

She-Preachers, Bossy Women, and Children of the Devil: A History of Baptist Women Ministers and Ordination¹

Pamela R. Durso

In 1941, John R. Rice, a well-known American evangelist, published a short book with a very catchy title: *Bobbed Hair, Bossy Wives, and Women Preachers*. While his title may seem humorous now, women preachers were no joking matter for Rice (and he was not joking about bobbed hair or bossy wives either). He was against them all: short-haired women, opinionated and spirited wives, and women preachers, but he was especially adamant that women not preach—after all, according to Rice, Eve had led Adam astray in the Garden of Eden, and women ever since had been the source of false teaching and the temptresses of men. Clearly, women could not be trusted with the gospel message, which Paul also must have believed since he commanded them to be silent in church. Rice further noted that this command was addressed to everyone and was to be binding for all time.² Since the 1941 publication of the book, Rice has been joined by others who have been critical of women in the pulpit, and over the last seventy years, preaching women have been called a lot worse than “bossy.”

Among those preaching women whom Rice would have opposed would have been some Baptists. Most people readily acknowledge that for the four hundred years that Baptists have been around, women have been central to the growth of their churches, the upkeep of their buildings, the funding of their programs, and the theological education of their children. Yet, during most of those four hundred years, women did not hold formal leadership positions in Baptist churches. They were not been given official titles or paid salaries. And only in the last fifty years or so have significant numbers of Baptist women been ordained either as deacons or as ministers. Despite the lack of recognition and despite opposition, Baptist women have served and led and ministered from the earliest days of the history of the Baptist faith.

Following is a chronological timeline of the history of Baptist women's service and ministries from the early seventeenth century until the early twenty-first century. Included is a tracing of known "first" ordinations of women both here in the United States and in nine countries around the world.

The Earliest Baptist Women Ministers

As early as 1641, Baptist women were preaching. A document written that year revealed that six Baptist women, Anne Hempstall, Mary Bilbrow, Joane Bauford, Susan May, Elizabeth Bancroft, and Arabella Thomas, had been preaching throughout England during the 1630s,³ and apparently these English women took up preaching because "there was a deficiency of good men, wherefore it was but fit that virtuous women should supply their places."⁴

Another early English Baptist women preacher, Mrs. Attaway, was a lace-maker and member of a General Baptist church in London. In the mid-1640s, Thomas Edwards, a Presbyterian minister and a vehement opponent of Baptists, labeled Mrs. Attaway as the "mistress of all the she-preachers on Coleman Street."⁵

This Baptist "she-preacher" began preaching first to female audiences but later opened her meetings to anyone who wanted to come, and apparently many wanted to come. Edwards reported that "there came a world of people, to the number of a thousand."⁶

One hundred years later, "she-preachers" could also be found proclaiming the gospel in Colonial America. Many of these women belonged to Separate Baptist churches, and the most prominent was Martha Stearns Marshall, who, beginning around 1754, often prayed and preached during worship services conducted by her brother Shubal Stearns and her husband Daniel Marshall.

The early Virginia Baptist historian Robert Semple claimed that Daniel Marshall's successful ministry in Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia was largely due to Martha's "unwearied, and zealous co-operation." Semple described her as a woman "of good sense, singular piety, and surprising elocution," who on "countless instances melted a whole congregation into tears by her prayers and exhortations!"⁷

About forty years later Freewill Baptist women preachers began to make their way into the history records. In his *History of the Freewill Baptists*, I. D. Stewart noted that Mary Savage in 1791 became "the first name on the record as a female laborer in the gospel." That year, Savage traveled to New Durham, New Hampshire, and spent nearly twelve months in the town "doing what she could. The melting power of her exhortations was often irresistible, and so great was the effect with which she sometimes spoke at the Quarterly or Yearly Meeting, that a note of the fact was entered upon the book of records."⁸

These Baptist "she-preachers," while apparently quite effective, served only informally. None held official church positions or titles, and none were ordained. Formal recognition—that is, licensing or ordination—was slow in coming, but perhaps it came earlier than what most Baptists think.

