

THIRD EDITION

Discovering
**BIBLICAL
EQUALITY**

Biblical, Theological, Cultural & Practical Perspectives

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HISTORY MATTERS

EVANGELICALS AND WOMEN

Mimi Haddad



IN HIS 1949 NOVEL, George Orwell observes that those in power perpetuate their dominance by misrepresenting the facts of history. According to Orwell, “He who controls the present, controls the past. He who controls the past, controls the future.”¹ The persistence of patriarchy is due, in part, to a distorted representation of history. Those committed to male authority secure their ascendancy by marginalizing, omitting, and devaluing women’s accomplishments throughout history. The gender bias among evangelicals not only diminishes their own history; it also furthers a trajectory of marginalization and abuse.

Paige Patterson, former president of the Southern Baptist Convention—the largest Protestant denomination in the United States—was denounced in 2018 by thousands of Southern Baptist Convention women for his comments objectifying a young girl and for counseling an abused woman to remain with her violent spouse.² When she returned with two black eyes, Patterson said he was happy because her faithfulness led her husband to church.³

¹George Orwell, *1984* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1949), 309.

²Beth Allison Barr, “Is There Hope for Evangelical Women?” *Anxious Bench* (blog), May 16, 2018, www.patheos.com/blogs/anxiousbench/2018/05/is-there-hope-for-evangelical-women-beth-moore-paige-patterson/.

³Sarah Pulliam Bailey, “‘We Are Shocked’: Thousands of Southern Baptist Women Denounce Leader’s ‘Objectifying’ Comments, Advice to Abused Women,” *Washington Post*, May 7, 2018.

These events prompted scholar Beth Allison Barr to consider how patriarchal ideas might be complicit in demeaning women. Since Patterson was also the former president of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Barr analyzed the priority of history in the school's curriculum. She found that only 5 percent of the 2018 fall courses offered were specifically on history. In "the primary source reader [*Story of Christianity*], 98% of the entries were written by men . . . [who] comprised 94% of the narrative."⁴ Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary's biased curriculum not only damages the credibility of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary as a center of higher education, but it reinforces the Southern Baptist Convention's sexism. Given the prominence of Southern Baptist Convention faculty in the leadership of the Evangelical Theological Society, and its journal, the dearth of historical inquiry at Evangelical Theological Society is telling.

Research suggests that women's experience at Evangelical Theological Society meetings is often one of hostility, suspicion, or ambivalence, with women reporting being ignored, heckled, and presumed the spouses of male scholars.⁵ As of 2018, women comprise less than 6 percent of its members, yet the society explores gender in its journal and at annual meetings. In recent years, there has been an effort to include history among the hundreds of papers presented at each conference—though these frequently concern just a few prominent (male) figures who reappear often. At the 2017 annual meeting there was a commendable session, including four lectures on Reformation women, all presented by female scholars. However, in thirty years of quarterly journals (1988–2018), only 38 percent of the issues had one church history article, and 24 percent had none. Of all the church history articles published in the *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* since 1988, 2 percent concern women or women's issues, a figure that shows remarkable consistency across the *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* book reviews concerning history (2.7 percent about women), and the Evangelical Theological Society's history-related conference

⁴Barr, "Is There Hope?"

⁵Emily Zimbrick Rogers, "A Question Mark over My Head: Experiences of Women ETS Members at the 2014 ETS Annual Meeting," *Special Edition Journal of CBE International* 9 (2015), www.cbeinternational.org/sites/default/files/ETS2015-web.pdf.

workshops (2.1 percent on women) and plenaries (0 percent on women). In all formats combined, women's history accounts for 2.3 percent of the Evangelical Theological Society's output since 1988. Of these articles, book reviews, and presentations, 80 percent are from an egalitarian perspective. In thirty years of scholarship, not a single complementarian has published an article in their journal concerning women in church history.⁶

The question is whether this neglect is due to ambivalence, ignorance, or something more intentional. Women played a more significant role in Christian history and the development of theology than presentations or published content by the Evangelical Theological Society acknowledge. If women have been, as this chapter will argue, incisive theologians, courageous reformers, and prophetic leaders since Christianity began, the notion that women's shared leadership is a liberal innovation—one that dismisses the teachings of Scripture—proves untenable.

To redress the distortion of history, this chapter will explore lesser-known women leaders from the early church to the modern era and the theological ideals that not only inspired their service but also characterized evangelicals as a whole. The neglect of women leaders in history reflects the theological distance between evangelicals today and those of the past.

WHO REPRESENTS EVANGELICALS?

As the president of CBE (Christians for Biblical Equality) International, I often speak on women's history at evangelical schools. When invited, I research the institution's female founders and leaders. Through this process, I have deepened my knowledge of women who have shaped denominations and institutions around the globe. Yet, whether through bias or neglect, this history is not well-known by the very schools that prepared women as global leaders. Once, as I preached on the first class of graduates of an evangelical college known today for its complementarian posture, the chair of Bible—after introducing me—walked out of the chapel. I learned later that he did so because he does not believe Scripture permits women to preach, *even while*

⁶Neither the Evangelical Theological Society nor the editor of *JETS* could provide conference information for the years 1988–1997, 2001, and 2006. Journals were available from 1988–2018. Chesna Hinkley, MDiv candidate at Princeton Theological Seminary and CBE International's 2018 intern, provided the research and summary analyzing Evangelical Theological Society scholarship, history, and women.

thousands embraced the gospel through the school's female graduates. Given the neglect of history among evangelicals today, the legacy of women pioneers seems radical, or *radix* in Latin—"a return to the root."⁷

In recounting the history of early evangelical women, I articulate a theology of women that seems imported and offensive *because* it challenges precisely where some have become biblically and historically feeble. The radical women of the 1800s believed that Calvary makes everything new. It is not gender but new life in Christ that equips every Christian for service. To condemn as unbiblical in women what we exalt as the work of Christ in men is not only inconsistent; it is also at odds with the facts of history and the teachings of Scripture. Compelled by Christ to "Go into all the world and preach the gospel" (Mk 16:15 NIV), women have advanced Christianity and shaped a Christian or evangelical identity since Easter morning.

