Anatomy of a Schism

How Clergywomen's Narratives
Reinterpret the Fracturing
of the Southern Baptist Convention

Eileen R. Campbell-Reed

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For Joanna, Chloe, Anna, Martha, and Rebecca

Contents

Introduction

Growing up in a blended family, Rebecca was baptized in a Southern Baptist church when she was six years old. She says of those early years: "I got a really good grounding in Scripture and the stories in the Bible and that God loves me. And I got a really good grounding in women being inferior." Rebecca watched what women did and didn't do in church. The messages were never spoken aloud. She absorbed them by "osmosis."[1]

After more than a dozen years of ministry, Anna finally received ordination for her work. A few years later she wanted more pastoral responsibility, and chaplaincy looked like the best possible path. Anna wanted Southern Baptists to endorse her, but in 2002 the North American Mission Board stopped endorsing women as chaplains if they were also ordained ministers. With irony and sorrow, Anna recalls the message of a favorite Baptist hymn, one that nurtured her and taught her about God: "'Wherever He Leads I'll Go,'" she says, "is a great hymn, unless you're a woman." The Board did not endorse her, but Anna refused to be shut out. The breakaway Cooperative Baptist Fellowship (CBF) credentialed her as a hospital chaplain. She reflected on the situation with determination: "As a woman in ministry . . . I just hoped, and have hope, and I will continue to hope, that I would just get to do ministry, because that's where my heart is."[2]

When Joanna challenged a layperson about his presentation of an annual budget to the church staff, she spoke with authority. The parishioner was surprised by her questions and insights. Proud of avoiding a meltdown, and refusing to second-guess herself, Joanna still checked with another staff member to ask if she was "out of line." She received assurance that her challenge was "strong." Others were less pleased and reported her actions to the interim pastor (a woman), although no one talked to Joanna directly. Days later Joanna realized that everyone who had complained about her actions was male. That was the moment, says Joanna, "when I felt that I hit the glass ceiling." Despite years of experience as an accountant and church financial secretary, Joanna felt limited and "dismissed" by the reactions of others:

"You're a youth and children's minister. What would you know about a budget? Why aren't you staying in your place?" The interim pastor recommended that Joanna consult with a pastoral counselor. Joanna felt shamed by the referral: "I literally crawled under my desk after she left my office. I just felt lower than dirt."

When the search committee from Monroe Corner Baptist Church first phoned, Martha said to herself, "This is never going to happen. They are not going to call a woman!" Nevertheless, she took a risk and entered the search process with them. To her surprise, she and the committee "had a wonderful experience" and they "clicked." Armed with worries from her friends that only dying churches call women as pastors, Martha wondered what might be "wrong with a church" that would call her. Although she looked around and saw "many better preachers, better qualified people," somehow the "right place and timing" converged, and the church called her as their first female pastor. Despite the demise of local industries, and the church's declining membership, Martha still rejoiced: "I knew for women in ministry in 2001, this is great! I mean this is as good as it's going to get."

After three years as pastor at Cave Hill Baptist Church, Chloe pondered what it means to her to be a Baptist woman in ministry. Compared to her clergywomen friends in other denominations, who are criticized for "having problems with authority," Chloe says she has many more problems with authority than they do. This makes the "sense of freedom as a Baptist woman" very important for her. As her journey of faith and ministry unfolds, she sees the Baptist distinctives of "soul competency and priesthood of the believer" as "very crucial" to her own Baptist identity and leadership. For Chloe, pastoring means "making sure that I'm nurturing my own personal relationship with God and helping church members to do the same. And, through that relationship, encountering Scripture, worshipping and praying together . . . seeking God's presence together." Ministry for Chloe is "trying as best I can to practice the presence of Christ in community."

Baptist identity takes shape by osmosis, through relational connections and family networks, through worship and Scripture, and in power struggles, long-term commitments, and serendipitous moments. Constrained by a culture of comple-

mentarity yet inspired by piety and feminism, clergywomen forged a new kind of Baptist identity in the years of struggle known collectively as the "takeover," the "resurgence," or "the Baptist holy war."[3] From 1979 to 2000, the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) squared off and the biblicist and autonomist parties fought openly for control. The struggle polarized Baptists across the United States South and beyond, ending in a schism that produced not only major changes in the SBC but also several new Baptist groups. When the story of schism is told, clergywomen are largely ignored for the roles they played and the contributions they made to the fracturing of the largest Protestant group in the U.S. Ordained women are most often treated as an issue over which the parties fought, but only recently have scholars seriously considered the women's contributions and interpretations as active participants.

This book moves women's narratives front and center, and it shows how clergywomen's stories offer a compelling new structure for understanding the plot of Southern Baptists at the close of the twentieth century.[4] Qualitative interviews with five Baptist clergywomen offer paradigm cases showing how the Southern Baptist schism was more than a battle for the Bible or a struggle for political power.[5] The narratives of Anna, Martha, Joanna, Rebecca, and Chloe reframe the story of Southern Baptists and reinterpret the schism in broad and significant ways. Together they offer an understanding of the schism from three perspectives—gendered, psychological, and theological—not previously available together. The three perspectives don't operate side by side, but like three focal lenses, they bring a new depth of seeing that is framed by each woman's narrative yet universal in its implications for understanding changes to Baptist life in the last four decades.

First, the Southern Baptist schism grew out of a gendered psychological struggle, waged in Baptist imaginations, relationships, and social structures. Most interpretations of the schism ignore or marginalize both the internal and relational lives of Baptists, opting to investigate the political, social, or theological aspects of the fracture. The psychological struggle, however, was already present before the first Southern Baptist women were ordained in 1960s, and the novel presence of clergywomen brought the internal and relational dynamics into greater conscious awareness and visibility. The most challenging point in the psychological struggle is the effort by clergywomen and others to undo the paradigm of submission and domination, which supports a complementarity culture, reinforcing the ideal and practice of male headship and female submission. On the other side of that struggle is a sustained effort to maintain a gendered status quo of complementarity. Possibly more unsettling than the explicit polarization between autonomists and biblicists over the future of complementarity, and the host of other gendered psychological issues, is the reality that both parties also reproduced a culture of complementarity by degrees.

Second, clergywomen's narratives also reinterpret the Southern Baptist context not only as a culture of hostility and conflict but also as a nurturing space in

which Baptist piety and other convictions, such as feminism, meet and reshape Baptist identity. Two forms of reimagined identity are the focus of this interpretation: the meaning of being human and the theology and practice of ministry. As clergywomen and their autonomist supporters worked to undo the culture of complementarity, they lived, worked, loved, played, served, and practiced new relational, vulnerable, and embodied ways of being human and Baptist. These shifts participated in a theological struggle among Southern Baptists against the sins of sexism, submission, and domination, and with a hope and desire for freedom and healing. Together the clergywomen's narratives reinterpret schism in the SBC as a profoundly spiritual, theological, and gendered struggle over brokenness and redemption.

And third, clergywomen's lives seek a theological renewal of ministry itself. The sustained effort to reimagine Baptist identity and assert a more authentic humanity runs through each woman's story of growing up, coming to a sense of vocation, educating herself for ministry, seeking ordination, and entering pastoral work. Each woman's life was met with a range of responses, from joy and bewilderment to reluctance and outright hostility. Thus the Baptist space was not experienced exclusively as a battleground but also as a playground where clergywomen improvised the practice of ministry and reshaped Baptist pastoral identity. In that playground clergywomen created and discovered God's presence and purpose in their lives in embodied, relational, and even mystical ways of knowing. In sum, each clergywoman's story reinterprets the Southern Baptist schism as a gendered psychological struggle over the future of complementarity, a gendered theological struggle over what it means to be human and Baptist, and a space where a new practice and theology of ministry emerges. By seeing the Baptist situation through their stories and experiences, a new set of stakes in the controversy emerges. The schism's outcomes held profound consequences for individuals and communities, and Baptists of all stripes engaged in the struggle as if their lives, identities, relationships, and ministries depended on it. In the end, they did.

Living History

The fracturing of the SBC, although addressed at length, has been inadequately understood in both academic and partisan accounts as primarily a theological battle about the Bible or a political struggle over social and institutional issues. Three related problems plague the earlier interpretations: (1) they did not take seriously enough the roles played by women or the dynamics of gender as a shaping force of the schism, (2) they did not attempt a psychological analysis of the fracture, and (3) the theological interpretations did not appreciate the gendered struggle at stake in the schism. Additionally, attention to shifts in understanding ministry was rarely, if ever, explored as a dynamic feature of the Baptist rupture.

Schism among Southern Baptists remains a living history. From 1989, written interpretations of the Baptist fighting grew steadily, and many firsthand accounts and partisan materials interpret schism out of direct participation in the events.[6] Many Baptist insiders, scholars with a Baptist background, and a handful of non-Baptists wrote academic accounts of the schism, including historical, rhetorical, and social scientific studies.[7] However, despite some careful analysis of Baptist history, politics, and theology, almost all of the academic and partisan literature interpreting the schism lacks an adequate analysis of the roles, identities, or contributions of actual women. Recently, newer analyses are taking the category of gender, and the contributions of women, more seriously.[8] Although the schism literature includes sociological and political analyses, it also lacks phenomenological readings of the situation, which psychology and theological anthropology offer. Because the "history" of the SBC schism is still unfolding, many of the actors are still living, and the institutions continue taking new shape, the existing literature does not account for later developments and much of it lacks a critical distance regarding underlying reasons and causes for the split.[9] Finally, the concern with "biblical inerrancy" functioned to distract attention from other major theological and psychological tensions at work in the lives of Baptists.

The following discussion situates this book in relation to the schism literature by presenting the major contributions and unexplored areas of the previous interpretations. A new interpretation of the meaning and significance of the Baptist struggles emerges herein by attending to the features of lived religion for Baptists and by looking through three main lenses: gender, psychological dynamics, and theological anthropology. To advance the scholarly conversation, this book takes a novel approach to the sources, methods, context, and focus of partisan materials.[10]

The most comprehensive arguments about schism in the SBC describe multiple causes and effects of the fracture and present a variety of investigative and interpretive methods, offering complex and multilayered analyses of the controversy. Several interpretations address the role of women's leadership and ordination in the Baptist controversy in a single chapter or section, but they say little about the possible contributions of women themselves as a source for interpreting the schism.[11] None of the books published before 2000 address the category "gender" in their analyses of the schism. Women and gender are often synonymous "issues" (if gender is even named) in the Baptist battles, and they can be subsumed under larger causes and outcomes. In other words, the narratives and arguments are portrayed as the activity of men, in an extended debate about the theology and politics of men, and mostly written by men.[12] Women remain a doctrinal and political issue throughout much of the literature about the schism.[13] When the issues of women's ordination and leadership were tied to financial decisions in SBC agencies, they became early signs of real fragmentation of the SBC.[14] Despite the wide range of sources for understanding the changes unfolding in the denomination,

the early analysis never looked to women's lives or experiences as sources for a more comprehensive understanding.[15] A decade after the schism began, time and critical distance grew sufficiently for interpreters to begin considering the questions of women's ordination and pastoral leadership more intentionally, sometimes as one of several significant issues.[16]

Much of the partisan literature continues to quote secondary sources and repeat the canon of stories and observations about the SBC schism without introducing any new perspectives or analysis.[17] Scholars outside Baptist life have tended to take social science approaches more comprehensively than either history or theology as they interpret Baptist schism. The social science studies make substantial use of qualitative and ethnographic methods for gathering data.[18] While they utilize a variety of research methods and offer a range of perspectives on the SBC schism, none of the social science studies considered the events using a psychological framework for understanding.[19] Eventually some analyses offered a closer look at relationships or genealogies of influence in the two parties embattled in the schism; however, the analyses are hardly psychological in any formal sense.[20]

In the life world of Baptists, a potent mix of cultural ideals and practices as well as psychological dynamics in family and society shape women like Anna, Martha, Joanna, Rebecca, and Chloe. Too often psychological and cultural shaping forces are considered in isolation, but to grasp their combined power, the forces need to be considered together, particularly if a better or more complex understanding is needed.[21] For example, personal psychological experiences of the conflict, and the accompanying intense emotions, are analogous to the public and very visceral conflict that played itself out among Southern Baptists negotiating a split.[22] In addition to the intensity of emotion, the presence of particular psychological dynamics, which can be observed in individual experiences, relational exchanges, and larger social groups, is a basis for analogy. For example, the dynamic of splitting (psychological divisions of self and other, good and bad, or as a defense against harm) can be noticed in individual self-understandings, shared relational interactions, and social organizations. Additionally, certain theological ideas are themselves psychological conceptions, and they are observable in three overlapping realms of human being: the subjective, the relational, and the social.[23] This book reinterprets, a variety of psychological concepts and perspectives in order to illuminate the psychological character of the schism. Often the women in this book and other primary texts name and engage psychological concepts, which can be teased out to show broader dynamics at work in the Baptist culture.[24]

A canon of stories became central to the retelling of the larger story of schism in the last three decades, and many of the interpretations depended heavily on the prior theological and historical convictions of the narrators.[25] Because it remains a living history for now, the events of the schism are not yet exhausted and new, thicker descriptions and analyses of the times, lives, and changes among late-

twentieth-century Baptists are still forthcoming. This book adds new material from a very close reading of the lives of everyday clergywomen who until recently have been largely ignored.[26]

Even when women are perceived as more than symbols or issues in Baptist life, they still often end up as instrumental props, or at best flat characters, in a story that tries to explain the actions of men from a historical or theological perspective.[27] These histories and theologies need the lens of gender to show more fully the angles of vision about Baptist events and what was at stake in those events. Analyses of class, race, and sexuality are also implicated in Southern Baptist negotiations of schism, although they are less central in this book's descriptions of white, Southern, middle-class women and the denomination they mirror.[28]

Early on, the academic analyses made connections to trends and changes in the larger American religious landscape by focusing on one of two issues. Some writing zeros in on the apparent connection of biblicists to the New Religious Right (also called the New Christian Right).[29] Other writing focused to some degree on the academic "drift" toward theological liberalism, especially by seminary professors and some of their students.[30] Too often in the partisan literature, these connections appear in the form of accusations rather than analysis. The effect is to distract from rather than connect to religious trends in late-twentieth-century American Christianity. This book relocates the lives of clergywomen to the center of the story, allowing several previously unexplored connections to trends in lived religion in America, particularly regarding changes to the character of ministry since women began to occupy pastoral leadership positions in greater numbers.[31]

Naming Baptists

Winners write the history books, or so the saying goes. However, all the Baptists in the fracturing of the SBC have reframed the story to cast themselves as winners and inheritors of the authentic Baptist identity.[32] Language in this living Baptist history for naming the experience remains contested, suspect, and even embittered. Thus the following definitions and identifications will invite clarity for reading this book and acknowledge the disputed language, terms, and concepts. The richer meaning of many terms is among the purposes of the book and will unfold in the chapters, not through greater precision of definition but in a richer complexity of description and meaning. However, to help the reader get started, four groups of terms are introduced below: clergywomen and ordination; autonomist and biblicist parties; gender and complementarity; and vulnerability, splitting, and redemption.

The term "clergywoman" indicates training and ordination for professional ministry.[33] In Baptist life neither education nor ordination are required for the work of ministry, but they are informally expected. The two tracks of preparation—seminary and ordination—are normative for most Protestants, and by the

mid-twentieth century, Southern Baptists had increasingly adopted a standard that expected an educated ministry, opening six seminaries to do the work. There is a distinction among some Baptists between minister and pastor: all pastors are ministers, but not all ministers are pastors.[34] This exact point is part of the contest between parties over who can be ordained, to what purpose, and by whom. Local churches and associations of Baptists typically ordain ministers. Baptists do not universally accept any particular set of guidelines for ordination, and given the ambivalence of the Bible on the practice, even appeals to Scripture are not uniform. As women increasingly presented themselves as called to ministry, with the hope of receiving ordination, the beliefs, guidelines, and practice of ordination became explicitly part of the disagreements between Baptist groups. The stories of ordination told by Anna, Martha, and Chloe are especially helpful in further defining the issues at stake in this debate and in reframing new understandings of the practice.

In an effort not to embrace too closely the rhetoric of either of the main parties in the schism, and to signal an academic rather than partisan engagement, this book takes the strategy of coining new terms for the two: *autonomists* and *biblicists*.[35] Both groups, as well as some scholars, refer to the events of Baptist life between 1979 and 1990 as "the controversy." Thus even the term "schism" is a relatively novel metaphor for describing the events of the Southern Baptist divide.[36] During the most intense conflict between 1979 and 1990, there was little doubt about who was on which side. The choice to assign new names for the two parties is not an effort to obscure their internal differences but to highlight the differences between them.[37]

Those included in the "biblicist party" are leaders who referred to themselves as conservatives, inerrantists, or traditionalists. Their Baptist detractors referred to them most often as fundamentalists and sometimes as ultra-conservatives or literalists. Scholars who have studied and written about these groups sometimes refer to those in the biblicist party as evangelicals, neo-evangelicals, or primitivists. Members of the biblicist party most often referred to the events and outcome of the SBC schism as a "conservative resurgence" or a "course correction." Biblicists coalesced around the strategy of gaining control of the SBC presidency in order to bring change to the convention. Leaders included layperson and judge Paul Pressler, Bible scholar Paige Patterson, Tennessee pastor Adrian Rogers (elected convention president in 1979), Texas pastor W. A. Criswell, and dozens of pastors of large Baptist churches. In this book, biblicist voices include Patterson and his spouse Dorothy Patterson (theology professor and outspoken advocate for biblical manhood and womanhood) and pastors Rogers, Fred Wolfe, James Draper, and Jerry Vines.

Those included in the "autonomist party" referred to themselves alternately as moderates, denominational loyalists, or conservative-moderates. Their Baptist critics often called them liberals or secular humanists. Scholars have at times called

them modernists or progressives. Members of the autonomist party most often referred to events of the schism as "the (hostile) takeover." Leaders included North Carolina pastor Cecil Sherman, Texas pastor Daniel Vestal, and a group assembled in 1980 known as the Gatlinburg Gang. They made greater and lesser attempts in the next twelve years to win the SBC presidency or find a means of compromise with the biblicists. However, the autonomists never caught up in organization, support, funding, or strategy and were never successful at winning the SBC presidency.[38] During those dozen years, the convention shifted from uneasy synthesis to open schism.[39] The SBC became the domain of biblicists. The voices that shaped the autonomist party, and are given voice in the analysis of this book, include CBF founder Daniel Vestal, pastor and theologian Molly T. Marshall, pastor Nancy Sehested, seminary president Randall Lolley, professors Daniel Bagby and Andrew Lester, and pastors Lynda Weaver-Williams, Cindy Harp Johnson, Kathy Manis Findley, Jann Aldredge-Clanton, and Betty Winstead McGary.[40]

Of course the autonomists were "biblicists" in the broadest sense, seeing the Bible as a central source of authority. However, they explicitly included other sources of authority in their discernment, theologizing, practice, and ethics. Autonomists deserve this name—not because they believed singularly in the autonomy of local churches or the autonomy of individuals—but because many in the party came to prize those values highly and use them rhetorically in the years of struggle. Conversely, biblicists also valued autonomy in the sense of individual responsibility before God, and they assumed an ongoing accountability to a faith community in spite of the rhetoric of "Bible only."

The work of "gender" tends to remain hidden and/or appear natural or biological, coming into view when women move from the margins to be central actors. Male normativity renders the otherness of gender invisible most of the time, but when females are introduced as complex, three-dimensional characters into the narratives of history, both the questions and the interpretations change, destabilizing previously unquestioned narratives.

The ways in which late-twentieth-century Baptists perceived and performed gender presumed a straightforward and unambiguous difference between male and female.[41] The relationship between male and female was idealized as complementary—each supposedly needed to "complete" the other. However, both inside and outside of Baptist life, a large-scale cultural shift was underway from complementary marriages (two different types make a single whole) to mutual marriages (two different people relate in partnership and mutual exchange).[42] For Baptists, complementarity not only indicated a relational dynamic but also, being surrounded by a culture of complementarity reinforced a common state of mind. In the theological rhetoric of the day, God's delegated authority meant men are men and women are women, and by virtue of Bible and biology, never shall the two

be confused. Power flowed predictably and normatively between the two genders, although in practice there was much more fluidity, and a multiplicity of identities existed and circulated.[43] Much Baptist debate about "gender" remains within the confines of this gender binary, yet it is the challenging and undoing of the binaries that fosters a crisis over gender itself among Baptists.

