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GOD'S GLASS CEILING: WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN CHRISTIAN FUNDAMENTALIST
HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

A Thesis
presented in partial fulfillment of requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts

by

MELISSA GRAVES

August 2011

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ABSTRACT

Fundamentalists have historically held complex relationships with education and with women. This thesis examines the intersection of the three topics through a case study approach by looking at the education of women at fundamentalist institutions Bob Jones University, Liberty University, and Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary. Historically, fundamentalists have expressed great suspicion towards education and intellectualism. Fundamentalists insisted on a literal interpretation of the Bible. Moreover, they created fundamentalist universities and colleges so that parents could send their sons and daughters away to school without worrying that their children would abandon their faith.

This thesis argues that fundamentalist schools approach the education of women in ways that are rife with paradox. These fundamentalist universities, by providing women with an education, empower them for future careers and provide them with an intellectual framework to navigate an increasingly complex world. Yet, the institutions also teach women to relinquish their aspirations to become pastors, to submit to the authority of their husbands, and to center their lives around their homes. Such an approach to the education of women by fundamentalists ultimately ensures men's retention of power within fundamentalism.

Thus, educated and "modern" women no longer threaten their patriarchal fundamentalist schools, churches, and denominations.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BJU	Bob Jones University
EEOC	Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
LBC	Liberty Bible College
LU	Liberty University
SEC	Securities and Exchange Commission
SWBTS	Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Fundamentalists have historically held complex relationships with education and with women; this thesis examines the intersection of the three topics through a case study approach. Historically, fundamentalists have expressed great suspicion towards education and intellectualism, as nineteenth century higher criticism dismantled Western civilization's belief in the Bible as a literal document. Fundamentalists insisted on a literal interpretation of the Bible. Moreover, they created Bible colleges so that parents could send their sons and daughters away to school without worrying that their children would learn about evolution and abandon their fundamentalist faith.

A summer in Dayton, Tennessee solidified Christian fundamentalism's antagonism toward intellectualism when the State of Tennessee put John Scopes, a biology teacher, on trial for teaching evolution. Popularly known as the "Monkey Trial," the 1925 Scopes Trial pitted William Jennings Bryan, a Christian politician and attorney for the prosecution, against Clarence Darrow, an accomplished atheist attorney. Though Bryan and the prosecution won the trial, the media portrayed fundamentalists as dimwitted and vehemently opposed to science, evolution, and modernism. During the trial, Bryan spent an afternoon on the witness stand and floundered through questions from Darrow about the absurdity of a literal belief in the Bible. Fundamentalists largely appeared as a movement of religious adherents with their heads in the

sand, desperate to ignore any intellectual or scientific evidence that contradicted their Bibles.

As much as fundamentalists have traditionally detested modernism and evolution, they have despised the women's movement equally, if not more. In the early twentieth century, fundamentalist men stood agape in horror as the women around them left the home, cut their hair, acquired an education, and pursued challenging careers. These modern women threatened fundamentalist men's sense of masculinity; men believed they held God-given authority over women. Yet, modern women refused fundamentalist men their sense of power. Fundamentalist men worried that their modern wives would no longer submit to them and that women in general would usurp men's God-given authority within the church. The men fought back. Over the years, prominent fundamentalist men such as John R. Rice, Bob Jones, Sr. and Jerry Falwell admonished women to embrace their God-given roles as homemakers and submissive wives. They fought against the Equal Rights Amendment and won. They ensured, for a time, that fundamentalist men would retain their source of power within their own churches.

How have women functioned within fundamentalist schools? How have fundamentalists approached the topic of educating women, while at the same time teaching women their purpose in life is limited by God? This thesis argues that fundamentalist schools approach the education of women in ways that are rife with paradox. These fundamentalist universities, by providing women with an education, empower them for future careers and provide them with an intellectual framework to navigate an increasingly complex world. Yet, the institutions also teach that women are limited by God; women are taught to exhibit traditional femininity, to relinquish their aspirations to become pastors, to submit to the authority of their husbands, and to center their lives around their homes. Though fundamentalists teach that men and women are

equal before God, fundamentalists also teach that God has granted men and women different biblical roles; men are the head of their households and churches, and women serve as helpmeets to their husbands. Such an approach to the education of women by fundamentalists ultimately ensures men's retention of power within fundamentalism. Thus, educated and "modern" women no longer threaten their patriarchal fundamentalist schools, churches, and denominations.

This thesis does not cover the entire topic of women in fundamentalist Christian institutions; rather, it utilizes historical case study examinations of women at three higher education institutions: Bob Jones University, Liberty University, and Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary. Each university has approached the education of women in unique ways, and their approach to women speaks volumes about the fundamentalist movement at large. These institutions were selected based upon each school's unique relationship to fundamentalism. The reputation of Bob Jones University, founded by evangelist Bob Jones Sr. in the 1920s, as a strict, fundamentalist institution has never faltered; the university evinces the characteristics of fundamentalism in virtually every sense. Not only does the school enforce a strikingly rigid set of rules upon its students, faculty and staff, but it also maintains strict separatism from Christian denominations and churches who do not adhere to the university's core beliefs.

Liberty University, founded by televangelist Jerry Falwell in 1971, represents a type of fundamentalism that is different from that of Bob Jones University. Although Falwell personally identified as a fundamentalist throughout his life, he refused separatism from other Christian denominations in exchange for interdenominational support of his political group, the Moral Majority. Falwell held no qualms against working with Mormons, Catholics, and other

Protestants, something that Bob Jones vehemently refused to do. As such, Liberty University contrasts Bob Jones University's strict separatism from other Christians while still retaining a unique fundamentalist doctrine. Though Falwell preached many volatile and oppositional sermons about women in the workplace during the 1970s and 1980s, he educated women equally with men within his own institution. Such a dichotomous approach by Falwell towards women demonstrates the dissonance within fundamentalism, as actions and words often do not match; Falwell educated women, but for many years, he still preached the importance of women remaining in the home.

Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, affiliated with the Southern Baptist Convention, would not have been classified as a fundamentalist institution until Paige Patterson, a neo-conservative Southern Baptist leader, assumed the institution's presidency in 2002. Since that time, Patterson has brought about many changes throughout the university, particularly related to women. Patterson's wife, Dorothy, an integral figure in the Southern Baptist Convention's shift towards fundamentalism, has implemented many changes throughout the seminary's campus, most notable of which is a new homemaking program for undergraduate women. The program signals a step back in time for Southern Baptists. In its earlier years, the seminary endorsed advances for women within the ministry. In the last few years, those advances have all but been forgotten, as SWBTS dismissed female faculty and reemphasized the role of women as homemakers.

In recent years, gender inequality has become an important issue in the study of fundamentalism. This contemporary issue has largely replaced the historical issue of race, once a prominent means for preservation of authority among white Southern conservative males.

Following the end of Jim Crow segregation, the Religious Right reformulated their social agenda.¹ As a result, fundamentalists issued apologies for their racism and “repudiated the white supremacist views of their predecessors.”² For many years, white fundamentalist men preserved their patriarchal authority through racial discrimination. Many early fundamentalist evangelists openly supported segregation.³ In recent years, however, fundamentalist men have sought to affirm their authority through their patriarchal authority over women. Paul Harvey writes, “For religious conservatives generally, patriarchy has supplanted race as the defining first principle of God-ordained inequality.”⁴ Fundamentalists adhere to complementarian theology, a biblically-supported belief that only men may serve as head pastors in churches and that wives must submit to the authority of their husbands. Such a view contrasts egalitarianism theology, a biblically-supported view that teaches men and women are equal in Christ. In studying the authority of fundamentalist men, one could easily focus on the issue of race within the fundamentalism; indeed, such a topic is ripe for examination. This thesis, however, will focus on patriarchy as a means of authority for fundamentalist men.

By controlling the messages issued to women within fundamentalist Christian higher education institutions such as Bob Jones University, Liberty University, and Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, fundamentalist men preserve their God-given authority. These schools reinforce complementarian theology and ensure that students receive proper admonition and teaching regarding the Biblical role of men and women. Though fundamentalists manifest

¹ Samuel Hill and Dennis Owen, *The New Religious Right in America* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1981).

² Paul Harvey, “At Ease in Zion, Uneasy in Babylon: White Evangelicals,” in *Religion and Public Life in the South*, ed. Charles Reagan Wilson et al. (Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 2005), 71.

³ Daniel L. Turner, *Standing Without Apology: The History of Bob Jones University* (Greenville: Bob Jones University Press, 1997), 225, 339.

⁴ Harvey, “At Ease in Zion,” 71.

opposition to such modern forces as the secularization of higher education, fundamentalists have adroitly used education to further their own agendas by erecting their own schools and teaching their own doctrines. By protecting fundamentalist followers from the threatening influences of secular higher criticism and feminism, fundamentalists preserve their way of life as well as male authority.

CHAPTER II

HISTORIOGRAPHY OF FUNDAMENTALISM

I. An Overview of Fundamentalism

Ernest Sandeen provided one of the earliest scholarly interpretations of fundamentalism. He posited that fundamentalism should be understood “as one aspect of the history of millenarianism,” defined as a theological belief about Armageddon and the End Times.⁵ Most importantly, Sandeen proposed the idea that fundamentalism was more than just a controversy in the 1920s involving the Scopes Trial. Instead, fundamentalism was a movement that existed before, during, and following the Scopes Trial; he argued that millenarianism was a central belief common to all fundamentalists.