Historian Mark Noll notes that the term *evangelical*, when first used by the early Christians, referred to the good news of Christ's "life, death and resurrection." During the Reformation, Luther appropriated the word *evangelical* to elevate Christ's atonement above the indulgences sold by the late medieval church. Repeatedly, the term *evangelical* was associated with renewal movements because they too prioritized Christ's victory over sin and death. Philipp Spener's *Pia Desideria* called for spiritual and social renewal, as did the revivals of the eighteenth century: these events were not only "intense periods of unusual response to gospel preaching . . . but also . . . linked with unusual efforts at godly living." Embedded in the early evangelical teachings were theological convictions that, as Noll observes, guided the faith and lives of adherents.⁸ To be renewed by the gospel meant that one had crossed life's sharpest line—from spiritual death to new life in Christ. As such, one was expected to become a markedly new person in service to others.⁹

The theological distinctives of the early evangelicals reflect four qualities, summarized by "Bebbington's quadrilateral":¹⁰

⁷"Radix," Dictionary.com, www.dictionary.com/browse/radix.

⁸Mark Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism: The Age of Edwards, Whitefield and the Wesleys* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2003), 16-19.

⁹David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1989), 5.

¹⁰Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 2-17; Noll, *Rise of Evangelicalism*, 19.

conversionism: the “belief that lives need to be changed”

biblicism: a high regard for the Bible

activism: evangelism in word *and* deed

crucicentrism: a stress on Christ’s atonement

Neither Bebbington nor Noll adequately acknowledges the many women leaders who shaped both the evangelical movement and the theological priorities that have characterized Christians throughout history.

EARLY CHURCH WOMEN: MARTYRS, MONASTICS, AND MYSTICS

Women martyrs, Bible scholars, and monastic leaders deepened the gospel’s impact in communities throughout the ancient world.

Martyrs. The earliest, most extensive text by a Christian woman—the Acts of Perpetua—was written by a young mother martyred in Carthage in AD 203. A noblewoman still nursing her child, Perpetua was arrested with five others including her pregnant slave, Felicitas. Like Jesus, they endured a cruel mob, abusive guards, and a despairing family, aware that their battle was against Satan alone. Despite fierce opponents, Perpetua said, “I knew that victory was to be mine.” Her biographer tells how Perpetua faced death glowing as the “darling of God.” When “the right hand of the novice gladiator wavered, she herself guided it to her throat.”¹¹

Blandina was a slave arrested with her master. Refusing to renounce Christ, she too endured brutal torture. Like Perpetua, Blandina exhausted the gladiators in 177. Whipped, burned, tossed by wild animals, Blandina was finally killed by a gladiator’s dagger. The amphitheater where she died in Lyon, France, remains largely intact.

Refusing to sacrifice to the Roman gods, Crispina from North Africa said, “I shall not do so save to the one true God and to our Lord, Jesus Christ his Son, who was born and died. . . . I refuse to sacrifice to these ridiculous deaf and dumb statues.”¹² Crispina’s head was shaved—a humiliation to her gender. She was beheaded in 304.

¹¹Perpetua of Carthage, “The Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicity,” in *The Passion of Perpetua and Felicity*, ed. Thomas J. Heffernan (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 130-35.

¹²Herbert Musurillo, *The Acts of The Christian Martyrs* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), 303-7.

United to Christ as martyrs and heirs of God’s kingdom, women ignited a faith more powerful than Rome, one that challenged cultural expectations for them.

Monastics. During the late third century, affluent Christians fled city life and its comforts to live in the deserts. Here Christians mastered their appetites and discovered a vitality that comes from feasting on God. Many joined the desert movement, led by the ammas and abbas (mothers and fathers).

Wealthy and beautiful, Syncletica moved to the desert outside Alexandria in the fourth century. Her life of simplicity and prayer attracted a community of women, whom she taught that the path to holiness is filled with “many battles and a good deal of suffering for those who are advancing towards God and afterwards, ineffable joy.” If one is able, a commitment to poverty is “a perfect good. Those who can sustain it receive suffering in the body but rest in the soul.”¹³

Brilliant and wealthy, Macrina the Younger (330–379) turned her home in Turkey into a Christian community where all possessions were held in common and the poor were treated like the wealthy. She was the sister of bishops Gregory and Basil, known for their defense of the Nicene Creed, and both credit her for their education. A lover of knowledge, she insisted that humility and love are the aims of philosophy. Macrina was referred to as “the teacher,” even by her bishop brothers.¹⁴

Leaving wealth and children in Rome, Paula (347–404) moved to the deserts of Palestine. Spending her fortune building hospitals, monasteries, and churches, Paula also purchased the ancient texts for a Latin translation of Scripture that she and Jerome—a leading Bible scholar—completed together. Jerome dedicated much of his work to Paula and her daughter Eustochium.¹⁵

The desert movement was shaped by ammas. Detached from materialism, ambition, and bodily appetites, women’s monastic communities were

¹³Laura Swan, *The Forgotten Desert Mothers: Sayings, Lives and Stories of Early Christian Women* (New York: Paulist, 2001), 43, 46.

¹⁴Gregory of Nyssa, *The Life of Saint Macrina*, trans. and ed. Kevin Corrigan (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2005), 7.

¹⁵Jerome, *Commentary on Zephaniah*, trans. Mary Catherine Beller and Thomas P. Scheck, in *Commentaries on the Twelve Prophets*, ed. Thomas P. Scheck, Ancient Christian Texts (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2016), 1:114-15.

centers of intellectual life, renewal, and social reform, a practice that endured throughout the Middle Ages.

Mystics. Christian mystics were committed to simplicity, prayer, and community. Their intimacy with Christ gave women authority as theological and social leaders. Though excluded from traditional centers of learning, women mystics brought needed moral reform to the medieval church.

