니다. 여학생들은 더 이상 소수가 아니었습니다. 강의실, 도서관, 캠퍼스, 학교식당에서 확연히 드러나는 의미심장한 변화였습니다. 풀러에서 여학생들이 공부한 지는 오래되었지만, 목회 사역으로 이어지는 프로그램들에 그들이 있었다는 사실은 분명 새로운 일이었습니다.

40년 후, 풀러는 계속해서 여학생과 여성 직원, 여성 교수들의 수를 더하고 있습니다. 그리스도와 그의 교회의 다양한 사역을 위해 남성과 여성을 준비시키려는 우리의 열정은 풀러의 세 학교 즉, 신학대학원, 심리학대학원, 선교학대학원 모두에서 구현되고 있습니다. 풀러는 점점 더 다문화적인 세상과 그러한 세상에서의 교회의 사명을 위해 리더들을 양성하는데 헌신해 왔습니다. 또한 우리의 헌신은 모든 프로그램과 교회 사역에서 여성의 온전하고도 동등한 참여를 위한 같은 열정을 품어 왔습니다. 간단히 말하자면, 풀러의 대학원들과 프로그램들이 지속적으로 변화해 왔지만, 신학교로서 우리는 상당히 오랫동안 여성들을 지원해 왔었습니다.

이번 호 풀러 매거진 신학란에서는 풀러의 헌신에 대한 일부 배경을 성경, 역사, 그리고 문화에 초점을 두고 묘사하고 있습니다. 무엇보다도, 그러한 헌신은 우리가 성경을 읽는 방식으로부터 생겨난다고 믿습니다. 그러나 동일하게, 미국의 대 각성 운동은 물론, 아주 멀리는 종교 개혁에 이르는 다수의 경로들이 우리의 방향에 영향을 미친 것도 사실입니다. 이전 세기들의 여성과 그들의 사역 이야기들은 풀러 이야기 일부이기도 합니다.

여성의 은사와 소명에 대한 인식은 복합적이고도 서로 다른 문화를 지닌 전 세계 교회들에게 여전히 다양하게 받아들여지고 있습니다. 따라서, 이번 호가 담고 있는 각각의 의견들 역시 그러한 다양성을 반영할 것이며, 수많은 교회 현장에서 여성들이 경험하는 분투와 성공에 대해 우리가 바르게 이해할 수 있도록 도울 것입니다. 다음 40년을 기대하면서, 우리는 전 세계 교회가 더욱 힘있게 그리스도 교회의 사역들에 여성의 은사를 환영하고 활용하는데 헌신하기를 기대합니다. 예수 그리스도의 복음을 위해 헌신했던 브리스길라, 뵈뵈, 루디아, 그리고 다른 초기 일꾼들과 함께 시작되었던 행보들은 계속될 것입니다.

FULLER, THE BIBLE, AND WOMEN

Marianne Meye Thompson and Joel B. Green

Marianne Meye Thompson, the George Eldon Ladd Professor of New Testament, joined Fuller's School of Theology faculty in 1985. She has been instrumental in developing courses that integrate biblical interpretation with other theological disciplines. In addition to *The Promise of the Father* (2000), an examination of divine fatherhood in Scripture, she has coauthored *Introducing the New Testament* (2001), and written *The God of the Gospel of John* (2001) as well as commentaries on 1–3 John (1992), Colossians and Philemon (2005), and the Gospel of John (2015, in press).

ONE OF FULLER'S DEFINING CHARACTERISTICS IS ITS COMMITMENT TO WOMEN IN MINISTRY. WHAT ARE THE CONTOURS OF THAT COMMITMENT?

MMT: The words that come immediately to mind are partnership, mutuality, interdependence, and the like. Fuller's statement of purpose [**+** *online*] describes the seminary as "dedicated to the equipping of men and women for the manifold ministries of Christ and his church." We construe "ministries" to encompass all that our three schools—Theology, Psychology, and Intercultural Studies—equip our students to do: teach, pastor, counsel, write, lead worship, engage in artistic endeavors, and many other vocations, too. We believe that the ministries of Christ happen inside and outside the walls of the church—in banks and schools and theaters and hospitals as well as in congregations. And we believe that men and women are equally called to and gifted for all these ministries: gender is no barrier when the Lord calls and equips someone for service, whatever it might be.

We also believe that "men and women" are called to minister and serve together; that men and women together constitute the body of Christ and are called to serve as its leaders and servants. In other words, we want to emphasize the mutuality that men and women share in carrying out the "manifold ministries of Christ and his church." We don't want to replace men with women. We don't think male and female should be done away with, or that men and women are simply interchangeable in God's creation. So we believe, for example, that marriage is between a man and a woman.

We acknowledge and celebrate the differences that may arise from our varied experiences in the world as men and women, believing that our mutual service enriches the body of Christ. Perhaps our commitment to mutuality can be summarized in the words of Paul: "in the Lord woman is not independent of man, nor man of woman" (1 Cor 11:11). If others emphasize hierarchy and distinctions in gender roles, we emphasize the ways in which men and women are "joint heirs" of the grace and the call of God.

JBG: I think of Fuller not only as the world's preeminent evangelical seminary, but as a seminary that insists that the evangel, the gospel, embraces women and men as full partners in the good news of Jesus Christ and as equal recipients of God's grace for salvation, ministry, and mission.

This means for us that the gospel is realized among God's people such that we might take for granted that (of course!) both women and men have received gifts and graces for all sorts of ministries, for all kinds of ministry positions, for the full range of ministry roles in the church and world.

Together, women and men reflect God's image. Together, women and men are clothed in Christ at baptism. And God gives both women and men as prophets and evangelists and teachers and pastors to equip God's people for ministry.

Teaching at Fuller Seminary means that I needn't regard these as contested claims, but can simply affirm them as central to the good news of Jesus Christ.

HOW DID YOU GET TO THE PLACE IN YOUR OWN PERSONAL JOURNEY WHERE YOU FOUND YOURSELF SUPPORTING OR IN AGREEMENT WITH THIS POSITION?

JBG: I remember well the turning point. In the summer between my first and second years of seminary, I was a coleader of a summer youth camp. The other coleader was, like me, a male. The main speaker was a male.

The worship leader was a male. And, without anyone saying that this is the way things must be, before the worship gathering on the first evening of the weeklong camp, several males retreated into a side room to pray for the (male-led) service and to lay hands on the (male) speaker. On the second morning, during a meeting of the camp staff, my wife of four months raised her hand and began voicing questions about why women were left to do the babysitting while men were off praying and leading. Happily for me, I wasn't in charge of that meeting. The other coleader was the object of my wife's concerns and he was able to lead the staff in a discussion of how responsibilities might be better divided.

Why didn't it occur to me to raise those questions? I was raised in a traditional, Bible-believing church, one in which women, strong women, were involved in leadership, teaching, and so on. When I was in junior high and high school, the charismatic movement swept through our community. As a result, when it came to who did what, I suppose most of us were more interested in who had the gifts and call of God than in who was male or female. This changed when I was in college, though, as many of us were influenced by strong teaching affirming hierarchy and subordination (children subordinated to the mother, the mother subordinated to the father, and all subordinated to the pastor). Even if I didn't explicitly teach and preach that message, looking back, it seems to have provided us with a kind of template for how things ought to work. After all, it was biblical, right?

In fact, when my wife raised those questions at that camp staff meeting, my first response was to think, "But that's what the Bible teaches!" Then, like a ton of bricks, the question hit me: "Is that what the Bible teaches? Or is that what I've been told the Bible teaches?"

This was the beginning of a process of exploration that led to what would become my firm commitment to interdependence and mutuality. Over time, I underwent a kind of conversion—from the assumption that an all-male leadership team at a youth camp simply represented the way things should be to an assumption that no station, no role, no ministry was off-limits for women whom God had called and gifted.

MMT: If Joel remembers his "turning point" well, I'm not sure I remember any turning point at all. In the church in which I was raised through my college years, men and women worked side by side in most of the tasks of the church: teaching Sunday school, serving on boards, singing in the choir, leading in prayer, serving communion. The missionary whom our small church supported was a woman who served in India; the Sunday school teacher who taught me the fundamental narrative of Scripture was a woman. In fact, it was in this woman's class that I answered the question "What do you want to be when you grow up?" with the reply, "A lady theologian." No one ever told me I couldn't or shouldn't do that.

In other words, the life of the church was carried on by the shared service of men and women together. No one ever articulated the reasons for this mutuality and partnership, so far as I remember: it just happened, and I'm sure it must have shaped me both in what I value in the life of a congregation and in what I think that mutuality should look like in the church.

There were professors during my student years at Fuller who, in their articulation of support for women in ministry, further helped me to get my bearings. Among the

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many I could cite, I think of David Hubbard, Dan Fuller, and Paul Jewett. I remember reading both *Man as Male and Female* and *The Ordination of Women* by Dr. Jewett [+ see excerpt on pg. 55], listening to Dan Fuller interpret 1 Corinthians 11 and the case for women in ministry, and hearing President Hubbard articulate Fuller's commitment to the partnership of men and women in the gospel. These teachers, and many others, helped put the scriptural and theological foundations under the practices and beliefs I inherited in the congregation of my childhood.

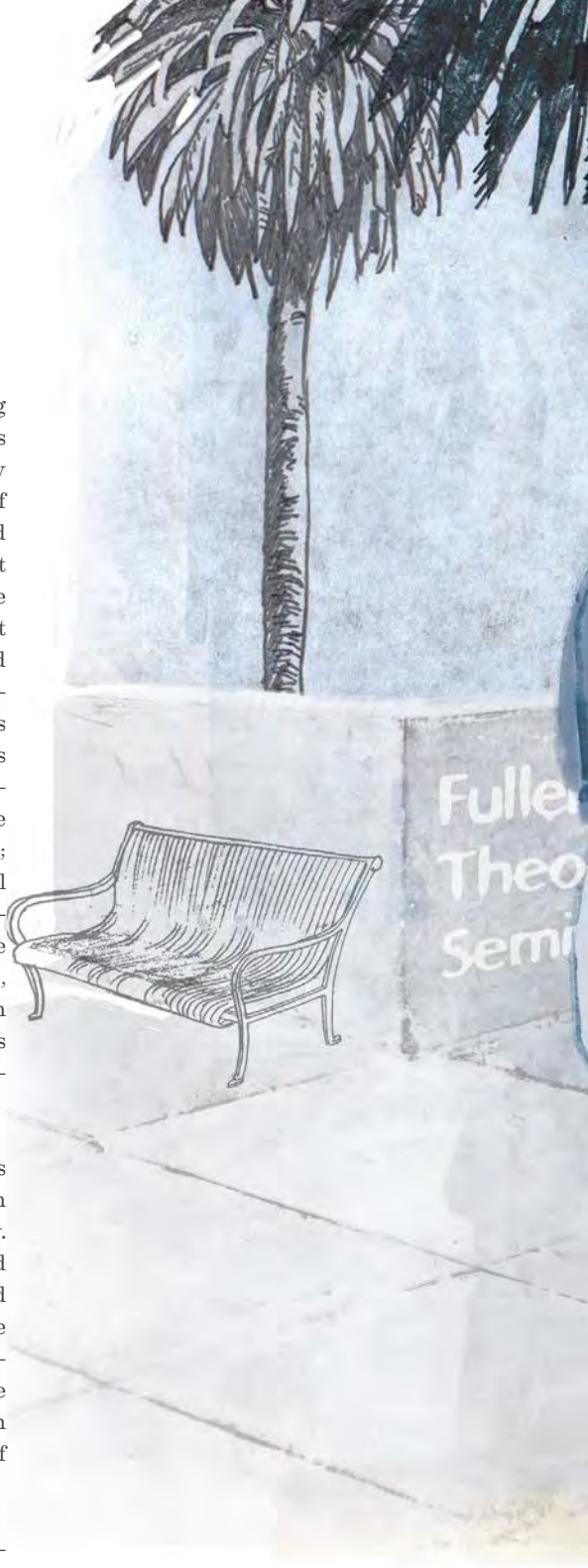
WHICH PASSAGES IN SCRIPTURE ARE FUNDAMENTAL AS SUPPORT FOR FULLER'S (AND YOUR) POSITION?

JBG: Two or three come to mind. The first is the creation account in Genesis 1. When God creates humanity, he creates them male and female, and it's precisely as male and female that they're created in God's image. From the outset, from the very beginning, as Scripture begins to lay out the nature of humanity, we have this clear affirmation of partnership, of full equality between male and female. I think there's an important sense in which that's picked up again in Acts 2, when, in his Pentecost address, Peter draws on the language of Joel 2:28–32. Here we find Peter speaking of the coming of the Spirit on all people, with the result that "your sons and daughters will prophesy." "And they will prophesy," Peter says. The same theme is in Galatians 3:28, where the divisions that separate people in the real world, slave or free, Jew or Greek, male or female—are simply flattened or leveled in Christ, as a consequence of God's new creation. It's not hard to imagine that, here, we find ourselves back at the beginning, considering God's purpose in creating male and female, together, in God's image.

MMT: I agree with Joel on the significance of the account in Genesis for thinking about gender relations and the roles of women in leadership among the people of God. I sometimes use the image of "trajectories" that run through Scripture on various matters, such as clean and unclean food or keeping Sabbath; we are guided by these trajectories to think with Scripture. I find a trajectory that begins in Genesis, with the creation of humankind in the image of God: "male and female, he created them" (Gen 1:27). That verse is of course cited by Jesus when he explains the significance of marriage (Matt 19:4) as the union ("one flesh") of male and female. As Joel hints, the account of creation of humankind as "male and female" is also alluded to by Paul when he celebrates the reality that in Christ there "is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male and female; for all of you are one in Christ Jesus" (Gal 3:28). Even as Christ's life, death, and resurrection breaks down enmity between those of various ethnicities and different status, so it (re)unites men and women together. In Christ, God's purposes for humankind as male and female are brought to their fruition.

That's the great arc or trajectory that runs from Genesis to Jesus to Galatians—an arc that bends toward mutuality and unity. That is what I think needs to be modeled in the "manifold ministries of Christ and his church." If in Christ, the church is the "new humanity" (Eph 2:15), it needs to model and embody the reconciliation and peace that Christ brings about. One of the ways in which we show this is in the mutuality of service shared by men and women.

We see this in the New Testament narratives, when Priscilla and Aquila instruct Apollos in the ways of the Lord (Acts 18:26); Paul later sends greetings to "Priscilla and Aquila, my coworkers in the ministry of Christ Jesus" (Rom 16:3). Paul doesn't seem to distinguish between what Priscilla and her husband, Aquila, did or were allowed to do. Paul also commends many women for their work (see Rom 16:1, 6–7, 15). So far as we can tell, he simply regards them as his partners in the "manifold ministries of Christ and his church" with no distinction between men and women at that point.



HOW DO YOU UNDERSTAND PASSAGES IN THE NEW TESTAMENT OR ELSEWHERE IN THE SCRIPTURES THAT APPEAR TO BAR WOMEN FROM TEACHING OR POSITIONS OF LEADERSHIP WITHIN THE CHURCH?

MMT: We recognize that not everyone sees things the way that we have just set them forth, not everyone reads the arc or grand story of Scripture to begin with this creation of men and women for each other and then ground this mutual service of men and women together in the reconciling work of Christ. For some interpreters, there are

"People tend to think of me as a passionate preacher because I draw out the emotion in the text and in the characters that I highlight. Women see things in the text that men may miss. If only men can speak, there is an aspect that won't be addressed. . . . As a woman, I can speak to something in men that a man can't speak to, and as a woman I can speak to something in women that another man can't speak to. The opposite is true as well: men can speak into women, men can speak into men—but together we can speak into each other most fully. Men and women together are able to reach the totality of the human experience."