The culture of complementarity in which Southern Baptists were and are immersed upholds an explicit ideal for how family life and the entire order of society's relationships should operate. It is captured in writings and doctrinal statements but can't be reduced entirely into a single definition. However, because the subtlety of gender and its centrality to human identity are so difficult to see, the following definition, taken from the 2000 Baptist Faith and Message, can be a point of departure for the larger explorations of this book. After biblicists gained leadership of the SBC, they revised the confessional document, and that revision is often taken as an end marker for the schism, which began in 1979.[44] Complementarity holds that marriage unites one man and one woman for the purposes of companionship, sexual expression, and procreation. Both men and women are considered "of equal worth before God" and "created in God's image." However, at that point equality is qualified by the notion that marriage follows the "order of creation." Man is compared to God and woman to creation. As Christ leads the church, a man should love and lead his wife and family. Woman is like the church and should thus "graciously submit" to her husband. The statement calls on woman—created "in the image of God" and thus "equal to" her husband—to follow her "God-given responsibility to respect her husband and to serve as his helper in managing the household and nurturing the next generation."[45]

One aim of this reinterpretation is to show a number of aspects of a complementarity culture and how it works. The definition adopted by Southern Baptists doesn't capture the pervasive and adaptive quality of complementarity.[46] Neither does it fully capture the contradiction and double-binding features of this relational ideal. By looking at the period of schism from within the clergywomen's narratives, the persistence and recalcitrance of complementarity comes into sharper focus.

When men and women embrace a desire for work, and to own their vulnerability as well as their power, they present a threat to cultures of complementarity and produce anxiety within others in their immediate social circles and the wider system. Anxiety over the undoing of complementarity shows itself in the rhetoric of leaders who act and react to keep complementarity in place. Complementarity is a subtle and deceptive "good" that keeps domination and subordination at work by declaring both to be necessary. When complementarity is understood as "God's delegated order" for all of life, no amount of "equality" will be acceptable because it will undermine the entire system of "order" in home, church, and society.

Baptist clergywomen typified the challenges to complementarity by authoring and owning their own desire, not just for equality in some generic sense but also

for doing ministry, the work of the church. They sought to do it with the authority of ordination rather than continuing on with only the power of subordination (a place Baptist women had long occupied and used to their advantage). By owning and authoring desire, these women symbolized new powers of agency, which threatened the entire system of Baptist complementarity. Particular women, such as Anna, Chloe, Rebecca, Martha, and Joanna, claimed for themselves the subjective powers of agency and authority and experienced the confirmation of communities who ordained and called them. At the same time, those communities, and the clergywomen themselves, reproduced the dynamics of complementarity relationally and socially, despite the new sense of equality that was afoot.

Life begins and ends in profound dependence for human beings who are fragile creatures. Although endowed with amazing capacities for creation, beauty, freedom, and achievements of all kinds, human lives are also finite and vulnerable, susceptible to giving and receiving harm at every turn. The most basic passions animate human lives: to be oneself, to be with others, and to grasp sense or meaning in one's existence. These drives or passions are unavoidably at odds with one another. The irreconcilability of human passions, and the finitude of human life take form in a tragic structure that is the human condition.[47] The "tragic" in this sense is not unnecessary harm giving rise to terrible sadness but the irreconcilability of the basic human drives and the inability to experience a total understanding of self or other. Thus the tragic structure of existence itself further amplifies human vulnerability; however, without vulnerability there would be no intimacy, no need, no creative or beautiful engagement, no being founded by another, and no experience of the sacred.[48]

As understood by psychoanalytic theorists and attachment theorists, psychic splitting—between self and other, good and bad, and harmful and caring—works as one of the most basic of human defenses against the potential harms to one's vulnerability.[49] Splitting is required for identity such that each infant begins to understand that she or he is a separate self and not merged with the caregiver. In fact there is likely never a time of complete euphoric merger with the mother/other from which an infant later splits away. Rather, from birth a relational self is present as well as an experience of merger with the original caregiver.[50] Splitting remains essential to both identity (this is me, and this is *not me*) and self-defense (that is bad/harmful, and this is good/caring) against inescapable vulnerability. The split between good and bad for an infant is based in the responsiveness of his or her environment and caregivers to the needs and desires for survival and connection.[51] The tragic structure of human existence is present from the opening moments of life, when the infant cries out to breathe, live, eat, and be held, all essential for survival. Vulnerability, connection, and the potential for harm are all present.

As infants mature and grow, more complex psychic defenses come into play, although splitting remains at the heart of many attempts to protect oneself from

unpleasant physical sensations or affective states. Soon after an infant knows self and other, one of the next differences she or he learns is the split in "she" and "he." For millennia the split of gender has been so culturally important, power-laden, and seemingly natural and unquestioned that the achievement is not easily untangled.[52] Whenever changes to that psychic and cultural split of gender appear, a social and personal crisis of identity ensues.[53]

Even to suggest changing the meaning or significance of gender strikes at the core of identity. For many Southern Baptists the widespread defense against the vulnerability produced at the very thought of destabilizing gender was to valorize biblical manhood and womanhood and double down on "God's delegated order" in church, home, and society. The complementarian culture built on male headship and female submission was falling out of favor with many Americans, but biblicist leaders redoubled their efforts to keep it alive and make it a point of cultural critique of a godless America.[54]

Thus when Baptist women like Anna, Martha, Rebecca, Joanna, and Chloe moved into the work of ministry, they faced many complex dilemmas and double-binding messages that orbited around the human psychology of the splitting of gender and the growing influence of complementarity culture. Anna upset the assumptions of her seminary and the neighborhood "pastors' wives," bringing her face-to-face with the struggle of the "servanthood dilemma" felt by many Christian women. Chloe navigated the troublesome pathway for clergywomen between the authoritative male pastor and the servant-leader pastor. Martha struggled not to believe that only dying and unhealthy churches called women. Rebecca faced the brokenness of a church sweeping the sexual indiscretions of its staff under the carpet for years. Joanna hit the stained-glass ceiling of male criticism.

The clergywomen's presence in communities, in anecdotes, and even in the news, functioned symbolically as a major shift in thinking, and the threat was felt at both a profoundly visceral level as well as a broad political one. As symbols, clergywomen evoked fear and anxiety about changes to sexual identity, understandings of gender, and the shape of a social and ecclesial order that had long been in place. The resulting fear, anxiety, and guilt led to (or returned Baptists to) the private and public defense of splitting. The psychic and social splitting worked to keep complementarity in place. The rhetoric of pointing out differences became louder and more insistent as the years unfolded. One form the split took was for biblicists to project their anxiety and fear about the changes onto clergywomen (and their autonomist supporters) as the personification of all that was disordered and ungodly. In the other direction, the projections and fears of autonomists appeared in the form of blaming the other party—fundamentalist pastors—for being domineering, heavy-handed, and even violent predators and patriarchs who wielded power unfairly in home and church.

Thus the projections on both sides reproduced complementarity in the two parties and kept the cultural forms of domination and subordination in place *between* the parties: autonomists were weak, ineffectual, vulnerable, and unsure of their desires; biblicists were powerful, effective, strong, and clear about their goals and desires. But it also had the effect of keeping complementarity in place *within* each party in overt and subtler ways. Although women made advances in the ownership and authorship of their desire for work in ministry among autonomists, they continued to find work mainly in associate positions where they supported men who were the more powerful leaders.

The events that Southern Baptists endured and fashioned at the end of the last century are portrayed as a split, schism, divorce, hostile takeover, controversy, battle, and/or resurgence. The militaristic imagery connotes sides that are hostile and polarized. Psychological splitting and breakdown on the largest social scale characterized the entire period. Yet clergywomen and other Baptists found ways to live creatively and sustainably even within the difficult times and personal circumstances. Redemption and reimagination become the occasions for healing the longstanding splits of gender, desire and vocation. Precisely within the defensive splits of Baptist life, clergywomen creatively renegotiated self-identity, relationality, and their social roles. This was not a glib reunification of sides but a clarification and new formation of identity out of differences. To be sure, seeds of division were also replanted and splitting was reproduced. Yet the most creative work of clergywomen came at the point of reframing, reimagination, and redemption. Healing was not simply something the women conjured. Healing emerged in spaces in which a sense of God's sacred presence made the difference for Martha, evoked the power and voice for change for Rebecca, animated the creativity for Joanna, inspired relational connection for Chloe, and offered the sense of hope for a way through the times for Anna.

Reading Sources

Each chapter in this book presents a narrative of one clergywoman, relying on her words and images whenever possible yet telling her story with an eye to what that story says and shows about the times in which she lived, learned, became a pastor, and, in several cases, lost a place of ministry. Each clergywoman's story both frames and is framed by the larger events and prevailing culture of the times. The second part of each chapter moves back and forth between the clergywoman's narrative and the larger Southern Baptist context of the schism. The analysis sections are dialogues between a woman's story and other primary sources, ranging from news releases to sermons, from conference proceedings to longstanding Baptist tensions of belief and practice, and from hymns and songs to other published stories about

clergywomen. Each woman's story could stand alone for interpretation. However, the engagement with other primary sources strengthens and magnifies the arguments, resonating with each new interpretation.

To follow along with the arguments of this book, which are both shown and told, and which unfold by means of an accumulation of evidence across the stories and other primary resources, requires a particular way of seeing. By the time all of the conversations develop between clergywomen and the other instances of Baptist struggle, a portrait of the deeper issues at stake in the schism of Southern Baptists emerges. Only using a psychological lens, or only using a theological one, would produce rather flat results. Seeing both psychologically and theologically how the schism unfolded through the lives of clergywomen, and allowing their stories to frame that seeing, offers a new richer and more textured interpretation of the gendered struggle.

To see the schism psychologically this book focuses on the internal worlds of the clergywomen and on the relational and social worlds of Baptists. Psychological aspects of the clergywomen's stories are available but often need the insight or clarity of concepts cultivated by those trained in psychology to appreciate their connection to the wider struggles for Baptists. Once the psychological dynamics of the schism come into view, insights from the women's stories can be read in tension with the social world and history of ideas that have typically driven the other analyses of twentieth-century Baptists. Social conditions and human psychology are mutually reinforcing human dynamics. To see psychologically thus allows a nuanced insight into larger struggles and social changes that are often treated as *only* social or political.[55]

To see the schism theologically was a more common task over the last quarter of a century; however, theological seeing in the partisan literature is often accompanied by blame and preoccupation with moral judgments of the *others* under critique. In partisan (and some academic) accounts of the schism, autonomists generally focused more intently on the history of events and biblicists focused more on theological arguments between the parties.[56] The reinterpretation in this book sees those differences as endemic to the struggle itself and a perennial feature of the human condition.[57] This new reading tries instead to focus on the everyday lived theology of Baptists, centering on the clergywomen's narratives in order to open up the struggles that were at stake for many Baptists. Questions over the character and gender of human existence, brokenness, vulnerability, and redemption, as well as the work of meaning making, animate the reimagination of Baptist identity.[58]

To see "in depth" is not what others have critiqued as an overconfident claim to seeing some "true" or "real" interpretation. The claim about depth is based in a metaphor of perspective taking. Rather than take a singular and potentially reductive perspective from psychology or taking a similarly reductive approach from theological anthropology, the set of arguments made in this book are crafted from

two kinds of vision, each two-dimensional alone, brought together to offer a third dimension—one of depth. In human sight (among other predators), two eyes, two angles of vision, create depth perception, which produce a third dimension of greater complexity and more possibilities for seeing.[59] What emerges is a critical and constructive interpretation of Baptist schism as a psychological and theological struggle over what it means to be human, shown in fine-grain detail.

Narrating the Schism

For readers unfamiliar with Southern Baptists, the following brief narrative presents some key moments from the years of schism in the SBC, framed by the lives of the five women who are featured in this book. Presenting major public events in parallel with the everyday stories and lives of Baptist women serves three purposes. First, it expands and complexifies the commonly accepted story of the schism, showing implications that are both more personal and more widespread. Second, seeing more of the micro- and macro-connections opens the way for new interpretations to emerge. And third, this chronological account helps orient the reader to each woman's story in the chapters that follow.

The summer of 1979, when biblicists first gained the presidency of the SBC, usually marks the beginning of the Southern Baptist schism. The period of conflict is typically described as ending in the summer of 1990, with a June victory celebration by biblicists in New Orleans and an August gathering of autonomists in Atlanta to launch the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship (CBF). The CBF and a constellation of moderate and progressive organizations became an alternative set of denominational structures, continuing to fracture the SBC through the 1990s and beyond.[60] To understand the intense twelve-year period of fighting in a larger context, one can set the bookends a bit wider on this shelf of Baptist history. The period between the 1963 adoption of the Baptist Faith and Message and its revision in 2000 provide the wider setting. In those decades, Anna, Martha, Joanna, Rebecca, and Chloe entered the Baptist world, experienced nurture and conflict, announced vocational callings for ministry, attended seminary, and began pastoral careers. Their stories frame the events of the schism, and they guide a new reading of what was at stake in those years.

Although she grew up to be a pastor, Martha was born into a Southern Baptist world in 1958 that included virtually no reference point for women's ordained ministry. Mainline Protestant denominations were just waking up to the idea of ordaining women as pastors. Various Methodist and Presbyterian groups passed collective denominational statements endorsing the practice of women's ordination in the 1950s, but Baptists made no such pronouncements.[61] In the early 1960s, when Martha was just learning to read, Southern Baptist leaders were arguing over how to read the Bible. The "Elliott controversy" erupted in 1961, when the

SBC's Broadman Press published *The Message of Genesis,* written by Baptist seminary professor Ralph Elliott.[62] Conservative pastors (who would eventually play key roles in the biblicist party) galvanized their arguments about the literal truth of the Bible over against new scientific methods for studying the Scriptures, demanding the withdrawal of Elliott's book. They worried that new study methods might undermine the Bible's authority. Concerns over the inspiration and authority of the Bible motivated a new revision of the SBC's Baptist Faith and Message in 1963. Although there were several small changes to the confession's statement on Scripture, the main addition read, "The criterion by which the Bible is to be interpreted is Jesus Christ."[63]

Born into a Roman Catholic family in 1960, Joanna knew virtually nothing about Southern Baptists until junior high, and even then she was notably unimpressed by their proselytizing tactics. Joanna attended Catholic school for a time, where she was nurtured and influenced by her teacher, Sister Mary Charles. Women's religious leadership still took traditional forms in Roman Catholic and Baptist life, and yet changes were also afoot. The sea change for Southern Baptist women began rather quietly in North Carolina with the ordination of Addie Davis in August 1964. It mustered a local controversy and found coverage in some state Baptist newspapers, but on the whole it was quickly forgotten when Davis departed to serve an American Baptist church in Readsboro, Vermont.[64]

Events like Davis's ordination and the Elliott controversy were slowly shifting the foundations of Baptist life, shaking the structures of the SBC, and contributing to the eventual schism. Social upheaval in the 1960s, with its open challenges to authority, prompted SBC employees, professors, and loyal Southern Baptist pastors to pay new attention to women's rights, racial equality, antiwar protests, and so on. The shifts in attention, mingled with modernism, rankled conservative Baptist pastors and some laity. Those most distressed by Baptist engagements with social issues tended to be conservatives who were also critical of SBC bureaucracy for its emphasis on efficiency and organizational growth in the name of missions and evangelism. The mounting disgruntlement fed the emergence of new factions in the convention.

By the mid-1960s more than ten million Baptists filled pews and pulpits in SBC churches, and they were paying little attention to the cracks and fissures opening up in the foundation of the seemingly invincible SBC.[65] Instead, they were carrying out their everyday lives of faith and enjoying unprecedented numerical growth, with little thought about theological controversies large or small among denominational leaders. One Sunday morning in 1967, Anna, age seven, came to faith in what she calls a "very positive way." Anna's Southern Baptist parents adopted her when she was two years old, preparing her to hear from her Sunday school teacher that God wanted "to adopt her into his family." The profession of faith set Anna firmly on a path to discipleship and ministry. That same year in New Orleans, a young seminarian named Paige Patterson and a Houston judge

named Paul Pressler met for the first time to discuss concerns over leadership, authority, and theology in the SBC. Over coffee and beignets at the Café Du Monde, they started mapping a strategy for taking control of the appointive powers and decision-making apparatus of the convention, a plan that took ten years to formulate and another dozen years for biblicists to execute.[66]

In 1973 Chloe was born to parents actively involved in their Baptist church. Many years earlier, Chloe's mother had chosen marriage over a career as a missionary nurse. Also in 1973, six-year-old Rebecca was baptized in a Baptist church that taught her about both God's love and her inferiority as a female. Rebecca and her family soon left the congregation when her parents felt the critical judgment of pronouncements against divorce. For Baptist women, the social landscape of the early 1970s was less than hospitable. Nevertheless, the Baptist world was also slowly changing. An increasing number of churches, such as University Baptist where Martha and her family belonged, were ordaining women as deacons and electing them deacon chairs. By the end of the 1970s, the number of Baptist women attending seminary had grown substantially and those ordained in Baptist churches had reached nearly sixty.[67] During SBC meetings in the 1970s, resolutions about the role of women in society, home, and/or church rose and fell like barometers of the atmospheric pressure over the "woman question."[68] Through the decade a movement to maintain the status quo on the woman question, biblical authority, and other social and political issues, coalesced into a more formalized group led by Patterson and Pressler.[69] Setting their sights on change for the denomination, the biblicists were ready by 1979 to vote in a new strategy.

By the late 1970s, Rebecca and Anna were experiencing their first epiphanies about ministry. Rebecca attended Sunshine Baptist Camp with a friend, and the camp's missionary speakers led her to wonder if she was also called to be a missionary. Anna was fully involved in her church as a teenager, filling the role of "music minister" at the annual youth Sunday, and she regularly "led friends to Christ." Meanwhile, many hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Baptist women were beginning to explore calls to ministry.

In 1978 a group of SBC agency heads, seminary students, pastors, church members, journalists, and historians gathered in Nashville, Tennessee, for the first and only Consultation on Women in Church-Related Vocations. No one was elected and no committees were appointed, but the three hundred or so in attendance heard reports, survey results, historical accounts, and psychological analysis about women in Southern Baptist churches and agencies.[70] Those gathered also heard impassioned pleas and insistent questions from women who felt called by God to be ministers. Some of those women were already ordained and serving. Others were still trying to discern the meaning of a call. Southern Baptists seemed poised to hear these concerns and lend support, or at least not to hinder the women in their newfound vocations.

In the summer of 1979, the SBC met in Houston, Texas—an ordinary yet momentous meeting forever marking the official end of Baptist synthesis and the beginning of a schism. The 12,500 Baptist pastors and laypeople in attendance, gathered in the Astrodome, and they elected Adrian Rogers, pastor of Bellevue Baptist Church in Memphis, Tennessee, the new president of their convention. In the years that followed, biblicists carried out Patterson and Pressler's plan, electing a dozen SBC presidents, who in turn appointed scores of committees and hundreds of committee members, who in turn reshaped every SBC agency, school, and board with biblicist values and direction. The net effect was an increasingly conservative bearing and purpose for the nation's largest Protestant denomination, a direction that has continued with little interruption for more than three decades.

Neither the magnitude nor the significance of Rogers's election was immediately evident to all Baptists, either those at the centers or those at the margins. In the fall of 1979, Anna headed to college, taking a part-time job as a youth minister. In that work she came to clarity about her sense of "calling to ministry." She followed her pastor's advice to share her calling and to seek prayerful support. She also began thinking about seminary. However, like many Baptists, Anna was not aware of the Baptist troubles or even that being a woman could be problematic.

Even autonomists near the centers of Baptist power did not immediately perceive the urgency or durability of the changes to the SBC begun in 1979. No sincere organizing to mount an opposition began until the fall of 1980, after autonomists lost a second SBC presidential election.[71] By the time they got organized, autonomists were too far behind to regain power. They made greater and lesser attempts over the next decade to win the SBC presidency or find a means of compromise with the biblicists, but they never caught up in organization, support, funding, or political strategy.[72] Nor were they ever successful in their attempts to win the presidency. Over the next decade schism in the convention widened day by day.