A Benedictine abbess over monks and nuns, Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179) was one of the most influential leaders of her time. A physician who composed music and poetry, Hildegard was also a dominant voice in the politics of her day. She castigated corrupt clergy on a preaching tour sanctioned by the pope, and one bishop called her “a flaming torch which our Lord has lighted in His church.”¹⁶

Hildegard claimed inferiority yet challenged human authority, believing that God spoke through her, especially her visions. She documented these in her influential book, *Scivias*, Latin for “Know the Ways of the Lord.” Her *Scivias* received papal endorsement even as it shifted the blame for sin from Eve to Satan, challenged the tradition of reading Genesis that demeaned women, stressed mutuality between men and women, and showed how baptism replaced circumcision to welcome women.¹⁷ Like mystic Julian of Norwich (1342–1416), Hildegard referred to God with feminine images.¹⁸ She was declared a doctor of the church in 2012 by Pope Benedict XVI.

Teresa of Ávila (1515–1582) is considered “the most important woman mystic of the Christian tradition.”¹⁹ Her book *The Interior Castle* is read more than any other work by a mystic. The first woman declared doctor of the church, Teresa joined the Carmelites at age twenty. She was called to a life of prayer, yet her vocation was troubled by a two-decade struggle with sensuality. All her life, Teresa experienced visions and God encounters over which she had little control. Like with Hildegard, these guided her

¹⁶Barbara Newman, introduction to *Hildegard of Bingen: Scivias* (New York: Paulist, 1990), 20; Joyce Hollyday, *Clothed with the Sun: Biblical Women, Social Justice and Us* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1994), 146.

¹⁷Hollyday, *Clothed with the Sun*, 27.

¹⁸See Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

¹⁹Harvey D. Egan, SJ, *An Anthology of Christian Mysticism*, 2nd ed. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991), 438.

writings. Her masterpiece *The Interior Castle* illustrates how prayer and meditation lead the soul toward God. Prayer, for Teresa, is nothing more “than an intimate sharing between friends; it means taking time frequently to be alone with Him whom we know loves us.”²⁰ Working to return her order to its commitment to simplicity and prayer, she established sixteen convents built on her reforms.

Also declared a doctor of the church, Catherine of Siena (1347–1380) challenged immorality at the highest level. Drawn to Christ as a child, Catherine nurtured her faith with prayer and fasting. At eighteen, she became a Third Order Dominican. Her devotional life was one of visions, ecstasies, and conflict with evil, but eventually it yielded a deep trust in Christ that forged her extraordinary leadership.

Catherine’s counsel was in great demand. Dictating nearly four hundred letters, she met with troubled parents, betrayed spouses, and feuding families, who sobbed in her presence but left with “their lives profoundly and permanently reversed.” What had she done to bring such change? It “had everything to do with the way she looked at you, with enormous interest and understanding that glowed out of her huge, dark eyes.”²¹

During the plague, Catherine nurtured the sick and dying. She comforted the imprisoned with visits and prayers. When a young man was unjustly condemned, Catherine alone spoke out against the injustice and remained with him through his execution.

Denouncing the spiritual poverty of clergy, Catherine wrote to Pope Gregory X: “[God] has given you authority and you have accepted it, you ought to be using the power and strength that is yours. If you don’t intend to use it, it would be better and more to God’s honor and the good of your soul to resign.”²²

Revered leaders, writers, and theological activists, women mystics were at the center of moral and social reform in the medieval church.

²⁰Egan, *Anthology of Christian Mysticism*, 438-40; Teresa of Avila, *The Book of Her Life* 8.5, in *The Collected Works of St. Teresa of Avila*, trans. Kieran Kavanaugh, OCD, and Otilio Rodriguez, OCD (Washington, DC: Institute of Carmelite Studies, 1976), 1:67.

²¹Carol L. Flinders, *Enduring Grace: Living Portraits of Seven Women Mystics* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1993), 116.

²²Catherine of Siena, “To Gregory XI,” in *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, trans. Suzanne Noffke, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001), 193.

Catherine, Hildegard, and Teresa gave birth “to a race of [people] that hate sin and love [God] with a great and burning love.”²³ All three were made doctors of the church for declaring God’s truth and justice across time and culture.

REFORMATION WOMEN

As Scripture became a focal point for Protestants, women’s biblical writings and speeches placed them at the forefront of the Reformation and led to their martyrdom. No longer restricted by the rules of monasticism, women gained new freedom as leaders even as they were devalued by leading theologians. Yet women advanced Protestant faith even as they navigated what Calvin and Luther never did—gender discrimination, torture, and martyrdom.

A gifted Bible scholar from Bavaria, Argula von Grumbach (ca. 1492–1564) defended Protestantism for four decades. Her prominence led to financial hardships, and her husband grew resentful and abusive. She wrote, “He does much to persecute Christ in me. . . . I cannot obey him. We are bound to forsake father, mother, brother, sister, child, body and life.”²⁴ Her writings and pamphlets were the most widely distributed of any Reformer except Luther’s.

Martyred in Britain, Lady Jane Grey (1537–1554) and Anne Askew (1521–1546) remained fearless throughout their imprisonment, brilliant throughout their interrogation, and courageous through death. Askew was the only woman ever tortured in the Tower of London; her hips were disjointed on the rack, and she was carried outside and burned at the stake.²⁵ As for Grey, the great-niece of Henry VIII, she was fluent in six languages. Grey’s father, regent to Edward VI, manipulated the dying king to make her queen over the Catholic heir apparent, Mary Tudor. Jane was quickly deposed and imprisoned in the Tower of London, where Dr. Feckenham, her interrogator, warned her that unless she recanted, they would never meet again. She replied, “True it is that we shall never meet again, except

²³Flinders, *Enduring Grace*, 117.

²⁴Derek Wilson, *Mrs. Luther and Her Sisters: Women in the Reformation* (Oxford: Lion Books, 2016), 114.

²⁵Mimi Haddad, “Egalitarian Pioneers: Betty Friedan or Catherine Booth?,” *Priscilla* 20, no. 4 (2006): 55, www.cbeinternational.org/resources/article/priscilla-papers/egalitarian-pioneers.

God turn your heart.”²⁶ The responses of Jane and Anne recorded during their inquisition reveal not only the intellectual force of the English Reformation but also the influence of women’s theological leadership.

