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Yamauchi
LECTURES IN RELIGION

Charisma and Credentials: Women's Religious Leadership in America

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The Yamauchi Lectures in Religion series, established in 1985, is named in memory of the Rev. H. James Yamauchi, S.J., a former chair of Loyola's Department of Religious Studies who taught at Loyola from 1956 to 1966. Yamauchi was known for his effective and enthusiastic communication of knowledge about the religions to the New Orleans community.

About Catherine Wessinger, Ph.D.

Catherine Wessinger's six books published to date include three relating to women's religious leadership. She is author of *Annie Besant and Progressive Messianism* (1988); editor of *Women's Leadership in Marginal Religions: Explorations Outside the Mainstream* (1993); and editor of *Religious Institutions and Women's Leadership: New Roles Inside the Mainstream* (1998). Her most recent book is an oral history entitled *Memories of the Branch Davidians: The Autobiography of David Koresh's Mother*, by Bonnie Haldeman as told to Catherine Wessinger (2007). She served on the editorial board of the *Encyclopedia of Women and Religion in North America* (published 2006), and is co-general editor of *Nova Religio: The Journal of Alternative and Emergent Religions*.

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Charisma, defined in the Religious Studies sense of authority based upon access to an unseen and sacred source, has been the primary means of empowering women to positions of leadership in patriarchal contexts. Charisma has the effect of cutting through the restrictions of patriarchy for the exceptional woman believed to possess it. However, charismatic women religious leaders seldom critique patriarchal social structures and values. Charismatic women who found religions, churches, or other religious groups often put men, not women, in leadership roles. Charismatic women may utilize their authority to enforce patriarchal values and gender roles on other women, claiming that they are exempted from these restrictions by virtue of their divinely sanctioned call to leadership. In America, as in other places in the world, charisma was the initial means to empower women to religious leadership, and it continues to be an important source of women's religious authority.

Increasingly today, many women in the United States rely upon credentials to support their religious leadership. After a painfully slow and prolonged initial struggle to enter ordained Protestant ministries in the nineteenth century, the twentieth century saw the entry of more women into Protestant and Jewish clergies. The move toward credentialed women's religious leadership is uneven, however, with some denominations actively resisting it, while other denominations have developed alternative ordained positions that have the effect of reserving prestigious clerical positions primarily for men. Despite the increasing movement toward credentialed women's religious leadership, charisma remains important to Christian conceptions of ministry and to the broad feminist spirituality movement. Contemporary Christian women religious leaders are retaining an emphasis on charisma as they move beyond it to legitimate their authority with credentials.

To understand why charisma is such an important means to empower exceptional women in highly patriarchal contexts, it is important first to understand the social and economic factors that support male-dominance.

ORIGINS OF PATRIARCHY

Does theology create male-dominated societies? Or do patriarchal societies create patriarchal theologies and male-dominated religious institutions? For Western culture, the information needed to determine the origins of patriarchy lie in prehistory, and I believe that we need to be careful not to over-interpret archaeological evidence. It is difficult to know what particular artifacts meant to prehistoric people, since we don't have

written records to inform us of their thoughts.¹ Because of the difficulty of interpreting archaeological records, anthropology's study of diverse contemporary human cultures offers important insights into the origins of patriarchy.

Anthropology indicates how patriarchy manifests in contemporary indigenous societies, and suggests that a society's economy is the key to how labor is divided between women and men in families and society. In hunting and gathering societies and also in horticultural societies, where farming is done with a hoe, both men's labor and women's labor are valued. Often in these societies, descent and inheritance are matrilineal, and residence of married couples is matrilocal. Residence with the wife's family tends to prevent the husband from abusing his wife. In horticultural societies, a woman's ownership of property and land gives her a means to support herself and her children in the event that her husband dies or leaves her.

Everything changes in gender relations when a society shifts to plow agriculture, which is termed intensive agriculture. With the invention and use of the plow, men take over the farming and ownership of the land. Inheritance is passed to sons, lineage is traced through males, and a young wife becomes part of her husband's extended family. Separated from her natal family, a wife has little protection from abuse by her husband or in-laws, and she gains status primarily by bearing sons. Although her work is crucial to the well being of the family, it has low social value because it does not directly produce economic resources.²

CLASSICAL PATRIARCHY AND SHAMANISM

The major world religions, their scriptures, and their theologies have developed in societies that I term "classical patriarchy."³ In classical patriarchy, descent and inheritance are patrilineal, and residence of married couples is patrilocal. In classical patriarchal societies, wives and children are the possessions of the male head of the family. Their status is similar to that of the slaves that he owns. Women of the higher classes are not permitted to work outside the home, their sexuality is carefully guarded so that they will produce only legitimate heirs for the patrilineage, and women are economically dependent on men. Lower-class women work for men, and may be owned by them. A high-class woman may gain political power by being related to a powerful man and serving as his stand-in, or the exceptional woman may exercise religious power when people believe that God or the gods speak through her.⁴

In classical patriarchy, certain human characteristics are assigned only to men, and other characteristics are assigned only to women. It is considered inappropriate for a woman to exhibit so-called masculine qualities, such as assertiveness, intelligence, and being articulate. Conversely, men are discouraged from exhibiting nurturing and empathetic qualities. Needless to say, this puts a lot of psychological pressure on women and men to conform to distinct gender roles.⁵

Often in patriarchal cultures, a person becomes ill due to various stresses, and these are often related to a person's inability to conform to limited gender roles, or to the social restrictions imposed by a narrow gender role. After much suffering, an ill person may be diagnosed as being possessed by the spirits. Once the diagnosis is made and the spirits are permitted to speak through that individual in a culturally sanctioned role as a shaman or medium, she or he finds that it is finally permissible to display a full range of human characteristics. Possession by God, the Holy Spirit, the ancestors, or spirits relieves the individual of responsibility for her or his words and actions. After all, powerful spirits are speaking and acting through that person. Women, who in patriarchal cultures are supposed to remain silent, suddenly find that they have a voice when the spirits or God speak through them. I am not implying that people fake their possession by spirits. I think that they genuinely believe in spirit possession as an explanation of their symptoms and behaviors. I am suggesting that in patriarchal cultures, many people find self-integration and wholeness after succumbing to spirit possession, even in the United States, where the idea of spirit possession has not been a primary emphasis.⁶

CHARISMA AS RELIEF FROM PATRIARCHY

I define the word "charisma" as referring to believed access to an unseen source of authority. That unseen source of authority may be God, the Holy Spirit, the Virgin Mary, or various saints, angels, ascended masters, and nowadays, extraterrestrials. These are all normally unseen beings who are believed to affect people for good or ill. Charisma is socially constructed. If a person says that God speaks to her and no one believes her, then that person does not have charisma. If people do believe in the person's manifestation of authority derived from an unseen source, then she, or he, has charisma. This individual may found a new religion, or more simply, a congregation. Within the Roman Catholic Church, small and large movements grow up around individuals who claim to receive visions and messages from the Virgin Mary and other heavenly personages, and

these tend to be in tension with the priestly authority of the institutional church. When religious groups are founded by women in a patriarchal culture, they are often small and marginal in relation to mainstream society.⁷ The large religious traditions of the world have been founded and shaped by men in classical patriarchal cultures, and their theologies, social codes, and institutions reflect this fact.