"First" Baptist Women Licensed to Preach

Freewill Baptists were most likely the first Baptists to formally recognize women ministers. While some Freewill Baptist writings indicate that Mary Savage may have been licensed to preach in the late eighteenth century, no documentation of that license has yet been found.

What has been discovered, however, is that Freewill Baptists did license a woman to preach in 1846. In June of that year, the Freewill Baptist Home Mission Board commissioned Ruby Bixby and sent her and her husband to minister in Iowa. The couple traveled from their home in

Vermont to New York to Wisconsin, and finally arrived in Iowa. While in Wisconsin, the Honey Creek Quarterly Meeting of the Freewill Baptists licensed Bixby to preach and that license was renewed later in Iowa.

After arriving in the state, the Bixbys organized a church in Clayton County, and that church's reports listed Ruby Bixby as its minister from 1849 until her death in 1877. Her obituary noted that she was "an independent, self-reliant preacher. Her discourses were characteristically persuasive, and she was more than ordinarily successful. She preached much with churches as pastor, and much as an evangelist."⁹

"First" Ordinations of Baptist Women in the Nineteenth Century

Nearly thirty years after Bixby received her license to preach, the earliest documented ordination of a Baptist woman took place. Since that time numerous Baptist denominations throughout the world have ordained women to the ministry.

What I have collected in the past few years are the known "first" ordinations of women by six Baptist denominational bodies in the United States and by Baptist denominations in Australia, Brazil, Cuba, England, Germany, Mexico, Nicaragua, the Philippines, and Tasmania. The ordinations cited are the earliest documented ones. Other earlier ordinations may have taken place, and as more research is done in this field, other ordinations surely will be discovered and documented.

The earliest known ordination of a Baptist woman was that of M. A. Brennan, who in 1876 was recognized as a minister by the Bellevernon Freewill Baptist Church in Pennsylvania. While specific information about her ordination has not been found, the fact that Brennan was listed on the Quarterly Meeting's annual ministerial list of newly ordained ministers indicates that she indeed had been ordained.

The ordination of a second Freewill Baptist woman, Lura Maines, most likely occurred in 1877, when two Michigan churches listed her as a minister, although not the pastor, in their annual reports. In 1880, Maines was called as a pastor and served two churches.

The first ordination of a woman associated with the Northern Baptist Convention, which is now known as the American Baptist Churches, USA (ABC-USA), occurred six years after the first Freewill Baptist ordination.

On July 9, 1882, May Jones was ordained at a meeting of the Baptist Association of Puget Sound in Washington. Apparently, her ordination caused quite a controversy. Opponents charged that Jones's church, First Baptist Church of Seattle, had not properly presented a request for ordination to the association or scheduled an ordination council. Instead church delegates, while their pastor was on a European tour, had proposed to the association on July 9, 1882 that Jones be ordained that very day after the close of the official meeting.

Participants at the meeting who were offended by the proposal walked out, leaving only those supporting Jones's ordination to vote on the recommendation. Not surprisingly, the recommendation was accepted, and following her ordination, Jones served briefly as interim pastor of First Baptist Church, Seattle, and beginning in 1883, she pastored six Baptist churches, sometimes serving two or three churches simultaneously.¹⁰

A second Northern Baptist woman, Frances Townsley, was ordained in 1885. In 1875, Townsley had begun preaching in churches throughout New England and holding evangelistic services. A few years later, a church in her hometown of Shelburne Falls, Massachusetts, licensed her to preach. In 1883, she moved to Fairfield, Nebraska, and settled "among a few unchurched Baptists." Together they built a building, and although she continued to travel and preach, Townsley soon began serving as the pastor of the Fairfield Baptist Church.