Spared martyrdom, Margaret of Navarre (1492–1549) and her daughter Jeanne d’Albret (1528–1572) supported the Protestant Reformation in France. Margaret, queen of Navarre, never made an official break with Rome. Her palace at Nérac became a center for Protestant theologians such as Jacques Lefèvre and for Huguenots.²⁷ As queen, Jeanne made Protestantism the official religion of Navarre, turned churches over to the Protestants, opened a school of Reformed theology, and had the New Testament translated into Basque for the first time. Jeanne’s son, as king of France, ensured religious freedom to Protestants in 1598 through the Edict of Nantes—the first law protecting religious freedom in Europe.

As biblical activists and martyrs, women proved essential in establishing Protestant faith in Europe and Britain. In the centuries that followed, the gospel flourished on every continent through women preachers, missionaries, and humanitarians.

CONVERSIONISM: AWAKENINGS AND MOVEMENTS

As pioneering evangelists, women shaped emerging denominations and were at the forefront of new movements. Two examples are Susanna Wesley (1669–1742) and Margaret Fell Fox (1614–1702). Widowed with nine children, Margaret Fell married George Fox, founder of the Quakers. Once widowed, she continued to write, speak, and lead the movement. Adamant that the Quakers would support women’s equality, she published *Women’s Speaking Justified* in 1666.²⁸

Like Fell Fox, Susanna Wesley was the spiritual leader of her family and eventually her community. Homeschooling her nineteen children, including John, the father of Methodism, and Charles, the great hymn writer, Wesley also led Sunday home meetings, first for her family but eventually for overflowing crowds in her community. Disturbed by her influence, she

²⁶Paul F. M. Zahl, *Five Women of the English Reformation* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001), 70.

²⁷Sarah Towne Martyn, *Margaret, The Pearl of Navarre* (London: Hamilton, Adams, 1867), 178.

²⁸Margaret Fell Fox, *Women’s Speaking Justified, Proved and Allowed by the Scriptures* (London, 1666).

responded to her husband: “Your objections against our Sunday evening meetings are, first, that it will look particular; secondly, my sex. . . . As to its looking particular, I grant it does; and so does almost everything that is serious, or that may any way advance the glory of God, or the salvation of souls.”²⁹

The best defense for women pastors was women, such as African American Methodist preacher Jarena Lee (ca. 1783–1850). Lee located God’s approval for women preachers in the example of biblical women. Her autobiography recounts: “Did not Mary first preach the risen Savior, and is not the doctrine of the resurrection the very climax of Christianity—hangs not all our hope on this, as argued by St. Paul? Then did not Mary, a woman, preach the gospel?”³⁰ Lee’s was the first autobiography by a woman of color, but it inspired others, such as Julia A. J. Foote (1823–1901), for whom spiritual experiences gave women of color the “very real sense of freedom from a prior ‘self’ and a growing awareness of unrealized, unexploited powers within.”³¹ African American Zilpha Elaw (1790–1846?) enjoyed spiritual experiences that resembled those of women mystics. Elaw believed God alone called her as a preacher. She “durst not confer with flesh and blood.”³²

Another prominent Methodist, Phoebe Palmer (1807–1874), not only launched the Third Great Awakening, but she also guided nineteenth-century holiness theology and modeled leadership for holiness women. Serving the infamous Tombs prisoners, Palmer also established the Five Points Mission. An international evangelist, Palmer was certain that God had called her preach. So “truly has He set His seal upon it . . . in the conversion of thousands of precious souls, and the sanctification of a multitude of believers, that even Satan does not seem to question that my call is divine.” She “attributed the long-standing prohibitions against women in the church to two things in particular: a faulty interpretation of the Bible

²⁹Charles Wallace Jr., ed., *Susanna Wesley: The Complete Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 79–81.

³⁰Jarena Lee, *The Life and Religious Experience of Jarena Lee, a Coloured Lady* (self-published, 1849), 11.

³¹William Andrews, *Sisters of the Spirit: Three Black Women’s Autobiographies of the Nineteenth Century* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 12.

³²Paul W. Chilcote, *The Methodist Defense of Women in Ministry* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2016), 86.

and a distorted and unchristian view most men had of women.” She defended women’s call to preach in *Promise of the Father*.³³

EVANGELISM: A GOLDEN ERA

Women’s impact as evangelists reached its zenith in the 1800s, a golden era of missions. Outnumbering men two to one as missionaries globally, women pursued new opportunities that demonstrated their gifts and calling. Founding mission organizations, funding their work, and working at all levels, women served in regions where males seldom went.³⁴ The priority women placed on evangelism was embedded in the early evangelical ethos.

African American Amanda Berry Smith (1837–1915) achieved world acclaim as a missionary and leader. Smith served in England, India, Sierra Leone, and Liberia, and Methodist bishop and noted missionary William Taylor said that she “had done more for the cause of missions and temperance in Africa than the combined efforts of all missionaries before her.” Preaching in White and Black communities, Smith was the first African American woman to receive invitations to preach internationally. At a Keswick convention in England, Smith said, “You may not know it, but I am a princess in disguise. I am a child of the King.” Smith realized that “if she was a child, she was an heir of God!” Her confidence in Christ was indomitable.³⁵

A pioneering missionary like Smith, Charlotte “Lottie” Moon (1840–1912) served the people of China for forty years. Lottie’s mother not only preached to her household, since there was no Southern Baptist church in their area, but she also read to them from the writings of noted Baptist missionary Ann Hasseltine Judson (1789–1826). In 1872, Lottie Moon’s

³³Richard Wheatley, *The Life and Letters of Mrs. Phoebe Palmer* (New York: W. C. Palmer Jr., 1876), 83; Chilcote, *Methodist Defense*, 110; Phoebe Palmer, *Promise of the Father* (repr., Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2015).

³⁴Wendy Murray Zorba, “A Woman’s Place: Women Reaching Women Is Key to the Future of Missions,” *CT*, August 4, 2000, www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2000/august7/1.40.html. See also Dana Robert, ed., *Gospel Bearers, Gender Barriers: Missionary Women in the Twentieth Century* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2002); Mimi Haddad, “Egalitarians: A New Path to Liberalism? Or Integral to Evangelical DNA?,” *Special Edition Journal of CBE International* (2013), www.cbeinternational.org/blogs/egalitarian-history.