Charisma is a strategy to obtain independence and freedom to be a whole and complete human being that is exercised by women in highly patriarchal contexts. Again, I emphasize that I am not saying that such women do not believe in the reports that they make concerning the source of their authority. They believe that God, or the Holy Spirit, the Holy Mother, angels, or other entities speak to and through them. However, often these women have their experiences as a result of being under a great deal of stress. Then they find that whereas before no one would listen to them, as a result of saying that an exalted being speaks to or through them, suddenly people are listening. They have become shamans. It seems that some exceptional and sensitive women find out by accident that they can carve out a sphere of greater freedom and creativity for themselves by demonstrating charisma.

CHARISMATIC WOMEN'S RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP IN AMERICA

It seems bizarre that women's religious leadership in the United States would begin with charisma or shamanism, in other words, spirit possession. But Ann Braude has written that the first sizeable group of women in America to speak to public audiences were Spiritualist trance mediums in the 1850s.⁸ These women went into trance on stage and while they were unconscious, the spirits delivered lectures.

In nineteenth-century America, it was considered immoral for women to speak before mixed audiences, which were dubbed "promiscuous assemblies." In Christianity throughout the centuries, the indwelling of the Holy Spirit or a call from God the Father or Jesus has impelled women to break out of the circumscribed female role to go out and preach God's word. In the Pentecostal tradition in the United States, women preachers recount what Elaine Lawless has termed "a call to preach narrative" to justify their preaching activities to family members, neighbors, and congregations. The call to preach narrative relates the supernatural events by which God made known to the woman that he was calling her to preach. These Pentecostal women do not challenge patriarchal gender roles, but their patriarchal context requires divine authorization for them

to transcend women's roles to move into male roles of preaching, teaching theology, and pastoring congregations.⁹ Women preachers in the Wesleyan/Holiness movement have said that a call from God gives them "holy boldness" to speak out in God's name and proclaim his Word.¹⁰

Amanda Berry Smith (1837 – 1915), an African American Methodist evangelist in the nineteenth century, has given us an example of a call to preach narrative in her *Autobiography*. She describes how she first received her call to preach while attending a service in an African Methodist Episcopal church in Brooklyn, and then again early the next morning while she was sleeping:

Brother Gould, then pastor of the Fleet Street Church, took his text. I was sitting with my eyes closed in silent prayer to God, and after he had been preaching about ten minutes, as I opened my eyes, just over his head I seemed to see a beautiful star, and as I looked at it, it seemed to form into the shape of a large white tulip; and I said, "Lord, is that what you want me to see? If so, what else?" And then I leaned back and closed my eyes. Just then I saw a large letter "G," and I said: "Lord, do you want me to read in Genesis, or in Galatians? Lord, what does this mean?"

Just then I saw the letter "O." I said, "Why, that means go." And I said "What else?" And a voice distinctly said to me "Go preach."

The voice was so audible, that it frightened me for a moment, and I said, "Oh, Lord, is that what you wanted me to come here for? Why did you not tell me when I was at home, or when I was on my knees praying?" But His paths are known in the mighty deep, and His ways are past finding out. On Monday morning, about four o'clock, I think, I was awakened by the presentation of a beautiful, white cross—white as the driven snow.... It was as cold as marble. It was laid just on my forehead and on my breast. It seemed very heavy; to press me down. The weight and the coldness of it were what woke me; and as I woke I said: "Lord, I know what that is[.] It is a cross."

I arose and got on my knees, and while I was praying these words came to me: "If any man will come after Me let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow Me." And I said, "Lord, help me and I will...."¹¹

Amanda Berry Smith tested her call in various ways, including praying to God to show her a specific sign by causing a bitterly cold winter wind to

stop blowing so people would come and hear her preach in Salem. The wind stopped blowing, and she preached successfully to a packed church. On that occasion, Amanda Berry Smith initiated a revival and gained numerous converts. She went on to an international career as an evangelist.

Elaine Lawless has reported that in Pentecostal churches, women are often moved by the Holy Spirit to give “testimonies” from the pews to the congregation. These women are not speaking from the pulpit, and what they are doing is not called “preaching,” but Lawless suggests that they are indeed preaching, and their testimonies, which are enthusiastically received by the congregation—made up mostly of women—can become so lengthy that the male minister is prevented from preaching.¹² Charisma is a powerful means by which women gain their voices.

When charismatic women found congregations and religious groups, typically they pass on the group’s leadership to men. Usually charismatic women are influenced by patriarchal values and they teach traditional gender roles. Charismatic women leaders often do not question the patriarchal status quo, and they reinforce that status quo with their charismatic authority. Not uncommonly, a charismatic woman relies on a man or men to organize and institutionalize the religious tradition she inspires; this was especially true in the nineteenth century.

Notable charismatic women leaders include Mother Ann Lee (1736 – 1784), the female messiah of the Shakers; Helena P. Blavatsky (1831 – 1891), the philosopher and co-founder of the Theosophical Society; and Mary Baker Eddy (1821 – 1910), founder of the Church of Christ, Scientist. Ann Lee experienced herself as being the bride of Christ, and her followers came to believe that she was the second appearing of Christ in female form; Blavatsky claimed that her writings were telepathically dictated to her by Masters; Mary Baker Eddy was healed of serious injuries as a result of her spiritual insight into the gospel message.

It is interesting to note that the Shakers, Theosophists, and Christian Scientists have understandings of God that go beyond the patriarchal God the Father, and this seems to have contributed to the successful continuation of women’s religious leadership in these groups.¹³ Shakers and Christian Scientists speak of a Father-Mother God, and Theosophists believe in an impersonal absolute that may be personified in female or male terms. However, even Helena Blavatsky, an intrepid world traveler, found that no one listened to her until she asserted that male Masters of the Wisdom spoke through her by psychic means, and Blavatsky relied upon Colonel Henry Steel Olcott to organize the Theosophical Society and serve as its first president. The Theosophical Society is governed by elected officers and relies

upon public lecturers, many of whom are women. The Shakers evolved a dual leadership structure, which included elders and eldresses, deacons and deaconesses. In addition to the female-dominated position of healing practitioner, Christian Science services are led by two readers, ideally a man and a woman. Corporate structures of the Church of Christ, Scientist, and its affiliated institutions have tended to be male-dominated.¹⁴

In the patriarchal religions, emphasis on a male deity reinforces male authority, and women often, but not always, create theologies that support women’s authority with a female deity, or an impersonal or feminine divine principle. They also honor important foremothers in their rituals as validating women’s leadership. But the charisma of prophecy or shamanism can empower a woman to religious leadership even when theologically she affirms that God is male. An example of this is Ellen G. White (1827 – 1915), the prophet of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, founded in the nineteenth century and which still opposes the ordination of women.