In January 1885, the church's deacons, tired of sending for ordained ministers to preside over the Lord's Supper, asked to ordain Townsley. After initially protesting, Townsley relented, and on April 2, 1885, following a three-hour examination of her faith experience, call to ministry, and doctrinal views, the ordination council voted to ordain her.¹¹

The first Seventh Day Baptist woman to be ordained was Experience Fitz Randolph Burdick, who grew up in West Virginia. As a child Burdick felt God's call to preach, but not until 1882, when she was thirty-two-years old, did she publicly acknowledge her calling and begin preaching. Three years later, in 1885, Burdick was ordained by the Seventh Day Baptist Church in Hornellsville, New York. She served several churches in New York, and at the time of her death in 1906, she was pastor of a Seventh Day Baptist Church in New Auburn, Wisconsin. During her ministry, Burdick conducted fifty weddings, ninety funerals, and preached 890 sermons. Since her ordination in 1885, fourteen other Seventh Day Baptist women have been ordained.¹²

While the nineteenth century had some firsts with regard to women in ministry, the twentieth century saw more and more "firsts." Edith Gates was the first English woman to serve as a Baptist pastor, serving the British Union's Little Tew and Cleveley Church from 1918 to 1950. Gates did not enter ministry through the traditional English Baptist method, which was to graduate from a Baptist college and then be ordained and added to the list of accredited ministers. Instead, Gates qualified for the pastorate by passing the Baptist Union Examination. Most likely she was ordained in 1922, after having already served in ministry for several years.¹³

For a period of forty years, from the early 1920s to the late 1950s, no other "first" ordinations of Baptist women have been discovered. In 1959 and the years that followed, however, numerous "first" ordinations began to occur.

Imogene Stewart was ordained in 1959 by Greater Pearly Gate Baptist Church in Washington, D.C., a church affiliated with the National Baptist Convention, USA, Inc., one of the oldest African American Baptist conventions. Stewart may have been the first National Baptist woman to be ordained.¹⁴

Within Southern Baptists circles, the first woman to be ordained was Addie Davis. On August 9, 1964, Watts Street Baptist Church in Durham, North Carolina, ordained Davis. When news of her ordination became public, Davis and Watts Street Baptist Church's pastor, Warren Carr received letters of opposition from Southern Baptist all over the country. One man wrote to Davis, calling her a "child of the devil" and instructed her to renounce her ordination. After an unproductive search among Southern Baptist churches, Davis contacted the American Baptist Convention and soon was called by the First Baptist Church of Readsboro, Vermont. Davis pastored American Baptist churches for eighteen years, and then returned to her hometown of Covington, Virginia, and co-pastored an ecumenical church until her death in 2005.¹⁵

Five years after Addie Davis's ordination, Uvee Mdogana Arbouin became the first woman ordained by the Progressive National Baptist Convention. Her ordination service took place on October 5, 1969. Arbouin served as co-pastor of the Zion Temple Baptist church in Richmond Hill, New York.¹⁶

Beginning in 1975, ordinations of Baptist women began to occur more frequently in other countries. The first woman ordained in the Baptist Convention of the former German Democratic Republic (East Germany) was Ursula Jöhrmann, whose 1975 ordination was followed by that of Carmen Rossol. In 1979, Rossol became the first woman ordained in the Baptist Convention of West Germany. Her congregation, Gummersbach-Windhagen, was located in a small town near Cologne. Neither of these women were allowed to use the title "pastor," but were instead

called “theological co-workers.” Only in 1992 did the German Baptist convention, the Bund Evangelisch-Freikirchlicher Gemeinden, decide that congregations could use the title pastor for ordained women.¹⁷

In 1978, Marita Munro became the first woman to be ordained by a Baptist church in Australia. While a student at Whitley College, she pastored several churches. One of these churches, Collins Street Baptist Church, ordained her on October 1, 1978.¹⁸