—Leah Fortson, preacher and fifth year clinical psychology PhD student, reflecting on the importance of female voices in the classroom and from the pulpit during FULLER *magazine's inaugural "Story Table."*

\+ *[left] In 1948 Helen Clark McGregor enrolled as the first female theology student on condition of her signing a statement refusing ordination and prohibiting her from taking homiletics courses. In 1952 she graduated with the degree Master of Sacred Theology. This degree program, which did not include courses "directly pertinent to the pastoral ministry," was to continue until 1966 when women were invited to enroll in any of the degrees offered by the seminary.*

texts that point in other directions. For example, in his letter to Timothy, Paul writes that women are not to "teach or to have authority over a man." At least that's what a number of translations say. Here's another version: "I don't allow a wife to teach or to control her husband" (CEB). That's a legitimate translation too. But what is curious is that this passage in 1 Timothy seems to push in a different direction than many of Paul's other statements, as well as against the grain of some other New Testament texts. What do we do with that? My view—given the trajectory of Scripture from and toward mutuality and partnership—is that in Paul's other letters he seems to regard women as full partners in the work of the gospel, and that other books of the New Testament show women prophesying and witnessing and instructing. Then, this passage in 1 Timothy must present an exception to normal practice. Is Paul's concern raised by those who deny the goodness of marriage (1 Tim 4:3)? Is he worried about some women who "have already gone astray" (1 Tim 4:15)? I think we must fit Paul's instruction here into the larger trajectory that runs from Genesis to Jesus to Galatians and beyond. That overarching trajectory shows us how to think about this one particular passage and marks it out as addressing a specific problem or issue.

JBG: We take seriously Scripture's authority, so the easiest option for dealing with those passages isn't available to us! That is, we

can't just ignore them, or write them out of our Bibles. Nor, to my way of thinking, can we claim, say, that if 1 Timothy isn't written by Paul we don't need to take it seriously. Apart from the fact that we can make a good case that Paul did write 1 Timothy, irrespective of its author 1 Timothy is included among the New Testament Scriptures.

To embrace Scripture's authority sometimes means struggling with it. It is precisely because we affirm Scripture's authority that we must struggle with it, rather than ignore or dismiss texts that trouble us. What might this struggle look like? We might take notice of those texts that promote the status of women in positions of leadership in families, tribal groups, and churches. We might account for the historical contexts within which these documents were written. We might listen to how the global church and the church across time has heard and reflected on these texts. And we might work to understand individual texts within the whole of Scripture's testimony.

What we cannot do, it seems to me, is isolate one text as though it speaks authoritatively by itself. To take the same passage that Marianne pointed to, I find myself puzzled by some views of 1 Timothy 2:11–12: "Let a woman learn in silence with full submission. I permit no woman to teach or to have authority over a man; she is to keep silent" (NRSV). Some appeal to this text as though it definitively resolves our questions. I wonder: Why do we imagine that we can draw on this text to silence women, without at the same time insist on raising holy hands or legislating against braided hair (1 Tim 2:8–15)? Why do we take these two verses in such a straightforward manner but not divide widows into the older-than-60-years group and a younger-than-60-years group (1 Tim 5) before we sort out how best to care for them? How can we focus on these two verses without taking seriously the agenda of the entire letter, so clearly articulated in 1 Timothy 1, and without struggling with how these verses might fit within the overall context and aim of the letter? And why would I take 1 Timothy 2:11–12 as my starting point, rather than those plentiful texts that refer to women as prophets, evangelists, apostles, benefactors, and so

WE'VE COME A LONG WAY AND STILL LONGER TO GO, SO HELP US, GOD!

Until recently, the role and impact of Latinas in church leadership inside and outside the United States remained largely unknown. Explorations of this topic have brought to the fore the definitive role Latinas have played in evangelizing, teaching, pastoring, and establishing churches since the early 1900s.[1] Although the path is uphill and "checkered," the number and visibility of Latinas serving as pastors of big and small churches and in key leadership roles seems to be moving slowly but steadily forward.[2] Today, you can turn on Christian Spanish TV and easily find a pastora preaching to Spanish-speaking audiences throughout the US and Latin America.[3] Although decades have passed since the ordination of the first Latina pastor in a mainline denomination, Latinas are reaching unprecedented heights in the echelons of leadership positions traditionally held only by men. We can now name at least four Latinas who are serving as bishops in their denominations. This includes the first Latina (or Latino) to serve as one of the executive ministers in a four-person Collegium of Officers for a mainline denomination.[4] Some are also serving as conference ministers and superintendents. More and more Latinas are also earning doctoral degrees that open doors for conferencing, teaching, preaching, and modeling a new paradigm in otherwise traditionally restricted spaces.[5]

Still, "slow but not steady" may well better describe many denominations where much of their growth is directly attributed to Hispanic presence—especially that of women. In the Assemblies of God, for instance, the 14 superintendents of the 3,300 ministers in the Hispanic districts are male.[6] Hispanics are also growing in Pentecostal denominations that do not ordain women but promote male Hispanic leadership.

It is common to blame Latino machismo for limiting women's roles in church leadership. However, this is hardly the case for denominations where Latinos are not in national leadership positions or where their contributions are viewed as somewhat marginal to the core. My informal conversations with some Latino pastors in denominations that forbid the ordination of women reveal that these pastors are in favor of ordaining women. However, the conversations also reveal a sense of powerlessness against the entrenched leadership and patterns of scriptural interpretation that dictate fixed roles for men and women in the church and home. More important, and at the center of their own radar, is the Latino struggle to dismantle racial biases and prejudicial attitudes that—intentionally or not—tend to keep the voice and needs of Latino pastors at bay. This struggle to be heard and to carve out a place within the powers that be subsumes other needs, especially that of advocating for the freedom for women to exercise a call to ministry within their denominations. But would things be different if Latinos in such denominations had more of a presence and a voice at the table? While there are always exceptions (and I believe those numbers are growing), past trends do not indicate this to be the case. It took women's persistent voices of protest, for instance, to enlighten Latino liberation theologians to the truth that the liberation they fought for would not take place until men themselves—those in power as well as those calling for freedom from oppression—stopped exploiting and marginalizing the voices of the mothers, daughters, and *abuelas* in their lives and in the workplace.

As I reflect briefly on the Latina trajectory in the church and the work that still awaits, I am reminded of and inspired by my own Pentecostal roots. As a Pentecostal, I with others called upon the Spirit to help us reach new heights in our spiritual and daily *jornadas*. No one saw a problem with my father, the pastor, calling me his "pastora asistente," or in his affirmation of everyone's gifts, young and old, woman or man. Indeed, the sense of urgency that compelled us to call for the power of God in our lives to be witnesses of God's grace to all meant that no

on?

WHAT ROLE DOES FULLER PLAY IN HELPING THIS DIALOGUE CONTINUE IN A CIVIL MANNER?

JBG: I recognize that the evangelical world is not of one mind on this issue. I am hopeful that we can reason together with our evangelical friends who are not as convinced as we are regarding the status and role of women among God's people. Civil conversation with those with whom we disagree—whether in our classrooms or in other media—will require us to put forward our best understanding of the Scriptures and our best reading of the church's tradition, while doing so with humility and conviction.

At the same time, I have to admit that my first concern isn't dialogue. I want for women to find at Fuller Seminary a place where their gifts and graces can be discerned and explored and affirmed, where hard questions can be asked and thoughtful answers provided. First and foremost, I want women to find at Fuller a community, including a community of faculty, committed to the formation and empowerment of women and men for the manifold ministries of Christ and his church, in the church, in the marketplace, and in the world.

MMT: At Fuller, whether in the classroom or for churches, we try to model and encourage what we've been talking about: a gracious mutuality between men and women that respects the authority of Scripture and seeks to strengthen the body of Christ in every way. We recognize that not all our Christian brothers and sisters agree with the way that we read Scripture at this point. In fact, many of both our male and female students come from and will return to arenas of service in which the commitments we have are not shared. But that's true for other commitments we have too! So, I think we try to find ways to help our students to speak with the "convicted civility" about which our former president, Richard Mouw, often spoke so fervently. We have convictions; some are not shared by all the church, some are not shared at all by our culture. To live "against the grain" in either case isn't easy: it requires conviction, courage, civility, humility, and hope. I hope that what we model and teach can help to foster that way of living in the body of Christ and in the world.

one's gifts or calling was expendable. Stirring things up is the work of the Spirit who empowers and leads us to a new day, with new hope and vision. Some of us have lost the sense of freedom that comes from fearing nothing and no one but our own unfaithfulness to the Spirit's leading. Today, the ever-present Spirit of God summons us to a holy audacity that dares to judge and challenge patronizing attitudes toward women called to ministry, even if this also entails critiquing that which Latinos hold dear—our cultures. This same Spirit bids us to read the Scriptures through the depth and breadth of the gospel narrative meant to free us to live out of a new order where Christ is the only Lord and we are all servants to one another.

Thankfully, there are leaders, pastors, and whole denominations that are answering this call. The Rev. Ana María Falcón, who in 1989 fought for a change in the constitution of her denomination prohibiting women from fulfilling their call through ordained ministry, is one of them.[7] Twenty-eight years later, the Iglesia Cristiana Pentecostal can boast of a clergy, men and women, open to the summoning of the Spirit for the work of God's reign. There are many more stories like Rev. Falcón's that, with the Spirit's sure help, are unfolding. Like them, I believe that in Christ all things are possible—including a time when we will be so centered on living and spreading the good news that the question of the issue of women living out their call as pastors, teachers, and prophets will be a thing of the past. So help us, God!

ENDNOTES

1. See, for example, Gastón Espinosa, "Your Daughters Shall Prophecy," in *Women in Twentieth-Century Protestantism*, ed. Margaret Lamberts Bendroth and Virginia Lieson Brereton (Chicago: University of Illinois Press), 25–48.
2. Espinoza, "Your Daughters Shall Prophecy," 26. Before his passing (circa 2006), Otto Maduro noted that "as many as 15 percent of the [75] Latino Pentecostal churches in Newark have female pastors." See Bruce Wallace, "Latino Pentecostals," *Drew Magazine*, Fall 2008, http://www.drewmagazine.com/2008/09/the-latino-pentecostals/.
3. CTNi daily features well-known pastor/apóstol Wanda Rolón of a megachurch in Puerto Rico, La Senda Antigua. Other Latina pastors, including the senior pastor/apóstol Myriam Saldaña of Centro de Restauración, another well-known megachurch in Orlando, Florida, also appear.
4. These include Bishop Minerva Carcaño, elected in 2004 to the episcopacy of The United Methodist Church, the second-largest Protestant denomination in the US; Bishop Cynthia Fierro Harvey is the second Latina bishop (2012). The first election is more than 50 years after the ordination of the first Latina, Julia Torres Fernández, by the UMC in 1961 and 20 years after the first Hispanic bishop was elected in 1984. The Rt. Rev. Bavi Edna "Nedi" Rivera was consecrated the first bishop suffragan for the Episcopal Diocese of Olympia, making her the 16th woman bishop in the history of the 70 million-member worldwide Anglican Communion. The Rev. Linda Jaramillo is the first Latina to serve as a member of the UCC Collegium. See, respectively, http://www.umc.org/who-we-are/united-methodist-bishop-firsts; http://episcopalarchives.org/cgi-bin/ENS/ENSpress_release.pl?pr_number=051004-1; http://www.ucc.org/about-us_meet-our-officers (accessed December 28, 2014).
5. In 1999, I was only one of about five Latina Protestants who had achieved a doctoral degree in some area of religion.
6. The 14 Hispanic districts represent nearly 2,000 churches. See the Assemblies of God Office of Hispanic Relations webpage: http://ag.org/top/Office_of_Hispanic_Relations/ (accessed December 29, 2014).
7. Per Elizabeth Conde-Frazier, "Being the Gospel Together: The Marks of an Evangelical Ecclesiology," in *Latina Evangélicas: A Theological Survey from the Margins*, by Loida Martell-Otero, Zaida Maldonado Pérez, and Elizabeth Conde-Frazier (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2013), 97.

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"HAVING BEEN JUSTIFIED BY FAITH . . . THERE IS NEITHER MALE NOR FEMALE"

HOW THE REFORMATION'S DISCOVERY OF JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH ALSO EMPOWERED WOMEN

John L. Thompson

John L. Thompson has taught historical theology at Fuller since 1989, currently as the Gaylen and Susan Byker Professor of Reformed Theology. A specialist in the writings of John Calvin, he has focused especially on how the history of interpretation serves as a resource for the proclamation of the gospel.

Gender issues have been central to his writing: his dissertation was published as *John Calvin and the Daughters of Sarah* (1992); a study of the "texts of terror" in Jewish and Christian tradition appeared as *Writing the Wrongs: Women of the Old Testament among Biblical Commentators from Philo through the Reformation* (2001); and gender and the history of biblical inter-pretation informed large parts of *Reading the Bible with the Dead: What You Can Learn from the History of Exegesis That You Can't Learn from Exegesis Alone* (2007).

Among his many essays and reviews is a study of Paul and women in the *Brill Companion to Paul in the Reformation*. A shorter account of Calvin and women appeared in *Calvin: Myth and Reality*, while his other essays have addressed polygamy, incest, and circumcision. Most recently, he edited a volume of *The Reformation Commentary on Scripture* (on Genesis 1–11), a project that led to his current work on the unpublished scripture poems of Anna Maria van Schurman, the learnéd Dutch writer of the 17th century.

Change is often unexpected. Five centuries ago, when Augustinian friar Martin Luther posted his *95 Theses* against the practice of selling indulgences, he hardly saw the changes to come in his own life and career. He surely would not have expected that discovery to lead to a reevaluation of marriage and family, of leadership in the church, and of the potential contributions of women in general. But so it happened: Protestants' central theological doctrine of justification by faith proved to be a seedbed for a host of changes in the 16th century that affected the lives of women in particular, from then until now.

Luther's most fundamental challenge was actually to the authority of the late medieval Roman Catholic Church as it had evolved to his day. That did not necessarily mean he wanted to eliminate the papacy, but he was immensely disturbed by all the ecclesiastical rules and practices—"human traditions"—for which he could find no warrant in the Bible. There was much to lament: requirements such as Lenten fasting that were binding on all Christians; practices such as priestly ordination and monastic vows that elevated clergy above the laity and the celibate above married Christians; and a theology of penance that risked substituting human works for God's forgiving grace. Worst, Luther found no warrant for these practices in the words of Christ or anywhere else in Scripture. Consequently, one of Luther's first moves was to restore the Bible to its proper place as the preeminent authority for Christian faith and practice—a move that, looking back, we often describe with the catchphrase *sola scriptura* ("the Bible alone"). This move was undeniably risky for Luther. Yet it also precipitated a remarkable series of unexpected consequences.

A NEW PICTURE OF MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE

One such consequence was a dramatic change in how Protestants thought about marriage. Ever since the blossoming of ascetic Christianity in the fourth century, many Christians had come to think of marriage as a second-best form of discipleship—better than promiscuity, but not nearly as meritorious in God's eyes as lifelong celibacy as a monk or nun. Luther's exegesis radically undermined the notion that human merit plays any role in our acceptance with God. Rather, our salvation is a gracious gift that brings us to see our own brokenness and to trust in the God who, to our surprise, wants to save real sinners.

Luther thus discarded all theology of human merit. He also taught that one effect of this saving gift is to free Christians to love their neighbors without thinking of it as a way to earn God's love. Also, it wasn't just priests or nuns called into service and ministry; no, *everyone* has a divine calling. Our vocations—whether as preacher or magistrate or soldier or mother—are significant to God because they are ways that God's love and order are shown in human societies. Through our vocations we serve our neighbors and minister to them. And all are called to perform the priestly function of prayer for one another.