THE EFFECTS OF ECONOMIC CHANGES IN AMERICA ON GENDER ROLES AND RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP

The nineteenth century in the United States was a time in which the economy began to shift from agriculture to industrialization and was marked by the growth of cities. Today we have moved into a post-industrial information economy. Industrialization began a long process of breaking down distinct gender roles for women and men, which is being continued in the information economy. Increasingly, women and men do the same or similar types of work in the home and the workplace. While women do not yet have equal earning power, we are making strides. Women’s economic contributions are vital for the well being of many families. Women now have access to higher education, and we will not be excluded from education in the future. Therefore, it is natural that women are seeking equal participation and access to leadership in their respective religious institutions, and in doing so, women are introducing changes into practice and theology. Some denominations welcome these changes. Others permit them with trepidation, and other denominations actively resist the changes that are taking place at the grassroots. We now live in a society in which the division of labor by sex is breaking down. Increasingly, women and men can express themselves and live as whole human beings. From a feminist perspective, this has exciting implications for changes in the patriarchal religious traditions.

GOING BEYOND CHARISMA TO CREDENTIALS

As part of this shift in gender roles, the basis of women's religious leadership is changing from reliance upon exceptional charisma to the acquisition of credentials. Women are attending seminaries, getting the training, and being ordained as rabbis and ministers. In Judaism, the rabbi is a scholar of Torah, who has the expertise to teach other Jews about Torah and how to live as Jews; in Judaism, the credentials involve academic training. Christianity has retained the concept that it had from its beginning, that a minister receives a "call" from God; many Protestant denominations retain this element of charisma while educating women for the ordained ministry.

The first denominations to ordain women were those that vest authority in congregations as opposed to bishops. This was followed by denominations ordaining women whose decision-making authority is vested in representative bodies even when there are bishops. Among these, there are differences between denominations in which congregations hire their own pastors, for example the Presbyterians, and denominations with connectional polities such as the United Methodist Church, in which pastors are appointed to congregations. Typically, women are admitted into seminaries before there is agreement that women should be ordained. Once women earn the educational credentials, it no longer makes sense to exclude them from the ministry and rabbinate.

The admission of women to ordained ministries has been slow. Antoinette Brown became the first ordained woman in 1853 when she was ordained by a Congregationalist church in South Butler, New York. Olympia Brown was ordained a Universalist minister in 1863, and Celia Burleigh was ordained a Unitarian minister in 1869. The various Methodist denominations went through a complicated process of first licensing women to preach without ordaining them, then ordaining women but not giving them membership in the General Conference, which would have meant guaranteeing employment in congregations, and then finally ordaining women and giving them General Conference membership. In 1948, the General Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church approved the ordination of women. Women gained full ordination and Conference membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1956. Also in 1956, the United Presbyterian Church approved the ordination of women. In 1970, two Lutheran denominations that subsequently became part of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America began ordaining women. In 1972, the first woman rabbi was ordained in Reform Judaism. In 1974, the first

Reconstructionist woman rabbi was ordained. In the Episcopal Church, the democratic process was not moving speedily, so in 1974, two retired bishops and one resigned bishop ordained eleven qualified women deacons as Episcopal priests in an irregular service. A retired bishop ordained four more women deacons to the Episcopal priesthood in 1975. This intensified the debate about women's ordination, and in 1976, the Episcopal General Convention voted to approve the admission of women to the priesthood and the episcopate. In 1985, the first woman rabbi was ordained in Conservative Judaism.¹⁵

The dates of the first ordinations of women do not mark the end of women's struggle for equal access to leadership and ministry in their respective denominations. It is one thing to ordain a woman who has earned her credentials; it is quite another thing to hire her to minister to a congregation. Susie C. Stanley has written that a "stained-glass ceiling" exists for ordained women.¹⁶ If they are hired at all, ordained women typically are hired in assistant or associate positions, or as solo ministers and rabbis of small congregations. Women ministers and rabbis tend to stay in these positions, whereas these are stepping-stones to more prestigious positions for their male colleagues.

Statistics

Some statistics from the 1990s and the 2000s illustrate the status of ordained women in selected denominations. They indicate that the stained glass ceiling is real, but women clergy in certain denominations are beginning to move beyond this ceiling.¹⁷

In 1992 in the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), clergywomen were 12.5 percent of the total clergy. A survey of 1,665 Presbyterian clergywomen found that 9 percent served multiple congregations, 20 percent served in non-parish positions such as campus ministry, 9 percent were unemployed, 31 percent were employed part-time, 14 percent searched for five or more years to receive their first calls to ministerial positions, and 37 percent had been subjected to sexual harassment. About 40 percent of these clergywomen had considered leaving the ministry or had already left. These discouraging findings were placed in further perspective by a 1989 survey of Presbyterians that found that only 2 percent of church members and elders would hire a female minister over a male minister, and over 50 percent of church members said that they preferred to have a male minister.

Similar figures from 1998 indicate that ordained women in the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) still struggled for parity with ordained men.¹⁸

In Reform Judaism in 1991, there were 168 women rabbis constituting 10 percent of Reform rabbis; in 2007, Reform Judaism's Hebrew Union College had ordained a total of 464 American women rabbis since 1972 and 16 Israeli women rabbis since 1992.¹⁹ In 2003, Rabbi Janet Marder was the first woman elected president of Reform Judaism's Central Conference of American Rabbis.²⁰ In Conservative Judaism, a total of 52 women rabbis had been ordained by 1993. A 2004 survey of Conservative rabbis found that women constituted only 11 percent of the total number of Conservative rabbis in America but they were approximately 30 percent of the Conservative rabbis ordained since 1985. The 2004 survey found that Conservative women rabbis received fewer job interviews than male rabbis, women rabbis were more likely to work part-time, and for the ones who obtained pulpits these were in congregations of 250 families or smaller. Additionally, there was a significant gap in pay and benefits between the male and female rabbis.²¹ In 1993, Reconstructionist Judaism had 49 women rabbis, who constituted 35 percent of the total number of Reconstructionist rabbis. As of 2005, women rabbis numbered 105 out of the 226 Reconstructionist rabbis, with women constituting over half of the rabbinical students at the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College.²²

United Methodists in 1994 had the largest number of ordained women with over 3,000 clergywomen (3,003).²³ By 2005, the United Methodist Church had 9,500 clergywomen, and they constituted one-fifth of all United Methodist ministers. United Methodists have established a good track record concerning women bishops. When Marjorie Matthews was elected bishop in 1980, she was the first woman bishop in the mainstream denominations in America. In 2000, there were eleven active and two retired women bishops in the United Methodist Church (ten were white and three were African American). However, in 2005, it was reported that United Methodist ordained women still suffered from lower salaries and lack of acceptance in congregations. Female Methodist ministers tended to remain longer in assistant and associate pastor positions.²⁴

The African Methodist Episcopal Church, which began ordaining women ministers in 1948, elected Vashti McKenzie as its first woman bishop in 2000.