Two years later, the Convention of Philippine Baptist Churches ordained Angelina Buensuceso, making her the first ordained Filipino Baptist woman. From 1938 to 1965, Buensuceso served five Baptist churches, holding the positions of associate pastor, choir director, and pastor. She then began a teaching ministry, serving on the faculty of Central Philippine University from 1967 to 1974. From 1974 until her retirement in 1983, Buensuceso was the director of the Convention Baptist Bible College. In 1980, after forty-two years of ministry, she was ordained at the age of sixty-three.¹⁹

In 1992, The Fraternity of Baptist Churches in Cuba ordained Ena González García, Clara Rodés, and Xiomara Gutiérrez Díaz.²⁰ The next year, the Baptist Convention of Nicaragua made history on January 30, 1993, by ordaining Carmen Peña Garay, who was then serving as pastor of Hebron Baptist Church.²¹ In 1996, Pastor June Robertson was ordained by Launceston’s Memorial Baptist Church in Georgetown, making her the first female Baptist minister in Tasmania.²²

On March 25, 2000, Rebeca Montemayor López became the first Mexican Baptist woman to be ordained. She was ordained at Shalom Baptist Church in Mexico City.²³ A few months later, on July 10, 2000, Sílvia da Silva Nogueira became the first Baptist woman to be ordained in Brazil. Following her ordination, her church was “put out of the state convention.”²⁴

Statistics Relating to Baptist Women Serving as Pastors

Estimating the number of Baptist women worldwide who have been ordained or who are currently serving as pastor is a difficult task. Even offering an accurate estimate of the number of Baptist women ordained within the United States is challenging. Yet, some statistics relating to Baptist women pastors are available.

The ABC-USA, collect information from their affiliated congregations with regard to ministry positions and gender. As of August 7, 2012, that denominational body had 378 women serving as pastors, 46 as interim pastors, 37 as co-pastors, and 24 as bi-vocational pastors for a total of 485.²⁵ Among moderate Baptists bodies that grew out of or have previous connections with the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC), the numbers are harder to come by.

Denominational organizations and fellowships tend not to keep good lists and statistics, and many churches are dually aligned with several state and national bodies. But in 2012, an unofficial list kept by Baptist Women in Ministry has 150 Baptist women pastors and co-pastors that affiliate with the Alliance of Baptists, the Baptist General Association of Virginia (BGAV), the Baptist General Convention of Texas (BGCT), and the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship (CBF). Of the 150 women, 106 serve as pastor and 44 serve as co-pastor. A breakdown of the 150 by denominational affiliation is difficult given the dual alignment of some churches and also the lack formal affiliation statements by other churches, but in 2012, the best estimate is that the Alliance of Baptists has 43 women serving as pastors or co-pastors; the BGAV has 25; the BGCT has 25; and the CBF has 90.²⁶

In addition to these moderate Baptists, Seventh Day Baptists currently have three women serving as ministers. Statistical information is not available from any of the African American Baptists conventions, but in Memphis, Tennessee, alone, three women serve as pastors of

National Baptist Convention churches. Gina Stewart is pastor of Christ Missionary Baptist Church in South Memphis; Lynn Dandridge is pastor of Central Baptist Church; and Mary E. Moore has been pastor of New Salem Baptist Church since 1998.²⁷

Despite the difficulty of gathering statistics and incompleteness of the data, what is known is that there has been a significant increase of women serving in pastoral roles in the past few years. In 2009, at least 526 Baptist women in the United States were serving as pastors and co-pastors. In 2012, that number has jumped to 638.²⁸ While the number of women serving has increased rather dramatically, the overall percentage of Baptist churches that have called a woman as pastor remains small. The Baptist bodies from which statistics have been collected (ABC-USA, the Alliance, BGAV, BGCT, and CBF), when taken all together, have less than 5% of their churches that are currently pastored by women. Only three of those denominational organizations, the Alliance of Baptists (31%), ABAC-USA (9.8%), and CBF (5%), have of more than 5% of their churches pastored by women.²⁹