Though Sandeen’s thesis advanced the field of study related to fundamentalism, future

⁵ Ernest Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism 1800-1930* (The University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1970), xix. From 1826 to 1828, a series of meetings occurred in England known as the Albury conferences. The conferences brought together British millenarian scholars to discuss prophetic truths concerning the end of the world. The conferences led to an agreement among scholars on six points:

1. This “dispensation” or age will not end “insensibly” but cataclysmically in judgment and destruction of the church in the same manner in which the Jewish dispensation ended.
2. The Jews will be restored to Palestine during the time of judgment.
3. The judgment to come will fall principally upon Christendom.
4. When the judgment is past, the millennium will begin.
5. The second advent of Christ will occur before the millennium.
6. The 1260 years of Daniel 7 and Revelation 13 ought to be measured from the reign of Justinian to the French Revolution. The vials of wrath (Revelation 16) are now being poured out and the second advent is imminent.

Sandeen explains “basic to the whole statement [of the conferences] was the assumption that an irreversible deterioration in religion and culture had now reached crisis proportions and that the final act in this era of world history had already begun.” (p. 20-22).

analysis provided further clarification regarding the movement's defining characteristics.

George M. Marsden⁶ agreed that millenarianism was an important part of fundamentalism but argued that Sandeen's thesis failed to include other crucial aspects of the movement such as separatism from secular society and from the greater Evangelical movement at large; anti-modernism; and militancy.⁷ In the 1920s, fundamentalism was essentially a "coalition" with followers drawn from different denominations and traditions.⁸ Marsden defines fundamentalism in the 1920s as:

A generic name for a broad coalition of conservatives from major denominations and revivalists (prominently including premillennial dispensationalists) who are militantly opposed to modernism in the churches and to certain modern cultural mores.⁹

He credits diversity and decentralization for giving the fundamentalist movement the resilience to withstand the ridicule resulting from the Scopes trial.¹⁰

⁶ George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture, New Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

⁷ The militant rhetoric of fundamentalism is apparent in Fred Moritz, *Contending for the Faith* (Greenville: Bob Jones University Press, 2000), 11. Moritz provides a case for militancy by analyzing the Biblical book of Jude as a justification for militant actions. His rhetoric is rife with words like "conflict," "struggle," "battle," "fighting," "rage," "wage this war," and "Christ's promise of victory." He admonishes, "modern fundamentalists who question the concept of militance need to seriously consider any actions they take. No doubt some Fundamentalists have acted harshly and even unbiblically at times. Those who would forsake a militant spirit need to remember that earnestly contending for revealed Scripture is biblical! By all means, disavow a carnal and unbiblical spirit. But, by all means, display a biblical spirit with biblical militance." (emphasis Moritz's).

⁸ Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 232.

⁹ Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 234. How do fundamentalists define fundamentalism? See David O. Beale, *The Pursuit of Purity: American Fundamentalism Since 1850* (Greenville: Bob Jones University Press, 1986), 3, which provides the following definition: unqualified acceptance of and obedience to the Scriptures. Beale's book provides a thorough history of the fundamentalist movement, told from the perspective of a fundamentalist.

¹⁰ Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 233. Marsden argues that it is difficult to overemphasize the importance of the Scopes Trial to the fundamentalist movement, which suffered defeat at the trial, despite a favorable court ruling. He writes, "Scopes was found guilty of teaching evolution (the decision was subsequently reversed on a technicality). But in the trial by public opinion and the press, it was clear that the twentieth century, the cities, and the universities had won a resounding victory, and that the country, the South, and the fundamentalists were guilty as charged." (185-86)

Following World War II, however, fundamentalist preacher Billy Graham and other evangelists began to distance themselves from the label of fundamentalism in exchange for greater cultural influence. Marsden writes, “while these ‘new evangelicals’ did not abandon their militancy, they tempered it in the interests of born again evangelism and in the hope to regain influence in the cultural and ecclesiastical mainstream.”¹¹ Such actions by Graham dismayed traditional fundamentalists, as they perceived that evangelicals had abandoned important aspects of their faith in exchange for liberalism. Fundamentalists determined to move in an increasingly separatist direction away from the burgeoning evangelical movement. In the 1950s, fundamentalists ultimately split from the larger new evangelical movement, “insisting that complete separation from any alliance with doctrinal impurity should be a test of true faith.”¹² This division between evangelicalism and fundamentalism led to two distinct movements, defined as such:

1. “New Evangelicals” (eventually just “evangelicals”), most of whom have a fundamentalist heritage, form the core of a broad coalition that draws in related theological conservatives, ranging from pentecostals to Mennonites, who emphasize positive evangelicalism, best exemplified by Billy Graham.¹³
2. “Fundamentalism,” (technically a sub-species of evangelicalism in the 19th century sense) is used as a self-designation almost only by ecclesiastical separatists who break fellowship with Graham. Almost all are dispensational premillennialists, as are some non-separating evangelicals.¹⁴

¹¹ Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 233.

¹² Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 233.

¹³ For a history of evangelicalism in America, see Mark A. Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism: The Age of Edwards, Whitefield, and the Wesleys* (Downer’s Grove: IVP Academic, 2003). For an account of the history of evangelicalism in Britain told from a fundamentalist perspective, see Iain H. Murray, *Evangelicalism Divided: A Record of Crucial Change in the Years 1950 to 2000* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 2000). For an exposition on the fundamentalist-modernist conflict and the rise of new evangelicalism, see Rolland McCune, *Promise Unfulfilled: The Failed Strategy of Modern Evangelicalism* (Greenville: Ambassador International, 2004).

¹⁴ Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 235.

The 1970s led to the creation of a new version of fundamentalism when key figures such as Jerry Falwell and Tim and Beverly LaHaye entered the religious scene. Though they identified with fundamentalism, their political activeness with the Religious Right and Moral Majority led them to join forces with cultural conservatives from other Christian traditions such as Roman Catholicism and Mormonism. Marsden labeled this group's philosophy "fundamentalistic evangelicalism," which he loosely defines as "an evangelical who is angry about something."¹⁵ More formally, he explains his term fundamentalistic evangelicalism:

The Religious Right (which also includes Catholics and Mormons) includes "fundamentalistic" militants who form not only separatist fundamentalists groups, but also form almost the whole spectrum of evangelicals, even though by no means all evangelicals, including self-styled fundamentalist, are politicized.¹⁶

Jerry Falwell and other members of the Religious Right were generally willing to work with leaders of other Christian traditions, distinguishing them from such strictly separatist fundamentalists as those from Bob Jones University.¹⁷ Bob Jones Sr., as well as Bob Jones Jr. and Bob Jones III, vehemently spoke out against Catholics and the Pope, as well as Jerry Falwell.¹⁸ Bob Jones University and the Independent Fundamental Baptists view with pride their

¹⁵ Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 235.

¹⁶ Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 235. For an exposition on the Moral Majority's views about fundamentalism, see Ed Dobson, Jerry Falwell, and Ed Hindson, *The Fundamentalist Phenomenon, Second Edition, The Resurgence of Conservative Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1986).

¹⁷ See Mark Sidwell, *The Dividing Line: Understanding and Applying Biblical Separation* (Greenville: Bob Jones University Press, 1998), 6. Sidwell discusses the importance of separation for a fundamentalist layperson readership. Sidwell, a Bob Jones University graduate and professor, stresses the importance of a Christian separation from the world, from false teachers, and from disobedient Christians. Sidwell also discusses the emergence of liberalism within higher education and a subsequent liberalization of pulpits.

¹⁸ Mark Taylor Dalhouse, *An Island in the Lake of Fire: Bob Jones University, Fundamentalism, and The Separatist Movement* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996), 108. Dalhouse writes, "In June 1980, Jones Jr., in a special mailing to all BJU pastors, blasted Falwell as 'the most dangerous man in America today as far as biblical Christianity is concerned.'" See also Daniel L. Turner, *Standing Without Apology:*

separation from the secular and have, since a falling out with evangelicals in the 1950s,¹⁹ refused to work with Christians hailing from non-fundamentalist or evangelical traditions.²⁰

Fundamentalism also opposes modernism. This opposition originates in the emergence of education's higher criticism and the theory of evolution. In the late eighteenth and early to mid nineteenth centuries, Scottish Common Sense Realism served as a popular educational philosophy;²¹ the theory taught a unification of faith, learning and morality; any person using common sense could discover God's truth about the world's order. Marsden explains, "For Victorian evangelicals, orthodox piety and theological dogmatism, combined with a classical curriculum, still provided the basis for an education that would sustain a stable civilization."²² In response to modernism, fundamentalists stressed the inerrancy of the Bible; in 1878, the Niagara Bible Conference declared inerrancy a fundamental truth of Christian faith. Marsden explains the Niagara Bible Conference's concept of biblical inerrancy to mean a belief that "the Bible was absolutely reliable and precise in matters of fact, that its meanings were plain, and that whenever

The History of Bob Jones University (Greenville: Bob Jones University Press, 2001), 247. Turner writes that Bob Jones said about the Moral Majority that "the primary goal [is] to join together Catholics, Jews, Protestants of every stripe, Mormons, etc., in a common religious cause. Christians can fight on a battle field alongside these people, can vote with them for a common candidate, but they cannot be unequally yoked with them in a religious army or organization."