All of these insights leveled the playing field between men and women. Traditionally barred from the Roman Catholic priesthood, Protestant women were now regarded as possessed of the same dignity as all Christians, equally called to prayer and ministry through their vocations, and they were by no means despised if that vocation included a call to be a wife and mother. So it may surprise some today to discover that, despite their increased respect for the dignity of marriage, Protestant Reformers generally denied that the church should control marriage—because they knew from Genesis 2 that marriage was instituted for all humans, not just for Christians; and because the me-

dieval church had grievously overstepped its bounds in making marriage indissoluble, despite the fact that at least some grounds for divorce are offered by both Jesus and Paul. (It's worth noting that many contemporaries, including Erasmus, were well aware that Catholicism's insistence on indissolubility could have cruel effects on an innocent spouse.) So in addition to extolling marriage as a divine institution and even the cornerstone of society, the Reformers often urged civil authorities to revise marriage laws to allow marriages to be dissolved in at least a few limited cases, such as adultery, desertion, and fraud. Many Reformers also boldly declaimed the double standard in marriage law, which often saw women more easily accused of adultery—and more severely punished. John Calvin and many others worked to change these discriminatory laws. Peter Martyr Vermigli, who worked for reform in Strasbourg, Oxford, and Zurich, memorably dismissed such laws as just the sort of thing to expect when laws are written by men.

Protestants also sought to protect marriage by paying close attention to the behavior of spouses. The Geneva "consistory," a panel of pastors in the city, frequently functioned like a modern-day family court, calling belligerent or negligent spouses to account for themselves and demanding reconciliation where possible. Often this meant intervening in cases of spousal abuse. Really? Yes: some men went on record as resenting that wife-beating was illegal, and at least one observer described Geneva in the later 16th century as "the women's Paradise."

While the new picture of marriage retained a good deal of traditional Christian patriarchy—a husband was still seen as head of the household—Protestant preachers were increasingly likely to stress mutuality. It is a mark of how closely Luther's teachings about justification and biblical authority were tied to their pastoral implications that Luther felt constrained to publish a lengthy treatise on marriage in 1522—only a year after his condemnation at the Diet of Worms. Though the tract begins by considering legal technicalities such as prohibited degrees and impediments to marriage, Luther also argues against celibacy and vows, explains the grounds for divorce, then builds to a defense of marriage and childrearing against the contempt and cynicism of "pagan" writers. Throughout, he underscores how it is faith, not sight, that will disclose the unlikely but real goodness of the drudgery of home and hearth: "When a father goes ahead and washes diapers . . . and someone ridicules him as an effeminate fool—though that father is acting . . . in Christian faith—God, . . . with all his angels and creatures, is smiling." Luther's choice of examples is especially significant, because "diaper washer" was the 16th century's equivalent for "henpecked," a crude insult to a husband's masculinity. For Luther, washing diapers was a husband's badge of faith.

Not as surprising, perhaps, is the connection between the Reformation's stress on Scripture and a growing interest in girls' literacy and education. Admittedly, Protestant cities did not aspire to give girls as much education as boys, but one way or another it was expected that women would obtain a basic knowledge of what the Bible says. To this end, Protestants all over Europe prepared often long and sophisticated catechisms for children. If summoned before Geneva's consistory, a woman had as much cause as a man to expect to be quizzed on the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, or the Apostles' Creed. Indeed, one of the subversive (and risky) acts undertaken by Protestant women in France was to protest Roman Catholic feast days by sitting at a window, spinning or reading Scripture.

A NEW PICTURE OF WOMEN OUTSIDE THE HOME

Some Protestant women did even more. One of the most intriguing puzzles of the Reformation in Geneva stems from the fact that there were at least two women in that city before Calvin arrived who were known to have shared or proclaimed the gospel in quasi-public settings. One of them, Marie Dentière, loudly harangued the nuns of a local convent and went on to write an open letter to Marguerite of Navarre, sister of the king of France, urging the right of women to speak out on behalf of the gospel. The puzzle, as we will see, is what Calvin thought of Dentière.

In any case, Marie Dentière was by no means the first woman moved by the new Protestant gospel to speak up. Another remarkable instance dates from 1523, when Argula von Grumbach, a Bavarian noblewoman, wrote the first of eight pamphlets attacking the forced recantation of a young Lutheran student and eventually defending the biblical grounds for her own public speaking. An ally of Luther's, she used her position and erudition to defend the Lutheran Reformation and advance it wherever she could.

Another remarkable and outspoken woman of the Protestant Reformation was Katherina Schütz Zell, whose own "public" career was precipitated in the early 1520s when she married local Catholic priest Matthew Zell, who had converted to the Lutheran cause. Incensed at slander directed at her husband, she published an extensive defense of him—at the end of which she, like Argula, felt constrained to justify her right to speak publicly.

All three of these women were well versed in Scripture and took special comfort from texts commonly cited by evangelical feminists today, such as the promise of the Spirit poured out on daughters as well as sons in Joel 2, fulfilled in Acts 2. Galatians 3:28, that "in Christ there is neither male nor female,"

is cited by two of the three. But they invoke other biblical themes as well, including the Pauline motif of how the gospel is especially addressed to the weak—a concession that Dentière thinks favors women—as well as Matthew 10:32–33, where confessing Jesus before others is a prerequisite to Jesus confessing us before his heavenly father. All three are clearly aware of biblical women depicted as speaking in public and exerting leadership. Yet it is just as important, if not more so, to recall that for each of these three, defending her gender was utterly secondary, even at the risk of scandalizing male contemporaries. The real issues for them were threats to the doctrines and practices of the Reformation that enshrined the salvation they believed they had received by faith and by the grace of the Lord whom they served and proclaimed.

Naturally, one would like to know more about how the activities of these women were received—for which one might fruitfully consult some of the recent works that have translated and chronicled their writings. But some suggestive correlates can be drawn from the evolving exegesis of a few key texts that emerges during the early Reformation. Of particular interest are the texts that either endorse or restrict women's speech in a Christian assembly—texts that are usually interpreted by male Reformers in ways that limit women's speaking to private or domestic gatherings. Calvin mostly follows this pattern. But Calvin also gives voice to a distinctive mi-

"For me, particularly as a Latina, I feel like I was called to be at Fuller for 'such a time as this.' Esther's words really stick with me because of the change in demographics in the United States and how the Latino community needs more role models—particularly of women who are in positions of leadership. The immigrant community needs to see powerful women who have a voice, who have healthy marriages, who have healthy, thriving kids. It's extremely important. I see Fuller similarly—I need to say to our students who come from different ethnic backgrounds, 'Yes we can be here, yes we can lead.' I want to tell them, 'You can do it, come on. Wrestle with your ghosts, wrestle with your minority complex, because you have so much to offer. Transcend that.'"

—Dr. Lisseth Rojas-Flores, associate professor of marital and family therapy, reflecting on the importance of female voices on the faculty, during FULLER *magazine's inaugural "Story Table."*

[Right] When Fuller leaders determined that a course in Christian education was needed to complete curriculum offerings, Rebecca Price was invited to join the faculty—the first female faculty member in Fuller's then-five-year history. After much soul-searching, Price joined Fuller's faculty in 1952. Twenty years later, faculty member Roberta Hestenes [see pg. 58] changed the title of the degree program to Christian Formation and Discipleship.

nority view: that there are exceptions where a woman may or even must speak a word of gospel proclamation. He is maddeningly terse on this point, and it is hard not to wonder if he is giving belated recognition to Marie Dentière. Either way, Dentière's sporadic efforts to share the gospel in Geneva look a lot like what Calvin was describing: an emergent situation where there was no male minister on hand to proclaim the gospel.

Calvin was not the first to voice this opinion. More famous, probably, was Luther's earlier rejoinder to some Roman Catholic contemporaries who disputed how he extended the office of preaching to all Christians. The complaint was that women would then be in violation of 1 Corinthians 14:34. Luther's response was to rattle off a host of passages where women have prophesied. To be sure, Luther insisted that normally the task of preaching should be filled by someone who is skilled in speaking, and that (for Luther) usually meant a man. "But if no man were to preach, then it would be necessary for the women to preach."

Luther and Calvin thus stand with only a few other Protestant Reformers of the day, including Peter Martyr Vermigli and François Lambert. These men did not advocate any wholesale opening of the pulpit to women, but they nonetheless ventured at least to open the topic for consideration. By recognizing the validity of the exception, they changed the way their contemporaries thought about the rule.

Other exegetical shifts were underway as well. One that could easily be overlooked is a passing remark from Wolfgang Musculus, reformer of Berne. In his comments on 1 Timothy 2:14, seemingly another exhortation to women's silence, he urges readers not to overgeneralize what is said about how Eve led Adam astray:

> *Care is to be taken that we do not extend this example of Adam and Eve further than the Apostle's proposition requires, that is, lest we make what is specific into something general and perpetual. Indeed, while Adam was not misled by the serpent's lie, the same cannot be said of every man. And what happened to Eve does not automatically happen to all women, many of whom strongly resist the lies and temptations of Satan.*

Musculus protests against the "essentializing" tendencies of careless exegesis: not all women are like the stereotyped Eve in every way and on every occasion, just as men have no reason for complacency or smugness merely because they are related to Adam by gender. They may well be more like Eve! His patriarchy notwithstanding, Musculus voices an important insight: that gender is often a poor predictor of character, aptitude, or calling.

LOOKING BACK TO LOOK FORWARD

This survey of some of the effects of the Protestant Reformation on the lives of women then and now has only scratched the surface of a complicated and unexpected history. As women's history developed as a discipline in the 1970s and 1980s, some historians debated whether the Reformation really helped women that much, whether Protestantism also brought losses by abolishing female saints as intercessors, and whether it was Protestantism or Roman Catholicism that was ultimately better or worse—debates that ended in standoffs. But it is just as likely that the Reformation's "new" view of women was ultimately of benefit to Protestants and Catholics alike, as each group came to see the importance of lay discipleship among both men and women. What's important for us as we move forward today, then, is that we see the continuity we share with our Protestant forebears in attempting to extend the fullness of the gospel's ministry to women and men—that we recognize ourselves in our predecessors—and that we look back in gratitude.

FOR FURTHER READING

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AN ERA OF WOMEN AS INSTITUTION BUILDERS

Priscilla Pope-Levison

Priscilla Pope-Levison teaches theology and women's studies at Seattle Pacific University. She has her MDiv from Duke Divinity School (1983) and her PhD from the University of St. Andrews (1989). Her interdisciplinary publications combine theology, gender studies, church history, and mission and evangelism. She is author of *Turn the Pulpit Loose: Two Centuries of American Women Evangelists* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004) and *Evangelization from a Liberation Perspective* (Peter Lang, 1991). Her most recent book, *Building the Old Time Religion: Women Evangelists in the Progressive Era* (NYU Press, 2014) was chosen to receive the Smith/Wynkoop Book Award by the Wesleyan Theological Society and was listed as an Outstanding Academic Title for 2014 by *Choice* magazine.

With her husband, Jack Levison, she has published *Sex, Gender, and Christianity* (Wipf & Stock, 2012), *Return to Babel: Global Perspectives on the Bible* (WJK, 1999) and *Jesus in Global Contexts* (WJK, 1992). They also recently co-authored the United Methodist Women's 2014 Spiritual Growth Study, *How Is It with Your Soul?*

Pope-Levison is an ordained United Methodist minister and has served as a local church pastor and college chaplain.

With empty coffers and a faith promise, 30-year-old Mattie Perry opened the doors of Elhanan Training Institute in Marion, North Carolina, a sparsely populated farming community at the foot of the Blue Ridge Mountains. She confessed in her autobiography that she never expected, as a woman, to begin and oversee a religious training school:

> *I was an evangelist and still hoped to go to China as a missionary, but during the three years of waiting on God for a man to open an institution of this kind, the call sank deeper and deeper into my own heart. No man seemed forthcoming to take up the work, although I met perhaps eight or ten people who claimed that God had given them a plan for a school like this, and had called them to it, but that they could not begin because they had not the funds.*[1]

As she continued to pray, she believed that God entrusted her with the call to begin the school herself. She got to work quickly. Laboring alongside her father and brother, she refurbished 25 rooms of the former Catawba Hotel in time for the watchnight dedication service of Elhanan Training Institute on December 31, 1898.

A similar resolve ignited in 26-year-old Iva Durham Vennard during a summer camp meeting in 1897 at Mountain Lake Park in the Allegheny Mountains of Western Maryland. She had come to this Methodist camp meeting ground, bordered by Victorian-style cottages topped with gingerbread trim and set amidst 800 acres of mountain scenery and pristine air, to find respite from her grueling travel schedule as an ambassador for the Methodist Deaconess Bureau. She also took the opportunity to work as the stenographer, recording in shorthand the first Itinerant Institute on Evangelism, a set of lectures given by a leading evangelist of the Wesleyan/Holiness movement, the Rev. Joseph H. Smith. Through these lectures, Smith provided a modicum of practical training in evangelism before people headed out into the work. He addressed a host of practical issues, such as crafting evangelistic sermons, working the altar, and raising money. As Vennard's pen flew across the page, capturing Smith's words in every shorthand dot and line, her own "illumination" (as she would later refer to it) took shape for a religious training school steeped in evangelism. Five years later, in 1902, she opened Epworth Evangelistic Institute in St. Louis. Vennard and Perry are emblematic of women evangelists who not only preached but also founded religious institutions—evangelistic organizations, churches, denominations, schools, rescue homes, and rescue missions—across the country during the last decades of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century, a period known as the Progressive Era.

Earlier in the 19th century, women evangelists began to venture from home as itinerant preachers. In their zeal to preach the gospel, they braved opposition and ridicule from family and strangers, dangers in their travels, hunger and thirst, and sporadic sleeping arrangements, but they did not extend their evangelistic work beyond the meeting. Those touched by the message were on their own reconnaissance to locate a nearby church or prayer meeting for further fellowship. From venue to venue, by foot, horseback, stagecoach, or canal boat, they traveled alone, because they viewed themselves as strangers without a community, pilgrims on the move. "As if they knew they would one day be forgotten," writes historian Catherine Brekus, "these women often described themselves as 'strangers in a strange land' or 'strangers and pilgrims on the earth.'"[2]

The next generation of women evangelists, like Vennard and Perry, shifted their tack from itinerancy to institution building. Ill at ease simply to proclaim the gospel message

of salvation in Jesus Christ and then move on to the next preaching venue, they undertook the formidable work of building institutions to gather converts in, train them for further work in evangelism and outreach, and carry on the evangelist's legacy for future generations. Each of their institutions exhibited a measure of permanency, complete with official incorporation, administrative structure, worker training, membership cultivation, scheduled activities, fundraising protocols, and an established location for meetings and services.

These institutions permeated large American cities as well as isolated reaches and settlements. In Boston, a Roman Catholic laywoman, Martha Moore Avery, cofounded the Catholic Truth Guild in 1917, the first evangelistic organization launched by Catholic laity on American soil. In the South, Mary Lee Cagle planted churches initially throughout Tennessee and Arkansas for a denomination founded by her husband, R. L. Harris, the "Texas Cow-Boy Preacher." After his death from tuberculosis, she ventured into Texas when she received a letter with money enclosed from an immigrant settlement of Swedes, Norwegians, and Germans asking her to organize a holiness church in their town of Swedonia. She founded a church in 1897 with 31 charter members. Eventually, her denomination, the New Testament Church of Christ, joined with the Church of the Nazarene when it was founded in 1908.

In the Midwest, in Hicks Hollow, an impoverished enclave in Kansas City, former slave Emma Ray turned a ramshackle, two-story wooden building into a rescue mission for African American children in 1903. The mission provided the children with clothes, meals, trips to the park in the summer, and a warm place to come in the winter. It also sponsored nightly evangelistic services on neighborhood street corners. Emma and her spouse, L.P., sang and played instruments outside a gathering place—a rooming house, loan office, or saloon—in order to draw a crowd. Then they preached a brief gospel message, followed by a time of prayer. One night, they deliberately interrupted a craps game by forming a song circle at the exact spot where players threw the dice. She claimed they had a splendid audience and were particularly effective that night. In the Pacific Northwest, Florence Louise Crawford brought the Pentecostal message from Azusa Street to downtown Portland and opened the Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM). By 1920, this church was publishing religious material in many languages and mailing it to destinations across the globe from Panama to China. Currently, its publishing department churns out over two million pieces of literature annually in three main languages—English, Spanish, and Portuguese.