In the 1980s, as the SBC increasingly became the domain of biblicists, a number of autonomist groups began splintering away from the convention in protest. The first among them was the Southern Baptist Women in Ministry (SBWIM) organization, founded by thirty-three women in ministry in 1983. It was followed by the Southern Baptist Alliance in 1987, and churches began to fracture as well.[73] Events such as the 1984 Resolution on Ordination and the Role of Women in Ministry, passed at the Southern Baptist Convention annual meeting in Kansas City, further solidified the parties and galvanized the splinter groups. The so-called Kansas City Resolution blamed Eve for the "Edenic fall," and it warned against recognizing women's ministry if it included "pastoral functions and leadership roles entailing ordination."[74]

In 1985, twelve-year-old Chloe was baptized at Milton Heights Baptist Church. Within a year, Milton Heights called a new pastor who was openly opposed to women's leadership in the congregation, and Chloe's family, led by her

mother, departed the church so quickly their "heads were spinning." They joined a church aligned with the growing autonomist party. The schism not only fostered the formation of new Baptist organizations both local and national but also split churches and families over concrete issues such as abortion, interpreting Scripture, and women's ordination.

As the 1980s came to a close, Rebecca approached her graduation from a Baptist college, sensing a strong call to seminary. Friends and peers a few years ahead of her urged her not to matriculate at any of the SBC-affiliated schools, where they were students. The tide had turned, they insisted, and the "fight was over." Major changes in philosophy and direction of the Baptist seminaries were assured. Rebecca should go to one of the new autonomist-supported seminaries or find a suitable non-Baptist school. She chose a school with a Baptist house of study, and she mourned the loss of connection with the tradition of her professors, yet she clearly still planned to remain Baptist.

The summer of 1990 was a hinge point for SBC institutions and politics. In June the biblicists organized yet another presidential victory at the SBC meeting in New Orleans. They elected Morris Chapman, pastor of First Baptist Church in Wichita Falls, Texas, president with over 57 percent of the vote. Autonomists were growing weary after twelve straight defeats, and their candidate, Daniel Vestal, garnered just over 42 percent of the vote. At the close of the meeting a group of biblicists gathered around tables at the Café du Monde to commemorate Patterson and Pressler's meeting years earlier. They toasted victory and presented certificates of appreciation to Pressler and Patterson.[75] The boards of every SBC agency and school were secured with biblicist majorities, and a large-scale house cleaning was underway for the staff of seminaries and missionary boards. New sympathetic leaders would take the convention in the direction biblicists wanted it go. To their thinking, the "resurgence" of fundamentalist doctrine and practice was unique in American history and complete at the first stage (control of the boards). Further stages were yet to come and preoccupied the SBC politics of the 1990s: replacing all heads of schools and agencies and "incorporating renewal into teaching, publications, and programs" as well as extending the "renewal into state conventions, associations and local churches."[76]

While the biblicists celebrated at the Café du Monde, a hotel room near the convention center became a gathering place for Vestal and other autonomist party leaders to consider their losses and subsequent strategies. The next morning at breakfast, Vestal addressed the autonomist party faithful, who were exhausted by the decade of investing heavy amounts of time, money and energy to stop the directional change in the SBC. Vestal acknowledged the disappointing loss, and he assured those gathered that their work was not in vain. Then he called for a convocation in August, a gathering of the dispossessed to search for renewal and "to find ways to cooperate without sacrificing our Baptist distinctives."[77] Thus began the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship.

Moving from an American Baptist church in the Midwest to attend seminary in the South in 1991, Joanna found herself in a confusing Southern Baptist world. On one hand, nearly everyone at her school assumed that if she was Baptist, she must be Southern Baptist. On the other hand, the churches where she worshiped and served were cutting their ties to the SBC. The fracturing of Southern Baptist life was messy and unclear in every quarter. The CBF grew and established itself yet continued to skirmish with the SBC. The constellation of new autonomist organizations siphoned energy, money, and effort away from the SBC. Nearly a dozen new seminaries or Baptist houses of study opened in the 1990s, assembling faculty members who had lost their jobs in SBC schools, yet the new schools often continued cooperating with state SBC organizations. Countless churches spent the decade determining where their loyalties would go, often splitting funds, loyalties, and even families. Many in the constellation of moderate and progressively oriented organizations devoted themselves to redeeming some features of Southern Baptist character and identity.[78] However, as time wore on and biblicists consolidated power within the SBC, the breakaway groups increasingly identified themselves with new purposes and directions of their own, struggling to reshape Baptist identity in a crucible of conflict.

Where women's ordination gained acceptance in Baptist life, it was through the long, patient work of relational connection and trust building. Martha, who attended seminary as a second career in the late 1990s, found that four years in her seminary church yielded a deep sense of acceptance and belonging. The particular congregational relationships brought Martha to a sincere moment of pastoral calling. She and other women stopped being merely an issue over which Southern Baptists fought. They were Baptist daughters, sisters, mothers, wives, and ministers claiming gifts and calling for ministry. Increasingly, Baptists happily ordained the women they personally knew and in whom they witnessed a clear vocation for ministry. Baptist churches that ordained and employed women in pastoral roles participated in a widespread shift in American religion to embody a new theology and practice of ministry, one striving for gender equality and resisting the model of "delegated order" in relationships and authority between men and women. Nevertheless, for biblicists the delegated order approach grew in importance as a way to organize church, home, and society.[79] And biblicist leaders elected to enshrine their commitments in a 1998 addendum on the family to the Baptist Faith and Message. The statement declared the equal worth of women and men yet built an analogy that associates the male with God and Christ and the female with God's people and the church. Thus a wife is to "submit herself graciously" to her husband, and she holds "the God-given responsibility to respect her husband and to serve as his helper in managing the household and nurturing the next generation." In 2000 a full revision of the Baptist Faith and Message picked up the new article on the family, adding that the role of pastor should be limited to men. The new confessional

document convinced a few more churches to depart the SBC. However, the revised confessional statement, coming on the heels of so many organizational changes, mainly signaled that the schism was complete. The interpretations for what happened and why, were however, just getting started.

Overview of the Chapters

In chapter 1, Anna's story reinterprets the Southern Baptist schism as a gendered psychological struggle. The analysis of her narratives shows in detail how her story embodies the Southern Baptist schism in three ways: (1) as a cultural symbol of schism; (2) as someone acting with agency to change her self-understanding, relationships, and situation by contesting the status quo and by making a move from subordination to ordination; and (3) by navigating the psychological and theological tension between personal agency and obedience to one's calling. The analysis portion of the chapter engages official Baptist statements, SBC resolutions and confessions, hymns, and agency policies, which present a variety of official, normative, and pragmatically written Baptist theologies. Anna's story, however, captures how everyday belief and practice both embodies and challenges the official interpretations through personal agency, relational change, and iconic struggles.

Chapter 2 shows how Martha's story of growing up in a complementarity culture reinterprets the schism in the SBC as a gendered identity crisis. At every turn, Martha's story reveals the Baptist struggle between "mission" and "submission" and another related struggle between sacrifice and ambition. Martha's relationships with her mother and father provide openings to see how gender is passed on to each new generation and the psychological work required for men as well as women. The anatomy of Southern Baptist complementarity is contested, undone, and reasserted, shaping numerous aspects of Baptist life during the years of schism and pressing the question of what will become of complementarity itself. The analysis of Martha's story engages the organizational life and programmatic piety of Baptists, delivered weekly in the teaching and programs of Baptist churches. Sunday school, the Woman's Missionary Union (WMU), deacon ministry, and pastoral ministry mutually reinforce the relational and internalized Baptist worlds.

In chapter 3, Joanna's story makes connections to a wider angle of vision on Baptist life. Also taking a winding road to the pastorate, Joanna did not grow up Baptist and never considered herself Southern Baptist, although she served in three churches that departed the SBC as the schism unfolded. Joanna's stories of relational support and struggle frame a rich way of understanding how Baptist polity is an ongoing set of relational negotiations bound up in historic and perennial tensions of Baptist belief and practice. Each of five tensions appears readily in Joanna's story: salvation and calling, soul competency, the priesthood of all believers, voluntary association, and separation of church and state. The analysis puts

into dialogue Joanna's relational life and the ways Baptists continuously navigate the psychological tensions of their identity. Joanna and her friends openly challenge the sexism and dangers of abuse that relationships of domination and submission can foster. Most interpretations of the Baptist schism leave aside both the relational and gendered character of the story. However, by stepping into leadership, Joanna and other clergywomen move relationality and gender into the foreground as key concepts for understanding how the story of schism unfolded.

The analysis growing out of stories told by Anna, Martha, and Joanna shows primarily psychological perspectives on Baptist life. Chapters 4 and 5 assume those psychological dynamics and shift attention to a theological perspective on the stories told by Rebecca and Chloe. In chapter 4, Rebecca's story shows how Southern Baptists traversed the years of schism while living in the tension between life struggle and life sustenance. The tension between struggle and sustenance may give rise to despair and grief, yet it can also be a space of redemption and grace. The analysis of the chapter engages sermons from leading voices in Baptist life during the latter years of the twentieth century. Preaching for Baptists is a central task for meaning making and identity shaping in the culture. Rebecca's stories, and ten biblicist- and autonomist-inspired sermons and essays, illuminate the spiritual and theological struggles over what it means to be human. Her stories reinterpret schism as a profoundly spiritual, theological and gendered struggle over human brokenness, redemption, and meaning.

In chapter 5, Chloe's stories about her practice of ministry reinterpret the time and space of schism as both a battleground and playground for Baptists, where a new theology and practice of ministry and a new kind of Baptist identity could emerge. The changes in Chloe's practice of ministry reflect a larger movement among Baptist and Christian churches in the United States. Chloe's story shows how women's entry into ministry brought to light existing cracks and fissures to the coherence of the nearly all-male profession. Biblicists supported an "authoritative model" of pastoral leadership, while autonomists claimed the "servant leader model" as the right one. Yet both models are troublesome for women. The analysis of Chloe's story dialogues with other published narratives of clergywomen. In clergywomen's stories, one sees how the years of schism became an occasion for practicing a new embodied, relational, and vulnerable way of doing ministry, transforming the practice of ministry itself.

Until recently, Baptist clergywomen never had a chance *not* to be controversial. Since Addie Davis was ordained fifty years ago, clergywomen have been portrayed as anomalies, issues, tokens, symbols, and even jokes.[80] By refocusing attention on them as actors, ministers, and fully vulnerable yet powerful human beings, the stories of their lives show the situated possibilities of being Baptist, and a new narrative for understanding the culture and times in which the Baptist schism emerges. Reading the stories of these particular clergywomen, and many others in the late

twentieth century, invites one to see how they were living a new way of being human that touched on every sense of who they were as women, as ministers, and as Baptists. They were inventing what they had never seen before. It was new to them as it emerged, yet it was shaped by the context and the liturgy of the everyday in Baptist life. They made dramatic changes internally and relationally, participating in the undoing of complementarity, but they also reproduced it at the same time. Most significantly, their lives offer a new framework for seeing an anatomy of the fracturing of the Southern Baptist Convention.

3

(Sub)text

How Clergywomen Reframe and Renew Baptist Relationships

> It was a whole new way of thinking. Like, wow! Maybe I could be a solo pastor. I hadn't considered it because I just felt like I couldn't do it, because I was too "wounded." Even though I knew I had the skills.
>
> —Joanna

Supportive and challenging relationships created a context for Joanna's calling to ministry. After growing up marginally Catholic, Joanna, now forty-three, found her spiritual home at First Baptist Church in Russetville, where the emphasis on community, justice, and faith for everyday life nurtured in her a vocation as a Baptist pastor. The relational spaces in Joanna's life offer keys to understanding her personal changes across time as well as how personal stories are interwoven in the larger stories of one's context and communities. Joanna came face to face with her relational woundedness when her father died, and she found healing and support from her American Baptist congregation. In seminary she learned to navigate the tension between her personal freedom and relational connections amid the challenges of classroom and chapel. Joanna's relationships—with friends, teachers, co-workers, and parishioners—offer a unique shared space, sometimes filled with innovative possibility, other times polarized by hostility. Each of Joanna's major life stories highlight the relational and gendered character of her wounds, healing, losses, gifts, insight, vision, and vocation.

Most accounts of Southern Baptist schism, academic and partisan, leave the relational and gendered character of the story as subtext, but for clergywomen and many other Baptists, the story of schism unfolded mainly in the relational spaces of their lives.[1] Joanna's story of navigating relational woundedness and healing, rupture and renewal, opens up a way of reinterpreting Baptist politics as a relational space shaped by enduring Baptist tensions of belief and practice. In the same way Joanna negotiates a variety of tensions between her self-understanding and her

relationships with others to make life choices, so Baptists on a large scale negotiated a host of psychological tensions that are embedded in their historic principles. At times in Baptist history, these negotiations resulted in growth and greater connection. However, during some extended periods, such as the battles between biblicists and autonomists in the SBC from 1979 to 2000, growing hostility dissolved the creative negotiations, polarizing the Southern Baptist world into new splinter groups. The analysis in this chapter moves back and forth between Joanna's story and the larger story of Baptists negotiating five perennial tensions of belief and practice—salvation and calling, soul competency, the priesthood of all believers, voluntary association, and the separation of church and state—demonstrating how Baptist polity is a relational and psychological set of negotiations.

Joanna's story also highlights the gendered character of the schism. In the relational space of Baptist life, roles for men and women are produced and reproduced, and they are complicated and challenged by individual actors like Joanna. In her "constant drive to integration" and "creating a new thing," Joanna found ways to serve God creatively and meaningfully while challenging the Baptist restrictions on her as a woman. By drawing on her Baptist piety and also feminist convictions, Joanna and her friends explored new dimensions of salvation and calling, claiming the Baptist tradition of prophetic critique and the competency of each individual to question the tradition itself with God's guidance. Joanna challenged the culture of complementarity that rests within the priesthood of all believers, overcoming her woundedness and learning to manage her gifts and insights for ministry. Later she found herself pastoring a church in isolation, exposing Baptists' troublesome devotion to rugged individualism, which keeps pastoral and congregational associations tenuously connected. And when she led her church through the crisis of September 11, 2001, she came up against the challenges of separation of church and state. Joanna's negotiations of Baptist tensions open a space that allows a reinterpretation of schism in the SBC as both a relational rupture and time of renewal.

Joanna's Story

Joanna grew up in a "kind of Catholic" family and rarely attended church. Her parents lived "on the radical edge" of Roman Catholicism, working for social justice and "teaching adult education classes for the NAACP [National Association for the Advancement of Colored People]" organized by a local priest. Joanna attended a few years of Catholic grade school. Her first grade teacher, Sister Mary Charles, was "the most influential person" from that period of her life, and she gave Joanna the nickname "Joy." Joanna says she "loved singing in Mass," and her favorite song was "Spirit God in the Clear Running Water."[2]

As a child Joanna was rarely exposed to other Christian groups and held a rather poor opinion of Baptists. Her first up-close view came from the kitchen of a

Southern Baptist camp where she worked summers as a teenager fending off Baptist teens who tried to proselytize her. She recalls, "I went in a lapsed Catholic and left agnostic." Joanna was "shocked and flabbergasted" that anyone would "treat Catholics as though they weren't Christian." She was quite surprised to find herself a few years later in college attending an American Baptist church with "a real focus on community" and social justice. Although she had "sworn off" religion, the enthusiasm of her friends about First Baptist Russetville, the charisma and influence of a young pastor and his family, and food and hospitality for college students drew Joanna into the community. Having worked as a camp counselor, scouting leader, and swimming instructor, Joanna delighted in working again with children. At First Baptist she found people "who thought your faith actually mattered in your day-to-day life." The community nurtured and shaped Joanna's Baptist piety and invited her to consider a pastoral vocation.[3]

Quickly Joanna became fully involved in the life of the church, working with children, taking part in a Bible study, occasionally leading worship, and feeling a genuine part of the community. In the small congregation where everyone shared ministry, she assumed that she would continue on that path but did not see herself "being dependent on a church for an income." Following college and several job-related moves, Joanna returned again to First Baptist, working and earning her MBA in the evenings. When she graduated from business school, she opened a financial services firm in Dayton. Soon she discovered not all American Baptist churches are oriented to justice and community.

At First Baptist, Joanna worked with children, teaching them music. One day she was teaching the song "Behold What Manner of Love." The song repeats the lines, "Behold what manner of love the Father has given unto us / That we should be called the sons of God."[4] Rather than teach the song with "sons," she changed the word to "children" to make the song more inclusive. She recalls, "I don't think I even changed the word 'Father.' This was the eighties!" One of the children who had learned the song before complained, "Why did you change the words? It's supposed to be 'sons!'" Joanna recalls that before she could respond, another little girl piped up and said, "Well, we're not all boys, you know." Joanna said to herself, "Okay, thank you, I'm done."

While she was in graduate school Joanna's father died. However, she recalls the grief did not prevent her from doing well. In fact, she says, "I get better at school when I'm depressed. I make better grades . . . I can do schoolwork. I just can't do people work." His death and the death of one of her brothers from human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) put Joanna on a quest to come to terms with the fact that two family members had sexually abused her. Her experience of surviving sexual abuse and her desire to confront the issues in a larger way had an impact on her career path. It became one of several concerns to converge and prompt Joanna to attend seminary. Other influences included her love of arts, music, and drama; a concern, love, and

advocacy for children, particularly those who survived abuse; and her experience and relational connections in her church and with progressive Baptists.

Joanna recalls her decision to go to seminary was a matter of personal exploration.[5] Ordination was a possibility but not a priority. She says, "I really felt called to doing further work on issues of abuse and violence against women and children, and the church's role in that. Or how churches could be pro-active [in changing it]." She saw how the church was complicit in the domination and abuse of its members, particularly those portrayed as "naturally weaker" and in need of protection. She also saw how churches might use their resources to help undo the problems of domination and abuse. Joanna recognized her need to know more, yet not simply *more* knowledge but a particular kind of theological and pastoral knowing that would help her bring change to churches.[6]

Relational connections at Crowder Seminary, and in churches nearby played a significant role in Joanna's choice of schools. Right away she wanted to put her "gifts and passion" to work for the sake of change. Joanna reached out to Safe Haven, a center committed to making religious responses to women who experienced violence, hoping it might be her placement for Crowder's field education program. The staff at Safe Haven and the field education staff at Crowder agreed Joanna could complete an internship if she could find her own source of income. "And so," says Joanna, "I sent out a letter to people and ended up raising about $1,500 for an internship."

Joanna described her choice to go to seminary as "a coalescing" of ideas, skills, and values. She wanted to bring social and ecclesial change "through creative ways, through programs with children, and through the curriculum." And Joanna thought she might need to use her MBA and training to support herself financially in ministry. "Because," she notes, "I knew if I was bringing issues of abuse into churches, it wasn't necessarily going to make me any friends. It wasn't necessarily something you could sustain from the pulpit." Joanna tried to be realistic about the cultural and relational limits of her passion for ministry with survivors of abuse.

Joanna ran into resistance in her first year of seminary, becoming frustrated by the school's assumptions about how "to mold each student into a certain kind of minister" without consideration of past personal experience. In the first week she recalls feeling angry—even furious—at the school's orientation when the seminary dean announced, "When you're buried in this we know what your experience will be." Joanna turned to the person next to her, whom she had just met, and asked, "Did you hear that? How could he possibly know what our experience is? He doesn't know who I am. He knows what they're giving us, but he doesn't know how I personally am going to respond!"

Rather than openness to her skills and experience at the intersection of art and worship, Joanna found the seminary to be among the most "liturgically conservative" places she could imagine. She also discovered that being a Baptist in a non-Baptist

school held its own challenges. She says, "I was outcast because I was Baptist." As an American Baptist in the midst of "a great influx of Southern Baptists," she also endured confusion over the different kinds of Baptists.[7] Later in the semester, Joanna met Darlene, a woman in whom she confided her feelings of total lack of understanding and her personal experience of being "a Baptist, a feminist . . . and being punished for having a life before seminary." It seemed to her students could not "stand out" because the seminary wanted to "mold you to all look the same, so that there was something wrong with admitting you had gifts in certain areas." She questioned her choice of schools. Then Joanna and Darlene decided to put up a sign: "Feminist, front steps, chapel." And they found a group of other "self-identified feminists."