¹⁹ Bob Jones University and other fundamentalists had a falling out with Billy Graham during the 1950s. See Ernest D. Pickering, *The Tragedy of Compromise: The Origin and Impact of the New Evangelicalism* (Greenville: Bob Jones University Press, 1994). ? Pickering gives a fundamentalist account of the dangers of mainstream and liberal evangelicalism. As a Bob Jones University graduate and pastor, Pickering chides Billy Graham and Wheaton College for their connections to liberal theology, which he interprets as an adoption of biblical criticism, evolution, feminism, and political theology. Picking seeks to arm fundamentalist readers with an understanding of the threats posed by evangelicalism to fundamentalist principles. Particularly, he chides Billy Graham and evangelical higher education institutions such as Wheaton College.

²⁰ For an exposition of the fundamentalist group Campus Crusade for Christ's shift from fundamentalism to evangelicalism and Bob Jones University's withdrawal of support for the group, see John G. Turner, *Bill Bright and Campus Crusade for Christ: The Renewal of Evangelicalism in Postwar America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008).

²¹ Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 14.

²² Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 14.

possible it should be taken literally.”²³ Such a literal belief in the Bible countered German higher criticism, which held that the Bible should not be read literally, but rather, as a largely allegorical work.²⁴

Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby explain that modern cultures are repulsive to fundamentalists for several reasons. Modern society advocates a “preference for secular rationality, the adoption of religious tolerance with accompanying tendencies toward relativism, and individualism.”²⁵ The difficulty of living in a modern society that espouses antithetical values leads fundamentalists to adopt a militant attitude. This militancy defines the fundamentalists’ causes and guides their reactions and expressions. Marty explains “fundamentalists begin as traditionalists who perceive some challenge or threat to their core identity, both social and personal.”²⁶ He continues, “fundamentalisms are recently developed forms of traditionalisms, forms which agents of liberal cultures had not expected to see rise or

²³ Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 51.

²⁴ The foreword of Mortiz’s book begins by praising the work of the Niagara Bible Conference and emphasizing the importance of the Bible as a guide to the fundamentalist response. (vii) Moritz also quotes the early fundamentalism William Bell Riley who stated “in the last analysis, it come wholly to one question...Is the book we call the Bible divinely and infallibly inspired, a God-given revelation, or is it a purely human product, revealing the mental development of man in the process of evolution?” [emphasis Riley’s]

²⁵ Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, eds. *The Fundamentalism Project, Volume 1: Fundamentalisms Observed* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), vii.

²⁶ Marty, xi. Many so-called fundamentalists would prefer to refer to themselves as religious conservatives. See also Nancy Ammerman, “North American Protestant Fundamentalism,” in *The Fundamentalism Project, Volume 1: Fundamentalisms Observed*, eds. Martin E. Marty et al. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 2. Ammerman notes the distinction between fundamentalism and conservatism. She writes, “The name fundamentalist is not synonymous with ‘conservative.’ It is, rather, a subset of that larger whole. Fundamentalists share with other conservative Christians their support for ‘traditional interpretations of such doctrines as the Virgin Birth of Jesus, the reality of the miracles reported in Scripture (including the Resurrection of Jesus from the dead), and the eventual return of Christ to reign over this earth. In spreading these teachings, conservatives tend to support the more supernatural interpretation of events, while liberals tend to seek naturalistic explanations.”

flourish.”²⁷ Fundamentalists struggle for the dominance of their theistic worldviews in response to the threat they believe that modernity poses. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, followers of American Protestantism began to worry that modern scholarship threatened traditional beliefs.

The Enlightenment dealt a huge blow to Christian thought. No longer was the Bible seen as the ultimate authority; instead, Immanuel Kant’s notion that humans could think for themselves permeated contemporary philosophy.²⁸ General skepticism prevailed, and scholars soon subjected the Bible to German historical and literary criticism. The German criticism pervaded seminary educations of aspiring American ministers and led mainstream denominations to become increasingly liberal. Furthermore, Charles Darwin’s theory of evolution predominated scientific thought and opposed the fundamentalist interpretation of the Bible’s creation account in Genesis. Fundamentalists responded to these perceived threats of liberalism by publishing a series of periodicals entitled “The Fundamentals.” The periodicals reaffirmed their traditional religious beliefs and scorned modern theological scholarship and philosophy. Curtis Lee Laws, editor of the Northern Baptist newspaper *The Watchman Examiner*, coined the term “fundamentalist” and defined it as “a person willing to ‘do battle royal’ for the fundamentals of the faith.”²⁹

Interestingly, scholars of German criticism had originally intended to redeem Christianity through the use of higher thought.³⁰ Despite the intention of scholars, German criticism provided

²⁷ Marty, *Fundamentalism*, vii.

²⁸ Dalhouse, *Island in the Lake of Fire*, 12.

²⁹ Dalhouse, *Island in the Lake of Fire*, 2.

³⁰ Dalhouse writes that Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834) intended to reinterpret Christianity through the lens of Enlightenment ideas. Other German scholars, like Albrecht Ritschl (1822-1889), redefined and disproved traditional ideas about the Bible. Ritschl denied the incarnation and resurrection of Christ

the perfect transition for Christianity to shuffle ever closer towards theological liberalism.

Historical criticism disproved traditional authorship of books in the Bible. It also challenged the chronology and authenticity of biblical events, concluding that some parts of the Bible were allegories instead of reliable fact. The forms of criticism also undermined Protestant's traditional Baconian view of the Bible as a work that was accessible to everyone and sufficiently interpreted through mere common sense. Fundamentalists believe in the inerrancy of the Bible. Nancy Ammerman explains, "They insist that true Christians must believe the whole Bible, the parts they like along with the parts they dislike, the hard parts and the easy ones."³¹ For fundamentalists, the Bible provides accurate scientific and historical information as well as guidance for social constructs. Ammerman notes:

With the contextualization [of the Bible] came the realization that [it] was also less than it had seemed to be. If other cultures had also composed creation and flood narratives for their epics, and if time-bound authors with time-conditioned intentions had composed the Judeo-Christian epics, then perhaps the words of the Bible are to be considered as something less than an exact and fully authoritative divine revelation. Perhaps they are only perceived as such, accepted by believers but elusive of any absolute proof. Such implications of nineteenth-century biblical criticism would prove unsettling to the churchgoing Bible believer.³²

With the advent of evolutionary theory and historical criticism, fundamentalists' house of cards collapsed. Christians became fearful that the foundation of their faith was up for grabs, or even worse, was false.

and maintained that Christ's death did not bring about salvation; instead, Christ provided a moral example for humans to follow.

³¹ Ammerman, "North American Protestant Fundamentalism," 5. This is a prevailing belief in modern-day Southern Baptist views toward women. Dorothy Patterson, Professor of Theology in Women's Programs at SWBTS has indicated in many of her writings that though women might not like their God-given gender role, the Bible's authority makes the roles non-negotiable.

³² Ammerman, "North American Protestant Fundamentalism," 12.

Prior to the advent of higher criticism and a German model for research, most major colleges and universities hired ordained clergymen to serve as president,³³ and Common Sense Realism informed the teachings at Harvard, Brown, Yale, and Princeton.³⁴ Following the Civil War, however, modernism grew at astounding rates across the country. Cities expanded and the Industrial Revolution gained influence, older churches decayed, and immigration and remnants of slavery led to social and cultural problems.³⁵ Supporting Marsden's thesis, Mark Noll writes, "The Bible came increasingly under attack as a largely irrelevant, mythological book; and new views in biology challenged both divine creation and the uniqueness of the human species."³⁶ Though colleges had traditionally affiliated with evangelical Christians, the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century saw more universities funded by entrepreneurs and state governments. As the populations of American universities surged, the shift to a German emphasis on research as a means of innovation replaced the earlier influence of Common Sense.³⁷ The rise of the inductive scientific method threatened evangelical's ability to interpret

³³ Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 14.

³⁴ Mark A. Noll, *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1994), 85.

³⁵ Noll, *Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*, 106.

³⁶ Noll, *Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*, 106.

³⁷ Noll, *Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*, 112. Pickering defines hallmarks of theological liberalism from a fundamentalist perspective. Such hallmarks include (p.3):

1. A rejection of the historic Christian doctrine of biblical inspiration.
2. A tolerance of all views that come from within the religious community.
3. An emphasis upon the validity of human experience over the revealed truth of God.
4. A denial of the absolute and unique deity of Christ.
5. An emphasis on the dignity and goodness of man.
6. A rejection of the total depravity of man and the resultant necessity of the new birth.
7. An evolutionary concept of the origin of all things as opposed to a creationist view.
8. A rejection of the supernatural interventions of God in human history.
9. An emphasis upon the social gospel, that is, that the main mission of the church is to correct societal ills. Sin is essentially social and thus salvation must involve the correction of these social problems.

the Bible literally, as the Bible failed to meet scientific standards.³⁸ Noll writes:

It is not as though religious emphases faded away altogether in the transformation of the university. Religious emphases still remained, but the schools that flourished were those that made their peace with the new developments. A type of moderately, liberal Protestantism that championed the rise of American in the world, the spread of democracy at home, and the application of modern science to social problems retained its place in the new university. But this Protestantism turned away from several traditional evangelical convictions, such as the universal need for salvation in Christ and the supernatural character of the Incarnation. While accepting the authority of the Bible as an indispensable record of religious experience, liberal Protestants were eager to explain away what were held to be the cruder supernatural aspects of Scripture.³⁹

Marsden describes the Presbyterian Church and Princeton University's moves toward a more mainline version of Christianity.⁴⁰ Following the entrance of Presbyterianism and other denominations into mainstream religious culture, pockets of churchgoers began to wonder if their mainstream religions had enough support within them to sustain a battle against encroaching modernism. Such mainstream adherents' forays into fundamentalism confirm the thesis of Roger Finke and Rodney Stark's *The Churching of America 1776-2005*, which states:

There comes a point...when a religious body has become so worldly that its rewards are few and lacking in plausibility. When hell is gone, can heaven's departure be far behind? Here people begin to switch away. Some are recruited by very high-tension movements. Others move into the newest and least secularized mainline firms.⁴¹

Indeed, fundamentalists, as they saw their mainline denominations succumbing to the lure of modernism, retreated into their own newly created and less secularized churches. Marsden writes:

³⁸ Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 17.