Along with breaking ground for their institutions, Cagle, Vennard, Crawford, and other evangelists broke new ground as female religious leaders for both women and men. Their institutions attracted male and female converts, members, and students. Church membership rosters listed male and female names. School photographs captured female and male students sitting alongside each other in classrooms. Letters written from male and female workers back to denominational headquarters described their religious service and travel adventures as they crossed the continent to advance the institutional network. Church leadership positions were filled by both women and men. These women evangelists, therefore, rank among the first American women to build—and lead—mixed-gender religious institutions.

To press this further by looking beyond the stigma often attached to the word "evangelist," these women stand as pioneering religious leaders in America who held the highest power and authority over their institution, even over the men who participated in them. Women preached, men listened in the pews. Women set doctrine and interpreted Scripture, men accepted their teaching. Women pastored, men joined their churches. Women gave orders, men obeyed. Women made real estate purchases, men contributed money. Women held the power within the institution, men submitted to their religious authority. The power women wielded within these institutions remained fierce and absolute. They dictated what their followers—male and female—should believe and not believe, wear and not wear, eat and not eat, even when to exercise and for how long. What historian George Marsden observed about institutions of American evangelicalism founded by successful male evangelists applies equally to women:

> *Usually these institutions have been run autocratically or by an oligarchy; in any case they have typically been regarded virtually as private property. They were designed for a special purpose, which could be defined by the people in immediate command, with no need to answer to ecclesiastical authority. These institutions were thus extraordinarily shaped by the personalities of the individuals who founded and controlled them.*[3]

Who were these women? By and large, they were, like Vennard and Perry, theologically conservative, with deeply held views on the necessity of conversion and sanctification and a deep trust in the inspiration of the Bible. Yet—and here lies the utter fascination of these women—despite an entrenched conservatism, these women not only initiated but also stood at the helm of these institutions, which they built to accommodate, to teach, and to equip both men and women. Their evangelistic organizations attracted thousands of women and men to their meetings. Their churches and denominations commenced with a handful of men and women and expanded across the country, some even across continents. Their train-

ON APPLES, ECCLESIOLOGY, AND HOPE: ONE VIEW OF THE KOREAN AMERICAN CHURCH

The sound is lucidly clear, even after all these years: the rumble of apples rolling down the industrial wooden cutting board. Standing in the middle of the quiet church kitchen, I was still. Catching a glimpse of the shiny long knife peeking from the drawer ajar below the counter, I knew I was in trouble.

It was a typical Friday afternoon: hanging out with friends in the youth lounge, getting music ready for the weekly Bible study. A deacon in the church called me to the hallway and handed me a black plastic bag stretching at the sides with round lumps of large apples. Guests were visiting the senior pastor: please, quickly, peel and cut these for the guests. As he handed me the heavy bag, the weight of the request fell heavier on my 16-year-old back. I broke the thickness of the air with a smile of great confidence and made a hasty move toward the counter of the church kitchen, looking as if I knew exactly what I was doing.

The Korean American church remains, for the most part, uncritically genderized in its ecclesial life. In the church where the formative years of my faith took place, men were the pastors, men were the preachers, men were the elders, men led congregational prayers. Men in dark suits served communion. Women taught Sunday school, they made delicious Sunday lunch for the church, they washed those gigantic pots, they organized the women's ministry. The sharing of food is important in a faith community, even as ministry to children and young people is crucial for the sustaining and creating work of the church. Moreover, life-giving friendships are formed among the *koinonia* of women. At the same time, I believe preaching, teaching, seeking justice, guiding, decision-making, leading worship, pastoring, praying, counseling, and ministries of reconciliation are callings and responsibilities faithfully enacted by all of God's beloved, for whom God has uniquely provided gifts.

A NARROW EMBRACE

The lack of women in pastoral leadership demonstrates the gender inequity that pervades our theology, polity, and cultural consciousness. When a young woman raised in the Korean immigrant church (or in the church's second-generation and multiethnic offspring) discerns a direction to enter seminary and later responds to a call to ordained pastoral ministry, instead of rejoicing, church members and pastors alike question if her path is God-honoring and biblically correct. The lack of support and advocacy is expressed, by default, in the church's passivity or silence. I have yet to witness a critical mass of voices to at least signal that gender inequity and sexism are even noticed by the Korean American evangelical community. Too often, women who speak—with passion and intelligence—from the intersection of a racialized and genderized identity are avoided like unwelcome guests, disruptions to the well-ordered harmony of complementary roles that maintain things as they are.

Many Korean American women in ministry have had to step outside of our home contexts to fully grow and live into our vocational callings—into other imperfect, yet less restrictive contexts. The preceding generation of female clergy has had to employ creative strategies for partaking in the life of the church, by way of chaplaincy, academia, and constituent-specific ministry, for example. To be sure, there are pioneering Korean American women clergy and growing numbers of young women discerning calls to pastoral ministry, particularly in mainline denominations. They serve primarily non-Korean (mostly non-Asian) congregations. A countable few are heads of staff or in senior pastoral positions. Some gather to galvanize energy and find embrace among colleagues within denominational associations.

But self-advocacy gets tiring. And sustaining the conversation only with those who perceive it as urgent exacerbates the fatigue over time. This is when a surge of collective advocacy can replenish one's sense of belonging and validity within a larger community—in this case, the Korean American ecclesial community. Unfortunately, that community, led by those who hold tremendous gender privilege, has all too often used dismissal or disengagement as its *modus operandi*. I do not want to discount male colleagues who engage in the discourse or the few who stand in solidarity with female clergy or actively cultivate emerging leadership among women in the church. I do not want to impose my views on Korean/Asian American women in ministry who may express entirely different experiences or desires than what I am describing here. But Korean/Asian American theologians and ministers rarely challenge the church's insistence that the appropriate posture of a woman is submission—or assuming the glorified "helper" role—while men are designated for protective, supervisory, or "pastoral" roles. The Korean American church at large would benefit from a serious reflection on the ambiguous intertwining of patriarchal systems, cultural aesthetics, and commitment to a claimed orthodoxy of polity and hermeneutics that preserves the status quo of male leadership as normative.

IN SEARCH OF HOME

The church has changed and is changing as she speaks truth and grace into a changing world. Yet we remain bound by the convenience of our cultural embeddedness, for which some have found supporting theological and biblical interpretations. While I recognize that I, too, am a product of culturally constructed theological and hermeneutical understandings, I have also come to learn that I am and can become more than just the shape of my experience.

I returned to the Korean immigrant church, determined to learn the story of my faith heritage. I served on a staff of 30 pastors, of whom only 3 were women. I spent early dawn hours in daily prayer service; I sat in very long staff meetings where the senior pastor spoke for most of its duration. During these first years in ministry, I learned both my mother tongue as well as the faith language and spiritual richness of Christ's body as it converged with the deep roots of Korean culture. I am grateful for these gifts and continue to be sustained by them. However, there were limits set to the shape of my ministry. I could not envision fully becoming and growing within the confines of an overtly genderized church culture. At staff gatherings, my seat was assigned with pastors' wives and the other two female pastors. The old role assignments, divided along the line of gender that I observed in my youth, were assuredly intact. I have served in variations of these arrangements in first-generation and second-generation congregations in different regions of the United States where my life and learning pursuits have taken me. Yet I was always only a partial version of myself in these churches. The church that is most home to me today is not the Korean American church.

HOPE FROM THE BORDERLANDS

We all navigate multiple contexts and try to make sense of the layers that constitute our identities. We traverse between belonging and exclusion in a world that separates more than it binds. Many of us live in the borderlands of defined communities; we never quite fully belong. I become keenly aware of this liminal existence as a woman-bodied minister in the Korean American church and equally as a woman-Korean-bodied professor in the seminary or university classroom. That is to say, as much as I lament the insulated walls of the church, my distance from the Korean American church is not far. It is tentative, I hope. I look forward to the day when I can return, knowing that my children will experience a community that regards with reverence and joy the diverse responses to grace by diverse people. It will be where their spiritual heritage of utter dependence on prayer and of *jeong*-saturated [a uniquely Korean idea of warmth, affection, and nurture in relationship] believers' fellowship propels them to a Christ-following confession of life lived generously, hospitably, and in advocacy for those who are left out. I hope for in-

breaking moments of resting in God's vastness with brothers and sisters, sharing in humility and gratitude for God's invitation for us—together—to partake in the day's work already begun even before we put our human touches to it. The vocation to which I am called is renewed by this real hope of a here and now where all of us, each of us—equally created in God's image—can live and move and have our being in the extravagant freedom and love extended to us in Christ.

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ing schools and colleges enrolled hundreds of male and female students. Their rescue homes and missions extended humanitarian and evangelistic outreach to men and women in American cities and towns. These women caught the fever rampant in America—and American Christianity—to create institutional legacies during the Progressive Era.

What is their legacy? Though perhaps without the panache of Dwight Moody or Billy Sunday, these women did leave an enduring legacy. Arguably the most illustrious legacy of the shift they promoted from itinerancy to institution building is evident in the rise of Aimee Semple McPherson, whose evangelistic empire emerged as the Progressive Era waned. Her name—and the rumors surrounding it—remains legendary. Her story made headlines again recently as the subject of a Broadway musical. She was, according to the titles of two recent books, "everybody's sister" and the person responsible for "the resurrection of Christian America."[4] Certainly, McPherson was a remarkable evangelist, religious leader, and institution builder. What we now know, however, is that the institutions she built had deep roots in the work of the women evangelists who preceded her.

For instance, by the time McPherson opened Echo Park Evangelistic and Missionary Training Institute (later renamed Lighthouse of International Foursquare Evangelism or L.I.F.E.) in 1923, many religious training schools, including those founded by women evangelists, were already in their prime. Their influence is evident in several areas of McPherson's school. L.I.F.E.'s balance between classes, particularly Bible study, and practical work replicated the curricula of already established religious training schools. On a logistical level, like Mattie Perry's Elhanan Training School, L.I.F.E. offered correspondence courses to students who could not attend school four mornings a week, Tuesday through Friday, 9:00 to noon. Similar to schools founded by women evangelists in particular, women as well as men signed up for classes at L.I.F.E. Likewise, for the practical work component, L.I.F.E. students, both men and women, had opportunities to preach at the Friday evening service at Angelus Temple and lead evangelistic meetings and events. Again, McPherson benefitted from proven practices instituted by the women who preceded her.

By the mid-20th century, however, the vigor, intensity, and saturation of women's institution building across the country waned. This impulse did not dry up altogether, but never again would women evangelists match the number and breadth of institutions they created during the generation from 1890 to 1920. For those who did build institutions after them, the focus lay principally on one—the evangelistic organization. Such was the case with evangelist Kathryn Kuhlman, whose namesake foundation coordinated her evangelistic meetings and healing services, her *Heart-to-Heart* radio program, and her television series, *I Believe in Miracles*. This practice continues today in evangelistic organizations such as Joyce Meyer Ministries and Juanita Bynum Ministries, which promote conferences, media broadcasts, Internet presences, and book sales.

What dampened women's enthusiasm for building institutions? One factor is the failure of most women evangelists during the Progressive Era to mentor female successors. When the founders died, men—often their sons—rose to prominence in their stead. In subsequent generations a commitment to women's leadership within the institution diminished or died away completely.

Another factor was emerging opportunities for women in mainline denominations, particularly in licensing and ordination. The Methodist Episcopal Church's vote in 1924, for instance, extended local preacher licenses to women. As these structural inroads continued, women were increasingly able to work within established structures. The push for women's ordination from the 1920s on made many of the institutions women had built during the Progressive Era, such as deaconess training schools, nearly obsolete.

In evangelicalism and fundamentalism, according to historian Peggy Bendroth, women held typically female occupations in Christian work as teachers, artists, writers, cooks, pastoral assistants, and music directors.[5] Like their mainline counterparts, they were able to exercise their callings within the confines of established churches, denominations, and parachurch organizations. They did not need to build new institutions in order to be active in Christian work.

Does the demise of institution building imply that women evangelists of the Progressive Era are simply historical artifacts, women who worked for a generation but left no enduring legacy beyond McPherson? Not at all. One substantial legacy was to keep alive prospects for women in religious leadership. When the nation would not permit women to vote, when mainline denominations only begrudgingly allowed laywomen to vote in general church conferences, when a mere handful of women attended seminary, and when women's ordination seemed a pipe dream, they built their own institutions, undeterred by what culture or church had to say about their prescribed roles. In institutions of their own making, they exercised religious leadership as evangelists who led others to religious experiences, as ministers who shepherded congregations and celebrated the sacraments, as bishops who ordained ministers (female and male), and as theology and Bible teachers who instructed both men and women. By standing in the pulpit, presiding at the communion table, laying hands on ordinands, teaching classes, and evangelizing the masses, they pioneered women's religious leadership in American Christianity.

Their significant legacy lies as well in their challenge to patriarchy in American Protestantism. These women broke ground as religious leaders by building institutions for women and men and enlisting male and female converts. Men and women joined their churches, sat alongside one other in religious training school classrooms, and filled church leadership positions at all levels. These women evangelists, therefore, rank among the first American women to build—and lead—mixed-gender religious institutions.

ENDNOTES

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REMEMBERING EVANGELICAL WOMEN

Catherine A. Brekus

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In January of 1827 on a cold Sunday morning in Washington, DC, more than a thousand people assembled in the Capitol to witness one of the most remarkable events ever to take place in the Hall of Representatives. Harriet Livermore, a celebrated female preacher, had been invited to preach to Congress.

The 39-year-old Livermore was a slight woman, "delicate" in appearance, but she was reputed to be a forceful preacher who could make audiences fall to their knees or shout aloud for joy. Ascending into the Speaker's Chair, she sang a hymn, offered a prayer, and then delivered a sermon for more than an hour and a half on a text from 2 Samuel 23: "He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God." As she beseeched her listeners to repent and to seek salvation, many of them began to weep. "It savored more of inspiration than anything I have ever witnessed!" one woman marveled. "And to enjoy the frame of mind which I think she does, I would relinquish the world. Call this rhapsody if you will, but would to God you had heard her!" More negatively, President John Quincy Adams, who sat on the steps leading up to her feet because he could not find a free chair, condemned her as a religious fanatic. "There is a permanency in this woman's monomania which seems accountable only from the impulse of vanity and love of fame," he wrote later. Yet despite his harsh words, Livermore preached to Congress again in 1832, 1838, and 1843, each time to huge crowds.[1]

Harriet Livermore has virtually disappeared from the pages of history books, but she was only one of more than 100 evangelical women, both white and black, who criss-crossed the country as itinerant preachers in the early decades of the 19th century. Jarena Lee, for example, a member of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, preached to thousands of listeners in the 1830s and 1840s. Besides preaching in the north, she courageously risked her freedom by traveling to Maryland, a slave state, to share the gospel with the enslaved.

Despite their popularity in the 19th century, most of these remarkable women leaders were eventually forgotten. Few Christians today know their names, and most are surprised to learn that there is a long history of evangelical women's religious leadership that stretches back to early America.

Nor do most modern-day evangelicals know the stories of the ordinary women who historically have sustained their churches with their money, their time, and their prayers. Countless numbers of women have sat in the pews every Sunday and raised their children in the faith, keeping the Christian tradition alive across the centuries. Yet even though there would be no churches today if not for these women, they are virtually invisible in our histories of Christianity.

Why do both historians and the general public know so little about the history of Christian women, including famous leaders like Harriet Livermore? And why is it important to remember their stories?