Also in her first year, Joanna discovered the Eleanor Witek Center (EWC) for women in ministry. A faculty researcher from the school hosted a focused conversation about women's experience in seminary. Joanna arrived feeling livid about her classes and ready to vent about her frustrations, but she met with resistance. She recalls that those gathered "got on me for being angry." Joanna remembers thinking, "Wait! I thought this was the gathering of women in ministry?" She found the researcher's response rather "bizarre." The woman told Joanna, "There are people concerned about your being able to be in a church placement." Joanna gave a quick retort: "Well, you know maybe they should come over to [my church] where they can see me in action if they're concerned." She explained that she assumed "people in seminary are here to learn" and could tolerate the criticism. Despite the researcher's stated intention to understand women in ministry, she managed to further alienate and frustrate Joanna and her peers.

The group disbanded and stopped meeting very soon after Joanna's inauspicious beginning with them. However, weeks later, students reformed the group at the EWC, and many confessed to sharing Joanna's feelings of anger and frustration. Joanna recalls that by the midterm of the semester other female students began hearing the regular dismissals of women's top grades because professors were "grading women more easily" or "being softer" on them simply because they were women. Eventually Joanna and Darlene became student co-coordinators of the EWC, and Joanna's connection with two communities of women (the EWC and Hope Haven) became part of her "saving grace," keeping her in seminary. She also won a financial scholarship to pay for her second and third years of school. She considered leaving for an American Baptist school, but her lack of relationships at any of those schools and the new found connections at Crowder prompted her to stay.

Joanna's second year of seminary proved to be more "fun." She co-chaired the EWC and exercised some "authority" using "resources to effect some change." She and her fellow seminarians began to focus their anger in a constructive direction. Joanna and Darlene determined to make their efforts count, taking on "good cop—bad cop" roles to make some change on campus. Joanna says, "I was the pushy, obnoxious one and Darlene could speak up and still look so sweet." They advocated

for EWC to lead a week of chapel services during "child abuse awareness" month. They drew other students into an intentionally shared worship planning group that attended to "specific issues around abuse." The small group of volunteers, mostly women, planned a healing service for the seminary community, modeling something that students could recreate in their churches. Joanna saw the entire process as an important learning moment as she moved toward a vocation of ministry.

The planning group struggled to determine the best healing ritual around which to build a worship service. Some rituals felt too "self-identifying," potentially singling out or shaming survivors. The ritual of anointing created feelings of ambivalence in Joanna and others: "I have a problem with any sort of physical act over someone as an abuse issue." On the other hand, they liked the possibility that women might "reclaim the ritual." For Baptists the ritual carried little meaning.[8] They continued brainstorming until someone said, "I just see colors." And someone else said, "I see colors moving." And someone said, "It must be a dancer," and a creative solution emerged. The planners recruited a liturgical dancer, and Joanna enlisted a little girl from her church to take part in the service.

At the opening of the service, the planners gave permission for worshipers to leave if they felt overwhelmed, unlike churches "where you feel like you have to stay." They arranged in advance for counselors to be present. At the time of the liturgical dance, the little girl rocked a teddy bear and the dancer interpreted a Darrell Adams song, "Holy Spirit, Comforter." The dancer moved all around the child, carrying fabric and creating a weaving, while the soloist sang, "Holy Spirit, Comforter, come and comfort be / Rest our fears, dry our tears, set your children free."[9] Following the solo and interpretive dance, the music continued. A leader invited worshipers to take fabric from a basket and participate in creating the weaving. An amazing thing happened for the planners, says Joanna, "when people came up to do the weaving, the dancer didn't stop. She actually took her cloth and blew on them with the cloth as they came up. And then when they were all done, she made motions blessing the weaving." The planners experienced it as a "wonderful moment." A poem closed the service: "Now we pick up this broken thread, my weaving God and me . . . we do the work of repair. . . . Out of the torn places, I reclaim wholeness. Out of the broken places, I reclaim strength. . . . Out of the horror and the shame and the pain, I reclaim openness, innocence, courage."[10] The service was "an incredible experience" for Joanna and her friends, and the planning modeled the best of ministry for Joanna, clarifying her passion and cultivating her gifts for designing worship services. The work was part of her "constant drive to integration" and "creating a new thing." In the creation Joanna found "a way to live out serving God."

Joanna says in seminary another thing became clear: "I definitely had a prophetic bent to my goal." Her vision emerged for helping churches confront and offer words and rituals "about recovery and healing and acknowledging the vio-

lence and abuse." The prophetic impulse showed up in several notable ways: in her participation and leadership at the EWC, in the healing services, and in her biblical interpretation and preaching classes. Giving voice to violence and abuse in a setting of worship was rare and novel. Inviting stories of survivors into "sacred space" showed worshipers that despite the "horrid language," both biblical and personal stories of harm "belong in church" precisely because "some people's lived reality" needed and deserved acknowledgment.

Joanna recalls how the healing service ritualized "being prophetic within the context of worship." Several worship leaders physically formed a symbolic church building, making "church walls and a steeple" with their bodies while speaking a corporate confession. Joanna and the other planners carefully avoided a confession that said "we as a church" have failed, because, as Joanna notes, "if you say 'we' and everybody thinks it's a collective group of 'I's,' then you could be battering a person further."[11] Instead, the ritual drama enacted "pieces of the church taking ownership" for the violence and abuse. This action allowed worshipers collectively to "state the confession without people necessarily having to own it themselves." The thoughtful theological thinking allowed individuals to "own that part which they're complicit with" but avoid inflicting further harm on survivors of abuse.

From her first Bible and preaching classes Joanna "challenged the church's status quo and complicity with violence in terms of biblical interpretation." She remembers one class in which she called out her peers for using language such as "taking up your cross," "this is my burden to bear," and "women be submissive to your husbands."[12] Joanna says, "You have to apply corrective, and you have to be explicit about your corrective because you have [to know] statistically how many women are in your congregation who are in a battering relationship. And you can't believe 'it doesn't happen here' because it does!"[13]

In her final year of seminary and at the end of a unit of clinical pastoral education, a progressive Baptist church in Virginia hired Joanna as minister of youth and children. During her three years, the pastor retired, and in the months following his retirement, staff conflicts arose and finances fell. A difficult moment came when a layperson in the congregation presented a new annual budget to the staff. When no one else spoke up, Joanna challenged the thinking behind the recommended cuts. She recalls speaking forcefully and the lay leader appearing to be "taken aback." After the meeting Joanna felt relieved that she had avoided a meltdown and had not second-guessed herself. Still, she asked another staff member if she was "out of line." But the staffer said her arguments were "very strong." Others felt less pleased and called the senior interim pastor to complain about Joanna's confrontation. Although no one talked to Joanna directly, the interim pastor, a woman, called a meeting to talk to Joanna about the incident.

As Joanna sorted out the issues, she noticed right away that the layperson and each staff member who complained in the situation was male. At that moment,

says Joanna, "I felt that I hit the glass ceiling." Despite her previous experience as a business person and church finance administrator, she felt limited by the expectations of her present role: "You're a youth and children's minister. What would you know about a budget? Why aren't you staying in your place?" She "felt dismissed," she says. The interim senior minister suggested that Joanna consult with a pastoral counselor, but Joanna felt shamed by the directive: "I literally crawled under my desk after she left my office, I just felt lower than dirt."

When Joanna met with the pastoral counselor to "process her anger," she felt as if she were being assigned to "remedial therapy," assuming her own therapy group inadequate. However, the outcome of her work with the counselor altered Joanna's career and life. In the second session, the counselor asked Joanna, "You get things fast, right?" Joanna replied, "Well, I don't know. I get things. I see things in their larger context. So when this guy's presenting a budget I'm seeing a whole slew of fall-out problems. . . . I see things in a bigger picture." The counselor followed up: "And you see that instantly?" Joanna answered, "Yeah, because it's right there." And then he said: "And you don't get that that's a gift?" Joanna said, "What?"

Joanna focused on the event as "another way my woundedness was coming out . . . and another way I will never be functional in a church." The pastoral counselor persisted: "It's a gift! This isn't out of your woundedness; this is out of your giftedness. . . . You have to learn to manage a gift, but it's a gift." For Joanna the new insight was "a complete narrative shift." She was delighted to see how the actions of her life were not a result of being flawed but because she was really good at something. After her final session, Joanna saw her own role in the situation over the budget more clearly. The counselor urged her to stop taking sole responsibility for a situation in which other members of the staff also played a role. Several months later the entire church staff began as a group to work with the counselor on their conflicts and power dynamics.

In the months that followed, Joanna thought more about her new discovery and what it meant for her pastoral calling. She thought about how to distinguish between "gifts to manage" and "woundedness to recover from." The recovery did not mean she had to "leave the gifts behind." She thought about using her perception and quick insight more patiently, bringing others along. She sums up her learning: "It was a whole new way of thinking. Like, wow! Maybe I could be a solo pastor. I hadn't considered it because I just felt like I couldn't do it, because I was too 'wounded.' Even though I knew I had the skills."

With a newly articulated sense of calling, Joanna attended the next American Baptist Churches USA (ABC-USA) biennial meeting with her résumé in hand. An executive minister told her about a small church that would likely be willing to call her. He said Joanna could bring a new "kind of birth" to Gentry Memorial in three to five years. The search committee at Gentry Memorial Baptist Church in Turner, Illinois, presented Joanna to the congregation. The church initially voted

no. A church member, serving as interim pastor, appeared to undermine the vote. The district ABC-USA minister intervened, and the interim pastor left the congregation. Several weeks later the church voted again, calling Joanna as their pastor at thirty hours per week. She recalls, "In retrospect I shouldn't have [accepted the call], but at the time I didn't have anybody to counsel with me."

Joanna's "honeymoon period" with the church went well, and she led them in choosing a new hymnal. The same shift in self-understanding that led her to the pastorate also allowed Joanna to "consider being a single parent." She recalls parenting as another opportunity to "manage gifts" rather than "wallow in woundedness." Joanna adopted her son Lawson when he was sixteen months old and believes the adoption extended the church honeymoon.

Eighteen months into the pastorate problems began to arise, including a difference of opinion about the best way to teach and lead youth, a concern about the ineffectiveness of the financial secretary (which the church board insisted Joanna should handle), and the fallout from September 11, 2001. Joanna did not have a partner for ministry or parenting, and she became increasingly isolated in a relatively new church. As problems escalated, Joanna still lacked anyone to whom she could turn for counsel.

On the first Sunday following 9/11, Joanna preached a "comforting sermon" with guidance from materials provided by the Baptist Peace Fellowship, including letters of lament and support from around the world. In the weeks that followed, Joanna's gifts of seeing things quickly and contextually, and her "prophetic bent," led her to see clearly "the drums for war were accelerating." She felt compelled to preach against war: "This was not the way to respond to the terrorism" and "as Christians we stand in a different place than we do as citizens." She questioned the direction of the U.S. government. Her choices put distance between her and the congregation. Some responded to her with subtlety. However, she recalls, "one guy confronted me directly: 'I don't have to hear this, I shouldn't have to hear my government being critiqued in church.'" But Joanna was not wrong. "The bombs started flying two weeks later," she recalls. "I didn't misread the drumbeats."

As the relationship between Joanna and the congregation deteriorated, she says things took on an "aura of disrespectfulness." For instance, a church member who cleaned the church broke a microphone in the sanctuary, only taping it back together. Then, says Joanna, he "tried to fix it standing right in front of me while I'm trying to make announcements. . . . It was just bizarre." Joanna believed he would not have treated a man in the same way. In October, Joanna led a "Children's Sabbath" service, including stories about children's exposure to violence in their homes and after 9/11. Some thought the stories "too graphic." Joanna took the precaution of consulting with Bob, a church member and pastor search committee chair, who supported her choices. Nevertheless, complaints from the congregation grew louder. Some thought Joanna only "preached about women." Bob said, "Well

she's preaching from the lectionary, so frankly that's what the stories are about."[14] Joanna also learned the church was paying her and staying afloat financially with funds borrowed prior to her arrival. The money would run out eventually. She decided to study for the certified public accountant exam to supplement her income.

Finally all the intense factors converged, making a miserable situation for Joanna and prompting her decision to resign. She waited until Lawson's adoption was complete before announcing it. "I couldn't stand getting up in the pulpit any longer," she says. "I felt . . . such absolute disrespect." She asked laypeople to lead the pastoral prayer. She recalls thinking, "I just can't do it. I can't pray in front of these people. I barely survived. I lived through the end of May and a couple of weeks into June. They paid me through the end of June. In many ways I wished I'd waited until they ran out of money because I let them off the hook for making hard decisions. I felt like I did. But I had to be self-protected. And I had to get out." Within a year following Joanna's departure, the small church folded under the weight of internal conflict, power struggles, and financial distress.

After leaving Gentry Memorial, Joanna returned to the financial services industry and searched for a place where she might also engage again in full-time ministry. A solo pastorate with its demands and isolation seemed "crazy-making" rather than appealing to her, fueling her ambivalence. Today, Joanna would like to be part of a ministry team or to serve as a co-pastor. Yet a ministry built on complementarity in which "team members" are required to be subordinate to a senior pastor is not appealing to her, and ministry outside of Baptist circles fails for her at the point of polity and practice. As for her gender, Joanna says she wishes being a woman would "just be a fact" and not a major "issue." It frustrates her that "just because you have a white man in the pulpit that's a non-issue because that's a normative, while being a woman is not the normative." She would like to minister where she is neither "dismissed because I'm a woman" nor "feared because I'm a woman."

Reflecting back on her wider journey, Joanna says that despite feeling derailed after leaving Gentry Memorial, she always felt a sense of "progression," that she learned something that led her to each next place. Her life holds "a constant drive to integrate all the facets." Her calling is "to find a place where . . . who I am as an intellectual is not in a different place than who I am as a youth and children's minister . . . not compartments for my gifts." Her life's entire journey, Joanna says, has been "a way to live out ministry, a way to live out serving God [as] God is calling me at that juncture."

Reinterpreting Schism as Relational Rupture and Renewal

Joanna's story reveals the relational and gendered character of Baptist polity and reinterprets schism as a rending and renewing of relational connections. Because

Baptists lack formal doctrinal agreement, and structures for organizing are minimal, they operate most immediately within a set of tensions of belief and practice, which usually remain tacit yet offer durable relational patterns for Baptist life. Each pair of tensions holds a creative and improvisational space, yet they can pull contentiously against one another coloring the relationships with conflict and hostility, making way for polarization and eventual schism. Within each tension, gender plays its part, and the gendered character of each tension came into sharp relief when clergywomen took leading roles in the world of Baptists and moved from margins to center stage.

Baptists in the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s often referred to the struggles in the SBC in militaristic terms: "holy war," "hostile takeover," or "resurgence." Written analysis, both partisan and academic, used terms such as "uneasy," "crisis," "dissent," "struggle," "politics," and "battles," capturing the character of the changes. Biblical images such as Babylonian captivity, exile, and "God's last and only hope" emerged to describe the subsequent rift in Baptist life.[15] These images illustrate the sheer size of the changes for those living through three decades of it, particularly those who departed the SBC. However, none of them quite portray the relational character of the losses with their titles or their arguments. Like America's Civil War of the 1860s, the divisions in Baptist life were personal, familial, and relational (as well as geographical and political).[16] Baptist polity itself rests on kinship and other relational networks. Examining schism by starting in the firsthand stories of women in ministry reveals the relational character of the changes, conflicts, and renewals. Because Baptist polity lives and dies on relational networks and connections, the schism was an unavoidably relational struggle, deeply personal and grievous yet holding potential for healing.

Examining Joanna's story in terms of five major historical tensions in Baptist life displays the relational and gendered character of Baptist polity.[17] Focusing on relational dynamics shows how the stakes of schism were personal as well as political, and how the stage was set for a crisis to unfold.[18] Each pair of Baptist tensions is discernible where belief and practice can be observed publically, and they are internalized as psychological models for human relating.[19] Baptists carry forward these patterns of thought and action unintentionally but enduringly.[20] Baptist clergywomen decentered stories of *salvation and calling* among Baptists, exposing the subplot of God's care for the vulnerable and the harmed and God's call to those without political power to subvert the power available to them, remaking space for healing changes. Women embraced their own *soul competency* to speak prophetically and enact corrective for relational harms committed in the name of Scripture, church, and religion, thereby reinterpreting schism as a time of undoing complementarity and embracing relational mutuality. As women reframed their personal stories to embrace their gifts and calling as full members of the *priesthood of all believers,* they also changed the larger Baptist story, revealing a subtext of gender

inequality and shifting the relational power to lay groundwork for renewal of the breakaway groups and retrenchment among those who stayed with the SBC.

Women serving as solo pastors experienced a pervasive and chronic isolation, felt by many men before them, a practical side effect of *voluntary association;* however, women's stories challenged the brokenness of Baptists' rugged individualism, and they highlighted the ways that schism unfolded as an extended struggle over how Baptists should or could cooperate. Although Baptist parties fought openly over the *separation of church and state* in the 1980s and 1990s, women's leadership—amid tremendous differences of opinion—highlights a subplot of relational deficit, a lack of capacity for recognizing the other and staying connected through conflict, setting the groundwork for separation, distance, and, finally, schism.

Joanna grew up "kind of Catholic," but as a teen and young adult, she encountered Baptists at two extremes: pushy proselytizing campers and welcoming hospitable church community. In college Joanna joined First Baptist Church Russetville, where "faith actually mattered in your day-to-day life." Becoming a Baptist Christian grounded Joanna relationally in the communities of First Baptist and the larger network of progressive Baptists. They shaped Joanna's piety, Christian feminism, and vocation, nurturing her faith and connecting it with her love of children and the arts. The congregation remained her primary support through college, graduate school, the death of her father, and facing her coming to terms with childhood sexual abuse. As Joanna encountered her relational woundedness, and that of others, she articulated a prophetic calling to engage communities of faith and make much needed change. The church blessed and supported her choice to attend seminary.

Two influential views of salvation and calling coexist in Baptist history and context. "Dramatic conversion" offers a psychological view of salvation that idealizes personal change, framing it as an individual experience of the divine—unmediated by anyone or anything.[21] In contrast, the "nurturing process" understands salvation and calling as human change over time that is relational, gradual, and infused with the sacred.[22] Both views offer psychological models of human change that require the interaction, support, and recognition of others. Neither model exists in isolation, although one may take public or rhetorical prominence in a given community. Both models depend on divine and human relationships as indispensable for Baptist conversion.[23]

Southern Baptist and American Baptist churches offer cradle-to-grave programming that shapes Baptist piety for faithful living. They sponsor traditional preaching revivals and circulate historical stories, which expect, even demand, singular moments of repentance and conversion as a way to salvation. Across four centuries, the creative tension between these two psychological models of human change contributed to notable growth in Baptist adherents.[24]

Although salvation holds an egalitarian impulse, vocation in Baptist history and polity has decidedly gendered overtones. Calling may be for everyone, but the

call to ministry is usually reserved for boys and men. Like salvation, a calling to ministry may come dramatically, as if from outside, to a single person, who can then respond with individual agency. Or a calling may be nurtured over time, with communal support, guidance, and relational give and take. In practice, both salvation and calling unfold in immediate, dramatic ways and gradual, nurturing ways, defying any neat fit into either category *and* making the notion of tension useful. Salvation and vocation are not singular, autonomous, or isolated decisions. Both are relationally grounded, putting faith and vocation at stake in every aspect of life. The dynamics of gender are challenged, negotiated, and changed precisely within the tension of these relational spaces.