³⁹ Noll, *Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*, 113.

⁴⁰ For a detailed account of the conflicts of conservatism and modernism in the Northern Presbyterian (Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A) and Princeton Theological Seminary, see William K. Selden, *Princeton Theological Seminary: A Narrative History, 1812-1992* (Princeton: Theological Book Agency, 1992).

⁴¹ Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, *The Churching of America, 1776-2005: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2008), 283.

Individuals who were committed to typically American versions of evangelical Christianity responded to and were influenced by the social, intellectual, and religious crises of their time. The fundamentalists' most alarming experience was that of finding themselves living in a culture that by the 1920s was openly turning away from God.⁴²

The threat within church denominations as well as higher education institutions inspired a militant, collective response, one of the defining aspects of fundamentalism. Marsden states, "Militant opposition to modernism was what most clearly set off fundamentalism from a number of closely related traditions...although it developed a distinct life, identity, and eventually a subculture of its own, it never existed wholly independently of the older movements from which it grew."⁴³ As modernism permeated American society, fundamentalists defended biblical inerrancy, arguing for increasingly anachronistic interpretations of a book that secular society had largely debunked.

Marsden describes a host of characters important to the fundamentalist movement, including evangelist Dwight L. Moody. He writes:

Moody was a progenitor of fundamentalism—it could even be argued that he was its principal progenitor. He believed in Biblical infallibility and premillennialism. He did as much as anyone in America to promote the forms of holiness teaching and the ethical emphases that were accepted by many fundamentalists...Yet Moody himself lacked the one trait that was essential to a "fundamentalist"—he was unalterably opposed to controversy.⁴⁴

Moody provided a starting point for the movement, but he never attained status as a fundamentalist due to his passive nature. The Moody Bible Institute, Moody's namesake, became one of the premier fundamentalist institutions of higher learning. Though its curriculum was confined to Bible studies, missions, and practical work, the school also gained a reputation for its intellectual culture. Marsden contrasts one of Moody's preaching successors, the

⁴² Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 3.

⁴³ Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 4.

⁴⁴ Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 33.

boisterous Billy Sunday, a baseball player turned fundamentalist preacher, who demonstrated an aversion to intellectualism. Sunday scoffed at higher learning; “at his ordination examination for the Presbyterian ministry in 1903, his characteristic response to questions on theology and history was “That’s too deep for me,” or “I’ll have to pass that up.” “I don’t know any more about theology,” he once said with some accuracy, “than a jack-rabbit knows about ping-pong, but I’m on my way to glory.”⁴⁵ Figures like Sunday would aid the developing stereotype of fundamentalism as an anti-intellectual phenomenon.

Reinforcing Sandeen’s argument about the importance of millennialism to fundamentalism, Marsden describes the shift in prevalent theological thought from postmillennialism to premillennialism. Postmillennialism prevailed from the time of the Revolution to the Civil War. According to the theological theory, “the prophecies in the book of Revelation concerning the defeat of the anti-Christ...were being fulfilled in the present era and were clearing the way for a golden age.”⁴⁶ This theory led believers to feel optimistic about coming times and to believe that they were on the brink of a “golden age,” where cultural and social progress would lead God to establish his kingdom on earth. Following the Civil War, however, optimism faded, and people “abandoned” their postmillennialist viewpoint. Premillennialism emerged almost immediately as a possible solution to the erosion of liberalism on religion. Premillennialists “held that the Bible was absolutely reliable and precise in matters of fact, that its meanings were plain, and that whenever possible it should be taken literally.”⁴⁷ With their newfound theology, Christians also embraced a different approach to Revelations and the

⁴⁵ Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 130. Billy Sunday’s wife, Nell Sunday, served on the Board of Trustees for Bob Jones University from 1936 until 1957. See Turner, *Standing Without Apology*, 339, n. 48.

⁴⁶ Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 49. One of the progenitors of premillennialism was John Scofield, whose Scofield Reference Bible divided history into seven dispensations. See Beale, *In Pursuit of Purity*, ???.

⁴⁷ Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 51.

end times. They now believed that God would rapture Christians prior to a tribulation marked by the appearance of the anti-Christ and beast, as well as an ultimate return of Christ, establishment of a new kingdom on earth, and eventual defeat of Satan.

As modernism continued its takeover of United States culture, education, and theology, conservatives fought to reiterate the tenets of their faith. The publication of *The Fundamentals* served as an important marker in the historical emergence of fundamentalism. Ultimately, *The Fundamentals*, a series of books written by Bible teachers and evangelists that described fundamentalist beliefs, “became a symbolic point of reference for identifying a ‘fundamentalist’ movement.”⁴⁸ Marsden also writes that the publications “represent the movement at a moderate and transitional stage before it was reshaped and pushed to extremes by the intense heat of controversy.”⁴⁹ Conservatives desperately tried to clarify their non-negotiable beliefs to their religious constituents, in hopes that such a reminder of core beliefs might stem the tide of modernism away from their theological foundations. As the threat of modernism continued despite conservative efforts, fundamentalism included an increasing amount of militancy.

World War I served as an important impetus that pushed fundamentalism from moderation to militancy. Marsden writes, “The most important clue to understanding the impact of the war on fundamentalism is the lack of a distinctive social or political stance in the emerging anti-modernist movement before World War I.”⁵⁰ By 1918, fundamentalism became associated with politics, and the war became a “godly” cause. Preachers began to associate modernism with Germany. If not for Germany, liberal biblical criticism would not have emerged. Conservative Christians perceived a correlation between German “Kultur,” evolution, modernism and

⁴⁸ Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 119.

⁴⁹ Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 119.

⁵⁰ Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 141.

warfare.⁵¹ Marsden writes, “The war focused and clarified the issues and showed where the battle to save American civilization must be met.”⁵² Barry Hankins states, “During the war, conservative evangelicals made an intellectual connection between German philosophy, which had spawned higher criticism of the Bible, and German militarism, against which the United States was engaged in mortal combat on the battlefields of Europe.”⁵³

The early fundamentalist movement climaxed with the “the Monkey Trial” in Dayton, Tennessee during the summer of 1925. The trial eloquently and tangibly put two opposing forces together, religion and science, and watched as William Jennings Bryan and Clarence Darrow took swinging punches at the other’s worldview. Marsden magnificently portrays the trial, stating:

The central theme was, inescapably, the clash of two worlds, the rural and the urban. In the popular imagination, there were on the one side the small town, the backwoods, half-educated yokels, obscurantism, crackpot hawkers of religion, fundamentalism, the South, and the personification of the agrarian myth himself, William Jennings Bryan. Opposed to these were the city, the clique of New York-Chicago lawyers, intellectuals, journalists, wits, sophisticates, modernists, and the urbane agnostic Clarence Darrow...Dayton surpassed all fiction in dramatizing the symbolic last stand of nineteenth-century America against the twentieth century.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 152.

⁵² Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 152.

⁵³ Barry Hankins, *God’s Rascal: J. Frank Norris and the Beginnings of Southern Fundamentalism* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 31. Hankins posits that Norris was the Southern Baptist Convention’s first fundamentalist and that while fundamentalists today attempt to disassociate him from their movement, moderates consider Norris the “father of the more recent movement.”⁵³ Hankins attributes Norris with introducing the South to fundamentalism. Since 1979, the Southern Baptist Convention has been dominated by fundamentalists. During Norris’s time, however, the Southern Baptist Convention was dominated by moderates who focused more on missions and evangelism and less on the militant defense of theological viewpoints. Hankins asserts that Norris was a very atypical Baptist. That he was a Baptist preacher was strictly incidental; he fashioned his own theological path in radical ways and felt genuine hostility towards the Southern Baptist Convention throughout his ministry.

⁵⁴ Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 185. Though William Jennings Bryan gained a great deal of notoriety through his work in *State of Tennessee v. John Thomas Scopes*. See Michael Kazin, *A Godly Hero* (New York: Anchor, 2007) 44. Kazin argues that Bryan did not generally associate with fundamentalism until the Scopes Trial. Had he not served as counsel for the Scopes trial, it is questionable whether history would associate him at all with fundamentalism; rather, he would merely be remembered as a failed

Though fundamentalists won the battle with the Scopes Trial, they lost the greater cultural war. For media personalities such as H.L. Mencken, the trial affirmed all the negative stereotypes about fundamentalists; the nation at large scoffed at fundamentalism's senseless aura of anti-intellectualism. Following the trial, fundamentalists retreated back to their churches and into the safe haven of like-minded believers. They would not emerge into the national scene for twenty years.