While the overall percentage of Baptist churches that are willing to call a woman as pastor remains small, the ordination of Baptist women has increased dramatically since the early 1960s. By 1997, Sarah Frances Anders, who was then professor of sociology at Louisiana College and the keeper of statistics about Baptist women, had documented 1,225 ordinations of Southern Baptist women.³⁰

In 2005, Baptist Women in Ministry began tracking ordinations and keeping records. In 2007, Eileen Campbell-Reed and Pamela R. Durso in “The State of Women in Baptist Life, 2007,” estimated that at least 2,000 ordinations had taken place.³¹ Since that report, Baptist Women in Ministry has continued to collect ordination information. Documented ordinations in recent years include 45 in 2011, 42 in 2010, and 55 in 2009.³² Given that not all ordination

information is submitted or documented, these numbers are low. But given known information as well as an educated estimate, in 2012 the total number of women ordained since 1964 in churches affiliated with Baptist bodies located mostly in the South is upwards of 2,200. Including women ordained by churches affiliating with American Baptists, Free Will Baptists, National Baptists, Progressive National Baptists, and Seventh Day Baptists would probably double that number. Estimating ordination numbers among Baptist women worldwide is impossible but would certainly be an interesting project to undertake for a young scholar interested in researching Baptist women ministers.

The great majority of recently ordained Baptist women are serving as chaplains or on church staffs, working with children or youth, or serving as associate pastor and are part of a larger trend within Baptist life. During the latter part of the twentieth century, Baptists began to ordain ministers, women and men, who were serving in positions other than the pastorate, and this trend reflected a change in the Baptist understanding of ministry. For most of their history, when Baptists heard the word “minister,” they meant pastor or preacher. Around the middle of the twentieth century, however, the understanding of the role of church staff members other than the pastor began to be redefined within the larger Christian community and within Baptist congregations as more churches began to hire new staff members to lead and plan their music programs; to work with preschoolers, children, teenagers, college students, and senior adults; and to oversee administration, education, and recreational activities. Eventually, some Baptist churches recognized and publicly identified these staff members as ministers.

With these new position titles sometimes came ordination. This changing attitude toward ministers and ministry among Baptists resulted in thousands of women being given the title of minister and being ordained.

Baptist Opposition to the Ordination of Women

In the past thirty years, many Baptist denominations in the United States and around the world have begun to recognize women as ministers of the gospel and to ordain them. Yet, many Baptist groups continue to oppose women ministers.

The Original Free Will Baptist denomination, which traces its roots back to the early New England Free Will Baptists who early on endorsed women in ministry, began to exclude women from leadership positions in the 1950s. Since then, while the denomination has not taken an official position against female pastors and women's ordination, women have rarely been offered leadership opportunities in the churches, nor have they been approved for ordination.

National Free Will Baptists also have been reluctant to allow women to serve in ordained ministry positions. In the past few decades, some National Free Will Baptist associations have ordained women to the gospel ministry, but most disagree with this practice.³³ The official policy of the National Baptist Convention of America, the second largest African American Baptist denomination, is that women should not be ordained as ministers.³⁴

Southern Baptists in 1984 stated their opposition to the ordination of women in a resolution titled "On Ordination and the Role of Women in Ministry."³⁵ In 2000, the SBC revised its confessional statement of faith, the *Baptist Faith and Message*, to contain a clear denouncement of women's ordination and service as pastors: "While both men and women are gifted for service in the church, the office of pastor is limited to men as qualified by Scripture."³⁶

Conclusion

Official and recognized ministry leadership by Baptist women is on the rise. Baptist women are slowly but steadily making progress in finding churches that affirm and celebrate their God-given gifts. Numerous cultural, theological, and denominational factors have contributed to the

increasing numbers of women serving. Baptists and Baptist churches were influenced by the women's movement of the 1970s and by the increasing visibility of women in all facets of public life from politics to medicine to business. Reinterpretations of and new insight into biblical and theological teachings on gender roles have also contributed to more openness in Baptist life. Sadly, the other reality that must be acknowledged is that Baptists have lost hundreds, perhaps thousands of women, who have fled their childhood denomination and moved into Methodist, Presbyterian, Disciples of Christ, and United Church of Christ circles.