³⁵William Taylor, as quoted by Hallie Quinn Brown, *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 131; W. B. Sloan, *These Sixty Years: The Story of the Keswick Convention* (London: Pickering & Inglis, 1935), 91; Amanda Smith, *An Autobiography*, electronic ed. (1999), <https://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/smitham/smith.html>.

sister sailed to China as a missionary, and Lottie joined her in 1873. Adapting rapidly to Chinese culture and language, Lottie moved north to Pingtu to plant and pastor a Baptist Church in 1889. As famines devastated China, she begged family and friends to give generously in gratitude for God's gift of Christ at Christmas. In response, she received enough money for three more women missionaries, launching the North China Woman's Missionary Union. As poverty persisted, Moon used all her money to feed her community but died of starvation herself. She said she wished she had a thousand lives to give to the people of China. The year after her death saw the first Lottie Moon Christmas offering—a tradition that continues among Southern Baptists. As of June 2016, more than \$168 million has been raised in memory of Moon, a Southern Baptist missionary pastor and church planter.

The church in China exists today because of women evangelists. Dora Yu (1873–1931), a medical doctor and preacher's daughter, preached in Korea and at revival meetings in China. It was Yu who introduced China's noted church planter Watchman Nee to Christ.³⁶

Serving Christ in India, Amy Carmichael (1867–1951) devoted more than fifty years to prostituted children. Born in Northern Ireland, she worked initially as an itinerant evangelist, but upon learning of children enslaved as Hindu temple prostitutes, Carmichael intercepted two thousand children and raised nine hundred at her orphanage. Carmichael, an author of more than thirty books, is one of the best-known missionaries of her era.

Single and fearless like Yu, Carmichael, and Moon, Mary Slessor (1848–1915) served over two thousand miles in Calabar (Nigeria) for thirty-eight years. Known affectionately by thousands of Africans as “White Ma,” Slessor built schools, taught trade classes, opened churches, and preached. She adopted abandoned twins, who continued her work after she died. Slessor said her life was

one long daily, hourly, record of answered prayer. For physical health, for mental overstrain, for guidance given marvelously, for errors and dangers

³⁶Alexander Chow, “The Remarkable Story of China’s ‘Bible Women,’” *CT*, May 23, 2017, www.christianitytoday.com/history/2018/march/christian-china-bible-women.html.

averted, for enmity to the Gospel subdued, for food provided at the exact hour needed, for everything that goes to make up life and my poor service, I can testify with a full and often wonder-stricken awe that I believe God answers prayers.³⁷

Surrounded by danger, women missionaries planted churches, schools, and orphanages. They preached, married, buried, trained their successors, and suffered beside their communities. Their character and calling were manifest on mission fields around the world, and even more as they championed the great humanitarian causes of their day.

ACTIVISM

Confronting entrenched injustices, the early evangelicals were decisive leaders in abolition, temperance, and suffrage. The vast majority, 88 percent of evangelical Christians, were abolitionists. Evangelical institutions were stations along the Underground Railroad, and evangelical women not only strategically championed abolition and suffrage, but they also exposed domestic violence, human trafficking, and the sexual abuse of girls and women—key priorities of organizations such as the Women’s Christian Temperance Union and its leaders, Frances Willard and Katharine Bushnell.

Leading abolition were women such as Quaker Sarah Grimké (1792–1873), who gained a national platform for her abolitionist writings. She offered biblical support for women’s equality in public preaching and speaking.³⁸ Quaker Elizabeth Coltman Heyrick (1789–1831) launched a successful boycott of slave-produced goods; a British runaway slave, Mary Prince (1788–1833), was the first woman to present an abolitionist petition to Parliament; and Quaker Mary Ann Shadd Cary (1823–1893) was an African American lawyer who launched *The Provincial Freeman*, a weekly newspaper devoted to abolition.³⁹

An activist of the highest order, American slave, abolitionist, and suffragist Sojourner Truth (ca. 1797–1883) was one of the most gifted speakers

³⁷W. P. Livingstone, *Mary Slessor of Calabar: A Pioneer Missionary* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1917), 316.

³⁸Sarah Grimké, *Letters on the Equality of the Sexes* (Boston: Isaac Knapp, 1838).

³⁹Mary Prince, *The History of Mary Prince, a West Indian Slave* (repr., Mineola, NY: Dover, 2004), <http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/prince/prince.html>.

of her day. Revered by Frederick Douglass, William Lloyd Garrison, and Abraham Lincoln, Truth used piercing logic to challenge racial and gender prejudice. At an 1852 suffrage meeting in Ohio, Truth observed that denying women the right to vote or preach because Christ was male ignored the fact (articulated by fourth-century theologians) that it was Christ's humanity, not his maleness, that made Jesus an atonement for all people.⁴⁰

Like Truth, Pandita Ramabai (1858–1922) gained international renown as an activist. Having become a Christian through a revival in Calcutta, Ramabai founded the Mukti Mission, a humanitarian compound for eight hundred abandoned women, children, and disabled persons. Pandita translated the Bible from Greek and Hebrew into Marathi—a translation solely the work of women. Her book, *The High Caste Hindu Woman*, exposed the abuses of females in India.⁴¹

An international leader like Ramabai, Frances Willard (1839–1898) was president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the largest Christian women's organization of its day. Promoting evangelism, suffrage, temperance, and abolition, the Women's Christian Temperance Union was at the forefront of dismantling the sex industry. Willard's activism mobilized global women such as Wang Liming (1896–1970), who led Women's Christian Temperance Union work in China, later dying in a labor camp for her faith.⁴²

BIBLICISM

The biblicism that once opposed patriarchy, racism, and their global consequences gave way to an anti-intellectual critique of evangelical social activism and women's leadership, judging these as liberal. Addressing issues biblically, the early evangelicals published more than fifty documents defending women evangelists and preachers.⁴³ Distinguished pastor

⁴⁰Gregory of Nazianzen, "To Cledonius the Priest Against Apollinarius," *NPNF²*, vol. 7, trans. Charles Gordon Browne and James Edward Swallow, ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature, 1894). He writes: "For that which He has not assumed He has not healed." For Nazianzen, healing, or redemption, requires representation. For Sojourner Truth, born of a woman, Christ represented women on Calvary.