What happened within fundamentalism during their interim withdrawal from the national scene of influence? Joel Carpenter's *Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism* explores the gap between the Scopes Trial and the eventual reemergence of fundamentalism in the 1950s and argues that the lost years provided opportunities for fundamentalists to retreat inward and regain strength for a later reemergence in the 1940s and 1950s.⁵⁵ Following the Scopes Trial, liberals rejoiced, believing they had hammered the final nail in the casket of fundamentalism. Secular society proclaimed fundamentalism dead. Years later, however, fundamentalism reemerged and regained national prominence, to the surprise of many. This period of growth within fundamentalism contrasted a decline among the Evangelical movement at large.⁵⁶ Carpenter significantly adds to the scholarship of fundamentalism; previous to his work, no scholar had successfully "[brought] the fundamentalist movement's

politician who ran for, and lost, the United States presidency three times. When Clarence Darrow called Bryan to the stand to testify for the defense, Bryan suffered a humiliating defeat based upon his lack of theological knowledge about Christianity. Kazin states "if Bryan knew most of the words of the Bible by heart, he had not studied them as would a theologian out to correct errors of logic and judgment by scientists or anyone else." (293) Bryan's ultimate legacy in fundamentalism is his work in the Scopes trial, but the trial demonstrated how little, theologically, Bryan knew about religion.

⁵⁵ Joel A. Carpenter, *Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), xii.

⁵⁶ Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, xii.

career in these hidden years to light...to provide answers to the riddle of its survival.”⁵⁷ He posits that their descent away from the public eye allowed “fundamentalists to establish their identity, consolidate an institutional network, and rethink their mission to America.”⁵⁸

During the 1930s, fundamentalists separated from mainline denominations. Carpenter writes, “Most fundamentalists were convinced that they could no longer adequately express their faith and accomplish their calling through their home denominations.”⁵⁹ The author describes the reason for this separation, stating, “Not long since, [fundamentalists] had been a respected evangelical movement within mainline Protestantism, but now they were ideological outcasts whose views no longer were taken seriously in ecclesiastical or secular discourse.”

Fundamentalists’ embrace of literal Bible interpretation, anti-intellectualism, and conservative values ultimately alienated them from mainline denominations. They had a decision to make: reform or withdraw? Fundamentalists scoffed at the idea of compromise and ultimately separated from mainline denominations such as Presbyterianism, Methodism, and Baptists.

After fundamentalists had completed their separation from denominations, they began to push for separation from the entire world. Carpenter writes, “During the 1930s and 1940s, fundamentalists were developing patterns of devotion and habits of thought that marked them, in both the biblical and ordinary sense of the word, as a peculiar people.”⁶⁰ Derived from the earlier holiness movements, fundamentalists believed they should maintain modest standards in the midst of the roaring and raucous Jazz Age. This meant practicing sexual chastity, dressing modestly, and abstaining from alcohol, use of profane language, dancing, smoking, cards,

⁵⁷ Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, xii.

⁵⁸ Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, xii.

⁵⁹ Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, 33.

⁶⁰ Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, 57.

gambling, work on Sunday, and the theater. Even Bible schools implemented behavioral codes to shelter students from more worldly habits. Carpenter writes, “Such schools also aimed to perpetuate the movement’s piety by enveloping students in a pervasively evangelical atmosphere.”⁶¹

During this time, fundamentalism gained prominence for two reasons: 1) it offered an explanation for world events, bringing sense to chaos amidst the Great Depression and World War II and 2) it was a movement of charismatic preachers and teachers, not of scholars and thereby entirely accessible to the average person. Carpenter writes, “Here was a system that could make sense out of the chaos, that could reassure troubled people that God was still in charge and would intervene again, very soon, in a world that was careening out of control.”⁶²

During this time, the identity of born-again fundamentalists emerged. Carpenter explains, “Becoming born again was like receiving one’s credentials in fundamentalist circles.”⁶³ Once fundamentalists became born again, they quickly sought to convert the rest of the world. Their primary avenue of communication became radio, led by such preachers as Charles Fuller. Though fundamentalists detested modernism, they had no qualms about using the inventions of modernism to their own proselytizing advantage. In the 1920s, fundamentalists embraced radio and began airing religious programs. They frequently published magazines, books, and church literature. These efforts allowed fundamentalists to promote their cause, rally a base, and fortify their beliefs to an outside audience. In the 1930s and 1940s, fundamentalists believed their movement appeared old-fashioned and stodgy to young people. To remedy their reputation, fundamentalists began reaching to young people through slickly produced and entertaining

⁶¹ Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, 63.

⁶² Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, 71.

⁶³ Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, 77.

rallies. Fundamentalist literature warned churches to beware of their appearance to outsiders, admonishing, “Dare to offer something shoddy and they’ll shun your meeting. A successful rally needed split-second timing, zippy gospel music, ‘punchy’ announcements, brief and rehearsed testimonies and messages with current events ‘lead-ins.’”⁶⁴ The youth movements became even more of a success following World War II; for many, it was as if the country was experiencing another spiritual awakening.

After several decades of separation, the fundamentalist movement saw the 1950s welcome the emergence of a young Billy Graham. Indeed, it was as if fundamentalism’s entire retreat into itself had gloriously fermented the eventual emergence of Graham. Carpenter writes, “His emergence in Los Angeles in 1949 and his successes thereafter in one citywide campaign after another were made possible by a revivalist movement that had been mobilizing for some time.”⁶⁵ Though Graham would later separate from fundamentalism and identify instead as an evangelical, the fundamentalist experience following the Scopes Trial created an environment ripe for Graham’s emergence.

One of the important areas of growth for fundamentalists during the 1930s and 1940s occurred with the establishment of Bible institutes. Because higher criticism had largely permeated secular institutions, fundamentalists rapidly created their own colleges and universities to teach biblically based curricula. Carpenter writes, “These schools, which were tightly knit, familial, and religiously intense places, had been founded to train lay volunteers and fulltime religious workers such as evangelists, Sunday school superintendents, and foreign

⁶⁴ Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, 165.

⁶⁵ Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, 212.

missionaries.”⁶⁶ Bible schools became an important feature especially after the takeover of mainline denominations’ universities and colleges by liberal theology because they provided asylum from biblical higher criticism and godless intellectual modernism. Though not known for their academic rigor, the schools effectively produced ministers, evangelists, and missionaries within the fundamentalist movement. The leading Bible school during this time was the Moody Bible Institute, which, in addition to training students, offered Bible conferences at churches and hosted a popular radio show. Eventually, fundamentalists erected universities and seminaries to train future pastors; the seminaries were often closely modeled after the Bible schools.⁶⁷ Wheaton College emerged as the first well-established and reputable fundamentalist liberal arts institution, though it would later become regarded as a bastion of liberalism by such fundamentalist institutions as Bob Jones University.⁶⁸

The Bible School, however, did not originate as a fundamentalist phenomenon. Virginia

⁶⁶ Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, 16.

⁶⁷ For further reading on Christian evangelical and fundamentalist higher education institutions, see the following works: Arthur F. Holmes, *The Idea of a Christian College* (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 1975), 6, which posits that Christian institutions should incorporate faith and education; this book provides a justification for the existence of fundamentalist universities and colleges. See also Duane Liftin, *Conceiving the Christian College* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 2004), 10. Liftin, who currently serves as president of Wheaton College, provides a philosophical analysis of the challenges facing Christian colleges and provides insight into how modern Christian institutions may counter such challenges. See also Joel Carpenter, *Making Higher Education Christian: The History and Mission of Evangelical Colleges* (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1987). Carpenter provides a historical evaluation of the events involving the establishment of Christian liberal arts colleges and universities. Finally, see William C. Ringenberg, *The Christian College: A History of Protestant Higher Education in America* (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1984). Ringenberg provides a guide for the historical emergence of Christian universities, spanning from the work of the Puritans to the Civil War to modernization.

⁶⁸ See James Davison Hunter, *Evangelicalism: The Coming Generation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 9. Hunter lists Wheaton College as an evangelical school, confirming Wheaton’s shift from a fundamentalist institution into an evangelical institution.

Lieson Bereton's *Training God's Army: The American Bible School, 1880-1940*⁶⁹ provides great insight regarding the function of the Bible school before the fundamentalist defeat of the 1920s, as she argues the importance of the Bible school prior to the emergence of fundamentalism. She defines the Bible school as "an institution—sometimes denominational, sometimes nondenominational—operating at roughly a high school level and training men and women as evangelists, missionaries, religious teachers, musicians, pastors, and other workers for the conservative Protestant evangelical churches."⁷⁰ Protestants constructed these two-year schools prior to the encroachment of modernism and evolution; they initially built the schools in response to the lackluster, self-aggrandizing pastors and church workers stifling church growth during years following the Civil War. Committed future ministers attended Bible schools to learn the art of saving souls. The fundamentalist movement eventually adopted and utilized Bible schools in furtherance of its own agenda, as fundamentalist churches sent their sons and daughters to the schools for theological training. Bereton argues, "The fundamentalist movement was decidedly an educational movement and most fundamentalists were educators; education was implicit in their overriding objective, which was the evangelization of America and the world. To understand fundamentalists, then it is absolutely necessary to examine their educational efforts."⁷¹

Marsden, in *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, describes the shift in perception towards fundamentalists; "respectable 'evangelicals' in the 1870s, by the 1920s they had become

⁶⁹ Virginia Lieson Bereton, *Training God's Army: The American Bible School, 1880-1940* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), vii.

⁷⁰ Bereton, *Training God's Army*, vii.

⁷¹ Bereton, *Training God's Army*, xviii.

a laughingstock, ideological strangers in their own land.”⁷² William R. Glass’s *Strangers in Zion:*

Fundamentalists in the South, 1900-1950 reiterates Marsden’s theme of fundamentalists

becoming increasingly like strangers living within yet separate from the larger secular world.