What does the future hold for Baptist women in ministry? The bad news first. In the next ten years, Baptist women, like those Baptist women ministers who walked before them, will most likely continue to face the prospect of being labeled by some as she-preachers, bossy women, and children of the devil! The opposition to women preachers and women ministers will not end any time soon. The good news, however, is that given trends of the past fifty years, especially the last twenty, Baptists in the next ten years will move closer to mainline Protestant groups and at least 10% of all Baptist pastors will be women.

The number of ordained Baptist women serving in all capacities of ministry—on church staff, as chaplains, with non-profit agencies, as missionaries, as professors—has surely increased dramatically since 1964 when Addie Davis was ordained, but gathering information and statistics about the full spectrum of women in ministry certainly needs more attention and research. Preserving, telling, and interpreting the stories of individual Baptist women also must be done in order to educate churches about the giftedness and readiness of women ministers and to encourage girls and young women who are discerning a call to ministry.

¹First published as "She-Preachers, Bossy Women, and Children of the Devil: Women Ministers in the Baptist Tradition, 1609-2012," in *Review & Expositor*, v. 110, no. 1 (Winter 2013): 33-47.

²John R. Rice, *Bobbed Hair, Bossy Wives, and Women Preachers* (Sword of the Lord Publishers, 1941), 16-17, 28-65.

³A *Discoverie of Six Women Preachers in Middlesex, Kent, Cambridgeshire and Salisbury* (n.p., 1641). Although the six women are not specifically identified as Baptists, Baptist scholars such as Edward Caryl Starr and William Thomas Whitley included this document in their bibliographies of Baptist writings, indicating that the women were Baptists. See Edward Caryl Starr, *A Baptist Bibliography: Being a Register of Printed Material By and About Baptists, Including Works Written Against the Baptists*, 25 vols. (Philadelphia: Judson Press, 1947-1976), and William Thomas Whitley, *A Baptist Bibliography: Being a Register of the Chief Materials for Baptist History, Whether in Manuscript or in Print, Preserved in England, Wales, and Ireland*, 2 vols. (London: Kingsgate Press, 1916-1922). Carolyn Blevins also believed these women to be Baptist. See Carolyn D. Blevins, "Women's Place in Baptist Life" (Brentwood TN: Baptist History and Heritage, 2003) 26.

⁴*A Discoverie of Six Women Preachers*, 1.

⁵Quoted in Dorothy P. Ludlow, "Shaking Patriarchy's Foundations: Sectarian Women in England, 1641-1700," in *Triumph over Silence: Women in Protestant History*, Contributions to the Study of Religion, no. 15, ed. Richard L. Greaves (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985) 96.

⁶Thomas Edwards, *Gangraena: Or a Catalogue and Discovery of Many of the Errours, Heresies, Blasphemies, and Pernicious Practices of the Sectaries of This Time* (London: Printed for Ralph Smith, 1645) 1:86.

⁷Robert Semple, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Baptists in Virginia* (Richmond: privately printed, 1810) 374.

⁸I. D. Stewart, *The History of the Freewill Baptists for Half a Century* (Dover: Freewill Baptist Printing Establishment, 1862) 1:191.

⁹Quoted in James R. Lynch, "Baptist Women in Ministry Through 1920," *American Baptist Quarterly*, 13/4 (December 1994): 311.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 309-10.

¹¹Frances E. Townsley, *The Self-Told Story of Frances E. Townsley* (Butler, IN: L. H. Higley Publisher, 1908) 276-81.