To work out her call to ministry, Joanna used relational connections and networking skills to choose a school, navigate her time in seminary, and raise funds for her field education placement. When she felt alienated in seminary classrooms, she found part of her "saving grace" in her connection with women's groups that offered peer support for women seminarians, ministry to survivors of abuse, and worship for the seminary community. Worship embodied Joanna's vocation to engage churches with questions about abuse, violence, and healing. The chapel services openly named the harm and expressed a healing impulse. Joanna was not defined solely by her status as a victim, or even as a survivor, of sexual abuse.[25] She acted with agency and made connections rather than waiting passively or submitting in isolation to her situation.[26]

In Baptist culture, particularly among ministers, most things happen through networking. Southern Baptists know one another through multigenerational connections of church membership, summer camps, college, seminary, kinship ties, business affiliations, and more.[27] In the absence of official hierarchies and formal doctrinal requirements, a relational network teaches the knowledge and skills for individual spiritual formation, group growth, cultivating leadership, organizing volunteers, raising funds, gaining political power, and making change. Ministers make networking an art form, and longstanding bonds of loyalty raise the relational, emotional, and material stakes when any disagreement or crisis arises. Baptist schism was not only a protracted political argument but also a deeply relational drama requiring negotiations of meaning, faith, and purpose played out in innumerable personal and communal relationships.

A significant but ignored subtext of the schism took shape in women's work to examine and transform abuse, violence, and relational woundedness. Women working for personal and communal healing from physical and relational wounds embodied an immediate and practical kind of salvation. Some women, like Joanna, embraced vocations of naming and confessing sins of domination, abuse, violence, and submission. Joanna and her seminary peers took on the task of subjectifying themselves in an environment where they felt objectified or dismissed. They subverted the power available to them to gain space for making change. And finally,

they drew out the subtleties and subtexts of relational woundedness and the collusion of the church in harming its most vulnerable members, making room for lament, grief, and healing, all of which became occasions for transformative creativity.[28] As actors in one another's stories, clergywomen changed the story of the unfolding schism, enacting important subplots, exposing subtexts, and decentering the very subject of the story.[29] They lived in the tension between nurturing process and dramatic conversion, drawing on the language and imagery of the Spirit's energy and power for healing and transforming the lives of Baptists, especially the most vulnerable, who typically did not reside at the political and theological center of the schism.

At her non-Baptist seminary, Joanna felt alienated and "outcast" as an American Baptist surrounded by Southern Baptists, as a feminist, and even for "having a life before seminary." She got the message that the seminary wanted to shape students in a uniform way rather than focus on individual gifts or call. Eventually Joanna pulled together a group of "self-identified feminists," and over the next three years, they claimed the power of "corrective" or prophetic critique from the Baptist tradition to engage worship, Scripture, and tradition in classroom and chapel. Joanna felt especially concerned to make use of this critique to correct misappropriations of Scripture and practices of worship that supported violence against women and children. She and her friends both created and discovered new ways to see, understand, and relate to human frailty and vulnerability. They made use of their religious traditions to critique those traditions by enacting care, lament, and healing through embodied worship, preaching, and Scripture interpretation. In their actions they "undid" the split of complementarity and embodied a new mutuality.

Baptists' longstanding commitment to the corrective of biblical prophetic traditions places the individual believer within the religious tradition to critique, change, or improve the tradition based on her or his sense of the situation and God's leading. Baptists call this particular baptistic commitment "soul competency."[30] The commitment holds in tension an individual's internal wisdom and authority (or liberty of conscience) and the external wisdom and authority of Scripture and tradition. The two convictions create an intertwining psychological model for understanding how Baptists relate to history, tradition, the sacred, and the communal. The tension of soul competency also makes space for Baptists both to create and to discover a sense of authority for decision making.[31] On one side is the belief and practice of "individual liberty of conscience," a psychological model of personal autonomy drawing on the authority of immediate religious experience for interpreting traditions and texts of faith. On the other side is the longstanding Baptist commitment to the authority of Scriptures, a psychological model that defers to the biblical canon up as the final (or only) word on matters of faith, giving direction to one's choices and actions.

The problem of gender in soul competency is immediate and demanding. Biblical texts and traditions offer conflicting rules and roles for men and women. Ancient cultures of patriarchy called for male protection of women, children, and society's vulnerable members. The same patriarchal cultures also sanctioned violence against the vulnerable.[32] Faith communities negotiate this tension in endless variations as they move back and forth between questions of authority, biblical revelation, the experience of members, and meanings of texts and traditions in new times and places. When the creative tension between individual liberty of conscience (and personal experience of the sacred) and the authority of Scripture breaks down, understandings of gender are often split and polarized, allowing, and even condoning violence and harm.

Speaking and acting from the perspective and experiences of harm to women and children, Joanna and her friends searched for a new locus of authority. They took seriously the need for healing and the call for mutual collaboration in the community of faith. They created new rituals for worship out of a mutually shared and creative process. They honored the authority of women's experience as a source for interpretation. They made space for women to decide, act, and bring corrective to the harms that churches tolerated and perpetrated in worship and scriptural interpretation. In the schism, the autonomist party championed equality and mutuality for men and women in the name of individual liberty of conscience, while the biblicist party defended complementarity as the authoritative scriptural model for relationships between men and women. Neither party could claim freedom from responsibility in the harm of vulnerable people.[33] The season of schism was a struggle over the proper forms of authority by which Baptists would live, and clergywomen highlighted the trouble that emerges when a creative tension melts away or when the authority of biblical texts goes unchecked by the experiences of those harmed in the name of the Bible and its particular harmful texts or in the name of God. Joanna and others pointed out the failures of complementarity when it leads to violence and abuse, and they offered a corrective by exposing the problems and embodying a new form of work, worship, and mutual care.

Joanna took her first full-time ministry job working with children and families in a progressive Baptist congregation where the staff thought of their work as collaborative and mutual.[34] Nevertheless, the milieu for making decisions and navigating conflicts held a longstanding tension between ordained clergy and church laity. When Joanna challenged a lay leader over the possible impact of his proposed budget, she crossed several boundaries of power, gender, and staff role. In the follow-up meeting with the interim pastor, Joanna says she felt "lower than dirt," as if her supervisor dismissed her to "remedial therapy," and like she had hit a stained-glass ceiling.[35] However, when a pastoral counselor accompanied Joanna through understanding her intelligence and quick insight as "gifts to be managed" rather than "woundedness to be healed," Joanna experienced "a complete narrative

shift" and developed a new self-understanding.[36] Her newfound sense of giftedness led to an improvement in the working relationships for the entire church staff. When Joanna's relational and narrative life changed, so did the wider community and system.

Joanna's freedom, as with that of every other Baptist, operates within structures of Baptist polity and participates in a form of communal discernment and leadership understood as the "priesthood of all believers." Decision-making authority and leadership in Baptist churches are bound up in a congregational polity. Discernment takes place in local churches with guidance from the Scriptures and the Spirit of God in Christ, rather than being the sole domain of pastors, bishops, or authorities beyond the local church.[37] The practice holds in tension understandings and expectations about how ordained clergy and others in the church function as leaders. The tension between clergy and laity in Baptist congregations can be at times creative and at other times polarizing. Through four centuries women led Baptists in a multitude of ways, even on occasion garnering official recognition as clergy.[38] Yet the gendered character of the tension in the priesthood of all believers is clear. Until the last fifty years, the clergy side of the equation has (almost always) been understood as the domain of men, while men and women populated the laity side and women usually constitute more than half of Baptist congregations and most of its volunteer work force.

As women entered into ministry more consistently and transgressed the implicit yet clearly marked boundaries between clergy and laity, they bumped their heads on stained-glass ceilings. The change created conflict, yet with patient relational work, clergywomen also gained greater clarity of call, and as they shifted their own narratives from "woundedness and liability" to "giftedness and call," the stories of other Baptists around them also changed. The multiple layers of subtext regarding gender are exposed in stories like Joanna's, reframing what it means to be a Baptist leader. The relational work of clergywomen creatively changed long-held understandings of Baptist polity. The years of schism in the SBC extended and expanded relational shifts already happening in situations in which women were bumping their heads on stained-glass ceilings. As women took action, leading congregations and learning to manage their gifts, they contributed to a groundswell of change that invited both renewal and retrenchment among Southern Baptists.

Joanna's new self-understanding that her insight and intelligence were gifts and skills, not wounds or liabilities, renewed her imagination for future possibilities.[39] Her sense of prophetic vision, love of arts and worship planning, and experiences of leading came together in a decision to seek the role of solo pastor.[40] However, relational conflict in a supportive and collaborative setting is dramatically different from the isolation and eventual crisis that Joanna faced in her ministry at Gentry Memorial. From college, Joanna relied on numerous relational connections to support her discernment and decision making. Yet in the decision to take the call and in

subsequent conflicts at Gentry Memorial, Joanna worked without adequate counsel. Seclusion, loneliness, and lack of support for leaders of small churches can be troublesome. Joanna's struggles became especially acute as a single parent, as a first-time solo pastor, and at a geographical distance from her communities of support.[41]

The isolation experienced by Joanna was shaped by a commitment in Baptist polity to the belief and practice of "voluntary association," animating the Baptist ethos since the church's seventeenth-century beginnings. Baptists reject coercion and interference from external authorities on any religious body. Each local Baptist church is autonomous and does not answer to any other spiritual authority (group, individual, ecclesiastical, or governmental) outside of God and their congregation. Yet Baptists learned early to accomplish certain tasks and guard against isolation by way of mutual cooperation between churches, retaining the benefits of connectionalism without so many hindrances. Often churches assumed doctrinal agreement for such cooperation, but as Baptists grew in doctrinal diversity, they still found ways to cooperate for larger purposes, such as theological education, missionary work, publishing, and social justice, even when they did not agree on every doctrine.[42] These two psychological models of group relationships hold self-sufficiency, individualism, and containment of "local church autonomy" in tension with relational and connected networks in "associational cooperation."

In practice, the difficulty of these two different psychological models of group relationships shows up in a pervasive isolation among churches and ministers. Pastors must find whatever support they can muster on their own. The underbelly of Baptists' rugged individualism is a freedom with little or no relational support. The chronic isolation leads to a host of ecclesial and personal problems. After benefiting from years of nurturing, supportive, and challenging relationships, Joanna became a pastor and moved out on her own in a profound new way.

In the years of Baptist schism, autonomists usually took up the side of "associational cooperation" as their cause. They, after all, wanted to save the SBC, the world's largest cooperating body of Baptists.[43] Leaders in the biblicist party, however, often came from churches that lacked cooperative relationships beyond their own walls. Ironically, biblicists built "megachurches" as virtual minidenominations on multi-million-dollar campuses, complete with schools, businesses, restaurants, retirement villages, and scores of paid staff.[44] Notably, megachurch pastors organized a campaign to win control of the convention's decision-making apparatus. As the parties split, each group coalesced around particular doctrinal standards for belonging that opposed the other party. They also split the creative tension of Baptist polity and practice. Women entering ministry tested cooperation among Baptists doctrinally, and they literally became a test of fellowship in Baptist associations, the local proving ground for "associational cooperation."[45]

The skirmishes revealed a more chronic and devastating problem for Baptists: the sheer lack of connection and support necessary for pastoral effectiveness.[46]

When men burn out, give up, or become embroiled in controversy with their congregations, the story doesn't make headline news. But when isolation takes its toll on women, because female pastors remain novelties, it becomes a kind of "evidence" that it wasn't going to work anyway.[47]

Schism in the SBC was an extended negotiation over how and why Baptists could or should cooperate. The arguments about cooperation often took the public form of doctrinal and political differences. In both parties women's ordination and leadership shows up as a doctrinal and political "problem." However, the stories of women's pastoral leadership shows how a deeper struggle was at stake over the question of the need for cooperation and support. Their stories highlight the brokenness of the rugged individualism model. Relationality and personal networking are the bread and butter of Baptist life, the connective social tissue of the denomination. The story of chronic and debilitating isolation is surely present in the narratives of clergymen, but the losses and early disruptions to pastoral relationships between women and their congregations became more visible.[48] And the clergywomen's stories highlight the troubles with autonomy and the indispensible need for voluntary cooperation.

Joanna's conviction that "as Christians we stand in a different place than we do as citizens," and her commitment to speak out against violence, directed her to choices in preaching and leadership that distanced and eventually alienated her from her congregation. She and the congregation moved beyond the honeymoon period at Gentry Memorial when the tragedy of September 11, 2001, struck. She responded the first Sunday with a sermon of comfort and lament, and in the following weeks she preached a prophetic call of justice for innocents and plead for resistance to war. Differences of opinion are unavoidable, but when the differences are over something as significant as war, the challenge to maintain openness and relational connection increases. Some members of Gentry disagreed with Joanna, and they grew increasingly distant and conflicted. Joanna's attempt to maintain the relational connections while offering an unpopular opinion was complicated by the collapse of other aspects of her relationship to the congregation, including theology and finances.

Baptists have championed the "separation of church and state" from its earliest days in U.S. history. At one side stands the ideal of "religious liberty," which is a psychological construction of independence and autonomy for churches and individuals to be free from interference and coercion from state authorities in matters of faith, religion, or conscience. The other side of the tension is "loyalty to the state," which insists on the necessity of a free state to ensure (or enforce) the freedom of religion for every group and individual. The tension can be a creative space for negotiation or a foreclosed space haunted by fighting and hostile disagreement.[49]

Some Protestants born in the Reformation envisioned a renewed Christian church that continued to share power with the state. However, Baptists, Anabap-

tists, and other reformers imagined a more radical free church in a free state. The freedom went beyond toleration of other religious groups toward allowing liberty of conscience to every citizen to follow any religion (or no religion) of their choosing.[50] Psychologically, the separation of church and state can be understood as a social and political expression that allows mutual recognition of differences between individuals with far reaching consequences. During the years of SBC schism, biblicists questioned the historicity of this Baptist ideal and began to advocate for the ideal of a "Christian nation," which reunited church and state in both subtle and more overt ways. Autonomists continued to call for a clear separation between church and state as well as religious liberty for all citizens.[51]

A corollary of the separation of church and state is the freedom for religious leaders to criticize publically the actions taken by their government without fear of state retribution. Joanna's quick insight into what was coming after the events of 9/11 was supported by her view of the separation of church and state and her religious obligation to speak out against violence. However, some church members heard her sermon as disloyal to the country (a widespread reaction during the months following 9/11). They reacted with criticism, but also by withdrawing relationally from their pastor. The tension between the two views of separation of church and state broke down at this point, and Joanna was perceived as disloyal and unpatriotic. The congregation could not recognize Joanna's location within a Baptist tradition of dissent, nor as one free to speak with conviction about an unpopular point of view.

The story shows how gender can work subtly to undermine the relational stability of a situation even when gender does not seem to be a major factor. In the midst of the breakdown of many tensions, Joanna says she felt disrespect and heard complaints related directly to her gender. Meanwhile, Southern Baptists fought openly over disputes about religious liberty and separation of church and state. The SBC defunded the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs (BJC), replacing it with the Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission. The Alliance and CBF picked up on funding the BJC. However, more widespread was the relational breakdown borne out of many kinds of polarizing differences. Parallel to Joanna's story, a widespread lack of recognition and respect for the differences of others, followed by criticism and relational withdrawal, fueled the growth of alternative Baptist groups, and fostered disparity and distance from each other. In the end Baptists split over many disputes and conflicts, including an experience of relational breakdown with little healing or repair in sight.

By the final months of her pastorate, nearly every relational space between Joanna and her congregation had collapsed. The mutual recognition between people and pastor was gone, replaced by an "aura of disrespect." Feelings of destruction or desolation became overwhelming, and Joanna felt she "barely survived" the end of her time at Gentry Memorial. The failures were not simply relational.

The historical tensions of Baptist life between clergy and laity, between religious liberty and loyalty to the state, between liberty of conscience and authority of the Scriptures, and between associational cooperation and church autonomy shaped the psychological context of Gentry Memorial, and many other Baptist churches and relationships, contributing to local and large-scale breakdowns and conflicts.

When the creative tensions failed, members of the congregation saw Joanna as inadequate as a clergyperson, disloyal as a citizen, and incompetent to handle the Scriptures. Neither Joanna nor her congregation benefitted from accountability or support beyond the local church. Much of the blame and guilt that accompanied these breakdowns was cast as a problem of gender by Joanna *and* by her congregants. The breakdown of mutual recognition and respect moved those in otherwise intimate relationships from seeing each other as equal subjects toward seeing each other as problems, increasing the potential for harm and multiplying wounds.[52] In the end both Joanna and the congregation lost something vital.

The dynamics of polarization and splitting in the SBC unfolded in a parallel fashion. A decade into the schism, autonomists held turf at one pole of every tension in Baptist life and biblicists staked out positions at the other pole of tension. Autonomists contended for empowerment of the laity, women's ordained ministry, and equality and mutuality in home, church, and society. Biblicists argued for a greater authority of the male (only) pastor and complementarian marriages and families. Biblicists called for a return to school prayer and the acceptance of a Christian nation. Autonomists insisted on religious liberty for everyone and a clear separation between church and state. Autonomists rallied to a cry of liberty. Biblicists marched under the banner of a return to the Bible. Biblicists assumed local churches (especially mega churches) and dramatic, individual salvation to be hallmarks of Baptist identity. Autonomists assumed widespread cooperation (emblemized in the SBC's Cooperative Program) and community nurture of calling and salvation to be the marks of the genuine Baptist heritage. Sermons, news stories, and each party's journal traded insults and criticism. Biblicists accused autonomists of putting the SBC under the "curse of liberalism" and called them "skunks" and the "fanatic fringe." Autonomists said biblicists used "dinosaur rhetoric," "intimidation," and "hostile forces of harassment."[53]

Autonomists interpreted their own departure from the SBC as a "renewal movement" born out of conflict. Biblicists often refer the split as a "conservative resurgence," seeing a reassertion of tradition, especially in relation to roles for men and women, as an energizing victory.[54] Every struggle and victory in the years of schism was unavoidably relational in character. Competing psychologies of how to engage one another are woven into the very fabric of Baptist polity and practice, giving rise at times in Baptist history to creative, improvisational relations. The same tensions, however, when they collapse, become a source of political hostility and relational rupture.

As an empowered actor in her own story and the stories of others, Joanna changed lives and communities around her. After reframing her sense of woundedness into a sense of giftedness, Joanna pursued her call to pastoral ministry with creativity. When these creative tensions fell into conflict, severing the ties of love, money, and shared history, Joanna felt the pain and "crazy-making" dynamics of church leadership. Her story articulates the relational pain of broken Baptist tensions, and it points to the parallel situation of the schism, which was a poignant relational split for many Southern Baptists. Bonds of love, kinship, and history fostered a loyalty to Baptist principles and relationships, which in the end were painful to sever. Yet the durability of the relational and creative space in Baptist life also endured beyond the schism, allowing each group to renew its vision for life together.

Appendix A

Resolution on Ordination and the Role of Women in Ministry

June 1984

WHEREAS, We, the messengers to the Southern Baptist Convention meeting in Kansas City, June 12–14, 1984, recognize the authority of Scripture in all matters of faith and practice including the autonomy of the local church; and

WHEREAS, The New Testament enjoins all Christians to proclaim the gospel; and

WHEREAS, The New Testament churches as a community of faith recognized God's ordination and anointing of some believers for special ministries (e.g., 1 Timothy 2:7; Titus 1:15) and in consequence of their demonstrated loyalty to the gospel, conferred public blessing and engaged in public dedicatory prayer setting them apart for service; and

WHEREAS, The New Testament does not mandate that all who are divinely called to ministry be ordained; and

WHEREAS, In the New Testament, ordination symbolizes spiritual succession to the world task of proclaiming and extending the gospel of Christ, and not a sacramental transfer of unique divine grace that perpetuates apostolic authority; and

WHEREAS, The New Testament emphasizes the equal dignity of men and women (Gal. 3:28) and that the Holy Spirit was at Pentecost divinely outpoured on men and women alike (Acts 2:17); and

WHEREAS, Women as well as men prayed and prophesied in public worship services (1 Cor. 11:2–16), and Priscilla joined her husband in teaching Apollos (Acts 18:26), and women fulfilled special church service-ministries as exemplified by Phoebe whose work Paul tributes as that of a servant of the church (Rom. 16:1); and

WHEREAS, The Scriptures attest to God's delegated order of authority (God the head of Christ, Christ the head of man, man the head of woman, man and woman dependent one upon the other to the glory of God) distinguishing the roles of men and women in public prayer and prophecy (1 Cor. 11:2–5); and

WHEREAS, The Scriptures teach that women are not in public worship to assume a role of authority over men lest confusion reign in the local church (1 Cor. 14:33–36); and

WHEREAS, While Paul commends women and men alike in other roles of ministry and service (Titus 2:1–10), he excludes women from pastoral leadership (1 Tim. 2:12) to preserve a submission God requires because the man was first in creation and the woman was first in the Edenic fall (1 Tim. 2:13ff); and

WHEREAS, These Scriptures are not intended to stifle the creative contribution of men and women as co-workers in many roles of church service, both on distant mission fields and in domestic ministries, but imply that women and men are nonetheless divinely gifted for distinctive areas of evangelical engagement; and

WHEREAS, Women are held in high honor for their unique and significant contribution to the advancement of Christ's kingdom, and the building of godly homes should be esteemed for its vital contribution to developing personal Christian character and Christlike concern for others.