THE FRAGILITY OF HISTORICAL MEMORY

Part of the reason that we know so little about evangelical women leaders in the past is that until recently, few Christians wanted to remember them. Harriet Livermore's story is typical. She rose to fame during the 1820s when several new sects allowed and even encouraged women to preach. These sects, including the Methodists, the African Methodists, the Freewill Baptists, and the Christian Connection, were small and countercultural, and they seem to have viewed female preaching as a sign of their distinctiveness,

WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP IN THE AFRICAN AMERICAN CHURCH

In African American churches, women's leadership includes all areas of responsibility—from the more traditional roles as leaders of women in missionary societies and women's groups, to congregational leaders in areas such as Christian education and pastoral ministry. My reflection on women's leadership in African American churches will include a brief overview of women's leadership, potential impediments to women's leadership, approaches to addressing these obstacles, some of the contributions of African American women, and signs of hope and encouragement.

While African American women represent an estimated 66–88 percent majority (Barnes, 2006) in African American churches, men still tend to hold most of the leadership roles. The greatest disparity in women's leadership is in the pastoral role, specifically the senior pastor. Despite these challenges, women are being ordained and appointed as pastors and bishops at increasing rates. The appointment of Bishop Vashti Murphy McKenzie in 2000 as the first woman bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church was an important step toward gender inclusivity.

Although women continue to lead in traditional areas in church leadership and more women are being appointed to pastoral leadership, insights from the broader literature on female leadership may be helpful in elucidating factors that may delay this progress. Cook and Glass (2014) noted that when women are given leadership opportunities, they may face the challenge of a "glass cliff": leading a poorly performing organization that may be on the brink of failure. There is some support for this perspective; some women pastors may be assigned to churches that are facing inordinate challenges, and these pastors may not receive comparable support, financially and organizationally (Barnes, 2006). In addition, theologian Katie Cannon notes that while the increasing number of women leaders is encouraging, this sometimes results in more barriers and increased expressions of sexism. This resistance to women's leadership is expressed not only by men, but also by women.

In a national sample of 1,863 African American churches across seven denominations, Barnes (2006) found denominational differences in openness to women clergy: Baptist denominations, followed by Churches of God in Christ, are the least likely to support women clergy. A subsample was interviewed to clarify factors that influenced openness to women clergy. There were two major themes. One entailed indirect opposition that reflected a glass ceiling effect: women were supported as pastors, but not senior pastors. The second entailed opposition based on theology, doctrine, or tradition. These findings highlight progress as well as challenges.

One important approach to addressing these challenges might build on Barnes's research. It might be helpful to identify the specific ideological positions—based on theology, doctrine, or church tradition—that are barriers for women's leadership. Discussions that address the intellectual and relational issues surrounding these concerns may be helpful and clarifying. African American women scholars and pastors have contributed to a deeper articulation of Black liberation and Womanist theologies. Seminary graduates have added more gender-inclusive theological voices to this discourse, including male colleagues who have been invaluable allies. Ongoing discussions and challenges to the status quo are critical in fostering a more informed dialogue that includes a consideration of the role of sexism in matters of social justice in the African American church (Barnes, 2006).

Additional encouraging signs include a more thoughtful appreciation of the unique challenges facing African American women. For many African Americans, the challenges facing African American men have been a priority. While African American women face similar challenges associated with racism, the intersection of racism and sexism has not been examined as frequently. Jones and Shorter-Gooden (2003) in their book, *Shifting: African American Women's Voices Project*, examined the effects of racism and sexism on African American women. This work provides helpful insight for understanding the psychological effects of living amidst racial and gender bias. Unfortunately, this bias can be internalized and may partially explain some African American women's lack of support for female leadership. While women have varied leadership styles, in some cases women may expect women to lead as men traditionally do and not appreciate the unique gifts of leadership that a traditionally female leadership style offers.

Our leadership theories have shifted from the ideal of a white male authoritative leader to more diverse, team-oriented, emotionally intelligent, and transformational leadership orientations. These approaches are more consistent with a traditionally feminine leadership style that is more collaborative. In the African American church, the traditional authoritative male leadership may still be present, but I am encouraged that some of these leaders are recognizing a need to shift to a more collaborative style. Some of these shifts are occurring due to courageous female leaders as well as male pastoral staff who are more gender inclusive. Churches that are drawing on and informed by the strengths and gifts of their diverse leaders have a greater likelihood of fulfilling God's call.

African American women have played and are playing a powerful role in the survival of the African American church. The needs of families, including specific outreach to children, adolescents, and couples, have been responded to more fully because of women's leadership. We have been challenged to examine more carefully the Scriptures to clarify God's intent regarding male and female roles and distinguish the influence of tradition from Scripture. Women's leadership has also been helpful in deepening our appreciation of the feminine nature of God. Just as is the case for all leaders, not all examples of women leadership have been helpful. Women leaders who are free to lead out of their calling, creativity, intuition, femininity, comfort with their own power, and sensitivity to the power of the Holy Spirit have been the most helpful models for me.

I am encouraged by the increased presence of women leaders in the African American church. I would want to encourage more research to identify in more depth some of the underlying concerns related to women's leadership. Surfacing, articulating, and addressing these concerns would be an important step in the process of reexamining these positions in light of a changing local and global reality.

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a symbol of their difference from more staid, established Christians. Visionary and anti-intellectual, they claimed that the most important qualification for ministry was a personal experience of God's grace, not a college education. Although they did not allow women to be ordained, they cited the examples of biblical heroines such as Deborah, Miriam, Huldah, Phoebe, Priscilla, and Mary of Magdala to argue that God could call women as well as men to become leaders and evangelists. Many clergymen praised Livermore as a "Sister in Christ" or a "Mother in Israel."

These sects defended a woman's right to preach even though mainstream clergymen quoted the words of Paul, "let your women keep silence in the churches." Not only were female preachers condemned as "bold," "wild," or "eccentric," but hostile crowds sometimes threatened them with physical harm. Zilpha Elaw, an African Methodist, remembered preaching while a group of angry white men stood at the back of the church "with their hands full of stones." On another occasion she was taunted by "an unusually stout and ferocious looking man" who circled the pulpit as if he intended to strike her.[2] Yet despite this opposition, she and other women refused to stop proclaiming the gospel. They testified that they were willing to sacrifice everything—their good names, their comfort, and even their safety—for the glory of God.

But as small, struggling sects turned into large and powerful denominations, they eventually distanced themselves from their earlier support of female preaching. The Methodists, for example, grew into the single largest Protestant denomination by the 1830s, and they were ambivalent about their radical history. The first Methodists had been uneducated farmers and artisans, but their children and grandchildren were upwardly mobile, and they prided themselves on their respectability. They built imposing churches, founded schools to educate ministers, and discouraged anything that seemed "disorderly." During the 1830s and 1840s, Methodist female preachers suddenly found they were no longer welcome in the pulpit. In 1830, for example, the Methodist Quarterly Meeting excommunicated Sally Thomson, a popular preacher, on the grounds of "insubordination."[3]

As evangelicals increasingly pushed women ministers out of the pulpit, they also excluded them from the pages of church record books and clergymen's memoirs. Indeed, many evangelicals seem to have been so embarrassed by their early support of female preachers that they deliberately tried to erase them from historical memory. For example, when David Marks published the first edition of his memoir in 1831, he mentioned meeting some of the most popular female preachers of his time, including Susan Humes, Clarissa Danforth, Almira Bullock, Dolly Quimby, and "Sister" Wiard. Yet in 1846, when his wife, Marilla Marks, published a posthumous edition of his memoir, she removed all the references—no matter how small—to the women her husband had once defended. Because she wanted to protect his reputation, she presented a new, sanitized version of his career in which female preachers simply did not exist. From reading the revised edition of his memoirs, one would never know that the Freewill Baptists had ever sanctioned female preaching.[4]

The same story was repeated later in the 19th and 20th centuries among other groups of Christians. During the 1870s and 1880s, for example, many women who belonged to the Evangelical Free Church and the Church of God became traveling evangelists, but they were eventually forgotten by church authorities who were opposed to women's ordination. Similarly, many early Fundamentalist women became preachers, but by 1941, when John R. Rice published his infamous treatise against women's rights, *Bobbed Hair, Bossy Wives, and Women Preachers: Significant Questions for Honest Christian*

"We have seen growth of the female population here [at Fuller]. Certainly we want to see more representation on the board, be sure that there's sensitivity to what women experience on campus, and be thinking about placement for women after their experience here. We know that there are challenges for women to be hired as pastors in churches—what are the ways we can be advocates for them? . . . There were a number of women on the board before me. Women have gone before me, and I'm a part of that. But I have been very respected and felt my voice has been heard throughout my time on the board."

—Meritt Sawyer, president and executive director for the Paul Carlson Partnership and Fuller Seminary trustee, on the importance of having women voices represented in executive leadership, during FULLER *magazine's inaugural "Story Table."*

+ *[Right] Dr. Pearl McNeil was the first female trustee, who joined Fuller's board in 1973. She was an author, accomplished businesswoman and scholar, and was listed in* Who's Who of American Women *and in* Who's Who in American College and University Administration.

Women Settled by the Word of God, they were no longer welcome in the pulpit. Recapitulating the stories of women like Sally Thomson and Harriet Livermore, these women were ignored and forgotten by their churches. As these stories illustrate, historical memory is fragile. We remember only those whom we want to remember.

RECOVERING WOMEN'S HISTORY

Today we know the stories of these evangelical women because of the painstaking research of women's historians. Since the rise of women's history in the 1960s and 1970s, thousands of articles and books have been published about women in American religious history. The scope and quality of this scholarship has been remarkable. In addition to writing about women's religious leadership, historians have explored women's beliefs and practices. To give one example, R. Marie Griffith's sensitive study of the Women's Aglow movement, *God's Daughters: Evangelical Women and the Power of Submission*, explores how evangelical women have brought their faith to bear on their everyday lives.

Yet despite the number of excellent books and articles that have been published, women's history has not yet gained full acceptance within the fields of either religion or history. While Judith M. Bennett, a historian, has expressed concern about the "ghettoization" of women's history (it is "a separate but not equal enclave within

FROM THE "ABSTRACT OF THE ARGUMENT" IN THE SEMINAL 1975 TEXT *MAN AS MALE AND FEMALE*

A voluminous literature has appeared on the so-called 'woman question.' While much of this effort reflects a Christian point of view and all of it bears on issues vital to human life, realistically little has been written from the perspective of Christian dogmatics as such. And what has been written is, too often, but a reaffirmation (*sans* its less palatable features) of the traditional approach. Moreover, what is genuinely new is sometimes lost in the larger discussions as to which dogmatic theology is given. In this study, I have sought to gather together in a single essay what has been said by the theologians about Man as male and female, both that which reflects the traditional view and that which seeks to go beyond it. . . .

I take the position that the 'woman question' is a 'man/woman' question which has its roots, theologically speaking, in the doctrine of the *imago dei*. While I do not reject the classical view of the image as having to do with Man's unique powers of self-transcendence by which he exercises dominion over creation as God's vicegerent, I do insist that Man's creation in the divine image is so related to his creation as male and female that the latter may be looked upon as an exposition of the former. His sexuality is not simply a mechanism for procreation which Man has in common with the animal world; it is rather a part of what it means to be like the Creator. As God is a fellowship in himself (Trinity) so Man is a fellowship in himself, and the fundamental form of this fellowship, so far as Man is concerned, is that of male and female. This view of Man's being, I argue, implies a partnership in life; and the proper understanding of the account of woman's creation from and for the man is in every way compatible with such a theology of sexual partnership. . . .

I therefore reject a hierarchical model of the man/woman relationship in favor of a model of partnership. According to the creation ordinance, man and woman are properly related when they accept each other as equals whose difference is mutually complementary in all spheres of life and human endeavor.

+ ***PAUL JEWETT,*** *1920–1991, was a theologian and professor of systematic theology at Fuller, and an avid champion for the ordination of women—making him a controversial figure in evangelicalism.*

the historical profession"), Randi R. Warne, a religion scholar, complains that "a two-tiered system has been created which is particularly visible in the academic study of religion: male/mainstream scholarship and the feminist scholarship of the margins."[5] When women's studies programs and courses were created, many hoped that they would act as a lever for integrating women into the rest of the curriculum. Instead, however, they have often led to the segregation of women as a special, separate topic of inquiry. Only "women's historians" consistently write and teach about women, while other historians often ignore them.

Many college and seminary students learn about American religious history by reading textbooks, and unfortunately, these books rarely include sustained discussions of women's religious ideas, beliefs, experiences, or leadership. For example, Catherine L. Albanese's book, *America: Religions and Religion*, which is widely used in undergraduate classrooms, ignores much of the recent research on women's history. Albanese never mentions women's numerical predominance in churches, and although she describes several female religious leaders, she does not discuss women in many sections where it would have seemed natural—for example, in her discussion of Salem witchcraft, where she could have tried to answer the question of why most "witches" were women, or in her description of black theology, where she could have discussed womanist theology.[6] Although these examples are minor, they are only a few of many, and they add up to a disappointing series of narrative exclusions. In *The Religious History of America*, Edwin Gaustad and Leigh Schmidt have obviously tried to be more comprehensive, and they have admirably listed some of the most important scholarship on women in each chapter's "suggested readings." Yet despite the strengths of their book, they still do not give adequate space to such important topics as female reform and the role of religion in the suffrage movement.[7] Although numbers are a crude index to a book's contents, it is worth noting that Gaustad and Schmidt mention only 31 women by name, and Albanese, 30.

Given the extraordinary levels of female participation in churches throughout American history, the choice to ignore women's history is perplexing. Inspired by the invention of computers, historians in the 1970s began analyzing enormous amounts of historical data about church membership, and over the past 35 years, they have repeatedly found that women have almost always outnumbered men in the pews. Far from being "outsiders," women were consummate "insiders" who worked closely with male ministers to strengthen their religious communities. In the First Congregational Church of New Haven, Connecticut, for example, women made up the majority of new members from the 1680s to the 1980s.[8]

American religious historians rarely reflect on their choice to exclude women from their narratives, but most do not seem hostile to women's history as much as they are dismissive of it, treating it as a separate topic that they can safely ignore. Like Thomas Carlyle, who argued that "history is the biography of great men," many still seem to assume that women did not "make" history. Since women could not own their own property or attend college until the middle of the 19th century, nor could they vote or hold political office until the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, many historians have written as if only men—especially elite, white men—had the political, economic, or religious power to bring about change.

It is surprising—and disappointing—that this male-centered, top-down understanding of history remains so tenacious in the academy. Since the 1960s and 1970s, many historians have tried to broaden our understanding of who "makes" history. Rather than focusing solely on great individuals, they have emphasized the collective power of groups, and they have shown that when large numbers of people make similar decisions about their lives, they set events in motion that have far-reaching consequences. History is not only made by visionary leaders who hope to change the world, but by ordinary men and women who might not be fully aware of how their individual decisions create historical change. For example, when large numbers of women chose to join Methodist rather than Calvinist churches in the early 19th century, they helped to popularize a new theology of free will and Wesleyan perfection.

Religious leaders are important, but they become leaders only when ordinary people share their vision. For example, Billy Graham would not have become one of the most influential leaders of the 20th century if not for the thousands of Christians who embraced his ideas as their own. *His* agency was largely dependent on *theirs*. Without understanding the aspirations of both women and men, we cannot explain how and why historical change takes place.

If historians must recover women's stories in order to write good history, Christians have an even deeper reason to remember women. Christianity is a historical religion that is based on the life of a historical person, Jesus of Nazareth, and Christians have always believed that God is revealed in history as well as in Scripture. This means that the lives of all humans, though imperfect, can teach us something about God's work in the world. When we remember women—whether famous leaders like Harriet Livermore or the ordinary women who devoted their lives to Christ—we can gain a deeper understanding of God's relationship to the whole of human creation. Women's stories have revealed many things: the power of faith, the suffering and self-sacrifice that marks the Christian journey, and most of all, God's transforming grace.