⁴¹Pandita Ramabai, *The High Caste Hindu Woman* (Philadelphia: Tenth Thousand, 1888).

⁴²John Barwick, "Wang Liming: Promoting a Protestant Vision of the Modern Chinese Woman," in *Salt and Light 3: More Lives of Faith that Shaped Modern China*, ed. Carol Lee Hamrin and Stacey Bieler (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2011), 136–57.

⁴³Charles O. Knowles, *Let Her Be: Right Relationships and the Southern Baptist Conundrum over Woman's Role* (Columbia, MO: KnoWell, 2002), 85.

A. J. Gordon (1836–1895) insisted that in Christ, God’s favor is no longer limited to the “favored few, but upon the many, without regard to race, or age, or sex.” Gordon said that all “texts that prohibit a practice in one place, while allowing it in another, must be considered in the light of the entire New Testament teaching.”⁴⁴

Cofounder of the Salvation Army, Catherine Booth (1829–1890) also exposed inconsistencies when interpreting passages concerning women. She wrote:

If commentators had dealt with the Bible on other subjects as they have dealt with it on this, taking isolated passages, separated from their explanatory connections, and insisting on the literal interpretation of the words of our version, what errors and contractions would have been forced upon the acceptance of the Church, and what terrible results would have accrued to the world.⁴⁵

The most systematic egalitarian critique of Scripture and women was published by American Katharine Bushnell (1856–1946). After working briefly as a physician in China, Bushnell returned home to lead the Women’s Christian Temperance Union’s Social Purity Department. After decades of exposing sex slavery in the United States and abroad, Bushnell argued that a misreading of Scripture fueled the abuse of girls and women. She wrote:

So long as [Christians] imagine that a system of caste is taught in the Word of God, and that [men] belong to the upper caste while women are of the lower caste; and just so long as [we] believe that mere FLESH—fate—determines the caste to which one belongs; and just so long as [we] believe that . . . the “he will rule over you” [Genesis 3:16 is prescriptive] . . . the destruction of young women into a prostitute class will continue.⁴⁶

For Bushnell, Paul supported women’s public teaching provided they were not domineering, distracting, or teaching error. “[We] cannot, for women, put the ‘new wine’ of the Gospel into the old wine-skins of ‘condemnation.’”⁴⁷

⁴⁴A. J. Gordon, “The Ministry of Women,” *Missionary Review of the World* 17, no. 4 (1894): 911, 913.

⁴⁵Catherine Booth, “Female Ministry; or, Women’s Right to Preach the Gospel,” in *Terms of Empowerment: Salvation Army Women in Ministry* (West Nyack, NY: Salvation Army, USA Eastern Territory, 2001), 19–20.

⁴⁶Katharine Bushnell, *Dr. Katharine C. Bushnell: A Brief Sketch of Her Life and Work* (Hertford, UK: Rose and Sons, 1930), 14. See also Katharine Bushnell, *God’s Word to Women: One Hundred Bible Studies on Women’s Place in the Divine Economy* (Mossville, IL: God’s Word to Women, 1999), 10–64.

⁴⁷Bushnell, *God’s Word to Women*, 169.

Turning to Scripture as their highest authority, the early evangelicals exposed interpretative errors that devalued females and justified their marginalization and abuse.

CRUCICENTRISM

Passionate about Calvary, the early evangelicals published extensively on the cross and preached on Galatians 2:20 more than any other Christian movement.⁴⁸ Their high Christology forged an egalitarian worldview, insisting that Calvary created a new humanity in which Jew and Greek, slave and free, male and female are grafted into God's family, made one in Christ, and called to equal service in the church. Their crucicentrism gave theological teeth to their egalitarian worldview, which challenged spiritual and social barriers for slaves and women.

Jessie Penn-Lewis (1861–1927), a prominent Welsh revivalist, writer, and international speaker, popularized early evangelical crucicentrism. For Penn-Lewis, Christians were united to Christ on Calvary and joined as equal members of Christ's body, where hostilities that had formerly separated and marginalized believers were overcome by the sanctifying power of the cross. Penn-Lewis wrote: "Christ upon the Cross of Calvary broke down the middle wall of partition between man and man, as well as between man and God. He died that in Him there might be a new creation, one new man, [in which] all divisions caused by sin cease in Him."⁴⁹ Penn-Lewis's cross theology cast vision for personal and corporate holiness that challenged racial and gender bias in the church and beyond.

EVANGELICALS TODAY

Women opened new global centers of Christian faith in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but as their churches and organizations became institutionalized, women were pressed out of leadership.⁵⁰

⁴⁸Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 13. Galatians 2:20 reads, "I have been crucified with Christ and I no longer live, but Christ lives in me. The life I live in the body, I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me" (NIV).

⁴⁹Jessie Penn-Lewis, *Thy Hidden Ones: Union with Christ, Traced in the Song of Songs* (London: Marshall Brothers, 1899), 30.

⁵⁰Stanley J. Grenz and Denise Muir Kjesbo, *Women in the Church: A Biblical Theology of Women in Ministry* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1995), 37-62.