Therefore, be it RESOLVED, That we not decide concerns of Christians doctrine and practice by modern cultural, sociological, and ecclesiastical trends or by emotional factors; that we remind ourselves of the dearly bought Baptist principle of the final authority of Scripture in matters of faith and conduct; and that we encourage the service of women in all aspects of church life and work other than pastoral functions and leadership roles entailing ordination.

Kansas City, Missouri

Appendix B

Hymns, Songs, and Poems

Wherever He Leads I'll Go

"Take up thy cross and follow Me," I heard my Master say;
"I gave My life to ransom thee, Surrender your all today."

Refrain:
Wherever He leads I'll go, Wherever He leads I'll go,
I'll follow my Christ who loves me so, Wherever He leads I'll go.

He drew me closer to His side, I sought His will to know,
And in that will I now abide, Wherever He leads I'll go.

It may be through the shadows dim, Or o'er the stormy sea,
I take my cross and follow Him, Wherever He leadeth me.

My heart, my life, my all I bring To Christ who loves me so;
he is my Master, Lord, and King, Wherever He leads I'll go.

B. B. McKinney, "Wherever He Leads I'll Go"
Tune: "Falls Creek"

Spirit of God

Spirit of God in the clear running water
Blowing to greatness the trees on the hill.
Spirit of God in the finger of morning:
Fill the earth, bring it to birth,
And blow where you will.
Blow, blow, blow till I be
But the breath of the Spirit blowing in me.

Down in the meadow the willows are moaning
Sheep in the pastureland cannot lie still.
Spirit of God, creation is groaning:
Fill the earth, bring it to birth,
And blow where you will.

Blow, blow, blow till I be
But the breath of the Spirit blowing in me.

I saw the scar of a year that lay dying
Heard the lament of a lone whippoorwill.
Spirit of God, see that cloud crying:
Fill the earth, bring it to birth,
And blow where you will.
Blow, blow, blow till I be
But the breath of the Spirit blowing in me.

Spirit of God every man's heart is lonely
Watching and waiting and hungry until
Spirit of God, man longs that you only
Fulfill the earth, bring it to birth,
Blow, blow, blow till I be
But the breath of the Spirit blowing in me.

Miriam Therese Winters
Audio Recording, Joy Is Like the Rain

Holy Spirit, Comforter

Holy Spirit, Comforter come and comfort be
Rest our fears dry our tears set your children free
Long are we in bondage, sin has had its say
But we rejoice for by your voice the chains all fall away

Comfort now with courage give us peace with power
Fill us up and call us out to face this urgent hour
Long are we in bondage, sin has had its say
But we rejoice for by your voice the chains all fall away

Holy Spirit, Comforter come and comfort be
Rest our fears dry our tears set your children free
Long are we in bondage, sin has had its say
But we rejoice for by your voice the chains all fall away

Paul D. Duke lyrics

The Weaver

I celebrate a mother God,
Gently weaving, working carefully.
I celebrate the hands of skill, creating beauty within me.
I celebrate the working of the loom, reconnecting myself,
weaving a tapestry that picks up threads of pain and anger and
grief and loss, and power and courage and strength and grace.

Here are the broken threads. This should have been solid here.
This innocence should have continued on, this openness should
have come through here, this pattern of trust should have been
right here, making a design that all would see
and say, "What beauty!"
But these threads were broken, ripped from the fabric of me, and
I was afraid to show anyone the tear.
I thought it was my fault, that all would look
and say, "What horror!"
Now we pick up this broken thread, my weaving God and me.
Now we do the work of repair, and as the fabric is made strong
I look in surprise and say to myself, "What beauty I reclaim!"
Out of the torn places, I reclaim wholeness.
Out of the broken places, I reclaim strength.
Out of the shatteredness, I reclaim power.
Out of the horror and the shame and the pain, I reclaim
openness, innocence, courage.

The Weaver will not be discouraged or deterred.
We weave fabric which no one's violence will destroy,
and I discover the beauty of me.

Amen.

Catherine J. Foote, "The Weaver," in *Survivor Prayers: Talking with God about Childhood Sexual Abuse* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1994), 17.

Notes

Introduction

1. All names and identifying information of the five clergywomen in this study were changed to protect the identities of the study participants and their families, churches, and schools while preserving the character of the places, their political and cultural locations within Baptist life, and their role, if any, in the schism.
2. See "SBC to Cease Endorsing Ordained Female Chaplains," *Baptist Standard,* Feb. 18, 2002, http://www.baptiststandard.com/2002/2_18/print/endorsing.html, accessed May 31, 2006; B. B. McKinney, "Wherever He Leads I'll Go," *Baptist Hymnal* (Nashville: Convention Press, 1975), 361.
3. A culture of complementarity is a concept explored in depth in this study. The basic idea is that of a culture that upholds universal differences between males and females that "complement" (or complete) each other. See pages 9–11 for a more extended discussion and analysis.
4. The protocol of this study benefitted from the oversight of two institutional review boards across a number of years (2003 to 2013). The early years of the project received oversight from Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee (IRB 020124). The more recent years received oversight from Luther Seminary in St. Paul, Minnesota.
5. The bold claim that the stories in this book constitute "paradigm cases" is based on the novelty of interpretation they together create and the idea that richer data is available in contextualized cases of experience-near reports. For a description of paradigm cases, see Bent Flyvbjerg, "Five Misunderstandings about Case-Study Research," *Qualitative Inquiry* 12, no. 2 (Apr. 2006): 223. As Flyvbjerg points out, "Social science has not succeeded in producing general, context-independent theory and, thus, has in the final instance nothing else to offer than concrete, context-dependent knowledge. And the case study is especially well suited to produce this knowledge."
6. A substantial amount of writing on the schism can be qualified as partisan, written from a convictional perspective by one party or another. Materials from the biblicist party perspective include James C. Hefley, *The Truth in Crisis: The Controversy in the Southern Baptist Convention* (Dallas, TX: Criterion Publications, 1986); and James C. Hefley, *The Conservative Resurgence in the Southern Baptist Convention* (Hannibal, MO: Hannibal Books, 1991). Hefley also published four other volumes between these first and last books in his series. From the autonomist party came the following interpretations: Walter B. Shurden, ed., *The Struggle for the Soul of the SBC: Moderate Responses to the Fundamentalist Movement* (Macon, GA: Mercer Univ. Press, 1993); Rob James and Gary Leazer, eds., *The Takeover in the Southern Baptist Convention: A Brief History* (Decatur, GA: Baptists Today, 1994); and Walter B. Shurden and Randy Shepley, *Going for the Jugular: A Documentary History of the SBC Holy War* (Macon, GA: Mercer Univ. Press, 1996). Several books attempted to chronicle the events with even-handed analysis but in the end favored one perspective or the other. Joe Edward

Barnhart, *The Southern Baptist Holy War: The Self-Destructive Struggle for Power within the Largest Protestant Denomination in America* (Austin: Texas Monthly Press, 1986), sympathetic to moderates, proposed a divorce between the parties; David T. Morgan, *The New Crusades, the New Holy Land: Conflict in the Southern Baptist Convention, 1969–1991* (Tuscaloosa: Univ. of Alabama Press, 1996), was also sympathetic to moderates. Jesse C. Fletcher wrote about the events as the official SBC chronicler in *The Southern Baptist Convention: A Sesquicentennial History* (Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 1994). Jerry Sutton offered the first lengthy analysis unapologetically from a biblicist perspective: *The Baptist Reformation: The Conservative Resurgence in the Southern Baptist Convention* (Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 2000). Two volumes of partisan literature attempted to illustrate the rhetoric used by leaders (and laity) who were firsthand participants in convention during the years of schism. See Carl L. Kell and Raymond L. Camp, *In the Name of the Father: The Rhetoric of the New Southern Baptist Convention* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1999); and Carl L. Kell, *Exiled: Voices of the Southern Baptist Convention Holy War* (Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee Press, 2006).

7. The most comprehensive academic studies appeared in the following order: Ellen M. Rosenberg, *The Southern Baptists: A Subculture in Transition* (Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1989); Bill Leonard, *God's Last and Only Hope: The Fragmentation of the Southern Baptist Convention* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990); Nancy Tatom Ammerman, *Baptist Battles: Social Change and Religious Conflict in the Southern Baptist Convention* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1990); Nancy Tatom Ammerman, ed., *Southern Baptists Observed: Multiple Perspectives on a Changing Denomination* (Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1993); Arthur Emery Farnsley II, *Southern Baptist Politics: Authority and Power in the Restructuring of an American Denomination* (University Park: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 1994); David Stricklin, *A Genealogy of Dissent: Southern Baptist Protest in the Twentieth Century* (Lexington: Univ. of Kentucky Press, 1999); Barry Hankins, *Uneasy in Babylon: Southern Baptist Conservatives and American Culture* (Tuscaloosa: Univ. of Alabama Press, 2002); Gregory Wills, *Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1859–2009* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2009).
8. Two book-length treatments and several dissertations published since 2008 are among the first books to consider seriously women's contributions to Baptist life in the late twentieth century at length. Betsy Flowers, Susan Shaw, and I were interviewing Baptist women in the early 2000s and taking their stories into account in the new interpretations of Southern Baptist identity and shifts in Baptist life. See Elizabeth Flowers, "Varieties of Evangelical Womanhood: Southern Baptists, Gender, and American Culture" (PhD diss., Duke Univ., 2007); Eileen Campbell-Reed, "Anatomy of a Schism: How Clergywomen's Narratives Interpret the Fracturing of the Southern Baptist Convention" (PhD diss., Vanderbilt Univ., 2008); and Susan Shaw, *God Speaks to Us, Too: Southern Baptist Women on Church, Home, and Society* (Lexington: Univ. of Kentucky, 2008). As I do in this book, Shaw and Flowers follow the insistence by Ann Braude that women's history is religious history in America and to understand that religious history, women's contributions need to move from margin

to center. See Ann Braude, "Women's History *Is* American Religious History," in *Religion and American Culture: A Reader,* 2nd ed., ed. David G. Hackett (New York: Routledge, 2003), 161–78.

9. Often the institutional gains and losses determine the perspective in the studies, many of which fail even to consider a split, instead seeing the convention itself (or one of its schools or agencies) as an institutional prize won or lost. Leonard, *God's Last and Only Hope,* and Ammerman, *Baptist Battles,* make the most comprehensive arguments about the causes of the schism, but these volumes appeared in 1990, before the full divisions of the split were negotiated. Less often are the organizations that split from the SBC treated in the same analysis with the convention itself. Only Shaw, *God Speaks to Us, Too,* and Flowers, *Into the Pulpit: Southern Baptist Women and Power since World War II* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2012), give some attention to groups that formed out of the split.
10. The following brief review summarizes academic contributions to the analysis of the schism, and the book considers the partisan materials primarily as evidence for and the embodiment of widespread divisions.
11. The best early examples are Leonard and Ammerman, but neither devotes more than a section to the "issue" of women in the controversy. Sarah Frances Anders and Marilyn Metcalf-Whittaker, "Women as Lay Leaders and Clergy: A Crucial Issue," in Ammerman, *Southern Baptists Observed,* 214, provide statistical data about women in ministry but little in the way of analysis. Women, they say, prefer not to be portrayed as symbols of the Baptist controversy, yet their essay effects the same problem by pointing out the minority status of women in each area of Baptist life.
12. As Ammerman, *Baptist Battles,* 93–94, notes, "When fundamentalists claimed that moderates did not really believe the Bible, they were likely to point to women pastors as the perfect example of defying God's Word. And when moderates wanted to contrast their tolerance and open-mindedness with fundamentalist oppressiveness, they pointed to their acceptance of women as proof." Women not only were symbols of differences between the parties but also faced, "overt opposition . . . routine exclusion . . . invisibility, along with occasional jokes and hostile remarks."
13. Leonard, *God's Last and Only Hope,* 151, says women's role in church and society was one of the doctrinal issues that crossed the "thin line" between "inerrant Scripture and inerrant dogma." He argues that both conservatives and moderates reached "logical" conclusions about the role of women, conclusions that fit their interpretations of Scripture.
14. Ibid., 153. Leonard concludes in 1990 that women's ordination "is a major source of fragmentation for the denomination with no sign of resolution in sight."
15. Rosenberg, *Southern Baptists,* 127, understands ordained women to be ostracized as a *result* of the fighting: "The steady marginalization of the handful of women pastors is an important result of fundamentalist pressure." Farnsley, *Southern Baptist Politics,* portrays women's ordination as one of a laundry list of issues, but one that did not hold the center and was eclipsed by democratic procedures that held sway in the convention. Even Ammerman in *Baptist Battles*, who includes the most comprehensive data

collection, including surveys, participant observations, interviews, statistical analysis, and careful reading of history and textual sources, still primarily treats women as an issue rather than a source for information or analysis in the controversy.

16. Both Stricklin, *Genealogy of Dissent,* 114–41, and Hankins, *Uneasy in Babylon,* 200–239, take this approach.
17. More recent monographs consider a wider variety of "overlapping situations" akin to Edward Farley's practical theological task of "interpreting situations," which entails trying to understand the "intersituational issues" or the "impingement of other situations on the local situation." See Edward Farley, "Interpreting Situations: An Inquiry into the Nature of Practical Theology," in *Practicing Gospel: Unconventional Thoughts on the Church's Ministry,* by Edward Farley (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003), 39. Examples include Hankins, *Uneasy in Babylon;* Stricklin, *Genealogy of Dissent;* and Flowers, *Into the Pulpit.*
18. Three books fall into this category: the first academic book to address the schism, Rosenberg's *Southern Baptists;* Farnsley, *Southern Baptist Politics;* and Ammerman, *Southern Baptists Observed.* In *Southern Baptists Observed*, Ammerman brings together Baptists and non-Baptists, scholars of religion and the social sciences, and even journalists. Her framing of the book helps unify the methodological diversity of their approaches. Both Flowers and Shaw used qualitative interviewing to gather stories, and they bring a gender studies lens to their work, but neither of them utilizes psychological frameworks for interpretation.
19. A few concerns are addressed, such as charismatic leadership, grief over loss, grandiosity, and so on, but no sustained psychological analysis of the schism has been offered to date.
20. By looking at the "genealogies" of intellectual influence on the two extreme parties in the SBC schism, Hankins, *Uneasy in Babylon,* and Stricklin, *Genealogy of Dissent,* reach beyond the insularity of interpretations that keep recycling previously told stories.
21. Jessica Benjamin, *The Bonds of Love: Psychoanalysis, Feminism and the Problem of Domination* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988), 81, says that neither essentializing gender nor disregarding it will lead to a better understanding of the character of what it is to be human. Attention to "the interaction of culture and psychological process" is needed for understanding and change to be possible.
22. Charles Darwin's six basic affects, supported in studies by psychologists and cultural anthropologists, are common to all humans (anger, joy, sadness, surprise, fear, and disgust). Volney Gay argues that although a discreet set of affects can be identified and that they share a "curve of intensity that builds up slowly then rises faster and faster, is satiated, and subsides," these affects cannot be reduced to formulas but are better understood metaphorically "through analogue devices like those available in poetic metaphor or dramatic action." See Volney Gay, *Joy and the Objects of Psychoanalysis: Literature, Belief, and Neurosis* (New York: State Univ. of New York Press, 2001), 131, 142. See also Charles Darwin, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals,* 3rd ed. (London: HarperCollins, 1998).

23. The theological framework of the human condition described in Edward Farley's *Good and Evil: Interpreting a Human Condition* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991) conceptualizes three interpenetrating realms of human existence: the individual/subjective, the interhuman/relational and the social/collective. Farley's realms of human being are keys in this book for interpreting Baptist identity and change. Chapters 3 and 4 tell Joanna and Rebecca's stories in ways that explore the psychological and theological effects, particularly as they relate to the relational or interhuman sphere.
24. The psychologies engaged in this study often hold general psychological ideas or beliefs that circulate culturally and reference some more complex conceptual material. When possible, the notes will point the reader to related psychological thinkers and concepts.
25. Philip E. Thompson and Anthony R. Cross address the problem of "recycling history" in their introduction to *Recycling the Past or Researching History? Studies in Baptist Historiography and Myths* (Waynesboro, GA: Paternoster, 2005), xv–xviii. They note the following factors that create the problem of "recycling the past" for Baptists: ongoing debates about Baptist origins, the great variety of sources for Baptist thought and practice, the perennial concern for Baptist identity, and dilemma of balancing primary and secondary historical sources.
26. Although Flowers, *Into the Pulpit,* and Shaw, *God Speaks to Us, Too,* give priority to clergywomen in their books, neither of them are aiming for the kind of psychological or theological analysis of clergywomen's lives attempted here. Multiple interpretations are crucial for seeing the complexity of lived human experience and its interface with the sacred.
27. For example, both Stricklin and Hankins devote a chapter to discussing the role of women in the schism. Stricklin, *Genealogy of Dissent,* 113–41, 160–61, makes a case that women seeking ordination were exemplary "dissenters," calling for gender justice in the early 1980s. By launching a movement of support and action, he argues, they became catalysts, which galvanized "fundamentalists" to commit themselves to winning the denominational apparatus of control for their cause. In contrast to Stricklin, Hankins, *Uneasy in Babylon,* 41–52, 200–239, tells the story of women's submission from the perspective of "culture warriors," who say they were galvanized not by women's ordination but by the issue of abortion to win control in the denomination and to regain a stronghold in the culture. Women's submission in home and church became an occasion to express concern about the culture crisis and offer the right response from an inerrant Bible. Conservatives used every possible opportunity to challenge the cultural norm of women's equality and gain a hearing for their other concerns. In both arguments, women play supporting or symbolic roles rather than central ones.
28. The analysis addresses the issues of race and sexuality where they arise in the stories of the clergywomen.
29. Ellen M. Rosenberg, "The Southern Baptist Response to the Newest South," in Ammerman, *Southern Baptists Observed,* 144–45. Hankins, *Uneasy in Babylon,* 107–17 ff., offers a more nuanced description.