ENDNOTES

1. On Harriet Livermore and other 19th-century female preachers, see Catherine A. Brekus, *Strangers and Pilgrims: Female Peaching in America*, 1740–1845 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).
2. Zilpha Elaw, *Memoirs of the Life, Religious Experience, Ministerial Travels, and Labours of Zilpha Elaw, An American Female of Colour* (London, 1846), reprinted in *Sisters of the Spirit: Three Black Women's Autobiographies of the Nineteenth Century*, ed. William L. Andrews (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1986), 100, 133, 128.
3. Sally Thompson, *Trial and Defense of Mrs. Sally Thompson, On a Complaint of Insubordination to the Rules of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Evil Speaking, and Immorality* (West Troy, NY: W. Hollands, 1837).
4. Compare David Marks, *The Life of David Marks* (Limerick, ME: Morning Star Office, 1831), to Marilla Marks, *Memoirs of the Life of David Marks, Minister of the Gospel* (Dover, NH: William Burr, 1846).
5. Judith M. Bennett, "Feminism and History," *Gender and History* 1, no. 2 (1989): 252; Randi R. Warne, "Making the Gender-Critical Turn," in *Secular Theories on Religion: Current Perspectives*, ed. Tim Jensen and Mikael Rothstein (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2000), 250.
6. Albanese published the first edition of her book in 1986, but she has extensively revised it in numerous editions, the latest in 2013. Catherine L. Albanese, *America, Religions, and Religion*, 5th ed. (Boston: Wadsworth, 2013). For her discussion of Salem witchcraft, see p. 189; on black theology, see p. 154.
7. Edwin Gaustad and Leigh Schmidt, *The Religious History of America: The Heart of the American Story from Colonial Times to Today*, rev. ed. (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 2002), 220–22.
8. Harry S. Stout and Catherine Brekus, "A New England Congregation: Center Church, New Haven, 1638–1989," in *American Congregations*, vol. 1: *Portraits of Twelve Religious Communities*, ed. James P. and James W. Lewis Wind (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 41. See also Richard Shiels, "The Feminization of American Congregationalism, 1730–1835," *American Quarterly* 33 (1981): 46–62.

The modern Pentecostal movement is a child of the radical wing of the Holiness movement, which championed the doctrine of sanctification as a second, definite work of grace. The Holiness movement was very active in works of social justice, including but not limited to various compassionate ministries, interracial work, temperance, and women's suffrage. Especially from 1850 onward, it produced a number of women who ministered as evangelists, Bible study leaders, and even a bishop. Mrs. Alma White had been a popular Methodist preacher who participated in the Metropolitan Church Association, one of many such Holiness associations. Ultimately, Alma left both groups and founded the Pillar of Fire Church. She was consecrated a bishop by the Holiness evangelist William Godbey.

With this kind of backdrop to the Pentecostal movement in the United States, it would seem likely that women would play a significant role. And so they did. Charles Fox Parham trained women for ministry in his Apostolic Faith Movement from 1900 onward. His sister-in-law, Lilian Thistlewaite, held meetings of her own throughout the midwest and appeared alongside Parham in extended meetings elsewhere. Parham commissioned a number of women to establish church plants and serve as pastors.

The African American preacher William Joseph Seymour brought the Apostolic Faith Movement to Los Angeles in 1906. His Azusa Street Mission quickly became known as an interracial congregation led by an African American pastor, with capable women and men providing leadership and outreach. The Mission was even ridiculed on the front page of the Los Angeles Evening News, July 23, 1906, for violating Paul's command in 1 Corinthians 14:34 regarding the silence of women.

Early Pentecostals understood that verse as having a specific historical and cultural context, not as a global directive. They were much more captivated by the promise made in Joel 2:28–29 that in the "last days" God would pour out his Spirit upon all flesh, including men, women, old, young, free, and slave alike. When according to Acts 2:17–18 Peter appealed to these verses on the day of Pentecost, Pentecostals found justification for both women and men to become proclaimers of the gospel. This position was strengthened by appeals to 1 Corinthians 12:11 indicating that the Holy Spirit determines individual giftedness and Galatians 3:28 pointing toward gender equality within the church.

Pastor Seymour welcomed women into the Azusa Street pulpit, provided credentials to women and men, and sent them out as missionaries and church planters. He published his commitment in the following words:

> *It is contrary to the Scriptures that woman should not have her part in the salvation work to which God has called her. We have no right to lay a straw in her way, but to be men of holiness, purity and virtue, to hold up the standard and encourage the woman in her work, and God will honor and bless us as never before. It is the same Holy Spirit in the woman as in the man.*[1]

With Seymour's support, Mrs. Florence Crawford became responsible for the Mission's outreach along the West Coast and as far east as Minneapolis. She would break with Seymour in 1908 and establish her own denomination, the Apostolic Faith Church (Portland, Oregon) with congregations especially in the United States, Scandinavia, and East Africa. Mrs. Emma Cotton, an African American woman, founded at least eight Pentecostal congregations in Los Angeles, the San Joaquin Valley, and Oakland, before giving them to the Church of God In Christ. Aimee Semple McPherson settled in Los Angeles about 1920 to build Angelus Temple and establish the now very significant International Church of the Foursquare Gospel. While Foursquare was founded by a woman and women dominated its pulpits through much of the 1920s and 1930s, today that is not the case. Women have found it increasingly difficult to be recognized as ministers.

Although women have played a very significant role in the growth and development of other Pentecostal denominations, especially in the field of world mission, Pentecostal groups have differed on the roles that women should fill. In the Church of God in Christ, for instance, women are ordained for work in mission and evangelism, but not as pastors or bishops. There is a great deal of flexibility in where women serve, however, and some of them are highly sought after for services, revivals, and even long-term service in local congregations. Women exercise significant power in that they dominate the denomination's educational system and no bishop will ordain anyone without the prior approval of the women.

The Assemblies of God licensed and ordained women to the work of missions and evangelism from its inception in 1914 and ordained women to preach but not to serve as senior pastors from 1922 except in emergencies—when no man was available. Most Assemblies of God world mission fields were pioneered by women, though today, most women have been replaced by men. Only in 1935 were women finally made full and equal partners in ministry without restriction. Accordingly, my own mother received and maintained her credentials from 1941 until her death in 2010.

While many ordained women today are the wives of pastors, they often serve as copastors, though some congregations are indeed led by women. In recent years, through a system of affirmative action, many districts have opened leadership positions at the district presbytery level, and the Assemblies of God has elected one woman to serve at the national level on the Executive Presbytery. A woman also serves as president of Evangel University, the Assembly of God's only national university. In 2010, the General Presbytery (a national group of approximately 1,000 pastors and leaders) adopted a formal position paper on the subject, intended once again to affirm the place of women in "ministry and spiritual leadership."

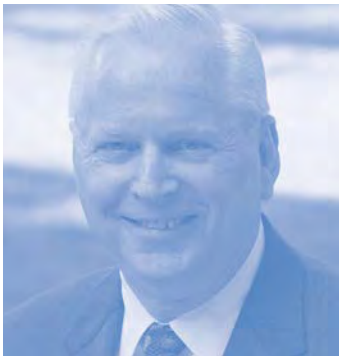
In the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee), women have long had the freedom to preach and exercise spiritual gifts, but they have not been allowed to serve in positions of authority. They served as pastors under the authority of an overseer or bishop. Until 1990, women could not officiate in communion, nor could they perform weddings, baptisms, or funerals, the normal sacerdotal functions. In 1992, women were first allowed to vote in the International General Assembly, and since 2000 they have been allowed to serve in all offices except that of bishop. In 2010, the question of whether women should now serve as bishops was considered, but defeated by a wide margin. More recently, women ministers have been given more freedom at state and local levels through appointments to various committees and boards.

Of course, the recent growth in leadership roles among Pentecostal women has not been without some setbacks. Some Pentecostal denominations have found increasing resistance regarding the role that women should play as clergy. Often such pressures have come from younger men—influenced not by their Pentecostal roots but, ironically, by such neo-reformed celebrities as Mark Driscoll and John Piper. This resistance is itself illustrative of the continuing and confusing absorption of Pentecostal identity into a conservative evangelical identity that has been going on since the early 1940s.

ENDNOTES

1. Untitled article, *The Apostolic Faith* [Los Angeles, CA] 1.12 (January 1908), 2.4.2. http://ag.org/top/Beliefs/Position_Papers/pp_downloads/PP_The_Role_of_Women_in_Ministry.pdf.

+ **CECIL M. ROBECK JR.** *is director of the David J. DuPlessis Center for Christian Spirituality at Fuller, professor of church history and ecumenics, and an ordained minister.*



STAINED GLASS CEILINGS AND STICKY FLOORS

Roberta Hestenes

Roberta Hestenes taught for 12 years and was the first tenured woman faculty member in the School of Theology at Fuller; the first woman president of a Christian college in the Council of Christian Colleges and Universities; the first woman to serve World Vision US and International as a board member, chairperson, and International Minister; and the first ordained woman in the PCUSA to pastor a church of 2,000 members. She presently serves as a teaching pastor at Bayside Church, a megachurch near Sacramento, California.

Beth is 48, a Fuller alumna, and ordained as a "Minister of the Word and Sacrament" in the Presbyterian Church (USA). Her first clergy position was as associate pastor in an aging evangelical congregation, responsible for "congregational care and small groups." It may turn out to be her only clergy position. She loves the Lord, loves being in ministry, and has passion and gifts for preaching, innovative outreach, and leadership. She finds herself with limited opportunities to use these gifts as fully as she feels called and able to do. Recent financial cutbacks may result in the loss of her full-time position. With some hesitation, she has been ready for several years to follow the example of many of her male seminary colleagues to become the solo or senior pastor of a mid-sized or large church, but no doors have opened for her, even after an avid search. She can move to part-time or "sideways" roles but is unlikely to move "up," even though a few more women are beginning to do so than in the past. Her pluralistic denomination is splitting apart and she finds herself torn, too. Like many other Christian women she has discovered that along with the joys of ministry, it can be surprisingly difficult to overcome traditional views and patterns of church life that limit a woman's impact, influence, and opportunity for service in the cause of Christ.[1]

Women like Beth sometimes describe themselves as "stuck in place," or "all dressed up with nowhere to go," with no idea what to do next. "I want to keep growing and keep serving the Lord but there are so many obstacles in the way. Is there any future for me in the church?" Other gifted Christian women cannot even find an entrance point.

Over the last five decades, I have met thousands of women serving God with joy, out of a deep love for Christ, and making important contributions to Christian churches, organizations, and global ministries. They are impressive in their creativity, giftedness, and commitment. I meet amazing women leaders in places all over this country as well as in places like China, Peru, Cambodia, Ethiopia, the Philippines, South Korea, and Colombia who are living signs of the kingdom of God. I also have examined some of the available research on women clergy in American churches, and am repeatedly sobered by how many women must struggle and overcome difficulties as they serve within the body of Christ, simply because they are female.

Though their contexts, denominations, cultures, and particular circumstances vary greatly, ecumenical and evangelical Christian women continue to face external and internal barriers to full participation in ministry.[2] Traditional gender assumptions, opposing biblical paradigms, changing cultural dynamics, denominational battles, the rise of megachurches, and lack of advocacy from supportive men interlock and combine to limit ministry opportunities even for women in denominations officially supportive of women as clergy.

I think of these challenges as "sticky floors" and "cracked stained glass ceilings."[3] I define sticky floors as social circumstances and attitudes that hold women in supportive, secondary, or circumscribed positions with few opportunities for spiritually healthy growth and formal leadership opportunities. Injustice is also a sticky floor. Silence in the face of injustice can leave women with little hope and few options. "Sticky floors" describes patterns and habits that showcase or promote "men only" as role models, senior pastors, leaders, or speakers in retreats and conferences, youth groups, denominational meetings, leadership gatherings, and international events. Women can also be hindered by insecurities, inner uncertainties,

and negative self-talk that keep them from stepping up or stepping out. They can fear disapproval or be discouraged from taking the risks necessary to venture beyond the safety of familiar roles. Women are in every church and find significance and meaning there. Some women, however, could do much more if they had the freedom and support to do so. There is too much need in the world for women to hold back, or be held back, from making their full contribution to the fulfillment of the missional commands of Christ.

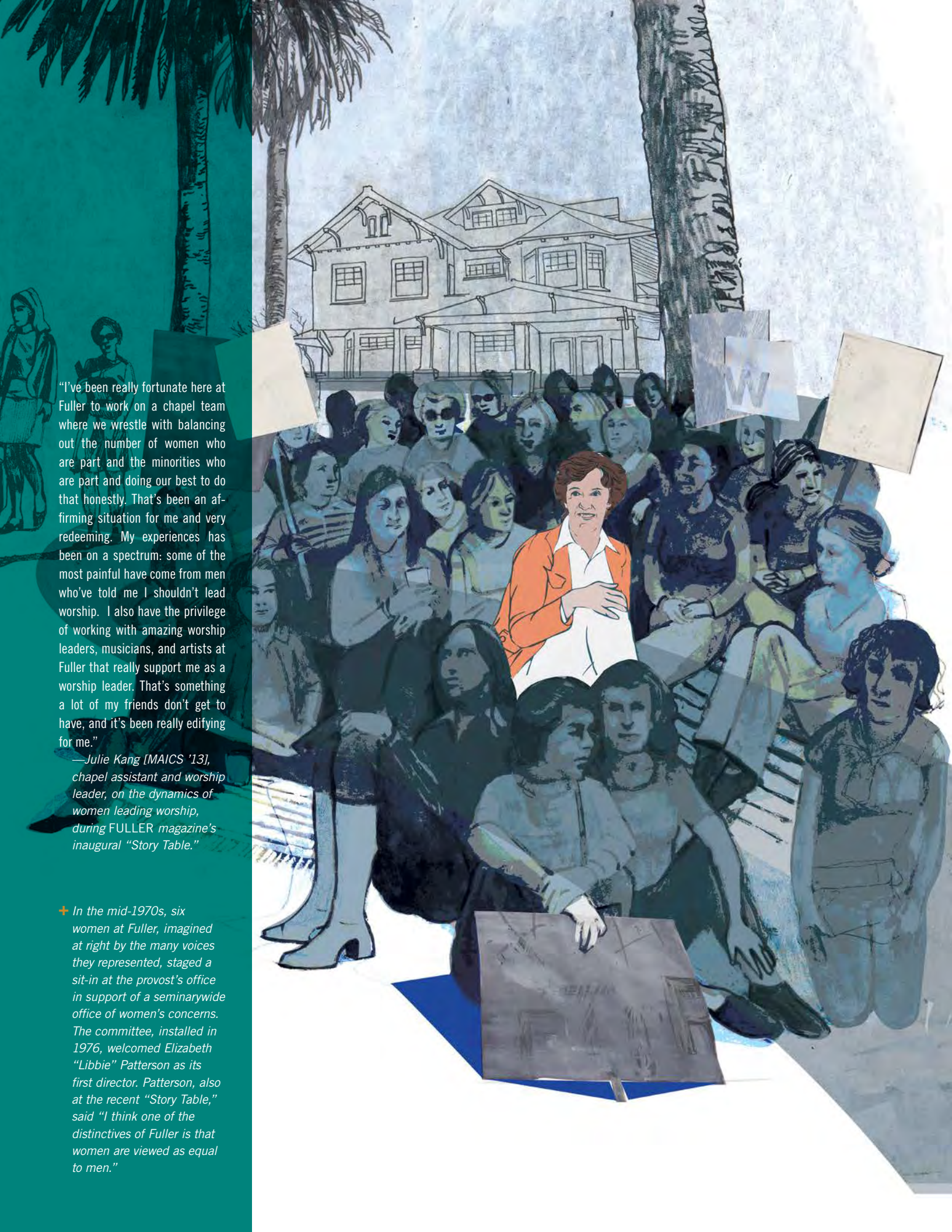
Beth is not alone in the challenges she faces as a woman in ministry. In fact, she is one of the more fortunate ones. She entered seminary at a time of unprecedented change for denominational women seeking to serve Christ as ordained clergy in the local church. Although some fellow students criticized her choice of vocation, she usually received encouragement and support. Unlike women trapped in poverty or in congregations that deny any role for women as preachers, teachers, or leaders outside of children's or women's ministries, she has had access to theological education and serves in a mainline denomination that ordains women. Still, the obstacles are real and discouraging.