The Episcopal Church, which is part of the wider Anglican Communion, also has a growing number of women bishops. An African American woman, Barbara C. Harris, became the first woman bishop within the Anglican communion when she was consecrated suffragan (assistant) bishop in the Episcopal Church in 1989. In 1992, Jane Hart Holmes Dixon was consecrated the second woman bishop in the Episcopal Church, and

she was the third woman bishop in the Anglican Communion. She became suffragan bishop of the diocese of Washington, D.C. In 1993, Mary Adelia MacLeod became the first woman consecrated diocesan bishop (of Vermont) in the Episcopal Church. The number of women bishops in the Anglican Communion has continued to grow. At the 1998 Lambeth Conference, the Worldwide Anglican Communion had a total of eleven women bishops. There were eight women bishops in the United States, two in Canada, and one in New Zealand.²⁵ By this time, there were about 2,000 Episcopalian women priests constituting 14 percent of the clergy.²⁶ In 2006, the Episcopal Church's General Convention elected Katharine Jefferts Schori as its first woman Presiding Bishop. Schori's election as Presiding Bishop is controversial for some Episcopalians and Anglicans because she is a woman and because she supports the ordination of gay people as deacons and priests and their consecration as bishops. She was invested as Presiding Bishop in the Washington National Cathedral on November 4, 2006. Her term as Presiding Bishop is for nine years.²⁷

RESISTANCE TO CREDENTIALLED WOMEN'S RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP

The two denominations that are noteworthy for resisting changes in women's roles are the Roman Catholic Church and the Southern Baptist Convention.

Roman Catholic Church

The situation in the Roman Catholic Church is that women do indeed exercise leadership and ministries at the grassroots level, but the hierarchy opposes the ordination of women. Thousands of Catholic women are ministering to priestless parishes, and increasingly these women are likely to have a master's degree in ministry. In 2006, there were more than 30,000 paid lay parish ministers in Roman Catholic parishes in the United States; 64 percent of these nonordained leaders were women.²⁸ Sisters are not ordained, and therefore they are also lay, but because the language is imprecise, I will refer to non-vowed Catholic women as laywomen. In 2003, the average age of Roman Catholic sisters was 69,²⁹ so increasingly leadership in the Catholic parishes may be shifting to non-vowed women.

A Gallup survey in 2005 found that 55 percent of Roman Catholics agreed, "It would be a good thing if women were allowed to be ordained as priests." This was down from the 67 percent who agreed with this statement in 1992.³⁰ This decline could be due to Pope John Paul II's 1994

apostolic letter entitled “*Ordinatio Sacerdotalis*” in which he wrote: “I declare that the church has no authority whatsoever to confer ordination on women and that this judgment is to be definitively held by all the church’s faithful.” The pope said that the question of women’s ordination was closed for discussion.³¹ Because further discussion did occur, the Vatican’s Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith headed by Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger stated in 1995 that the pope’s position expressed in “*Ordinatio Sacerdotalis*” “has been set forth infallibly by the ordinary and universal magisterium.”³² In other words, Cardinal Ratzinger asserted that the pope was making an infallible statement based on the ordinary teaching authority of the church, and was not making a pronouncement *ex cathedra*. This understanding of papal infallibility was subsequently rejected by Catholic intellectuals as not being possible according to official Catholic teaching.³³

Pope John Paul II followed up “*Ordinatio Sacerdotalis*” with a 1998 apostolic letter entitled “To Defend the Faith” (“*Ad Tuendam Fidem*”). In this letter, the pope amended Canon 750 to state that anyone “who rejects propositions which are to be held definitively sets himself against the teaching of the Catholic Church” (par. 2). The same language was inserted into Canon 598, par. 2. Canon 1436 on excommunication was amended to refer to refer to Canon 598, par. 2.³⁴ This prepared the way for the excommunications of Catholic women ordained priests by dissenting bishops outside the Roman Catholic Church but in the broader Catholic tradition beginning in 2002.³⁵

In his 1998 apostolic letter, Pope John Paul II extended the concept of papal infallibility to doctrines, such as a male-only priesthood, that the pope designates as being “definitive” for Catholics to believe.

Consequently, when there has not been a judgment on a doctrine in the solemn form of a definition, but this doctrine, belonging to the inheritance of the depositum fidei, is taught by the ordinary and universal magisterium, which necessarily includes the pope, such a doctrine is understood as having been set forth infallibly. The declaration of confirmation or reaffirmation by the Roman pontiff in this case is not a new dogmatic definition, but a formal attestation of a truth already possessed and infallibly transmitted by the church.³⁶

Therefore, Pope John Paul II attempted to clarify in 1998 the confusion that was created in 1994 by his statement that the prohibition of the ordination of women was a “definitive” doctrine to be held by all

faithful Catholics. With his apostolic letter of 1998, the pope asserted that the prohibition of the ordination of women was an infallible doctrine, and provisions were made in canon law to excommunicate persons who advocate for women’s ordination in a sufficiently public manner.

If we ever doubted that gender inclusive language is important for promoting equality for women, the Roman Catholic Church demonstrated that fact in 1994. In October 1994, the Vatican’s Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith took the unprecedented step of overruling the American bishops’ adoption of the New Revised Standard Version of the Bible for use in liturgy and religious instruction. The reason given for rejecting the NRSV was its gender inclusive language. In June 1994, the English translation of the universal *Catechism of the Catholic Church* was published after a two-year delay in which the gender inclusive language for human beings was changed to the sexist usage of the words “man” and “men” to refer to all persons.³⁷

Despite these initiatives from the Vatican, the American Catholic bishops in November 1994 issued a statement entitled “Strengthening the Bonds of Peace” saying:

We reject sexism and pledge renewed efforts to guard against it in church teaching and practice. We further reject extreme positions on women’s issues which impede dialogue and divide the church. We commit ourselves to make sure that our words and actions express our belief in the equality of all women and men.