30. In his opening chapter, Sutton, *Baptist Reformation,* 6–29, details the "theological inadequacies" of SBC professors, pastors, and leaders from biblicist perspective.
31. Jackson Carroll, *God's Potters: Pastoral Leadership and the Shaping of Congregations* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2006), 7. For 2012 statistics on women in pastoral leadership, see Eileen Campbell-Reed, "Baptists in Tension: The Status of Women's Leadership and Ministry, 2012," *Review and Expositor* 110, no. 1 *(Winter 2013): 49–64.* See also Barbara Brown Zikmund, Adair T. Lumis, and Patricia Mei Yin Chang, *Clergywomen: An Uphill Calling* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1998), which was the last book to take seriously the participation of Baptist women in changes to the larger context of ministry in the United States.
32. See Eileen R. Campbell-Reed, "Baptist Clergywomen's Narratives: Reinterpreting the Southern Baptist Convention Schism," in *Pastoral Bearings: Lived Religion and Pastoral Theology,* ed. Leonard Hummel, Mary Clark Moschella, and Jane Maynard (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010), 143–45, 170. Barry Hankins reached a similar conclusion in "Southern Baptists and the F-Word: A Historiography of the Southern Baptist Convention Controversy and What It Might Mean," in *Through a Glass Darkly: Contested Notions of Baptist Identity,* ed. Keith Harper (Tuscaloosa: Univ. of Alabama Press, 2012), 296–323.
33. Baptists also ordain men and women as deacon ministers, who are not typically professional ministers, nor do they regularly carry out all pastoral functions. However, performing any pastoral task is open to any baptized believer authorized by a Baptist congregation. Baptist deacons are typically lay men and women who serve and/or lead in congregations along with pastoral ministers (clergy). The term "clergywomen" also communicates outside Baptist life to indicate the full pastoral authority of ministry granted in ecclesial communities. The use of the term follows Constant H. Jacquet Jr.'s definition in Eileen W. Lindner, ed., *Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2010): clergywomen are those "ordained to the highest level of ministry carrying full rights and privileges within their church." See Zikmund, Lumis, and Chang, *Clergywomen,* 171–72.
34. Because the meaning of the "priesthood of all believers" is among the points of contention between Baptists, the tension between clergy and laity is central to understanding the meanings of ordained ministry and the disagreements between the parties.
35. I coined the terms autonomist and biblicist in my 2008 dissertation. See Campbell-Reed, "Anatomy of a Schism" (PhD diss., 2008).
36. The term "schism" comes up occasionally in the literature about the SBC controversies, often as "schismatic." The term "anatomy" is used in at least one article by Larry L. McSwain, "Anatomy of the SBC Institutional Crisis," *Review and Expositor* 88, no. 1 (Winter 1991): 25–35. The term is often used, however, to describe religious break-ups and institutional splits through history including the eleventh century split between the eastern and western churches.
37. Ammerman, *Baptist Battles,* 178, notes that "the primary symbols in this denominational fight were the Bible on one side, and freedom, on the other." Ammerman also identifies through surveys and interviews (72–73 ff.) five groups on a continuum:

self-identified fundamentalists, fundamentalist conservatives, conservatives, moderate conservatives, and self-identified moderates. These are important distinctions for getting at the subtleties of self-understanding among Southern Baptists of the 1980s, but in the end polarization defined the schism and most everyone was forced to identify with one group or another, thus the choices: autonomist party and biblicist party. See Ammerman, *Baptist Battles,* 78–80. In the accounts written from the left wing of the Baptist controversy, labels for two opposing parties are most often called "moderates" and "fundamentalists." The labels favored in the literature from the Right are usually "liberals" and "conservatives." Both "liberal" and "fundamentalist" are used pejoratively by opposing groups.

38. Ibid., 174–78.
39. Walter Shurden posed the question of a "cracking synthesis" in 1981. See Walter B. Shurden, "The Southern Baptist Synthesis: Is It Cracking?" *Baptist History and Heritage* 16, no 2 (Apr. 1981): 2–11. Shurden identifies multiple streams of tradition shaping the contemporary context of Baptist life and observes five stressors on the Baptist synthesis: cultural, denominational, financial, creedal, and theological.
40. The analysis in this book has an imbalance in the number of voices from each party because it prioritizes the voices of women; the effect is to allow more autonomist sympathizers into the text.
41. In her chapter on "Gender Regulations," Judith Butler, *Undoing Gender* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 43, begins to untangle the problem of gender: "the conflation of gender with masculine/feminine, man/woman, male/female, thus performs the very naturalization that the notion of gender is meant to forestall."
42. Stephanie Coontz traces this transition among others in *Marriage, a History: From Obedience to Intimacy or How Love Conquered Marriage* (New York: Penguin, 2005), 247: "It took more than 150 years to establish the love-based, male breadwinner marriage as the dominant model in North America and Western Europe. It took less than 25 years to dismantle it. . . . Marriage lost its role as the 'master event' that governed young people's sexual lives, their assumption of adult roles, their job choices and their transition into parenthood."
43. Relational theorists like Jessica Benjamin, *Like Subjects, Love Objects: Essays on Recognition and Sexual Difference* (New Haven, CT: Yale, 1995), 11–16; philosophers like Butler, *Undoing Gender,* 150–51; and pastoral theologians like Pamela Cooper-White, *Shared Wisdom: The Use of the Self in Pastoral Care and Counseling* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004), 186–93, argue for expanding understandings of identity, relationality, and gender, as complex, multiple, and fluid.
44. The language first appeared in the 1998 Resolution on the Strengthening the Marriage Covenant, http://www.sbc.net/resolutions/amResolution.asp?ID=699, accessed Jan. 21, 2014. The full Baptist Faith and Message (2000) is located at http://www.sbc.net/bfm/bfm2000.asp, accessed, Jan. 21, 2014.
45. Baptist Faith and Message, 2000.
46. Karen Seat, "Evangelicals and Women's Leadership in the Post-Palin Era," paper presented at the American Academy of Religion annual meeting, Nov. 2012, Chicago,

argues that uses and means of complementarity change over time. Her chief example is the rise to political power of Sarah Palin, Michele Bachmann, and other conservative female politicians. They represent a sea change in which "'complementarians' have sought to incorporate women's civic leadership into their existing anti-feminist narrative." She says, "While social conservatives continue to decry liberal feminism, their anti-feminist message has shifted its focus away from opposing women's full participation in modern public life to dismantling big government and modernism itself."

47. Systematic theologian Edward Farley, in *Good and Evil,* captures the philosophical and theological existentialism of this view of human being.

48. Ibid., 139–53. While the tragic structure of human being opens up the possibility for harm, corruption, and evil, it also is the space in which redemption, founding, and grace come into the human experience. Farley builds his understanding of "being founded" on Paul Tillich's classic text, *The Courage to Be* (New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press, 1952).

49. See Peter Fonagy, *Attachment Theory and Psychoanalysis* (New York: Other Press, 2001), 84–90, for a discussion of the concepts of splitting and projective identification as bridge issues between empirical studies of infant attachment and the formulations of theorists like Melanie Klein and Otto Kernberg, who conceptualized the necessity of sensitive and attuned care giving to function as containers for powerful feelings in infants and children.

50. Benjamin, *Bonds of Love,* 18, observes, "Once we accept the idea that infants do not begin life as part of an undifferentiated unity, the issue is not only how we separate from oneness, but also how we connect to and recognized others; the issue is not how we become free of the other, but how we actively engage and make ourselves known in relationship to the other."

51. D. W. Winnicott, *Playing and Reality* (New York: Routledge, 1971), 10: "The good-enough mother . . . starts off with an almost complete adaptation to her infant's needs, and as time proceeds she adapts less and less completely, gradually, according to the infant's growing ability to deal with her failure."

52. See Butler, *Undoing Gender,* 42: "Gender is not exactly what one 'is' nor is it precisely what one 'has.' Gender is the apparatus by which the production and normalization of masculine and feminine take place along with interstitial forms of hormonal, chromosomal, psychic, and performative that gender assumes. . . . Gender is the mechanism by which notions of masculine and feminine are produced and naturalized, but gender might very well be the apparatus by which such terms are deconstructed and denaturalized."

53. Disentangling power and gender in the women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s set off innumerable social and personal identity crises to which Southern Baptists and Baptist clergywomen were heirs. However, like previous worries over gender, Braude, "Women's History," 168, challenges the "narrative fiction" that historians of religion in America tell about the eighteenth-century declension, nineteenth-century feminization, and twentieth-century secularization of Christianity in the U.S. context.

She observes, "Because women are viewed as the less powerful half of society, their numerical dominance is interpreted as a decline in power for a religious institution."

54. Hankins, *Uneasy in Babylon,* 238–39.
55. Numerous psychological concepts could be identified and analyzed from the women's narratives for this interpretation. Two broad schools of thought inform my psychological readings of the situation. The psychoanalytic tradition, including some philosophical approaches, object relations theory, self psychology, and the relational school of thought are among the dialogue partners, and they remain at the referential level of the work. The other set of conversation partners are in pastoral theology and include a number of feminist pastoral theologians who draw on psychological concepts in their understandings of the human situation.
56. Barry Hankins shares this observation regarding historical and theological perspectives. See Hankins, "Southern Baptists and the F-Word," 302 and n. 18.
57. Corruption or corporate sin between social groups, according to Farley, *Good and Evil,* 130–35, 257–60, becomes possible when a particular good is absolutized in response to the demands and uncertainties of life. Absolutizing finite goods becomes a form of idolatry, embracing the object of need—an idea or anything temporal—for the sake of escaping vulnerability and finitude rather than remaining open to the "eternal horizon" or that which unites all other basic human passions or drives. When social groups confuse their primary aims (on the order of serving, educating, promoting justice, healing, etc.) and secondary aims (such as keeping the doors open, paying the bills, maintaining institutions, etc.), they "victimize and subjugate" other groups, losing a sense of the humanity of the "others."
58. The shift in focus to the everyday lives and practical theologies of subjects is part of a turn by academic theologians toward practice and the communal-contextual settings of lived theology. See, for example, Bonnie J. Miller-McLemore, "Pastoral Theology as Public Theology: Revolutions in the 'Fourth Area,'" in *Pastoral Care and Counseling: Redefining the Paradigms,* ed. Nancy Ramsay (Nashville: Abingdon Press), 45–85.
59. My thanks go to Richard Carp for introducing this idea in a workshop at the American Academy of Religion in 2009.
60. Randall Lolley, Eileen R. Campbell-Reed, Pope A. Duncan, Pete Hill, and Nancy A. Thurmond, eds., *Findings: A Report of the Special Study Commission to Study the Question: "Should the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship become a Separate Convention?"* (Atlanta: Cooperative Baptist Fellowship, 1996).
61. See Mark Chaves, *Ordaining Women: Culture and Conflict in Religious Organizations* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1997), 14–18, 104–5, passim. Baptist beginnings for women's ordination are sporadic and hard to trace. See Pamela R. Durso, "She-Preachers, Bossy Women, and Children of the Devil: Women Ministers in the Baptist Tradition 1609–2012," *Review and Expositor* 110, no. 1 (Winter 2013): 36–39. Durso identifies several isolated instances of Northern/American Baptist and Seventh Day Baptist women being ordained to ministry in the nineteenth century.
62. Ammerman, *Baptist Battles,* 64.

63. The Elliott controversy was sparked in 1961. The Baptist Faith and Message revisions began in 1962 and were delivered in 1963 at the Kansas City convention, with a stated intent "to build upon the structure of the 1925 Statement, keeping in mind the 'certain needs' of our generation." Baptist Faith and Message, 1963, http://www.sbc.net/bfm2000/bfmcomparison.asp, accessed Dec. 30, 2015. For a recounting of the events, see Ammerman, *Baptist Battles,* 63–65. Ironically, the statement about Jesus Christ was removed in the next revision in 2000.
64. Durso, "She-Preachers, Bossy Women, and Children of the Devil," 38–39.
65. In early 1965, Baptist Press noted that the membership of Southern Baptist churches grew to "10.6 million Baptists [who] are members of 33,388 churches." "Mission Gifts Pass $100 Million Mark," Baptist Press, Feb. 23, 1965, http://media.sbhla.org.s3.amazonaws.com/2014,13-Feb-1965.pdf, accessed Nov. 30, 2014. The "total SBC membership reported for 1965–66 in February was 10,952,463." "United Methodist Church Bigger than SBC, Maybe" Baptist Press, July 7, 1967, http://media.sbhla.org.s3.amazonaws.com/2423,07-Jul-1967.pdf, accessed Nov. 30, 2014.
66. Hefley, *Conservative Resurgence,* 32–33, describes Pressler's initial meeting with Patterson.
67. Leon McBeth reports: "Between 1964 and 1978 perhaps fifty or more women have been ordained in Southern Baptist Churches." He then published a list of fifty-eight women compiled by Helen Lee Turner. See Leon McBeth, *Women in Baptist Life* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1979), 154–55. See Charles W. Deweese, *Women Deacons and Deaconesses: 400 Years of Baptist Service* (Macon, GA: Mercer Univ. Press, 2005), 121–24.
68. Ammerman, *Baptist Battles,* 204–7. The role of the Committee on Resolutions is to receive proposed resolutions, decide if they are appropriately worded, and present them to the body for a vote. As the committee shifted from autonomist to biblicist in its makeup during the 1980s, motions were more likely to reflect biblicist values. Ammerman also points out that the resolutions were often used or referenced by the various SBC agencies that wished to justify work that might otherwise be considered off center. For example, the Christian Life Commission prior to 1979 would appeal to resolutions about abortion or women or race that supported their work. After the parties began to polarize, new leaders of SBC agencies would make similar appeals to resolutions that supported biblicist causes.
69. One of the outcomes of the second Genesis controversy was the formation of the Baptist Faith and Message Fellowship. The group and its publication, the *Southern Baptist Journal,* took "an aggressive path from the first publication, attacking 'liberal' professors and through letter and print, challenging leaders to affirm their conservative positions." Fletcher, *Southern Baptist Convention,* 247.
70. *Findings of the Consultation on Women in Church-Related Vocations* (Nashville: Southern Baptist Convention, Sept. 20–22, 1978), located at the Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives, Nashville.
71. Shurden, in *Struggle for the Soul of the SBC,* 280–86, assessed the "moderates" as being stymied by several myths about the changes to the SBC. He says they denied

the changes would last, believed in a pendulum swing that would bring power back their way, thought "fundamentalist" infighting would break the stronghold, thought fundamentalism would not survive culture changes, did not believe in fundamentalists' financial ability to support the SBC, thought new leadership would mellow over time, and didn't think the changes would impact local Baptist churches. None of these beliefs proved true, and the SBC did not return to the synthesis or balance formerly enjoyed by moderates.

72. Ammerman, *Baptist Battles,* 174–78.
73. For more about the history of Southern Baptist Women in Ministry (later Baptist Women in Ministry) and the role women played in the fracturing, see Eileen Campbell-Reed and Pamela R. Durso, "The State of Women in Baptist Life, 2007: A Twenty-Five-Year Retrospective of Baptist Women in Ministry," Baptist Women in Ministry, Atlanta, June 2008. See also Flowers, *Into the Pulpit,* 95–101, passim.
74. Ammerman, *Baptist Battles,* 223–24. See Appendix A.
75. Shurden and Shepley, *Going for the Jugular,* 248.
76. Hefley, *Conservative Resurgence,* 310–11.
77. Shurden and Shepley, *Going for the Jugular,* 261.
78. For example, the shift in focus can be seen in the name changes: SBWIM dropped "Southern" in 1996. The Southern Baptist Alliance changed to the Alliance of Baptists in 1992. See Alan Neely, "The History of the Alliance of Baptists," in Shurden, *Struggle for the Soul of the SBC,* 101–28. The Cooperative Baptist Fellowship considered several names but determined to take a name that intentionally set it apart from the SBC.
79. Flowers, *Into the Pulpit,* 76–86, demonstrates how conservative women developed the arguments for complementarity.
80. Ammerman, *Baptist Battles,* 94, observes women faced "overt opposition . . . routine exclusion and invisibility, along with occasional jokes and hostile remarks" and even being booed by crowds at SBC meetings.

Chapter 1

1. Although other embodiments are possible, this discussion addresses three, cultural, relational, and internal, to show their interrelation. "Embodiment" refers to an incorporation of a cultural world, what Pierre Bourdieu calls "habitus" and as such makes available a kind of knowing that is not merely representational, rational, or logical in the formal sense. See Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice,* trans. Richard Nice (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 1990), 9–10, 52–56, passim.
2. Ordination and subordination are each contested ideas and practices and are not mutually exclusive. There is no simple move from one to the other, and the complexity of embodying both simultaneously is part of the anatomy of the schism under discussion.
3. Henri Nouwen, *Wounded Healer: Ministry in Contemporary Society* (New York: Doubleday, 1972).

68. Ibid., 98–101, 105–22.
69. G. Thomas Halbrooks observed the following Baptist qualifications for ordination prior to 1945: "An inward call gifts for ministry, and an outward call. . . . Membership in a Baptist church was assumed." On the question of gender, "most Baptists assumed that such a call could not come to women." He quotes J. R. Graves, arguing that "'no Christian, womanly woman' would ever aspire to such a position." The question of ordination for ministry other than the pastorate was also contested. See Halbrooks, "Meaning and Significance of Ordination," 24–32; Penrose St. Amant identified this sense of inward and outward calling as a "Reformed viewpoint" explicated by John Calvin and seen as "essential prerequisites to ordination" by early Baptists. See Penrose St. Amant, "Sources of Calling in Church History," *Baptist History and Heritage* 23, no. 3 (July 1988): 3–15, 41.
70. This observation does not disparage the work of women in such roles, but points out the limits and subtlety of ways a complementarity culture endures.
71. For example, Seventh and James Baptist Church in Waco, Texas, simultaneously shifted to a pastoral care model and ordained the first five women as deacons. Deweese, *Women Deacons and Deaconesses,* 124–25.
72. Kathleen Cahalan observes the growing diversity of those practicing ministry in Roman Catholic (and Protestant) contexts: the emphasis is shifting from role, identity, and station in life toward call, practice, and giftedness for ministry. Southern Baptist women felt called and gifted, and they practiced ministry long before they were recognized for it. See Kathleen Cahalan, *Introducing the Practice of Ministry* (Collegeville, MN: Order of Saint Benedict, 2010), viii.
73. Deweese, *Women Deacons and Deaconesses,* 107–18.
74. Judith Butler asks, "Who counts as the human?" She distinguishes then between those who are "oppressed" and thus recognized, if vilified, and those who are "unreal . . . unintelligible" and have "not yet achieved access to the human . . . speaking only and always *as if you were* human, but with the sense you are not . . . because the norms by which recognition takes places are not in your favor." *Undoing Gender,* 17–18, 30. Social recognition, and a place to appear, are key for political scales large and small. Even if the experience of "non-existence" can be reframed as one of common dissociation (it's all in your head!), the political ramifications are no less violent or dangerous if you are not able to appear. See also Mary McClintock Fulkerson, *Places of Redemption: Theology for a Worldly Church* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2007), 48–51, passim.

Chapter 3

1. The "relational space" that is the focus of this chapter is equivalent to "intersubjective space" as understood by Natterson and Friedman, who define intersubjectivity as the relationship that is co-created or "the reciprocal influence of the conscious and unconscious subjectivities of two people in a relationship." They say in a therapeutic situation "the inner lives of patient and therapist have reciprocal influence on one another, responding to and creating the intersubjective situation." See Joseph M.

Natterson and Raymond J. Friedman, *A Primer of Clinical Intersubjectivity* (Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson, 1995), 1, 11. Pastoral theologian and counselor Christie Cozad Neuger says people are not only primary actors in their own stories but also "characters in the stories and plots of other people, systems, and cultures. Changes in the plotline or interpretive lenses of *any* of these . . . mean the potential for the transformation of *all,*" giving new meaning to the feminist adage "The personal is political and the political is personal." See Neuger, *Counseling Women,* 44.

2. Joanna is quoting Miriam Therese Winters, "Spirit of God," on *Joy Is Like the Rain,* audio recording, Medical Mission Sisters, 1965, a feminist influence on Roman Catholic liturgy and spiritual practice. Joanna's childhood stories reflect influences of Vatican II on everyday Catholic life with regard to liturgical practices and social teaching. See Appendix B of this book for the full text of Winter's song. In her essay "Feminist Women's Spirituality: Breaking New Ground in the Church," in *The Church Women Want: Catholic Women in Dialogue,* ed. Elizabeth A. Johnson (New York: Crossroad, 2002), 28, Winter says, "Expressions of women-church are . . . like a parallel universe within American Catholic church communities." She goes on to say the shifts in understanding authority, liturgy, and spirituality were not to replace the church but to "recover through a creative, intuitive, imaginative, instinctive reinterpretation of tradition new ways of being and behaving as Catholics, in order to live the fullness of . . . our Catholic tradition." Joanna takes a similar approach in seminary to using the tradition to critique and extend the tradition of Baptists.
3. First Baptist Church in Russetville is an American Baptist church in a midwestern state. Joanna made clear that she did not at any time consider herself personally to be Southern Baptist, although three churches in which she served in the South held historic ties to the SBC. Additionally, the dynamics of Baptist life share a common history, and Joanna's relational connections and negotiations provide insight into the relational character of Baptist life in its many forms. Nearly identical support structures and perennial conflicts can be observed in each denominational setting.
4. "Behold What Manner of Love," words and music by Patricia Van Tine, 1978, Maranatha! Music.
5. Some seminarians begin as seekers, for personal fulfillment or to answer personal (often existential) questions, while others attend with explicit vocational goals. Joanna approached seminary in both ways. See Charles R. Foster, Lisa Dahill, Larry Golemon, Barbara Wang Tolentino, William M. Sullivan, and Lee S. Shulman, *Educating Clergy: Teaching Practices and Pastoral Imagination* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2005), 56, 101–2; and Barbara Wheeler, *Is There a Problem? Theological Students and Religious Leadership for the Future,* Auburn Studies 8, Auburn Theological Seminary, July 2001.
6. In ministry Joanna hoped to make use of both knowledge and "know how," seeing the stakes of the situation and leading change. See Campbell-Reed and Scharen, "Holy Cow!"
7. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, many students from both Southeastern and Southern seminaries fled to university divinity schools and other denominational seminaries.