Further, following the fundamentalist-modernist controversy in the mid-twentieth century, mission organizations, Bible institutes, and denominations moved women into support roles to distinguish themselves from a growing secularization of feminism.⁵¹ Early evangelical biblicism, which supported abolition, suffrage, and pressing humanitarian work worldwide, gave way to an anti-intellectualism that judged social activism and women's leadership as liberal. Responding to the threat of liberalism, Bible institutes such as Northwestern Bible Training School terminated courses on "archaeology, history, and the ancient languages." Willam Bell Riley, founder of the World Christian Fundamentals Association, helped lead fundamentalists toward the "plain reading of the Scriptures."⁵²

As a result, fundamentalists abandoned their leadership in these and other fields. They also lost respected positions in the academy and culture, as noted in Charles Malik's inaugural address at Wheaton's Billy Graham Center in 1980.⁵³ According to Malik, it would take many decades to recover the intellectual and cultural leadership surrendered by fundamentalists and evangelicals after 1950. Since then, evangelicals have not only become estranged from the theological priorities that drove social activism and women's leadership in an earlier generation, but also alienated from their own history and theology.⁵⁴ Because of this, after 1950, evangelical women could preach, teach, plant churches, and train men on mission fields, but never in their sending churches in the West.⁵⁵

⁵¹The fundamentalist-modernist controversy began in the United States as modernists accommodated to scientific inquiry by challenging the "fundamentals of Christianity," such as the inspiration of Scripture, the miracles cited in Scripture, the virgin birth, the resurrection, and the atonement of Christ. See Ernest R. Sandeen, "Christian Fundamentalism," *Britannica*, 2000, www.britannica.com/topic/Christian-fundamentalism.

⁵²William Vance Trollinger Jr., *God's Empire: William Bell Riley and Midwestern Fundamentalism* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 94.

⁵³Charles Malik, "Graham Center Dedication" (presentation, Wheaton, IL, September 13, 1980), <https://media.wheaton.edu/hapi/v1/contents/permalinks/a9W3NoSf/view>.

⁵⁴As noted, the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary's curriculum minimizes the history of women's leadership while also failing to adequately expose its support of slavery at its formation in 1845. See Allan Cross, "Southern Baptists Have a History Problem: Let's Stop Saying We Started over Missions," *SBC Voices*, February 12, 2015, <https://sbcvoices.com/southern-baptists-have-a-history-problem-lets-stop-saying-we-started-over-missions>.

⁵⁵My in-laws were career missionaries in Brazil, where my mother-in-law and her female colleagues enjoyed using their teaching, preaching, and administrating gifts, which they quietly hid from view when visiting their sending churches on furlough in the United States.

After World War II, evangelicals celebrated women's work in domestic spheres, a stereotype explored in Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) and declared biblical by Charles Ryrie's *The Place of Woman*.⁵⁶ In response, writers affiliated with the Evangelical Women's Caucus (incorporated in 1975) supported the biblical foundations for women's leadership in harmony with earlier evangelical traditions, such as those evident in the writings of pastor Lee Anna Starr (1853–1937). Patricia Gundry challenged the misrepresentation of post-1970s egalitarians as theologically and socially liberal. Her 1977 book, *Woman Be Free!: The Clear Message of Scripture*, resulted in her husband's dismissal from Moody Bible Institute, representing the divide among evangelicals concerning the biblical basis for women's leadership.⁵⁷

By 1984, two volumes were pivotal in demonstrating how egalitarians honor the authority of Scripture but arrive at different conclusions from complementarians—*Women, Authority and the Bible* and *No Time for Silence*.⁵⁸ In 1986, the Evangelical Theological Society convention considered the theme “Men and Women in Biblical and Theological Perspective,” sponsoring the largest conversation on gender among evangelicals in history.⁵⁹ Each camp formed an organization in 1987 to host events, publish resources, and advocate in churches, denominations, and educational institutions, and at events such as Evangelical Theological Society meetings. The Council on Biblical Manhood and Womanhood defended male authority in the church and home in John Piper and Wayne Grudem's *Recovering Biblical Manhood: A Response to Evangelical Feminism*. CBE International promoted the shared authority of men and women in books such as *I Suffer Not a Woman: Rethinking 1 Timothy 2:11-15 in Light of Ancient Evidence*, by Richard and Catherine Kroeger.⁶⁰

⁵⁶Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1963); Charles Ryrie, *The Place of Woman* (London: Macmillan: 1958); Ron Pierce, “Contemporary Evangelicals for Gender Equality,” in *Discovering Biblical Equality: Complementarity Without Hierarchy*, ed. Ronald W. Pierce, Rebecca Merrill Groothuis, and Gordon Fee (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2004), 59. What follows is a summary of Pierce's excellent chapter.

⁵⁷Lee Anna Starr, *The Bible Status of Women* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1926); Patricia Gundry, *Woman Be Free!: The Clear Message of Scripture* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1977).

⁵⁸Alvera Mickelsen, ed., *Women, Authority and the Bible* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1986); Janette Hassey, *No Time for Silence: Evangelical Women in Public Ministry Around the Turn of the Century* (repr., Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1986).

⁵⁹Pierce, “Contemporary Evangelicals for Gender Equality,” 63–64.

⁶⁰Richard Kroeger and Catherine Kroeger, *I Suffer Not a Woman: Rethinking 1 Timothy 2:11-15 in Light of Ancient Evidence* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1992).

In the publications that followed, the meaning of words such as *head* (Greek *kephalē*) and *authority* (Greek *authentēin*) were debated, as were themes in systematic theology such as whether the Trinity supports male headship.⁶¹ Sociologists explored the impact of nature and culture on gender.⁶² The topic of abuse gained attention as evangelicals considered the consequences of male authority in *Women, Abuse and the Bible* by Catherine Kroeger and James Beck.⁶³ The topic of homosexuality surfaced in 1998.⁶⁴ Accused of slippery-slope hermeneutics, egalitarians responded with theologically provocative works, while ontological gender essentialism deepened among complementarians with Bruce Ware's advocacy for hierarchy in the Trinity as the basis for male authority and Piper's "masculine feel" Christianity.⁶⁵

In 2003, a third way was published by Steven Tracy, for whom male headship should reflect Christ's sacrifice and service.⁶⁶ Michelle Lee-Barnewall also proposed an alternative position in 2016. While Tracy is concerned for abused women, Lee-Barnewall never mentions the topic. She too understands headship as self-sacrifice, which, in her view, initiates unity, love, and oneness not only between husband and wife but also in Christ's body, the church. Further, Lee-Barnewall critiques post-1970s egalitarianism's focus on rights and equality as out of step with first-wave

⁶¹See Richard S. Cervin, "Does Kephale Mean 'Source' or 'Authority Over' in Greek Literature? A Rebuttal," *Trinity Journal* 10 (1989): 85-112; Kevin Giles, *The Trinity and Subordinationism: The Doctrine of God and the Contemporary Gender Debate* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2002).