The American Catholic bishops said they rejected “authoritarian conduct” and stated that “discrimination against women contradicts the will of Christ.”³⁸

In 1995, the 34th General Congregation of the Society of Jesus produced a statement entitled “Jesuits and the Situation of Women in the Church and Civil Society.” The document called for Jesuits and Jesuit institutions “to align themselves in solidarity with women,” for example, through “genuine involvement of women in consultation and decisionmaking in our Jesuit ministries.”³⁹

At issue in the Roman Catholic Church are two competing views of gender, one that women and men are different and complementary to each other in their natures and roles, and the other that women and men have the same range of human qualities and that mutuality should characterize their relations. Pope John Paul II, while affirming the equal human dignity of women and men, expressed the view that women and men have complementary and different roles. Pope John Paul II’s 1988 document on

women entitled “On the Dignity and Vocation of Women” (*Mulieris Dignitatum*) derived what he viewed as the proper vocations of women from the sexual status of the Virgin Mary. According to the pope, women’s vocations were to be either virgins (i.e. nuns or sisters) or mothers.⁴⁰ The Vatican position is that only men were designated for the ordained priesthood by Jesus Christ, who indicated his will on this matter by selecting only men to be his apostles. Feminist scholarship has indicated that this argument does not hold up to historical scrutiny.⁴¹ Pope John Paul II and Catholic traditionalists hold to a patriarchal view of gender roles for women and men as being different but complementary to each other, while others in the church are affirming a view of gender roles based upon equality and mutuality, with women and men being complete human beings in themselves and performing similar types of work in families, society, and the church. In the United States, Roman Catholic sisters, since Vatican II in the mid-1960s, have shifted the internal governance of their communities to democratic structures, and many sisters work to promote lay leadership in the church.⁴² There are approximately 50 graduate programs in ministry and theology in Catholic universities aimed at educating lay people for parish ministries. However, there will be no changes on the question of the ordination of women any time soon because Cardinal Ratzinger became Pope Benedict XVI in 2005. In my opinion, the statements issued by Pope John Paul II and Cardinal Ratzinger in the 1990s will make it very difficult for a future pope to approve the ordination of women as deacons and priests.

Southern Baptist Convention

The Southern Baptist Convention is another Christian denomination that is strongly resisting women’s entry into ordained ministry. Southern Baptist women have long served as missionaries, and when they are in foreign countries, they have performed many of the functions of a minister for the sake of evangelism. Because the Southern Baptist Convention vests final authority in congregations, there *are* ordained Southern Baptist women, but the Convention disapproves of the ordination of women. In 1984, the Southern Baptist Convention adopted a resolution stating that while the Bible says that women and men are equal in human dignity, the Bible also commands that women should not be in positions of authority over men in the church. This resolution makes a reference to the old sexist Christian doctrine of male headship; it states that God requires women’s submission to men “because the man was first in creation and the woman was first in the Edenic fall...” The 1984 resolution concludes by saying that

“we encourage the service of women in all aspects of church life and work other than pastoral functions and leadership roles entailing ordination.”⁴³

In 1998, the Southern Baptist Convention adopted a statement saying, “A wife is to submit graciously to the servant leadership of her husband, even as the church willingly submits to the headship of Christ.”⁴⁴ In 2000, the Southern Baptist Convention approved a change in its Baptist Faith and Message statement to strengthen its disapproval of the ordination of women. The statement now reads: “While both men and women are gifted for service in the church, the office of pastor is limited to men as qualified by Scripture.”⁴⁵

In 2000, there were 1,650 ordained Southern Baptist women, 100 of whom held senior pastor positions, and approximately 100 in associate pastor positions. Another 300 ordained Southern Baptist women were in church ministries such as music, education, and youth. Three hundred and eighty-eight Southern Baptist clergywomen served as chaplains, 12 were campus ministers, and 26 were professors. There were 600 Southern Baptist ordained women who were not employed in the denomination.⁴⁶

Carolyn D. Blevins wrote in 2007:

The SBC is not a cordial place for ordained women of any calling, even chaplains. Previously the convention ordained women into chaplaincy but under fundamentalist leadership revoked that practice. The Cooperative Baptist Fellowship, and the Alliance of Baptists, two spin-off groups, are where most of the former SBC ordained women have landed, if they have not gone to the American Baptist Churches, USA or to other denominations.⁴⁷

ALTERNATIVE MINISTERIAL TRACKS

In other denominations, women’s numbers are increasing in the ordained ministry, and this stimulates the following questions. What happens when women earn credentialed religious leadership in significant numbers? Do religious institutions immediately become transformed to include women as leaders? Paula Nesbitt’s sociological study of the Episcopal Church in the early 1990s reveals that this is not the case, and instead alternative ordination tracks can divert women into lower status positions so that men predominate in the more prestigious and better-paid positions.

When the Episcopal Church’s General Convention decided in 1976 that women could become priests and bishops, a “conscience clause” was adopted saying that a bishop could refuse to ordain women as deacons and priests, and that he was not obligated to employ them in his diocese. In

1988, when it became apparent that the Episcopal Church was going to consecrate a woman bishop, another conscience clause was adopted to permit congregations to prevent bishops they found unacceptable from presiding at liturgies in their churches. Perhaps as many as 20,000 laity and clergy left the Episcopal Church as a result of the decision to ordain women to the priesthood and the episcopate.⁴⁸ Approximately 40 of these Episcopalian priests were reordained as Roman Catholic priests even though they were married men.⁴⁹

Despite the fierce resistance in the Episcopal Church to women's ordination, by the 1990s, only one diocese (Fond du Lac, Wisconsin) continued to prohibit women deacons and priests. By 1990, the number of women ordained annually in the Episcopal Church had risen to more than 40 percent of the total ordinations, and in 1995, the conscience clause exceptions were abolished.⁵⁰ In 1994, there were 1,394 clergywomen in the Episcopal Church constituting 12.3 per cent of the total clergy.⁵¹

Paula Nesbitt's study has shown that the Episcopal Church developed an alternative career track that had the effect of reserving the better-paid and more prestigious positions for ordained men. The Episcopal Church has had the ordained permanent diaconate position since 1952, and women were permitted to be ordained deacons beginning in 1970. Permanent deacons are more likely to hold unpaid or part-time positions. The educational requirements for this position do not require seminary attendance. Women tend to be disproportionately represented in this ordained office.