Joanna was intentionally not Southern Baptist and felt frustrated by assumptions in the South that all Baptists are *Southern* Baptists.

8. Historically some Baptists have practiced "laying hands on" or anointing of the sick and those in need of healing. One wonders about Joanna's experience of anointing from her childhood in the Roman Catholic Church. In late-twentieth-century Baptist practice in the United States, however, the more common use of laying on of hands is in the ritual of ordination. J. R. Tyson, "Laying on of Hands," in Leonard, *Dictionary of Baptists in America.* See also chapter 1 for Anna's ordination story.
9. "Holy Spirit Comforter," music and lyrics by D. E. Adams, (1982/2010). See Appendix B of this book for the full text.
10. Catherine J. Foote, "The Weaver," in *Survivor Prayers: Talking with God about Childhood Sexual Abuse* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1994), 17. See Appendix B of this book for the full text of the poem.
11. The distinction here is subtle and important for survivors of domestic violence and sexual abuse. To force members of a congregation to speak a confession that makes them perpetrators—makes the abuse "their fault"—is to reproduce violence and revictimize survivors. The concern also echoes Joanna's worry as a Baptist over the character of confessions, an issue addressed below.
12. New Testament references for taking up one's cross include Matthew 10:38 and 16:24, Mark 8:34, and Luke 9:23. One biblical reference for burdens to bear is 1 Corinthians 10:13: "No testing has overtaken you that is not common to everyone. God is faithful, and he will not let you be tested beyond your strength, but with the testing he will also provide the way out so that you may be able to endure it" (NRSV). The King James version renders it "Here hath no temptation taken you but such as is common to man: but God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able; but will with the temptation also make a way to escape, that ye may be able to bear it." References to wives submitting to husbands are in two places. Ephesians 5:22–24: "For the husband is the head of the wife just as Christ is the head of the church, the body of which he is the Savior. Just as the church is subject to Christ, so also wives ought to be, in everything, to their husbands." And Colossians 3:18: "Wives, submit to your husbands, as is fitting in the Lord" (NIV) or "Wives, be subject to your husbands, as is fitting in the Lord" (NRSV).
13. The American Bar Association Commission on Domestic Violence reports: "In a 1995–1996 study conducted in the 50 States and the District of Columbia, nearly 25% of women and 7.6% of men were raped and/or physically assaulted by a current or former spouse, cohabiting partner, or dating partner/acquaintance at some time in their lifetime (based on survey of 16,000 participants, equally male and female)." See http://new.abanet.org/domesticviolence/Pages/Statistics.aspx, accessed July 12, 2010. See also the full report by Patricia Tjaden and Nancy Thoennes, *Extent, Nature, and Consequences of Intimate Partner Violence,* Department of Justice, NCJ 181867, July 2000, http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij/pubs-sum/181867.htm, accessed July 12, 2010. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention estimate that 25 percent of girls and 16 percent of boys are sexually assaulted before the age of eighteen. Childhood physi-

cal abuse was reported at 27 percent for girls and 30 percent for boys. See Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, http://www.cdc.gov/nccdphp/ace/prevalence.htm, accessed July 12, 2010.

14. The Revised Common Lectionary is a list of Scriptures in a three-year cycle, which cover many (but not all) the texts of the Christian Bible. Many Roman Catholic and Protestant churches follow the lectionary as a weekly guide for worship and preaching.
15. Partisan accounts include Hefley, *Truth in Crisis* and *Conservative Resurgence;* Shurden, *Struggle for the Soul of the SBC;* James and Leazer, *Takeover in the Southern Baptist Convention;* Shurden and Shepley, *Going for the Jugular;* and Kell, *Exiled.* Academic treatments also used the dramatic language: Leonard, *God's Last and Only Hope;* Ammerman, *Baptist Battles;* Stricklin, *Genealogy of Dissent;* and Hankins, *Uneasy in Babylon.*
16. C. C. Goen, *Broken Churches, Broken Nation: Denominational Schisms and the Coming of the American Civil War* (Macon, GA: Mercer Univ. Press, 1985), 6–7, 31 ff., advances the hypothesis that American identity was built upon shared religious (Protestant) identity forged in the Great Awakening. Goen adds that when those bonds were severed among Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians over the crisis of slavery, the divisions became both "portent and catalyst" for schism in the nation and Civil War.
17. Bill J. Leonard identifies a framework of five tensions of Baptist belief and practice in his introduction to the *Dictionary of Baptists in America,* 4–6. The tensions endured through four hundred years of Baptist history: (1) individual liberty of conscience versus the authority of Scripture, (2) the autonomy of the local church versus associational cooperation, (3) clergy versus laity, (4) religious liberty versus loyalty to the state, and (5) dramatic conversion versus nurturing process. In his more recent *Baptist Ways,* Leonard identifies three additional tensions: (1) doctrinal statements: invariably confessional, selectively creedal; (2) ordinances: sacraments and symbols; and (3) diversity: theological and ecclesial.
18. The relational tensions in Joanna's story may be implicit, yet they are common for many (or most) Baptists. The relational tensions are not uniquely Baptist, however. They also give shape to other Protestant traditions and connect to deeper relational dynamics found in the existential questions of human being. Neuger, in *Counseling Women,* 88–89, 141 ff., shows how women's coming to voice and reframing stories, is both a personal and a political act. As agents, when women change their own stories, they change one another's stories.
19. Pastoral theologian Larry Graham, in *Care of Persons, Care of Worlds: A Psychosystems Approach to Pastoral Care and Counseling* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1992), makes a case for the interconnections between individual psyches and the social and natural systems in which they are embedded, as well as the complex interactions of reception, synthesis, and transformation between persons and their worlds.
20. Although the question of *how* social and historical structures are internalized is significant, this chapter focuses on relational dynamics in Joanna's story to show how they reinterpret the Baptist crisis.

21. "Dramatic conversion" is Paul's Damascus Road (Acts 9:1–19) and the altar calls to walk the church aisle and declare one's self changed and saved by the power of Jesus, God, or the Holy Spirit alone. Jean Heriot outlines Max Heirich's sociological views of conversion as "1) a 'fantasy' solution to situations of psychological and social stress; 2) socialization theories which claim that the convert is influenced by prior conditioning; and 3) the analysis of interpersonal influences as significant factors in bringing converts into the group." However, Heriot notes how problematic it is for researchers to approach the topic with skepticism, which can lead to asking the wrong questions about conversion. See Jean Heriot, *Blessed Assurance: Beliefs, Actions, and the Experience of Salvation in a Carolina Baptist Church* (Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1994), 159–60 ff.
22. Bill Leonard says of Baptist views on conversion or regeneration, "Some suggest that such an episode involves a dramatic conversion when the sinner confronts a powerful spiritual and moral struggle, 'accepts Christ,' and receives salvation." Alternately, "most Baptist communions insist on nurturing young people to faith." The two views, Leonard notes, "may also create differences concerning the nature of conversion, its proper process, and its authentic recipients." *Baptist Ways,* 7.
23. Although the rhetoric about dramatic conversion portrays a kind of autonomous action, each of the Baptist tensions identified by Leonard, and explored through the lens of Joanna's story, are set within the framework of a faith community.
24. Baptists grew numerically in Britain, Europe, and then the Americas after the first Baptist church was founded in 1609, with steady increases in adherents and churches. Southern Baptists began with a split from Northern Baptists in 1845, and they expanded rapidly, overtaking United Methodists in the 1920s as the largest U.S. group with seven and a half million members. They doubled that number by the end of the twentieth century. See Edwin S. Gaustad, Philip L. Barlow, and Richard W. Dishno, *New Historical Atlas of Religion in America* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2001), Figures C.15 and C.16, 374–75. Gaustad et al. are counting all Baptists in their figures for the early twentieth century rather than Southern Baptists alone.
25. Advocates in the 1980s and 1990s shifted the language of "victim" to "survivor," reframing possibilities for healing. For example: "Yet healing isn't just about pain. It's about learning to love yourself. As you move from feeling like a victim to being a proud survivor, you will have glimmers of hope, pride, satisfaction. Those are natural byproducts of healing." Ellen Bass and Laura Davis, *The Courage to Heal: A Guide for Women Survivors of Child Sexual Abuse,* 3rd ed. (New York: Collins Living, 1994), 189.
26. Active and passive as psychological descriptions of masculine/dominant and feminine/submissive are not adequate or accurate for describing phenomenologically the experiences of masculinity or femininity, which are culturally constructed and can be easily reversed in ways that don't reduce experience into simple polarities. Jessica Benjamin describes signs in a hospital nursery that read "I'm a boy" and "It's a girl." She notes, "The sexual difference was already interpreted in terms of complementary and unequal roles, subject and object. The aspect of will, desire, and activity—all

that we might conjure up with a subject who is an 'I'—was assigned to the male gender alone." See Benjamin, *Bonds of Love,* 85–86. Neuger, *Counseling Women,* 234, argues that women need connection in order "to develop strategies of resistance and transformation."

27. These social connections and organizations are part of the "interlocking social structures," with each one "hooking on" to the others and together constituting a recognizable Baptist way of life. See Christian Smith, *What Is a Person: Rethinking Humanity, Social Life, and the Moral Good from the Person Up* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2010), 257–58 ff.
28. Winnicott provides the insight from clinical analysis that creativity and conformity are contrasting ways of relating to one's world. Joanna and her friends engage in a kind of creativity, which breaks from conformity and plays with scriptural text and worship design, leading to a sense of trust for others and emerging self-identities. A process like theirs is akin to the process of relaxed ease while playing, which allows growth and self-understanding in a therapeutic setting. See *Playing and Reality,* 54–55, 65, passim.
29. Mary McClintock Fulkerson in *Changing the Subject: Women's Discourses and Feminist Theology* (Minneapolis: Augburg, 1994), 355–72, argues that "inclusion" of women (especially without any agreed upon universal notion of "woman") is an inadequate way forward to coping with oppressions and injustices regarding gender. She critiques liberation-feminist theology for giving inadequate attention to the situated character of the social location, relations of power, and situated practices of women and the ways they make use of texts, practices, and meanings to experience "emancipatory or liberating possibilities." In other words, to interpret meaning requires a more complex social understanding of lives. Neither the "subject position" nor some unmediated "experience" are adequate categories for understanding Joanna or the changing lives of Baptist clergywomen.
30. See Leonard, *Dictionary of Baptists in America,* 4–6. The term is also called "soul liberty." Each new situation offers an experience of the sacred and a new opportunity to engage the texts and traditions for their wisdom in the situation. Molly T. Marshall, "Exercising Liberty of Conscience: Freedom in Private Interpretation," in *Baptists in the Balance: The Tension between Freedom and Responsibility,* ed. Everett C. Goodwin (Valley Forge, PA: Judson, 1997), 141, says understanding Scripture must take account of "a history of interpretation, the social location and personal experience of the interpreter, the context of the community, [and] new insights prompted by the midwifery of the Holy Spirit."
31. Marshall, "Exercising Liberty," 143–44, carefully couches individual authority for interpretation in one's participation in an ecclesial community, the life of God, and discipleship of Jesus Christ. She also points out the extreme problems in the doctrine and practice: hyperindividualism and authoritarianism.
32. Rosemary Radford Reuther traces the complexity of human relations as they are implicated in the cultural and ritual images of God through history and how women and nature are dominated in parallel fashion through Babylonian, Hebrew, Greek,

and Christian understandings of male, female, and a patriarchal image of God. See Reuther, *Sexism and God Talk: Toward a Feminist Theology* (Boston: Beacon, 1983), 72–82, 93–98.

33. Commitments to "mutuality" are no guarantee against violence or harm in relationships, according to Benjamin, but they are necessary for navigating the difficulties of recognizing otherness and surviving the inevitable negation and destruction required on the road to genuine individuation, which includes differentiation and simultaneously avoids splits into complementarity. See Benjamin, *Bonds of Love,* 82–83.
34. Each congregation where Joanna was a member, intern, or staff minister during her time in the South had historic ties to the SBC. This particular congregation was no longer affiliated with the SBC when she arrived.
35. See Sally B. Purvis, *The Stained Glass Ceiling: Churches and Their Women Pastors* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1995).
36. Neuger traces a process parallel to Joanna's description, shifting the framework of someone's story such that "more authentic and life-giving truths emerge from the story than they did through its original framework of meaning." See Neuger, *Counseling Women,* 135–37. Alice Miller, *The Drama of the Gifted Child: The Search for the True Self,* trans. Ruth Ward (New York: Basic Books, 2008), 101, observes, "Often a child's very gifts (his [*sic*] great intensity of feeling, depth of experience, curiosity, intelligence, quickness—and his ability to be critical) will confront his parents with conflicts that they have long sought to keep at bay by means of rules and regulations." It is possible to imagine that the suffering of Joanna's caregivers unwittingly inflicted or allowed pain and abuse, enforcing rules with a profound cost to Joanna's childhood development.
37. The ideal of congregational polity is also in tension with the idea of associational cooperation between and among churches. This tension in "voluntary association" is addressed below. Power exercised by the Southern Baptist Convention, however, undermines powers of the local church through its power to shape Baptist culture, despite its lack of official ecclesiastical power. See Nancy Ammerman's chapter, "Organization, Growth and Change," in which she traces the growth of influence and power in the SBC, in Ammerman, *Baptist Battles,* 44–71.
38. McBeth's *Women in Baptist Life* first traced this history. More recently, Pamela R. Durso traced it with greater global sensitivity and a broader cross section of Baptist groups in "She Preachers, Bossy Women, and Children of the Devil."
39. In her own personal therapy and through the empathic response of the pastoral counselor, Joanna reengaged her emotional life and childhood suffering, which took her along a path of internal dialogue toward greater acceptance and healing. See Miller, *Drama of the Gifted Child,* 112–13.
40. Recognition from the counselor, and the ensuing sense of freedom, opened up a potential space for Joanna's discovery and creation of a new creative vocational direction. See Winnicott, *Playing and Reality,* 54–56.
41. Although the large study of pastors conducted by Jackson Carroll concluded that a majority of pastors are satisfied, healthy, and emotionally well (if somewhat over-

weight like others in the United States), the study also identified the leading factors that "weaken commitment, foster dissatisfaction and affect health negatively" (186), including inadequate pay and benefits, unresolved congregational conflict and criticism, personal stress from conflicts, inadequate time with family, disputes over pastoral roles, loneliness, and isolation. Joanna experienced each of these factors increasingly in her time at Gentry Memorial. See Carroll, *God's Potters,* 169–87.

42. See Leonard, *God's Last and Only Hope,* 73–74, 101–3.
43. In her social analysis of the SBC parties, Ammerman found "moderates" were likely to be members of SBC churches that gave a larger percentage of money to the denomination, fostering a loyalty to the denomination. A careful examination, however, revealed that the more significant difference came at the point of education and resources. She found clergy who attended SBC seminaries and laity who attended Baptist colleges, and thus were socialized in a Baptist milieu, were more likely to participate in meetings and causes regarding the future of the SBC. As Baptists newer to the denominational scene, "fundamentalists" felt less invested in saving the denomination and more invested in doctrinal purity, cultural critique, and prophetic response. See Ammerman, *Baptist Battles,* 156–67. See also Hankins, *Uneasy in Babylon,* 39–73.
44. Having been outsiders to SBC leadership, over decades biblicists cultivated their own alternative network of connections through evangelistic revival circuits, Bible conferences, schools, and publications. See Ammerman, *Baptist Battles,* 171–73.
45. An early and highly publicized example unfolded when Prescott Memorial Baptist Church in Memphis, Tennessee, called Nancy Hastings Sehested as pastor in 1987. The Shelby County Baptist Association moved swiftly to "disfellowship" the church, setting a pattern repeated many times right up to the present. See Leonard, *God's Last and Only Hope,* 154.
46. Penny Marler reports in "A Study of the Effects of Participation in Pastoral Leader Peer Groups" on the findings of two 2008 surveys that illustrate (negatively) the lack of support felt by pastors like Joanna. Both personal support and an increased vitality of the congregation were correlated to peer group participation: "Belonging to a peer group legitimizes activities that many of pastoral leaders intuitively knew were necessary for a long and vital ministry but found difficult to squeeze into their schedules. Time of [*sic*] Sabbath, fellowship with friends, creative endeavors, prayer, and laughter became parts of their pastoral rhythms and therefore parts of the rhythms of their calls" (10). The studies found isolation a motivating factor for joining peer groups, especially among women: "Most female pastoral leaders [in peer groups] are a minority presence in their denominations; and many are concentrated in smaller parishes in rural areas, small towns, and inner-urban areas" (21–22). See http://www.chalicepress.com/assets/pdfs/SPEFinalSurveyReport.pdf, accessed Apr. 23, 2013.
47. Although they continue to grow in numbers, the percentage of women pastoring American Baptist Churches USA (9.4%) and Cooperative Baptist Fellowship churches (5%) is still far below other mainline congregations. Alliance of Baptists churches are more in line with other Protestant mainline congregations at 31 percent. See Campbell-Reed, "Baptists in Tension." See also Chloe's story in chapter 5.

48. The length of time in a congregation has been declining in Mainline churches like Joanna's. The Barna Research Group reports, "One of the enduring idiosyncrasies of mainline churches is the brief tenure of pastors in a church. On average, these pastors last four years before moving to another congregation." See http://www.barna.org/barna-update/article/17-leadership/323-report-examines-the-state-of-mainline-protestant-churches, accessed Apr. 26, 2013.
49. With Roger Williams as their "apostle of responsible freedom," Baptists in America have been conscientiously objecting to the union of church and state since the colonial period. See Edwin Gaustad, "Responsible Freedom: Baptists in Early America," in *Baptists in the Balance: The Tension between Freedom and Responsibility,* ed. Everett C. Goodwin (Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 1997), 275–85. From the colonial period through the early years of the republic white Baptists, with some exceptions, also participated in foreclosing the political space of "freedom" by structuring it to benefit themselves.
50. Radical religious liberty exceeds mere toleration and champions each individual and group who pursue religious conviction wherever it takes them (short of fraud, force, or murder, disallowed by the state). However, these assumptions applied mainly to white male landowners and/or citizens of European dissent in both the Americas and Europe during the three centuries of political battles over religious liberty.
51. Many skirmishes on the convention floor and in the Baptist papers between biblicists and autonomists erupted over conceptions of religious liberty embedded in fights over prayer in public schools, school vouchers, and public displays of the Ten Commandments. See Hankins, *Uneasy in Babylon,* 144–56.
52. Benjamin argues in *Like Subjects, Love Objects,* 22–23, that "mutual recognition should include the notion of breakdown, of failure to sustain that tension, as well as account for the possibility of repair after failure."
53. The name-calling was rampant. References for these examples include Shurden and Shepley, *Going for the Jugular:* "W. A. Criswell could savagely and publicly malign [moderates] as 'skunks' in his 1988 Pastors' Conference address" (230, 235); "Document 47: Randall Lolley's Bramble Bush Sermon at the 1990 Forum" (250 ff.); "Document 46: New Story: Vestal's Presidential Bid" (244–45). See also Hefley, *Conservative Resurgence,* 162–64.
54. Daniel Vestal, "The History of the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship," in Shurden, *Struggle for the Soul of the SBC,* 253–74. Hefley *Conservative Resurgence,* 309, captures a plethora of terms in this sweeping statement in his final chapter: "The turnaround in the [SBC] represents primarily a 'resurgence' in conservative theology as applied to the doctrine of Biblical inspiration. The SBC reversal of a liberal drift is unique in American Christianity. Never before have conservatives in a major denomination overcome the opposition of the ecclesiastical establishment, including most of the denominational editors, and turned the body back to its theological roots to such a decided extent."