Unlike Marsden, Glass studies the fundamentalist movement mainly in the South and argues that

“fundamentalists, whether they were Southern born and bred or were Northern transplants, were

“strangers in Zion.”⁷³ Glass provides his definition of fundamentalism, stating:

Without the appearance of a modern, secular outlook in a society, no fundamentalism would appear, for fundamentalism defines itself in response to a society’s particular experience with the social, intellectual, and economic changes associated with modernization. At the same time, fundamentalism provides for their followers a way of adjusting to modernization by providing a stable set of values and framework for interpreting the transformation, though usually one that is critical of change.⁷⁴

Fundamentalism emerged in the South approximately a generation after it first appeared in the

North; modernism and industrialization infiltrated the South years following its introduction in

the North, therefore fundamentalism also took longer to develop within the South.

⁷² Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, viii.

⁷³ Glass, *Strangers in Zion: Fundamentalists in the South, 1900-1950*, (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2001), viii. See also Mary Beth Swetnam Mathews, *Rethinking Zion: How the Print Media Placed Fundamentalism in the South* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2006), xii. Mathews examines why the South is so closely associated with fundamentalism. She argues that non-southern journalists made assumptions about the South; they saw Southerners as generally uneducated and intolerant, qualities that the journalists also associated with fundamentalism. The association of the South with fundamentalism emerged from newspapers and books. Mathews argues that the media’s portrayal of violence in the South caused readers to see the region in a different light, particularly in accounts of lynchings. Also included in these accounts were mentions of Southern clergy who were unable to stop the lynchings, thus portraying the South’s clergy as weak forces within their violent and insuppressible societies. Mathews argues that the South’s embrace of Prohibition led to reproach among Northerners. At first, the media praised the South’s shift to teetotalism, as they believed it would reduce the crime rate and increase productivity. Furthermore, the North saw the South as being a generally more religious region. Once the United States adopted the Eighteenth Amendment and prohibition spread to the rest of the country, however, the media turned against the South. Journalists argued that Southerners were using it as a means of discriminating against African Americans. They questioned the role of preachers within the South, arguing, “the Southern cleric’s pulpit is his throne.” Ultimately, prohibition wreaked havoc on the South’s reputation among Northerners and within the media, who saw the region as a theocracy.

⁷⁴ Glass, *Strangers in Zion*, xiii.

Southern preachers acquired fundamentalist theological teachings by attending summer conferences populated by Northern fundamentalist speakers. The conferences allowed the Northern fundamentalists to introduce their Southern counterparts to arguments against modernism. Though the conferences were well attended and fundamentalism established a solid presence in the South, Glass notes that mainline denominations, particularly Southern Baptists, did not welcome the fundamentalist theology with open arms. L.R. Scarborough, President of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Fort Worth, Texas, believed the Bible was unclear about the end times, and he refused to endorse a set of beliefs that insisted on its own version of the end times.

Dallas Theological Seminary became the first fundamentalist seminary to offer graduate level training for pastors. The school refused to associate with any single denomination. Glass writes, “To achieve his dream that graduates would take positions in evangelical churches of all denominations, [seminary president] Chafer believed that the seminary had to be free from outside control, especially that of denominations and even that of other fundamentalists.”⁷⁵ Fundamentalist schools led to the creation of new churches and staffed presently existing churches. According to a survey done by fundamentalist school Columbia Bible College, most of their graduates retained their fundamentalist beliefs well into their ministries.⁷⁶

During the 1920s, fundamentalists rallied around issues such as liberalism, Prohibition, and evolution. In the latter part of the twentieth century, fundamentalists would again find common ground in social issues such as abortion, prayer in public schools, and opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment. Ed Dobson, Jerry Falwell, and Ed Hindson’s *The Fundamentalist*

⁷⁵ Glass, *Strangers in Zion*, 114.

⁷⁶ Glass, *Strangers in Zion*, 131.

*Phenomenon, Second Edition, The Resurgence of Conservative Christianity*⁷⁷ discusses a contemporary resurgence of fundamentalism within the United States and explains the historical origins of the movement to fundamentalist Christians living in the 1980s. Falwell urges his readers to rally around humanistic issues such as abortion and prayer in schools. (114) Falwell rejoices in the power of fundamentalist's political power, writing, "Fundamentalism has become *the* religious force of the 1980s."⁷⁸

Anthropologist Susan Friend Harding's *The Book of Jerry Falwell: Fundamentalist Language and Politics* studies the emergence of Jerry Falwell as a leader in the fundamentalist movement and observes some interesting changes in fundamentalism from its early twentieth-century version. As fundamentalists like Jerry Falwell sought increased political power, the definition of "fundamentalist" changed. Harding discusses Falwell's establishment of the Moral Majority in 1979. Of the term "moral majority," Harding writes:

In two short words, Falwell marked the majority status of theological conservatives among Protestants, elided it with majority status among all Americans, established himself as that majority's apparent leader, aggressively 'mixed' religion and politics, and claimed the right to reintegrate culturally disenfranchised fundamentalists into national public life.⁷⁹

Harding argues that the Moral Majority issued an attack upon modern America, in keeping with the traditional militancy of fundamentalism. No longer would fundamentalists stand irrelevantly on the sidelines; Jerry Falwell's unabashed charge of fundamentalism into mainstream politics put an end to the silence perpetuated by fundamentalists in the decades following the Scopes trial. Despite fundamentalism's association with modernism, Harding

⁷⁷ Ed Dobson, Jerry Falwell and Ed Hindson, *The Fundamentalist Phenomenon, Second Edition, The Resurgence of Conservative Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1986), xiii.

⁷⁸ Dobson, *Fundamentalist Phenomenon*, xiii-xiv.

⁷⁹ Susan Harding, *The Book of Jerry Falwell: Fundamentalist Language and Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 20.

argues that Falwell and his church “defied rather than fulfilled modern expectations of a traditional, premodern, fundamentalist people.”⁸⁰ Falwell’s many ghostwriters crafted a highly marketable preacher that appealed to a wide variety of Christian audiences; in many ways, Falwell became the quintessential fundamentalist performer.

During the 1980s, fundamentalist “super churches” gained popularity. Harding’s work brings attention to fundamentalism’s evolution; no longer were all fundamentalists considered separate from society at large; now, they attracted huge numbers of congregants to attend fundamentalist mega-churches such as Falwell’s Thomas Road Baptist Church. Leaders like Falwell demonstrated fundamentalism’s unabashed attempts to engage the national scene in efforts to exert influence in major political and cultural spheres. By the time of Falwell’s rise, the humiliation of the Scopes Trial had long faded; fundamentalists once again faced an ongoing tension between living separately from their secular society while desperately trying to influence secular society for their movement’s own objectives.

⁸⁰ Harding, *Book of Jerry Falwell*, 272.

II. Women and Fundamentalism

Amidst this examination of fundamentalism, a question emerges: where are the women? Undoubtedly, the history of fundamentalism is dominated by male figures. Several scholars have focused on women within fundamentalist churches. Deberg's *Ungodly Women: Gender and the First Wave of American Fundamentalism* argues that fundamentalism included an urgent response by men to new configurations of gender roles in the Victorian era. As industrialization took hold of society and families left their farms in exchange for cramped cities where both men and women went to work, men had to refashion their idea of masculinity. Men no longer performed physical labor; instead, they worked in offices. This societal shift in employment defied traditional notions of male identity. Deberg writes, "Defining and experiencing manhood by relying on the traditional male prerogatives of land, skilled and physically demanding labor, and patriarchy became very difficult over the course of the industrial revolution."⁸¹

To compensate for these changes, men redefined the white-collar workplace as a figurative jungle; instead of literally hunting for their food, these emasculated, number-crunching males hunted for sales opportunities, increased salaries, and occupational glory. Men also associated sexual aggressiveness with masculinity. These overly sexualized and morally inept men redefined the role of women as chaste keepers of the moral compass. Wives obtained more authority within the household and the church because men spent the majority of their time at work, using their free time to pursue their sexual longings. Deberg states, "By the middle of the nineteenth century...the cult of true womanhood represented the dominant values and code of

⁸¹ Betty A. Deberg, *Ungodly Women: Gender and the First Wave of American Fundamentalism* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2000), 17.

behavior for the middle class and all others who sought upward mobility and middle-class respectability.”⁸²

The emergence of the flapper woman, however, ignited a firestorm of controversy within the religious community. To say the least, the flapper, as representative of the modern woman, met deep scorn from conservative religious males. After all, men had deemed women as the moral sex. When women’s morality flailed, men anxiously wondered who would ensure the future safekeeping of traditional and conservative values. These men accused flapper women of corrupting their own male morality.⁸³ Deberg writes, “Because Victorian gender ideology set women up as the pure and chaste guardians of public morality, the flagrant violation of established conventions and *mores* by the young women of the twentieth century threatened, in the minds of many, the very fabric of private life and public virtue.”⁸⁴

Finally, Deberg argues, “Fundamentalists were profoundly affected by the dismantling of the Victorian gender ideology.”⁸⁵ Fundamentalism provided a means for men to continue the promotion of Victorian values, in opposition to modernism and women’s rights. Ultimately, men’s grasp of yesteryear gender constructs allowed for their sustained power and authority over women. Women could not modernize and subsequently challenge men’s authority.

One of the major issues in fundamentalism involves the distinction of unique and biblically-mandated gender roles; Margaret Lamberts Bendroth’s *Fundamentalism and Gender: 1875 to the Present*⁸⁶ provides a historical account of the battle over gender roles and authority

⁸² Deberg, *Ungodly Women*, 19.

⁸³ Deberg, *Ungodly Women*, 108.

⁸⁴ Deberg, *Ungodly Women*, 109.

⁸⁵ Deberg, *Ungodly Women*, 119.