In the Episcopal Church, male priests tend to move rapidly up the traditional career ladder of clergy positions, whereas women priests are more likely to continue in employment as assistants or associates in congregations, in part-time positions, or in positions (such as hospital chaplains) alternative to the track for upward mobility. Nesbitt suggests that the occupational positions held by permanent deacons and women priests, who often hold part-time church jobs in addition to employment outside the church, are conflating; female permanent deacons and women priests are competing for the same jobs. Male priests continue to have greater likelihood of obtaining positions with the title rector than women priests. This trend noted by Nesbitt in the 1990s holds true in the 2000s.⁵²

As of 2005, in the Episcopal Church there were 1,329 female deacons, 4,607 female priests, and 12 female bishops, which is 36 percent of all Episcopal clergy. Women bishops represented 4.1 percent of all bishops.⁵³

WOMEN GETTING THE WORK DONE

Women's leadership in denominations is not restricted to the ordained ministry. Women exercise important and meaningful ministries and fulfilling leadership roles as pastor's wives, religious educators and writers, missionaries, Roman Catholic sisters, theologians, independent preachers, pastoral administrators, social workers, speakers, spiritual directors, secretaries, officers in women's organizations, and denomination officers. But in a society in which women are increasingly moving into formerly male-dominated occupations and in which men are increasingly becoming active in nurturing and parenting, numerous women and men ask, or should ask: Why are women marginalized or excluded from ordained religious leadership in religious institutions? What does it say about women's human nature to exclude women from a position of leadership solely on the basis of sex?

Statistical evidence from the Christian and Jewish denominations indicates that ordained women are more likely to hold lower-level positions, to be employed in part-time denominational jobs, and to be paid less than their male counterparts. Pursuing a profession in the ministry is an "Uphill Calling" for women.⁵⁴

The data just cited for the Episcopal Church has implications for the Roman Catholic Church. The large influx of women into lower-level parish ministries in the Roman Catholic Church in America suggests that they are being diverted into alternative ministerial roles that facilitate the reservation of the prestigious ordained position of priest for celibate men. In the Roman Catholic Church, only priests can celebrate all of the sacraments, and therefore they maintain their role as intermediary between laity and God as conduits of God's grace. In the Roman Catholic Church, only priests can become bishops, archbishops, cardinals, and ultimately pope; thus the decision-making authority concerning polity, theology, ministry, and ethics continues to be reserved to the priesthood. Putting non-ordained women into parish ministries gives the local priest and bishop the opportunity to select women for these positions, who might be less likely to challenge the patriarchal status quo. While the influx of women into nonordained ministries in the Roman Catholic Church in America provides opportunities for meaningful service,⁵⁵ it does not mean that they will effect a change in the hierarchical polity of the church, at least not anytime soon. The Roman Catholic Church remains hierarchical with influential decisions made at the top, although increasingly the Vatican has difficulty telling educated lay Catholics what they should believe and practice.

History demonstrates that whenever there is a shortage of men, women always step into the breach to get the job done. History also tells us that once the shortage of men is over, women get pushed out of the desirable work positions so that these can be made available to men. Changes in women's leadership status in the Roman Catholic Church will not come about simply because there is a shortage of men in the priesthood.

CONCLUSIONS

Factors Promoting Women's Religious Leadership

The comparative study of women's religious leadership in America reveals that change does not come easily or quickly in religious organizations. Institutional initiatives that help to promote women's religious leadership include Women's Studies programs at seminaries, quotas for proportional representation on governing bodies, commissions that monitor women's status and lobby for women's causes, and feminist educational materials for congregations.⁵⁶ One woman alone or a handful of women cannot counteract the inertia of the patriarchal status quo. Institutional structures need to be created to advocate for women, educate people about women's issues, and nurture women's leadership and expressions.

Separate women's organizations are helpful in providing opportunities for women to learn to speak up and exercise leadership and management skills, and to provide encouragement and support for women working for equality in patriarchal religious institutions. Women's voluntary associations were important in this regard especially in the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. Protestant women came together in numerous women's missionary and social reform associations. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) was an important base from which women worked to gain the vote.

In the late twentieth century and the early twenty-first century, feminist women in mainstream Christian denominations gather in a variety of women-church communities to create feminist liturgies, support each other, and nurture their souls. A number of these Catholic and Protestant women, including those who are ordained Protestant ministers, are "defecting in place" by remaining in their denominations even though they have personally moved far beyond their denominations' orthodox theologies.⁵⁷ Their spirituality has much in common with that of other feminist women who step outside the mainstream Jewish and Christian denominations to participate in Wiccan, New Age, or Buddhist groups. In

feminist spirituality groups of all types, authority and religious leadership tends to be shared among participants.

Women Moving Beyond and Retaining Charisma

Charisma has always cut through patriarchal restrictions for exceptional women, but charismatic women seldom critique the patriarchal status quo. An example of this is found in Pentecostal women preachers who declare that they are not so-called "bra-burning feminists." The Pentecostal women preachers explicitly reject feminism and affirm distinct gender roles for women and men, even as they take on the "masculine" vocation of minister. The 1993 – 94 Hartford Seminary survey of women ministers provided evidence that women who become religious leaders based on charisma tend not to be feminists. This survey included women ministers in "Spirit-centered" denominations such as the Church of the Nazarene, the Church of God (Anderson), and the Assemblies of God. Women ministers in these denominations scored the lowest on what Zikmund, Lummis, and Chang called a "feminist index" with questions concerning whether women should be in the highest denominational positions, whether there should be equality in denominational hiring and pay, and whether or not the woman minister favored inclusive language and female god imagery.⁵⁸

However, the comparative study of women's religious leadership in America demonstrates that leadership positions based upon credentials open up for women as the social expectation of equality increases. The social expectation of equality is based primarily upon economic factors that determine the types of work that women and men do. Theological justifications are developed to support gender roles that are determined by the prevailing economy, and the extent to which there is a division of labor by sex.

Feminist Spirituality

As women are gaining access to credentialed religious leadership in various denominations, they are introducing or highlighting conceptions of God that are supportive of women's leadership, and they develop theologies that address women's concerns with interconnectedness, healing, and the affirmation of the sacredness of everyday experience.⁵⁹ Feminist spirituality is a broad and diverse movement in which religious feminists share common concerns and views, regardless of whether the women are Neopagan, Christian, Jewish, Buddhist, or New Age. These common concerns include an insistence that women's voices and

experiences be included fully in their respective traditions; a conviction that embodiedness is important, sacred, and to be valued; an attraction to female deities; a recovery of women's history and the honoring of important foremothers; an appreciation of different cultural and religious traditions and a willingness to borrow from them; the sharing of religious leadership functions; and the imaginative creation of theologies and rituals.