¹²Patricia A. Bancroft, "Chosen by God: Women Pastors on the Frontiers of the Seventh Day Baptist Denomination," *Baptist History and Heritage*, 40/3 (Summer/Fall 2005): 21-22, 24-25.

¹³Paul Badham, *Religion, State, and Society in Modern Britain* (Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press, 1989), 299.

¹⁴Eileen Campbell-Reed and Pamela R. Durso, "The State of Women in Baptist Life, 2007" (Commissioned by Baptist Women in Ministry, Atlanta, GA: 2008), 8.

¹⁵John Pierce, "Addie Davis, First Woman Ordained as Southern Baptist Pastor, Dies at 88," December 9, 2005, <http://old.abpnews.com/content/view/831/118/>, accessed August 10, 2012.

¹⁶Pamela A. Smoot, "'Hear the Call': The Women's Auxiliary of the Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc.," *Baptist History and Heritage*, 56/1 (Spring 2011): 56.

¹⁷Andrea Strübind, email to author, August 15, 2012.

¹⁸Darren Cronshaw, "A History of Women's Ordination in the Baptist Union of Victoria," Whitley College, June 1998, http://www.baptist.org.au/site/DefaultSite/filesystem/documents/ABW_Resources/A%20History%20of%20Women's%20Ordination%20in%20the%20BUV%20Darren%20Cronshaw.pdf, accessed August 10, 2012.

¹⁹Carla Gay A. Romarate-Knipel, "Angelina B. Buensuceso: Harbinger of Baptist Ordination of Women in the Philippines," *Baptist History and Heritage*, 41/1 (Winter 2006): 8-15.

²⁰"Recent Events Signal New Hope for Women in Ministry in Cuba," 25 February 1998, <http://www.wfn.org/1998/02/msg00131.html> (accessed 24 June 2006).

²¹*Folio*, 10/4 (Spring 1993): 3.

²²*Ibid.*, 14/4 (Fall 1997): 9.

²³"Baptist Briefs," *Baptist Standard*, 17 April 2000, http://www.baptiststandard.com/2000/4_17/pages/brief.html (accessed 14 June 2006).

²⁴Carolyn Goodman Plampin, e-mail to author, 20 June 2006.

²⁵ABC-USA Professional Female Summary, August 7, 2012.

²⁶Pamela R. Durso, "Baptist Women in Ministry List of Women Pastors and Co-Pastors, 2012" unpublished list, August 9, 2012; Alliance of Baptists, "Congregations, Theological Schools, and Organizations," <http://www.allianceofbaptists.org/connect/congregations>, accessed August 9, 2012.

²⁷Barbara Bradley, "Dynamic Pastor Dr. Gina Stewart Leads the Way as More Women Shepherd Black Protestant Flocks," *The Commercial Appeal*, July 18, 2010, <http://www.commercialappeal.com/news/2010/jul/18/spreading-the-word/>, accessed August 10, 2012.

²⁸Durso, "Baptist Women in Ministry List of Pastors and Co-Pastors, 2012."

²⁹ Eileen Campbell-Reed, "Baptists in Tension: The Status of Women in Leadership and Ministry, 2012," *Review & Expositor* 110/2 (Spring 2013).

³⁰ Sarah Frances Anders, "Historical Record-Keeping Essential for WIM," *Folio* 15/2 (Fall, 1997): 6.

³¹ Campbell Reed and Durso, "The State of Women in Baptist Life, 2007," 11.

³² Pamela R. Durso, "Baptist Women in Ministry List of Ordinations, 2011," unpublished list, August 9, 2012.

³³ J. Matthew Pinson, *A Free Will Baptist Handbook: Heritage, Beliefs, Ministries* (Nashville: Randall House Publications, 1998) 76.

³⁴ Stephen John Thurston, president of the National Baptist Convention of America, telephone interview with author, 29 June 2006.

³⁵ *Annual*, Southern Baptist Convention, 1984, 65.

³⁶ *Baptist Faith and Message* (Nashville, TN: LifeWay, 2000), 13.