⁶²Mary Stewart Van Leeuwen, *Gender and Grace: Love, Work and Parenting in a Changing World* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1990); Elaine Storkey, *Origins of Difference: The Gender Debate Revisited* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2001).

⁶³Catherine Kroeger and James Beck, *Women, Abuse and the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1996).

⁶⁴Stanley J. Grenz, *Welcoming but Not Affirming: An Evangelical Response to Homosexuality* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1998).

⁶⁵Such egalitarian works include William J. Webb, *Slaves, Women and Homosexuals: Exploring the Hermeneutics of Cultural Analysis* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2001). See also Megan DeFranza, *Sex Difference in Christian Theology: Male, Female, and Intersex in the Image of God* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2015); Wesley Hill, *Washed and Waiting: Reflections on Christian Faithfulness and Homosexuality* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2016). Complementarian works include Bruce Ware, *Father, Son and Holy Spirit: Relationships, Roles and, Relevance* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2005); John Piper, "The Frank and Manly Mr. Ryle—the Value of a Masculine Ministry," Desiring God Conference for Pastors, Minneapolis, September 28-30, 2012, www.desiringgod.org/messages/the-frank-and-manly-mr-ryle-the-value-of-a-masculine-ministry.

⁶⁶Steven Tracy, "Headship with a Heart: How Biblical Patriarchy Actually Prevents Abuse," *CT*, February 1, 2003, www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2003/february/5.50.html.

feminists whose aim was serving others.⁶⁷ But is this the case? Consider that in 1970, women's full-time annual income was 59 percent of men's.⁶⁸ The median income for women (including part-time workers and stay-at-home women) was only 33 percent of the median income for men, and women of color were paid even less.⁶⁹ Most women also shouldered a second shift at home. Prior to the 1994 Violence Against Women Act, domestic-violence data was almost nonexistent. Thanks to the activism of second-wave feminists and post-1970s egalitarians, violence against women declined 48.2 percent between 1994 and 2000.⁷⁰ To address these and other injustices, post-1970s egalitarians published the Chicago Declaration of Evangelical Social Concern of 1975 and inaugurated an advocacy organization, Evangelicals for Social Action, in 1978, led by Ron Sider. Gretchen Gaebelein Hull served on Evangelicals for Social Action's board and was also a founding board member of CBE International.

While complementarians rarely address abuse biblically or socially, it remains paramount for egalitarians. Since 1994, CBE International has addressed abuse at events, in research and publications beside its partners, and through nongovernmental-organization projects. Male headship construed as control and dominance leads not only to marital dissatisfaction but also to violence; hence egalitarians (first-wave and post-70s) interpret *headship* as mutual submission (Eph 5:21) and Christian service as shared authority (Gen 1:26-29).⁷¹

The tension between third-way proponents and post-'70s egalitarians persists. Just as third-way proslavery Christians attempted to address the abuses of slavery, insisting the system was God-approved, third-wave

⁶⁷Michelle Lee-Barnewall, *Neither Complementarian nor Egalitarian: A Kingdom Corrective to the Evangelical Gender Debate* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2016), 63, 84-145.

⁶⁸"Table P-40: Women's Earnings as a Percentage of Men's Earnings by Race and Hispanic Origin," United States Census Bureau, September 15, 2020, www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/demo/income-poverty/historical-income-people.html.

⁶⁹"Median Annual Earnings," Institute for Women's Policy Research, https://iwpr.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/C478_Gender-Wage-Gap-in-2018.pdf.

⁷⁰Shannan Catalano, "Special Report: Intimate Partner Violence, 1993–2010," US Department of Justice Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics, September 29, 2015, www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/ipv9310.pdf.

⁷¹Shuji G. Asai and David H. Olson, "Spouse Abuse & Marital System Based on ENRICH," www.prepare-enrich.com/pe/pdf/research/abuse.pdf, accessed June 11, 2018. See also Mimi Haddad, "Human Flourishing: Global Perspectives" in this volume.

complementarians oppose the abuses of patriarchy but wish to retain forms of male headship. In contrast, egalitarians (first-wave and post-'70s) oppose slavery and Christian patriarchy as biblically and socially flawed. As Richard Hays observes, the New Testament calls those with

power and privilege to *surrender* it for the sake of the weak. . . . It is *husbands* (not wives) who are called to emulate Christ's example of giving themselves up in obedience for the sake of the other (Eph. 5:25). . . . [Interpreting this] as though it somehow warranted a husband's domination or physical abuse of his wife can only be regarded as a bizarre—indeed, blasphemous—misreading. . . . The followers of Jesus—men and women alike—must read the New Testament as a call to renounce violence and coercion.⁷²

Post-1970s egalitarians focused on political and legal rights *as a means* of serving women who were abused physically and also economically. In this way, post-1970s egalitarians today are perfectly in step with the first wave, who also advanced suffrage and laws against rape and trafficking in order to protect the vulnerable of their day.

CONCLUSION

Throughout history, women were the hands and feet of Jesus in the desert, amphitheatres, abbeys, brothels, prisons, and hospitals. Planting churches, launching movements, denominations, mission, and humanitarian organizations, women mastered biblical languages and produced more accurate Bible translations. As gospel activists on every continent, they led spiritual and social reform in the church and beyond. Their life and work constituted an egalitarian worldview to challenge theology and practices that devalued and marginalized the dignity and gifts of humankind created in God's image. Scripture calls us to remember our leaders and those who have spoken God's word to us. In honoring their legacy, we strengthen our own faith and work as well. May we always remember women leaders and celebrate "the outcome of their way of life and imitate their faith" (Heb 13:7 NIV).

⁷²Richard Hays, *The Moral Vision of the New Testament* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996), 197. It is confusing that Lee-Barnewall's citation of Hays omits his clear affirmation of women's equality as biblical. See Lee-Barnewall, *Neither Complementarian nor Egalitarian*, 176.

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