⁸⁶ Bendroth, Margaret Lamberts. *Fundamentalism and Gender: 1875 to the Present*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.

within fundamentalist structures and asserts that “feminism, it seems fair to say, has inspired as much confusion among evangelicals as outright opposition.”⁸⁷ Bendroth argues that

fundamentalist men have stripped any authority of their female counterparts. She asserts:

By the 1920s fundamentalists had adopted the belief that it was men, not women, who had the true aptitude for religion. In 1946, evangelist John R. Rice condemned the old Victorian piety about sainted womanhood as “a lie out of Hell.” It is a wicked, hellish, ungodly, satanic teaching,” he declared, “that by nature men are not as good, that by nature women are...[more] inclined toward God and morality. In fundamentalist culture, women became the more psychologically vulnerable sex, never to be trusted with matters of doctrine, and men stronger both rationally and spiritually, divinely equipped to defend Christian orthodoxy from its enemies within and without.”⁸⁸

Bendroth continues the analysis that Deberg began, finding that men eventually reclaimed their role as morality gatekeeper.

In Bendroth’s analysis, fundamentalism’s attitudes regarding gender reflect the movement as a whole. Fundamentalism emerged as a movement sustained by male leadership; it sought to proselytize a male constituency into becoming followers. In the late nineteenth century, however, female leaders of women’s missionary and temperance groups sought greater power, though not necessarily ordination, within their church denominations.⁸⁹ They argued against a literal reading of the Bible, which had long been used as a justification to silence women within the church. Fundamentalist dispensational premillennialism, however, taught that God had placed Eve under Adam’s authority after their fall in the Garden of Eden. This theology, known as complementarianism,⁹⁰ restricted women’s abilities to serve within the church, and in the case of some fundamentalist denominations, outside of the home in any

⁸⁷ Bendroth, *Fundamentalism and Gender*, 2.

⁸⁸ Bendroth, *Fundamentalism and Gender*, 3.

⁸⁹ Bendroth, *Fundamentalism and Gender*, 7.

⁹⁰ For more about complementarian theology, see John Piper and Wayne Grudem, eds., *Recovering Biblical Manhood & Womanhood* (Wheaton: Crossway Books, 2006); Mary Kassian, *The Feminist Mistake: The Radical Impact of Feminism on Church and Culture* (Wheaton: Crossway Books, 2005).

capacity. Therefore, fundamentalists taught that women would have to wait for Christ's second coming to remedy their God-ordained subordination to men.

Despite the movement's opposition to women's authority, fundamentalists used women's talents and abilities in religious education, Bible teaching and foreign missions. This created ambivalence among fundamentalist men who were "dependent on [women's] support but wary of its inherent risks."⁹¹ Following World War II, women found increased opportunities for service within their fundamentalist institutions; many worked as Bible teachers and foreign missionaries. After a certain amount of growth in female numbers within ministries, men felt threatened. In response to their feelings of inferiority, they lessened women's influence. Bendroth writes, "By the late 1940s, the preponderance of women working as missionaries and teaching Bible in fundamentalist churches had grown beyond the limits of acceptability."⁹² Interestingly, Bendroth finds that female fundamentalist leaders chastised men for not pulling their weight within the ministries. She writes:

Speaking to a Wheaton College audience in 1958, Zoe Anne Alford summed up her career with the conclusion that "far too much of the work I've done on the field has been a man's work." A Baptist woman agreed. "Men—you pride yourselves on being the stronger sex. What are you doing with your strength? Women are doing your work out here—hard, health-blasting work. They must go out and do it or it never will be done."⁹³

Men took the women's chastisement to heart and reasserted their authority. Consequently, women saw their authority and power within fundamentalism greatly restricted.

In the 1930s, fundamentalist Bible schools restricted the enrollment of female students; Bendroth writes, "Quotas and restrictions in fundamentalist schools were not normative; they were a clear reversal of open policies which had, in the past, allowed disproportionate numbers

⁹¹ Bendroth, *Fundamentalism and Gender*, 9.

⁹² Bendroth, *Fundamentalism and Gender*, 10.

⁹³ Bendroth, *Fundamentalism and Gender*, 90.

of women into Bible schools and colleges.”⁹⁴ Schools became the gatekeepers of gender distinction, as they restricted women’s career opportunities within ministry while simultaneously strengthening ministerial opportunities for men. During this time, male fundamentalist leaders frequently preached that “women’s primary role was in the home, in strict subordination to their husbands.”⁹⁵ Following this increased emphasis in subordination, male fundamentalists lauded the merits of a society centered on a need for hierarchical order. The order of masculine strength over feminine weakness guaranteed male dominance within their churches. Bendroth argues that women ultimately regarded this restrictive order with favor, explaining, “women, like men, found in the fundamentalist movement a clear, though perhaps narrow, call to Christian vocation and a language of cultural critique that simplified the daunting range of choices in a secular lifestyle.”⁹⁶ By the 1950s, Christian literature taught that a woman’s duty was first to God, second to her husband, and third to Christian work. As fundamentalism encountered second-wave feminism in the 1960s and 1970s, Bendroth argues that fundamentalism retained its opposition to female leadership, though the fundamentalist men emptied their rhetoric of aggressive masculine terms.

Bendroth and Deberg both conclude that fundamentalism has historically at times empowered woman but more often, has stripped women of their authority. Anthropologist

⁹⁴ Bendroth, *Fundamentalism and Gender*, 91.

⁹⁵ Bendroth, *Fundamentalism and Gender*, 10. Bendroth explains that male leaders appealed to the masculine pride of male congregants in hopes of inspiring a surge in male commitment to ministry. She writes, “‘What’s the matter with the young men who say: ‘Yes, God, here I am, send my sister?’ Harold Ockenga demanded of students at Fuller Seminary, citing statistics that for every male recruit, six women volunteered for the mission field. [Donald] Nelson agreed sarcastically that ‘we do have some men in this country. Fine young men, and well-trained too. Well trained to take care of the nurseries, warm the bottles, make the beds, and even change diapers daily...Buddy, if you want to be a soldier, then pack your miserable barrack-bags, and shove off where the soldiers are...in the battle!’” (90)

⁹⁶ Bendroth, *Fundamentalism and Gender*, 11.

Brenda Brasher, however, spent a great deal of time observing two women's ministries at fundamentalist churches and concluded that the church groups provided women with a sense of empowerment and agency.⁹⁷ She concludes, "The all-female enclaves specifically nurture the spiritual development of women and are resources of thick emotionality that women can access as needed to support their daily lives. In women's retreats and Bible studies, women exercise major symbolic power."⁹⁸

Brasher's work is valuable as it provides an explanation for why women embrace fundamentalist belief structures despite the patriarchal associations of such beliefs. The women in Brasher's study often converted to Christianity while suffering a life crisis. Their newfound religious beliefs offered a means for understanding and coping with their troubling situations. Additionally, their beliefs provided purpose to seemingly cruel circumstances. Brasher finds that even in women's exercise of authority over other women, they are still subject to the ultimate authority of men; though the women's Bible studies were led by women, the programs fell under the authority of male pastors. In one example, Brasher describes a male pastor who dictated the Bible study curriculum used by women. Despite the continued male authority, Brasher's women operate with limited spheres of power in their otherwise powerless world; their power is strictly over other women. Marie R. Griffith presents an argument similar to Brasher's thesis in *God's Daughters: Evangelical Women and the Power of Submission*.⁹⁹ Though Griffith's study centers upon evangelical, Pentecostal women, she finds the women embrace and find freedom in the

⁹⁷ Brenda Brasher, *Godly Women: Fundamentalism and Female Power* (Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1998), 169.

⁹⁸ Brasher, *Godly Women*, 169.

⁹⁹ Marie R. Griffith, *God's Daughters: Evangelical Women and the Power of Submission* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 199.

biblical mandate of submission to their husbands, as their submission often elicits compliance from their husbands.

Julie Ingersoll, however, presents an alternative and conflicting analysis of women and Christianity in *Evangelical Christian Women: War Stories in the Gender Battles*.¹⁰⁰ Ingersoll comes to quite a different conclusion from that of Brasher and Griffith; Ingersoll argues that fundamentalism and evangelicalism do not empower women. She finds that Brasher and Griffith's works disregarded a large subset of women, namely the ones who refused to adhere to the status quo of complementarianism and submission. She writes, "The preference for an integrated view of women's religion (presented primarily by the women in power, who have a vested interest in the legitimization of the existing structures and practices) over the messier, complex reality lived by women in contested positions creates a distorted view of women in conservative Protestantism."¹⁰¹ Ingersoll finds that women who seek to assert their power through theological education and roles of leadership within the church ultimately encounter resistance from fundamentalist men and women. The women in Ingersoll's study find support in a group entitled Christians for Biblical Equality (CBE), and identify as biblical feminists, a term that Ingersoll finds contradictory. The CBE teaches egalitarianism theology¹⁰² in opposition to complementarian theology; in egalitarianism, men and women are equal before God and are not given separate or unique gender roles.

Ingersoll concludes that the struggle for gender authority within evangelicalism and

¹⁰⁰ Julie Ingersoll, *Evangelical Christian Women: War Stories in the Gender Battles* (New York: New York University Press, 2003), 8.

¹⁰¹ Ingersoll, *Evangelical Christian Women*, 8.