The 1993 Re-Imagining feminist spirituality conference in Minneapolis was highly controversial in the Christian denominations for the participants' invocation of Sophia before each plenary lecture, for women's discussions of how Jesus Christ and his role in Christianity could be re-imagined, and for a liturgy that honored the female body as sacred.⁶⁰ The 1993 Re-Imagining conference and subsequent Re-Imagining gatherings demonstrated the creativity of liberal Christian women in devising hymns, artistic expressions, and liturgies, that are inclusive and feminist.

Feminist women challenge, reinterpret, and reject patriarchal myths and doctrines, such as Adam and Eve, which have blamed women for the fallenness of the human condition, and they advocate and live out roles for women that are not confined to being solely wives and mothers. Feminist women are mining the riches of their respective religious traditions to find resources that support women's religious leadership and expressions. These resources include significant foremothers and conceptions of God and human nature found in scripture and history. Contemporary women are going beyond charisma and increasing their reliance on credentials to legitimate their religious leadership, but feminist women as theologians are retaining a strong charismatic emphasis that the divine is immanent, that the unmediated sacred is to be found within humanity, nature, and ordinary experience.

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ENDNOTES

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- ³ Catherine Wessinger, "Women in Prehistory and the Origins of Patriarchy: Evidence and Theories from Archaeology, Anthropology, History, and Psychology," unpublished paper.
- ⁴ Gerda Lerner, *The Creation of Patriarchy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).
- ⁵ Linda E. Olds, *Fully Human: How Everyone Can Integrate the Benefits of Masculine and Feminine Sex Roles* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1981).
- ⁶ For examples see Janice Boddy, *Wombs and Alien Spirits: Women, Men, and the Zar Cult in Northern Sudan* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989); and articles in Nancy Auer Falk and Rita M. Gross, eds., *Unspoken Worlds: Women's Religious Lives*, 3d ed. (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 2000).
- ⁷ For examples see Catherine Wessinger, ed., *Women's Leadership in Marginal Religions: Explorations Outside the Mainstream* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).
- ⁸ Ann Braude, "The Perils of Passivity: Women's Leadership in Spiritualism and Christian Science," in Wessinger, *Women's Leadership in Marginal Religions*, 55-67.
- ⁹ Elaine J. Lawless, "Not So Different a Story After All: Pentecostal Women in the Pulpit," in Wessinger, *Women's Leadership in Marginal Religions*, 41-52.
- ¹⁰ Susie C. Stanley, "The Promise Fulfilled: Women's Ministries in the Wesleyan/Holiness Movement," in *Religious Institutions and Women's Leadership: New Roles Inside the Mainstream*, ed. Catherine Wessinger (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996), 139-57.
- ¹¹ Barbara J. MacHaffie, *Readings in Her Story: Women in Christian Tradition* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 146-47.
- ¹² Elaine J. Lawless, "Introduction: The Issue of Blood—Reinstating Women into the Tradition," in *Women Preachers and Prophets through Two Millennia of Christianity*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle and Pamela J. Walker (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

- 13 Mary Farrell Bednarowski, "Outside the Mainstream: Women's Religion and Women Religious Leaders in Nineteenth-century America," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 48 (June 1980): 207-31.
- 14 Marjorie Procter-Smith, "'In the Line of the Female': Shakerism and Feminism," 23-40; Braude, "The Perils of Passivity," 55-67; and Robert Ellwood and Catherine Wessinger, "The Feminism of 'Universal Brotherhood': Women in the Theosophical Movement," 68-87, in Wessinger, *Women's Leadership in Marginal Religions*.
- 15 Catherine Wessinger, "Key Events for Women's Religious Leadership in the United States—Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in Wessinger, *Religious Institutions and Women's Leadership*, 347-401.
- 16 Stanley, "The Promise Fulfilled."
- 17 Unless otherwise noted, statistics are from Catherine Wessinger, ed., *Religious Institutions and Women's Leadership*.
- 18 The total of 3,545 ordained women in 1998 made up almost 17 percent of the total ordained individuals in the Presbyterian Church. Twenty-six percent of the ordained women held positions as pastors or co-pastors (as compared to 34 percent of the ordained men); 16 percent were assistant or associate pastors (as compared to 5 percent of the men); 5 percent were supply pastors (as compared to 3 percent of the men); 6 percent were interim pastors (as compared to 2 percent of the men); 6 percent were chaplains (as compared to 2 percent of the men); 4 percent were PC(USA) executives (as compared to 2 percent of the men); 3 percent were employed in schools (as compared to 3 percent of the men); 2 percent worked as counselors (as compared to 1 percent of the men); 3 percent were employed as other professionals (as compared to 2 percent of the men); 7 percent were retired (as compared to 37 percent of the men); and 22 percent were listed in the "other" category (as compared to 9 percent of the men). Research Services, Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), Comparative Statistics 1998, Table 9: Number and Percent of PCUSA Ministers by Call and Gender 1993-1998, <<http://www.pcusa.org/research/compstats/tab1998.htm>>. The table lists 8 ordained women and 55 ordained men in the category of "Tentmakers," which was less than 0.5 percent, which rounds to zero.
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- 20 "Shattering the 'Stained-Glass Ceiling,'" *Jewish Woman* (Summer 2003), <<http://www.jwmag.org/articles/07Summer03/p12.asp>>.
- 21 Penny Leifer, "Who Are the Women Who Changed the Movement?" *Women's League Outlook Magazine* (2006), <http://www.wlcj.org/outlook_articles/women_change_movement.html>.
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- 23 Barbara Brown Zikmund, Adair T. Lummis, and Patricia Mei Yin Chang, *Clergy Women: An Uphill Calling* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1998), 6.
- 24 Jean Miller Schmidt and Sara J. Myers, "Methodist Women," in Keller and Ruether, *Encyclopedia of Women and Religion in North America* 1: 320, 328; Elaine Spencer, "Methodist Women Prepare for 50th Year Celebration of Full Clergy Rights," *Christian Post*, December 18, 2005, <<http://www.christianpost.com/article/20051218/3994.htm>>.
- 25 *Ruach* 19, no. 3 (1998): 18-19.
- 26 Fredrica Harris Thompsett, "Women in the American Episcopal Church," in Keller and Ruether, *Encyclopedia of Women and Religion in North America* 1: 278.
- 27 "The Episcopal Church Welcomes You, the Twenty-Sixth Presiding Bishop: The Most Reverend Katharine Jefferts Schori, <<http://www.episcopalchurch.org/presiding-bishop.htm>>, accessed October 21, 2007; Jeff Chu, "10 Questions for Katharine Jefferts Schori," *Time*, July 10, 2006, <<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1211587,00.html>>.