At the same workshop for Christian women in leadership where I met Beth was Lucinda, an African American woman who works full time in a low wage job to support herself and her family while copastoring a small urban congregation without salary, benefits, or retirement provision. While thousands of gifted women entered the ranks of credentialed or licensed church workers during recent decades, some are in situations like the 3,088 credentialed Pentecostal women in the Church of God, Cleveland. Although between three and four percent of congregations had women pastors, most of the women were bivocational, had planted their own churches rather than being appointed by their male bishops, and were not allowed to serve at all levels of leadership.[4] Too many women are paid substantially less than their male peers in similar positions. For example, in many denominations female senior pastors have a $25,000 salary difference below the salaries of senior male pastors.[5] They may be promoted less often or experience derogatory or hostile environments including sexual harassment or abuse. Many report great satisfaction in ministry but difficulties remain.

I first entered Fuller Seminary in 1959 as a 20-year-old newly married student wife, grateful and eager to be allowed to audit classes for free. Along with one other wife, I sat in the front row of President and Professor Edward John Carnell's course on Prolegomena. I found it intellectually and spiritually powerful but for one thing: He opened most class sessions looking over my head to the male students behind, intoning the sentence, "Gentlemen, let us pray." I felt invisible and silenced. By 1975 it was my turn to stand in front of a class of about 100 male students as their new speech instructor—and the only woman faculty member at Fuller. It was awkward, difficult, and often lonely, but it was also wonderfully challenging and immensely rewarding for a married mother of three. There were only about 70 women students then, mostly studying marriage and family counseling, Christian education, or missions. Meanwhile, faculty, administrators, and trustees were deeply engaged in debate over Paul Jewett's controversial book *Man as Male and Female*,[6] and I sat in many, many meetings as not a single woman's voice was sought out or heard.

But things were already beginning to change in dramatic ways for women both in European and American culture and in the global and American church. At Fuller, within a few short years, by the late 1970s and early 1980s, there were more than 700, then more than 1,000, women enrolled—with women faculty in all three schools of theology, psychology, and world mission, with opportunities for women to be ordained as clergy in more than 80 Protestant denominations.[7] Denominational decisions often took decades of vigorous study, advocacy, controversial votes, and somewhat ragged paths to acceptance for women as clergy. Looking back, the pace of change seemed slow. From the radical Reformation with the Society of Friends' (Quakers) acknowledgement of woman's equality with men,[8] the ordination of Congregationalist Antoinette Brown in 1853,[9] to the women of the Pentecostal movement with the first ordained woman in the Assemblies of God in 1914,[10] roles for women in the church expanded, but in a very limited way. The movement for women as clergy rapidly accelerated in the last quarter of the 20th century and into the 21st century. During the first decade of the 21st century, the number of women serving as solo or senior pastors doubled.[11] One example: In 1979, when I was ordained as a Minister of the Word and Sacrament in the Presbyterian Church (USA), I was only the 100th ordained woman, even though female ordination had been approved since 1950. At the time of my own ordination I had never seen nor heard another ordained clergywoman. By 2013, there were more than 4,476 active ordained female clergy in the PCUSA alone, about 36 percent of the total active clergy.[12]

A Hartford Seminary study found that during the period from 1972 to 1994, female clergy rose from 157 to 712 in the American Baptist Churches, from 94 to 1,394 in the Episcopal Church USA, from 388 to 988 in the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), from 73 to 1,519 in the Evangelical Luther-



"I've been really fortunate here at Fuller to work on a chapel team where we wrestle with balancing out the number of women who are part and the minorities who are part and doing our best to do that honestly. That's been an affirming situation for me and very redeeming. My experiences has been on a spectrum: some of the most painful have come from men who've told me I shouldn't lead worship. I also have the privilege of working with amazing worship leaders, musicians, and artists at Fuller that really support me as a worship leader. That's something a lot of my friends don't get to have, and it's been really edifying for me."

—Julie Kang [MAICS '13], chapel assistant and worship leader, on the dynamics of women leading worship, during FULLER *magazine's inaugural "Story Table."*

+ *In the mid-1970s, six women at Fuller, imagined at right by the many voices they represented, staged a sit-in at the provost's office in support of a seminarywide office of women's concerns. The committee, installed in 1976, welcomed Elizabeth "Libbie" Patterson as its first director. Patterson, also at the recent "Story Table," said "I think one of the distinctives of Fuller is that women are viewed as equal to men."*

an Church in America, from 319 to 3,003 in the United Methodist Church, and was at 2,832 in the UCC in 2002.[13] These numbers have grown, although they may be leveling out or even slightly decreasing in recent years. The United Methodists today boast of more than 10,300 active and retired female clergy.[14] Even smaller and more conservative denominations like the Church of the Nazarene, Evangelical Covenant, Christian Reformed Church, Wesleyans, Foursquare, and a relatively small number of Southern Baptist congregations ordain women clergy that serve in a wide variety of roles.

Notable African American women leaders include Cynthia L. Hale, the founding and senior pastor of the Ray of Hope Christian Church, who grew an 8,500-member church in Decatur, Georgia, and Pastor Gina Stewart of Christ Missionary Baptist Church in Memphis, who leads a church of more than 4,000 people.[15] Pastor Vashti McKinzie became the first woman bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in 2004.[16] In 2014 three large historic tall-steeple churches called women as senior pastors—Fourth Presbyterian in Chicago, Riverside Church in New York City, and Foundry United Methodist Church in Washington, DC. Although research is incomplete and reporting systems vary, a Barna report in 2009 estimated that female clergy lead 10 percent of all congregations in America, with 58 percent affiliated with a mainline church.[17]

These changes have occurred but not without deep polarization and controversy—within congregations and denominations and also within the evangelical movement as a whole. Some saw these changes as positive. Others saw them as disastrous. From my vantage point, within both the evangelical and ecumenical movements an environment of mostly respectful and productive argument, debate, and dialogue began to decline during the mid- and late 1980s. This happened as positions on multiple sides of the issues hardened as accusations of biblical misinterpretation or infidelity, "liberalism," "the feminization of the church," and "cultural conformity" flew back and forth.

Though some dialogue around women's issues has continued in places like the Evangelical Theological Society and on Christian university and seminary campuses, there is more likely to be advocacy, denunciation, or silence. One implication is that new generations entering theological education are unlikely to have heard serious detailed biblical or theological examination of positions other than those held in their home churches.

As a strong supporter of both women and men in ministry I am personally encouraged by the large numbers of women clergy. Numbers alone, however, no matter how impressive, do not begin to tell the whole story around women and ministry. With all the good things that have happened, there are still enormous challenges. I have traveled widely in more than 90 countries, visited hundreds of communities of extreme poverty, and have spoken frequently at Christian leadership and pastors' conferences and at denominational and interdenominational meetings in the United States, Latin America, Eastern and Southern Africa, Europe, and Asia. Each of these contexts and cultures has unique elements, often hidden from view and difficult for outsiders to grasp, making generalizations dangerous, oversimplistic, and necessarily incomplete. Each person has a story. Each church has a history. Each crisis or instance of struggle or suffering has multiple causes. Christian women do amazing things all over the world, but way too many are stuck on a very sticky floor that holds them firmly in place, even as others are straining to break through the cracks of a stained glass ceiling.

Poverty is a "sticky floor" that holds many women captive.[18] I have visited women and girls who have been so victimized and brutalized by violence and war that I have been sorely tempted to despair. I have walked among groups of women literally starving to death with severely malnourished infants vainly trying to nurse at sagging empty breasts. I have held hands with stigmatized women dying of AIDS who had been sexually faithful to their husbands and fathers of their children yet would leave their children orphaned and

REMEMBER, MINISTRY MEANS "SERVICE"

Women have contributed much to the ministry of the Church throughout its history. However, their role in this area has never been free from controversy. . . . Crucial to these discussions for many of us are the matters of faithful biblical interpretation.

Perhaps a few words should be said about the concept of ministry itself on the basis of the New Testament. Today, we tend to confuse our specific church traditions about ordination with the biblical concept of ministry. The New Testament says relatively little about ordination. It clearly portrays, however, the fact that the early church had a varied and faithful ministry arising from the fact that all of God's people were "gifted" by the Holy Spirit for the purpose of building up one another (see, for example, 1 Corinthians 12:4–31; 14:1–19; Romans 12:3–8; Ephesians 4:7–16; 1 Peter 4:8–11). Any person could exercise ministry (which means, remember, service) who was called and gifted by God and affirmed by the body of Christ, the Church. Some were set apart in leadership positions and some were assigned specific tasks to accomplish, but the differences among ministries were not distinctions of kind. Eventually, certain types of affirmation were combined with certain functions of ministry to produce our current understanding of ordination.

Modern debates over the ordination of women often miss the crucial and basic issues of the holistic concept of the ministry of the Church reflected in the New Testament. Of course, no person should be ordained or given any responsibilities of ministry within the Church because of gender or for the sake of a "point." On the other hand, we have affirmed in the Church that no person, called and gifted by God, should be denied any role of ministry or leadership in the Church because of one's gender.

+ *There is a wealth of information concerning women in ministry, including extensive texts and video interviews with core faculty members, to be found online, framed by beloved past faculty member David M. Scholer. This excerpt, as with much that will be found there, is adapted, with permission, from* The Covenant Companion *issues from December 1, 1983, December 15, 1983, January 1984,*

+ **DAVID M. SCHOLER,** *1994–2008, was professor of New Testament for 14 years and associate dean for the Center for Advanced Theological Studies at Fuller. He was an articulate and outspoken advocate for women.*

struggling to survive. I have also seen remarkable, talented, awe-inspiring women serving, with every resource at their disposal, those so desperately in need, all in the name of Christ. I have prayed with women leaders of "meeting point" or house churches in China who were among the builders of a Christian movement that now includes over 80 million Chinese Christians. Pentecostal women evangelists in Latin America have inspired me with their passion for the lost. I have seen their faith, I have seen their courage, I have seen their sacrifice, and I have been deeply moved.

I will never forget a small, barefoot, dirt-encrusted woman with her long dark hair and her head bowed low, sitting on the ground, leaning against a newly constructed rough adobe wall. It was cold in the Andean Quechua village at 12,000 feet, and she was holding tightly onto her tiny baby, securely wrapped in a colorful woven blanket. When the men spoke to me of their plans and strategies for the future, I asked them, "What about the woman?" "What woman?" they answered, almost in unison. "That one, sitting right there," I answered. They glanced at her very briefly and quickly changed the subject. She was there but they somehow couldn't see her, couldn't focus, or take her seriously as they continued their discussion. To them, she was invisible.

I long for the whole church to see every woman as loved by God, called by Christ into life abundant and eternal, and capable by God's redeeming grace to be filled by the Holy Spirit with gifts that are important to the mission of the church in the world. I genuinely rejoice in the positive changes for women that I have seen and experienced over these years. But there is still a long way to go, and I have some specific concerns for the future. I will express them in the form of questions and tentative partial answers:

1. *With the relative decline of "mainline" denominations and increasing significance of megachurches—with almost totally male networks of leadership and visibility—where will role models and advocacy for women in ministry be encouraged?* Women must find their voices to speak up for their sisters in Christ, but they cannot do it alone. Men who hold power must take active leadership in discipleship, mentoring, encouraging, and advocating for women. They must listen and help.[19]

2. *Where church growth is marked by "positive and practical" messages, along with widespread avoidance of controversy, how and when can difficult issues of changing roles for women and men both in church and society be addressed?* The church must support marriages and families and, at the same time, address women and men of all ages and stages from a biblical worldview. Sermons, adult seminars, and specific teaching times with opportunities for discussion are important. Christian higher education and theological seminaries have a critical role to play.

3. *With women holding more and more high-level responsible positions in business, technology, politics, education, and government, what message does the church have for women—who now have an average life span of 81 years?* God loves you and has a wonderful plan for the world, and you have a meaningful part to play in it! Go for it!

ENDNOTES

1. Beth is a real person, although I have changed her name and some details to preserve her privacy. She is typical of hundreds of other women.
2. I use these terms as convenient, simplified categories of women within mainline denominations and those who self-identify as evangelical or are in more conservative or independent churches.
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IN NON-ESSENTIALS, LIBERTY

I am an evangelical woman serving as an ordained associate pastor in a church. I am also currently the moderator of my denomination's regional governing body. Every so often, it catches me off guard to realize that there are few like me across all churches nationally, and that many evangelicals would question my call to ministry. The rest of the time, I'm too busily engaged in ministry to think about such things.

My denomination, the Evangelical Presbyterian Church (EPC), takes a unique approach to women in leadership. Our motto is "In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; in all things, charity." We believe that the question of whether Scripture affirms women in ordained ministry is one of those "non-essentials" of our faith. We recognize that Christians come to different conclusions on this. We have agreed together that these various views do not need to impede mission and fellowship within our denomination, and we have safeguarded that stance in our constitution.

Rather than being a compromise, the EPC's position on women in ordained ministry flows directly from tenets of the historic evangelical Reformed faith, especially the Westminster Confession's section on ecclesiology. When I came to the EPC after my congregation chose to leave another Presbyterian denomination over theological differences, I was initially skittish and skeptical: "Not an essential" sounded suspiciously like "not important," and I thought I would be tolerated but not affirmed. Instead, I have found the EPC to be a wonderful place to serve because all of us—male and female alike—share a similar view of Scripture, of the Lordship of Jesus Christ, and of missional priorities. We trust each other. Because we vow at our ordinations to be subject to our fellow officers in the church—all our fellow officers—we respect one another's positions, and non-essentials are truly non-essential.

How does this unique approach play out in practice? Currently, we have 13 Presbyteries and about 550 churches in our denomination. The vast majority of our churches have chosen to ordain women elders. About 500 of our churches are in one of our 11 Presbyteries that ordain women pastors, and churches in the other 2 Presbyteries can call a woman pastor by transferring to a nearby Presbytery. Nationally, there are no limits on women's leadership roles. Women are well-represented on our national committees, and 2 of the 13 members of our national leadership board are women. Women serve as moderators of Presbytery and as Presbytery Stated Clerks, the 2 highest offices in our Presbyteries. Women vote as commissioners at our national assemblies and most of our regional assemblies, and serve on committees and as committee chairs. As seems the case in most evangelical denominations, most of our women pastors serve as associate pastors in large churches, but we also have a few women solo pastors, and a few in specialized ministries. As with many evangelical denominations, we have more women pastors in the Western United States and fewer in the South. Over the last 5 years or so, the number of EPC women pastors has increased by 300 percent. That only means we've grown from 10 women pastors to 40, so about 7 percent of our churches have a woman pastor. Some see this as great progress, while others see it as falling far short.

Compared to Presbyterian denominations that make women's ordination an essential, does the EPC's approach hurt women? This has not been my experience. My current EPC Presbytery includes about the same number of churches as my former denomination's Presbytery. Yet my EPC Presbytery has far more women pastors than my former Presbytery had evangelical women pastors, so I currently have more peers than I did in a denomination that mandated women's ordination. Last year, I was unanimously elected moderator of my Presbytery, even though we have several elders and pastors in our Presbytery who do not believe Scripture endorses the ordination of women. As I lead our business meetings and share in administering the Lord's Supper during our worship services together, God's presence is palpable, and I have sensed a deep respect for my leadership from all. As moderator, I also had the honor of representing the EPC at a luncheon hosted by Fuller's Office of Presbyterian Ministries where leaders of four Presbyterian denominations were present. Two of those denominations view women's ordination as essential, while the EPC does not. Yet I was the only woman in the room. In short, the "non-essential" stance of the EPC has not diminished my opportunities for ministry or leadership, nor generated fewer opportunities for support.

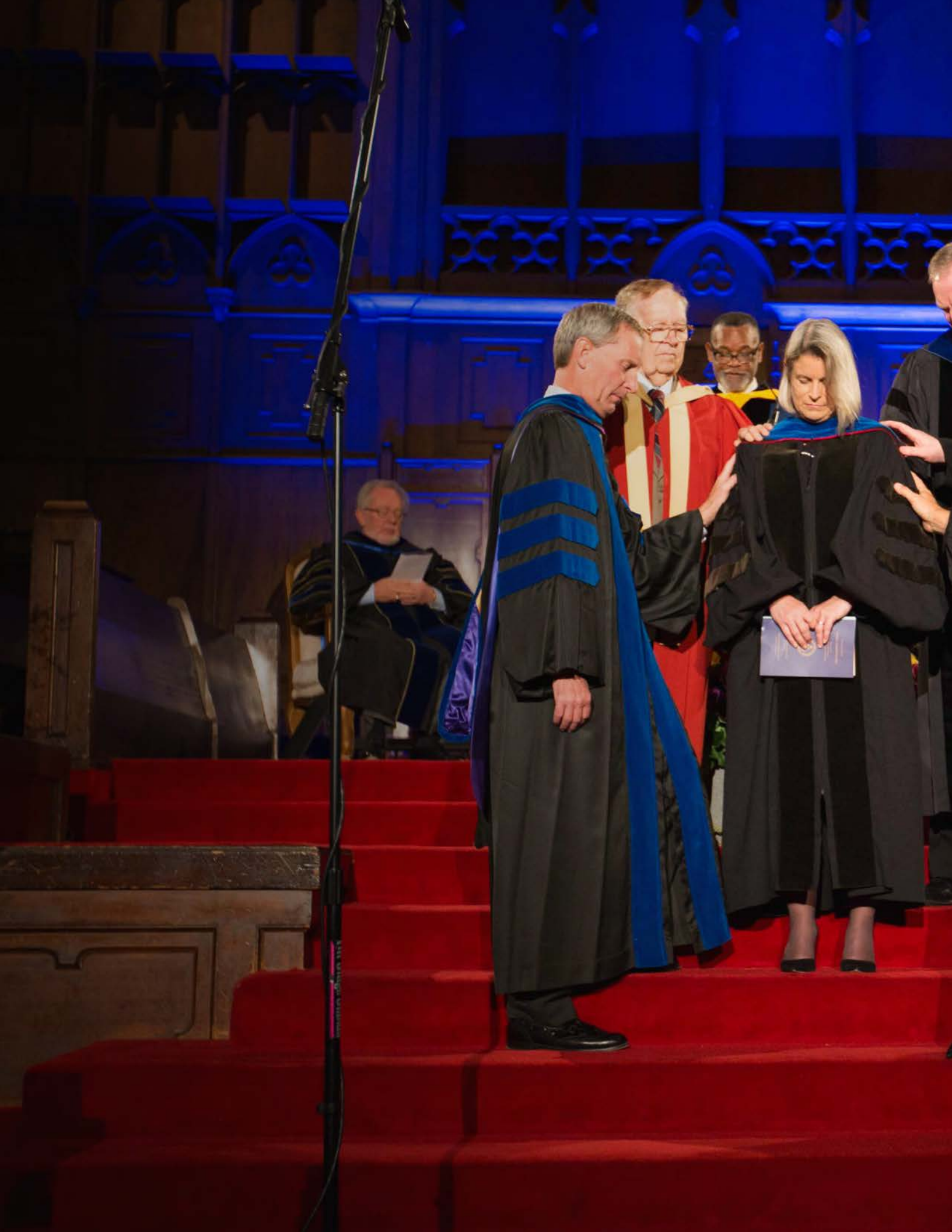
One challenge we face in the EPC is that sometimes those outside our denomination misinterpret our position by evaluating it according to their own standards without understanding our history and culture. We have been viewed alternately as "too progressive" on women's ordination to be truly scriptural, "too conservative" on women's ordination to be truly welcoming to women, or "too wimpy" to be willing to take a clear stand. Instead, our approach actually is a deliberate strategy to prioritize the gospel, and it has served us well for 35 years.

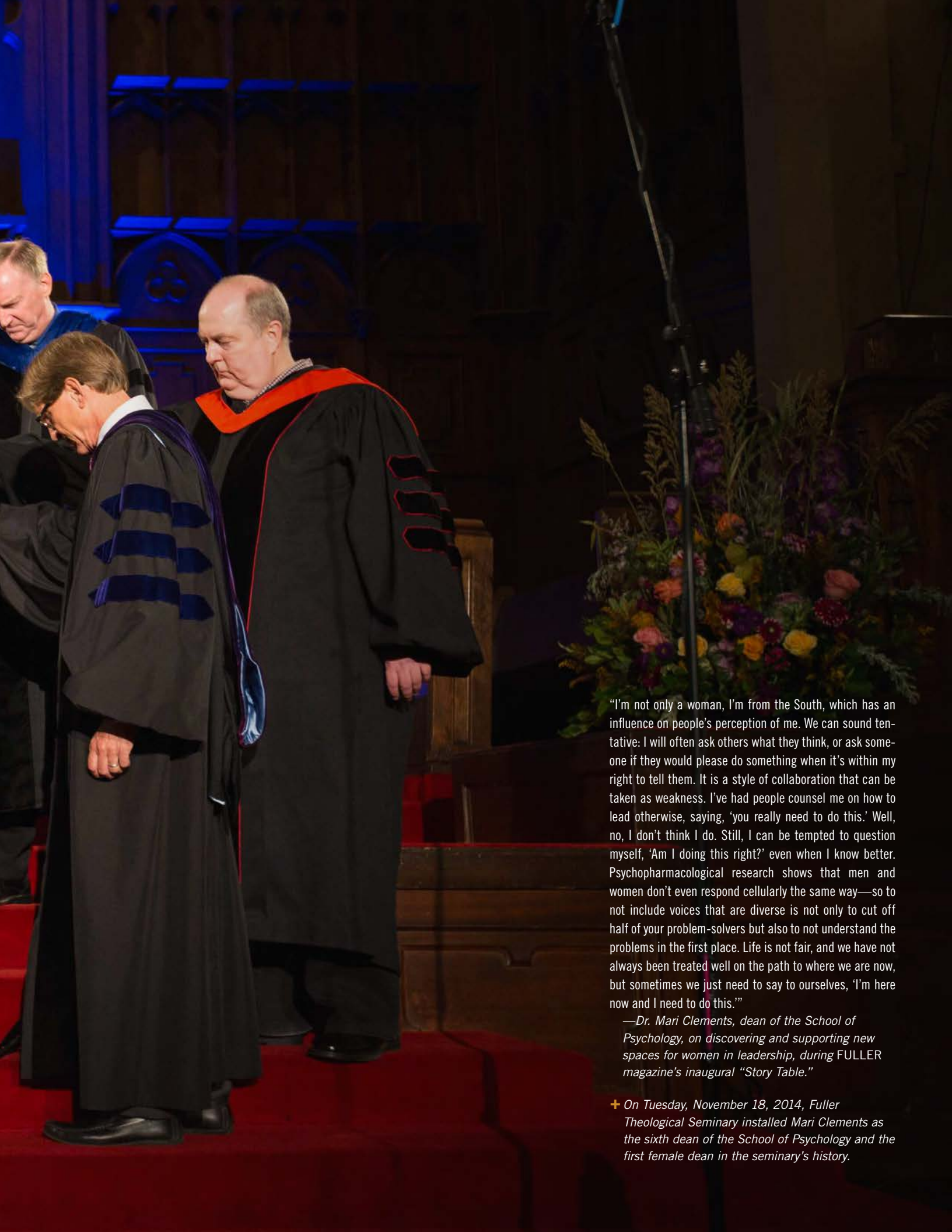
I work alongside those who differ on what Scripture teaches about the ordination of women in many contexts besides the EPC. In every interdenominational gathering of pastors I attend in the Sacramento region there are those who would not agree that I should serve as a pastor. And there are far fewer women pastors than I would expect at those gatherings. Recently, I asked Brad Howell, director of Fuller Sacramento, to let me know of other women Fuller graduates who are pastoring churches in the area. A few days later, he told me he could not find any.

This raises a question: There were many women in my Fuller classes in Sacramento, so why have so few become pastors in our local churches? While there are surely some institutional barriers within churches and denominations, there also may be other factors at play that draw fewer women into ordained ministry. Some of these factors might include our evangelical priority on family, especially when children are young; the disaffection of millennials towards the established church; the cost of seminary; alternative opportunities to do kingdom work through nonprofits; and the lack of models and mentors for women pastors. This last factor is crucial: My local church has produced nine ordained pastors over the last decade, and four of us are women. All of us benefitted from a culture that encouraged and developed leaders. As I look across evangelical churches as a whole, I sense that one of our greatest challenges is to consciously identify and develop women leaders in our local churches in such ways that they become open to sensing a call into the pastorate.

I find deep joy in my call as I minister in my congregation and denomination. I have experienced enough situations where people have appreciated the perspectives I bring as a woman to wish every church could have the gift of both men and women pastors to serve their people. I have often wondered why the Holy Spirit has not chosen to lead all believers to similar conclusions about what Scripture teaches about women and leadership. It seems it would be strategic for there to be unity across the visible church on this issue. But I trust that God is working his purposes out in his own time. As Jesus commanded, I pray that the Lord of the harvest would send more workers into the harvest field. Meanwhile, I minister in the particular field to which I have been personally called, as an associate pastor and as a Presbytery moderator in the Evangelical Presbyterian Church.

+ NANCY A. DUFF
[MDiv '03] is the associate pastor of small groups at Centerpoint Community Church in Roseville, California, and moderator of the Presbytery of the Pacific of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church. She was ordained in 2004.





"I'm not only a woman, I'm from the South, which has an influence on people's perception of me. We can sound tentative: I will often ask others what they think, or ask someone if they would please do something when it's within my right to tell them. It is a style of collaboration that can be taken as weakness. I've had people counsel me on how to lead otherwise, saying, 'you really need to do this.' Well, no, I don't think I do. Still, I can be tempted to question myself, 'Am I doing this right?' even when I know better. Psychopharmacological research shows that men and women don't even respond cellularly the same way—so to not include voices that are diverse is not only to cut off half of your problem-solvers but also to not understand the problems in the first place. Life is not fair, and we have not always been treated well on the path to where we are now, but sometimes we just need to say to ourselves, 'I'm here now and I need to do this.'"

—Dr. Mari Clements, dean of the School of Psychology, on discovering and supporting new spaces for women in leadership, during FULLER *magazine's inaugural "Story Table."*

+ *On Tuesday, November 18, 2014, Fuller Theological Seminary installed Mari Clements as the sixth dean of the School of Psychology and the first female dean in the seminary's history.*

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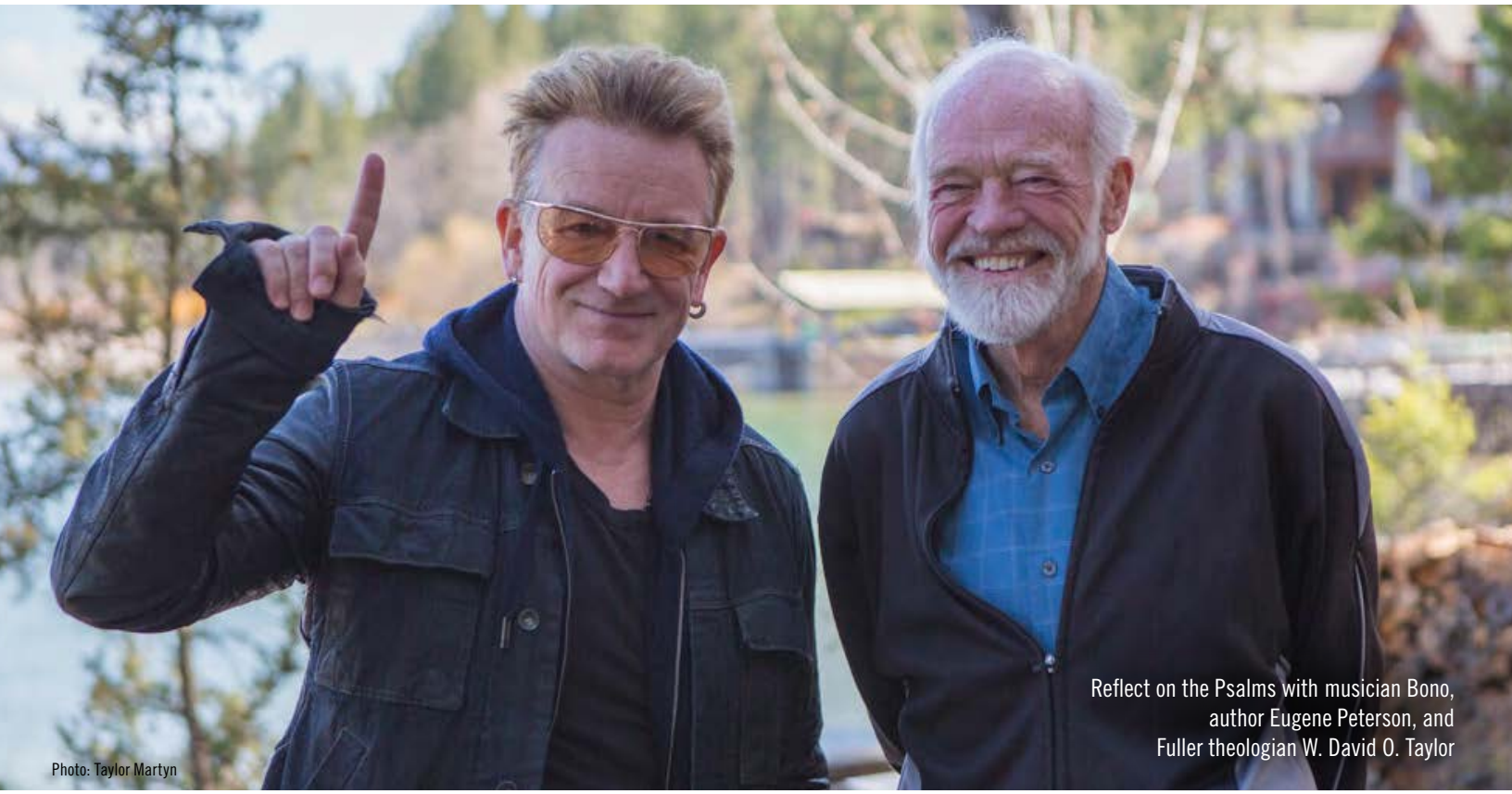

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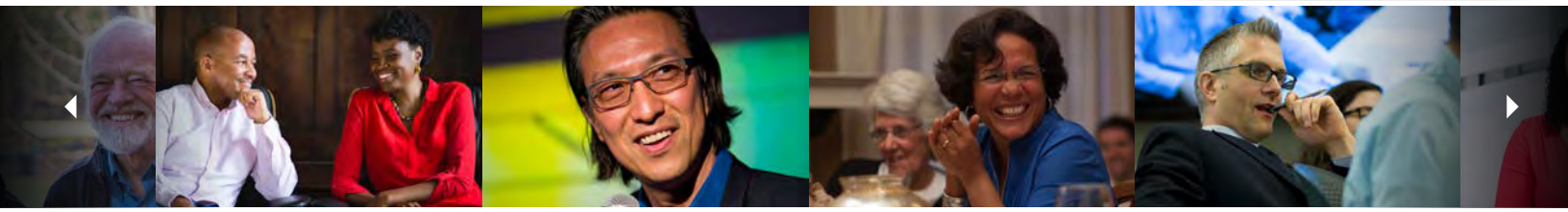

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