In 2007, the bishops of the Anglican Communion issued a directive to the Episcopal Church to cease consecrating partnered gay and lesbian priests as bishops—a reaction to the consecration of Gene Robinson as bishop of the diocese of New Hampshire in 2004—and to refrain from authorizing rites of blessing for same-sex couples, which had been taking place unofficially. The Episcopal Church bishops met in New Orleans in August 2007 to discuss the

matter, and decided to reiterate an earlier pledge not to authorize rites of blessing for same-sex couples and to “exercise restraint” in consecrating gay men and lesbians as bishops. The Joint Standing Committee of the Anglican Consultative Council and the Primates of the Anglican Communion expressed satisfaction with this response from the Episcopal Church bishops. Conservative Anglican bishops expressed great dissatisfaction with the position articulated by the Episcopal Church. Neela Banerjee, “Anglican Panel Praises Episcopal Compliance: Advisory Report Eases Feud over Gay Issues,” *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, October 4, 2007, reprinted from the *New York Times*.

²⁸ Catholic Leadership Institute, <<http://www.catholicleaders.org>>.

These statistics can be compared to a 1992 survey by the National Pastoral Life Center in New York City, which found that there were about 20,000 nonordained paid parish leaders serving in half of the 19,000 Roman Catholic parishes in the United States; 85 percent of these nonordained leaders were women and 15 percent men; 60 percent were laypeople, and of these 45 percent were laywomen and 40 percent were sisters. Forty percent of these sisters were over age 60. Wessinger, “Key Events for Women’s Religious Leadership in the United States,” 386.

²⁹ John J. Fialka, *Sisters: Catholic Nuns and the Making of America* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2003), 17.

³⁰ Elizabeth Brackett, “Challenges for the New Pope,” *OnlineNewsHour*, April 18, 2005, <http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/religion/jan-june05/challenge_4-18.html>; Wessinger, “Key Events for Women’s Religious Leadership in the United States,” 386.

³¹ See Pope John Paul II, “*Ordinatio Sacerdotalis* (‘On Reserving Priestly Ordination to Men Alone’),” May 30, 1994, in *The Papal “No”: A Comprehensive Guide to the Vatican’s Rejection of Women’s Ordination*, by Deborah Halter (New York: Crossroad, 2004), 211-13.

³² Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, “*Responsum ad Dubium* regarding *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis* (‘Response to a Question regarding *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis*’),” October 28, 1995, in Halter, *The Papal “No,”* 225.

³³ See the discussion in Halter, *The Papal “No,”* 117-27.

³⁴ Pope John Paul II, “*Ad Tuendam Fidem*” (“To Defend the Faith”), <http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/motu_proprio/documents/hf_jp-ii_motu-proprio_30061998_ad-tuendam-fidem_en.html>, accessed November 24, 2007.

³⁵ This movement’s website is Roman Catholic Women Priests, <<http://www.romancatholicwomenpriests.org/>>, accessed November 24, 2007.

³⁶ Pope John Paul II, “To Defend the Faith” (“*Ad Tuendam Fidem*”), *Origins* 28 (1998): 118.

³⁷ Catherine Wessinger, “Women’s Religious Leadership in the United States,” in Wessinger, *Religious Institutions and Women’s Leadership*, 26-27.

³⁸ U. S. Roman Catholic Bishops, “Strengthening the Bonds of Peace,” *Origins* 24/25 (December 1, 1994): 417-22; also in Halter, *The Papal “No,”* 214-19.

³⁹ Thirty-fourth General Congregation of the Society of Jesus, “Jesuits and the Situation of Women in Church and Civil Society,” *Origins* 24, no. 43 (April 13, 1995): 742.

⁴⁰ Pope John Paul II, “Apostolic Letter *Mulieris Dignitatem* of the Supreme Pontiff John Paul II on the Dignity and Vocation of Women on the Occasion of the Marian Year,” August 15, 1988, <http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/apost_letters/documents/hf_jp-ii_apl_15081988_mulieris-dignitatem_en.html>.

⁴¹ See the historical data and arguments in Barbara J. MacHaffie, *Her Story: Women in Christian Tradition*, 2d ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006).

⁴² Marie Augusta Neal, SND de Namur, “Ministry of American Catholic Sisters: The Vowed Life in Church Renewal,” in Wessinger, *Religious Institutions and Women’s Leadership*, 231-43.

⁴³ Quoted in Carolyn DeArmond Blevins, “Women and the Baptist Experience,” in Wessinger, *Religious Institutions and Women’s Leadership*, 162-63.

⁴⁴ “On Women’s Role,” *New York Times*, June 10, 1998, Archives, <<http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9505E6DB123AF933A25755C0A96E958260&n=Top%2fReference%2fTimes%20Topics%2fOrganizations%2fS%2fSouthern%20Baptist%20Convention>>.

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- 46 Carolyn DeArmond Blevins, personal communication, March 27, 2000.
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- 48 Paula D. Nesbitt, *Feminization of the Clergy in America: Occupational and Organizational Perspectives* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 38. Nesbitt also reports on the Unitarian-Universalist Association in this volume.
- 49 Joseph H. Fichter, S.J., *Wives of Catholic Clergy* (Kansas City, Mo.: Sheed & Ward, 1992).
- 50 Nesbitt, *Feminization of the Clergy in America*, 38-39, 172.
- 51 Zikmund, Lummis, and Chang, *Clergy Women*, 138.
- 52 See Mathew J. Price, "State of the Clergy, 2006," Church Pension Group, <<http://www.cpg.org/productsservices/research.cfm>>.
- 53 Mary Frances Schjonberg, "Toward Columbus: Women's Ordination Marks 30-Year Milestone," Episcopal News Service, posted April 21, 2006, <http://www.episcopalchurch.org/41685_73869_ENG_Print.html>.
This article reports that of the 4,607 women priests in 2005, 2,033 were actively employed in the Episcopal Church with 332 retired and 913 considered inactive since they did not work with church-related organizations that belonged to the Church Pension Fund. This article reports on a 2004 study that found:
Of 5,829 parish clergy listed in a 2004 study using various church resources, slightly more than 29 percent were women and 23.2 percent of the "senior" or "solo" clergy were women. There were 813 men in the "senior" category and 133 women. In the "solo" category, there were 2,664 men and 918 women. There were 653 female associates and curates, and 648 males.
This article also reports: "In 2004 the median salary for women clergy was about \$10,000 less than men. Among senior clergy the gap was about \$13,000, about \$6,000 for solo clergy and about \$4,000 for associates, assistants and curates."
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- 55 Ruth A. Wallace, *They Call Her Pastor: A New Role for Catholic Women* (Albany: State University of New York, 1992).
- 56 Wessinger, "Women's Religious Leadership in the United States."
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