¹⁰² For more about egalitarian theology, see Ronald W. Pierce, *Partners in Marriage and Ministry: A Biblical Picture of Gender Equality* (Minneapolis: Christians for Biblical Equality, 2011). See also Carolyn Custis James, *Half the Church: Recapturing God's Global Vision for Women* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2011).

fundamentalism is indicative of a larger fight over a power to define a subculture within fundamentalism and evangelicalism. She writes:

People who cannot, or will not, live within their assigned spheres challenge not only the gender norms but the symbolic reality and the order it represents, as well. Those unwilling to conform to “God’s order” and its gendered requirements are the fullest representation of the arrogance of humanity in late modernity: rebelling against God, they seek to be autonomous individuals, “creating themselves” in a Nietzschean sense in place of accepting their role as the crowning glory of God’s creation. They symbolize a disorder and chaos that threatens to destroy the meaning, order, and purpose that are to be found only in living according to the Creator’s plan.¹⁰³

Ingersoll’s work represents a valuable edition to the historiography of women and fundamentalism; rather than easily attribute agency to women in such belief structures, Ingersoll finds that women profess such agency and self-empowerment only when they fail to go against their patriarchal system. Once the women resist their traditional role as submissive wife or teacher of women and children, the women face great struggles and adversity to remain within their faiths while pursuing their career and ministerial aspirations.

Where do Southern Baptist women fit into the issue of women and fundamentalism? Though Southern Baptists have historically disassociated with fundamentalists, in recent years, the movement adopted a stance towards a biblical role of men and women that closely aligns with fundamentalism’s teachings of complementarianism.¹⁰⁴ Barry Hankins, in *Uneasy in*

¹⁰³ Ingersoll, *Evangelical Christian Women*, 145.

¹⁰⁴ Barry Hankins, *Uneasy in Babylon: Southern Baptist Conservatives and American Culture*, (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2002), 12. Hankins explains that Southern Baptists largely did not participate in early fundamentalism, as fundamentalism existed as a response to modernism and modernism largely did not exist in the South. Though he cites J. Frank Norris’s attempts to emigrate fundamentalism into the south, Hankins writes, “Southern Baptists were still comfortable within their culture and had little use for the militancy of fundamentalism and no use for its separatism.” (39) After some time, however, Southern Baptist grew to see the South as less like Zion and more like the rest of the secular nation. Hankins contends, “At this point...neoevangelicalism became attractive to Southern Baptist conservatives at precisely the point where it differentiated itself from fundamentalism—that is, at the point of engagement with culture.” (40) As Southern Baptists have never opposed culture in

Babylon: Southern Baptist Conservatives and American Culture, explains the recent Southern Baptist alliance with fundamentalist teachings.¹⁰⁵ Hankins finds that the issue of gender roles has become a central focus for Southern Baptists, who have rearranged the organization and curriculum of their seminaries to reflect a complementarian model of male authority. Southern Baptist women, despite having made great advances in ordination in the 1970s and 1980s, are now refused pastoral authority and cannot instruct men, even in their roles as seminary professors.

Central to Hankin's analysis of Southern Baptists is Dorothy Patterson, wife to Southern Baptist Convention leader and seminary president Paige Patterson. Despite having a doctoral degree in theology, a degree that she earned alongside her husband, Mrs. Patterson is an outspoken advocate of complementarianism and the woman's role in the family. Mrs. Patterson also helped draft the 1998 revision of the Baptist Faith and Message, which affirmed women's biblical mandate to submit to their husbands within the Southern Baptist Convention. Hankins writes, "For Southern Baptists, that recent history [of gender roles] has been an experience of cultural change that must be met head on with conservative countercultural positions based on traditional, some would say outdated, readings of Scripture."¹⁰⁶ Hankins argues that Southern Baptists have recently divorced their long-held views on mutual submission among men and women in exchange for women's sole submission to men.

The alliance of the Southern Baptist Convention with complementarian teachings has

the way that fundamentalists have, Southern Baptists have been apt to regain the culture they lost, rather than separate altogether.

¹⁰⁵ To read more about the perspective of those who left the Southern Baptist Convention following its shift towards neoevangelicalism (including the stories of several women) see Carl L. Kell, ed., *Exiled: Voices of the Southern Baptist Convention Holy War* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2006).

¹⁰⁶ Hankins, *Uneasy in Babylon*, 239.

profoundly affected the denomination's female membership. Susan Shaw's *God Speaks to Us, Too*¹⁰⁷ provides an anthropological analysis of fundamentalist women's roles and experiences within the church. Shaw, an ordained Baptist minister and feminist, finds that although the Southern Baptist women she interviews are unable to hold ordained pastoral positions in their church, they exercise a great amount of power and agency among their fellow church members and even among church leadership. Women in the churches are responsible for leading Sunday Schools, organizing events like Vacation Bible School, ministering to other women, and, in a lot of instances, inspiring their male counterparts' church attendance as well as the directions of male leadership. As for women who attended Southern Baptist seminaries, Shaw tells a different story of women who felt betrayed by the institutions that educated them. Many female alums claimed to no longer recognize such institutions as Southern Baptist Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky, which no longer allowed women the freedom to pursue the pastorate or ordination.

Although scholars argue for the restricted authority of fundamentalist women, the women themselves tell a somewhat divergent story. Carol Virginia Pohli's article "Church Closets and Back Doors: A Feminist View of Moral Majority Women"¹⁰⁸ critiques the treatment of men towards women in fundamentalist settings. Pohli conducted a survey of evangelical women, despite experiencing great hurdles in contacting women within their churches. She initially sent letters to pastors of the churches, asking the pastors to put her in touch with women within their

¹⁰⁷ Susan M. Shaw, *God Speaks to Us Too: Southern Baptist Women on Church, Home & Society* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2008), 1. In the preface, Shaw writes of her own experience at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, explaining, "The changes in the Southern Baptist Convention caused me a lot of personal pain. I had attended the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary during a time of openness for women, only to find the Convention changing into a place that was no longer hospitable to my theology or my gender."

¹⁰⁸ Carol Virginia Pohli, "Church Closets and Back Doors: A Feminist View of Moral Majority Women," *Feminist Studies* 9, no. 3 (Autumn, 1983), 544.

congregations. By and large, the male pastors ignored her letters; eventually, Pohli contacted female leaders within the church. Although the women responded more favorably, they expressed trepidation about answering a researcher's questions. The women instructed Pohli to enter churches through back doors.

In her interviews, Pohli found that “like idealized Victorian women, Evangelical women are kept powerless and isolated from public life by being treated as the more spiritual sex—yet not competent to govern the ‘body of Christ.’”¹⁰⁹ In her survey, Pohli found that three-quarters of female subjects blamed the women's movement for the decline of the family. Most important to Pohli's findings, however, are the surprising results. For instance, she found that twenty percent of the evangelical women polled believed the institution of marriage served to exploit women. One third of the women admitted to wishing, when faced with life crises, that they had been born men. Twenty-seven percent of women gave “non-Evangelical” answers to questions dealing with human sexuality, and “all had defined masculinity and femininity as behavior traits which are not fixed.”¹¹⁰ The women claimed that when forming their opinion about a political issue, they would trust their own ability to form opinion above the guidance of a pastor or other man. While only eighteen percent of the respondents admitted to wishing that women had greater influence within their churches, fifty-nine percent of women said they would vote for a female presidential candidate. Pohli summarized her findings, stating, “The poll results indicate that the women's movement *has* influenced even members of the most conservative churches in America, and that some women in these churches are not ‘enemies,’ but potential contributors to

¹⁰⁹ Pohli, “Church Closets and Back Doors,” 544.

¹¹⁰ Pohli, “Church Closets and Back Doors,” 549.

the struggle of equality.”¹¹¹ Pohli admitted that these evangelical women would likely not receive support for greater growth and leadership from men within their churches; Pohli urged feminists to step out and encourage these evangelical women.

¹¹¹ Pohli, “Church Closets and Back Doors,” 552.

III. Historiography of Fundamentalist Higher Education Institutions

Scholars and other writers have produced a litany of works analyzing fundamentalist universities.¹¹² Mark Taylor Dalhouse's *An Island in the Lake of Fire: Bob Jones University, Fundamentalism & The Separatist Movement*¹¹³ details the formation and historical significance of the well-known fundamentalist university. Dalhouse writes from an outsider's perspective; he is a scholar trying to understand the university within the larger framework of the fundamentalist experience.

George Marsden's *Reforming Fundamentalism: Fuller Seminary and the New Evangelicalism*¹¹⁴ provides a case study analysis of the seminary's shift from fundamentalism to evangelicalism; though the school was founded in 1947 with strong fundamentalist ties, it shed its association in exchange for membership within the evangelical movement.

Kevin Roose's *The Unlikely Disciple: A Sinner's Semester at America's Holiest University*¹¹⁵ provides a journalistic account a semester spent undercover at Liberty University. The book is valuable because it provides a fascinating examination regarding student life at a fundamentalist institution. Roose's work defies the stereotype that students always agree with the viewpoints of their religious institutions. Though Roose meets many students that fit the stereotype of fundamentalism, he also finds students who struggle to come to terms with their

¹¹² All of the institutions discussed in this thesis have historical works written by faculty or writers associated with the institutions. These include Robert A. Baker, *Tell the Generations Following: A History of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1908-1983*, (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1983); Ruth McClellan, *Liberty University: Twenty-five Years of Miracles* (Lynchburg: Liberty University, 1996); and Daniel L. Turner, *Standing Without Apology: The History of Bob Jones University* (Greenville: Bob Jones University Press, 2001).

¹¹³ Dalhouse, *Island in the Lake of Fire*, 1996.

¹¹⁴ George M. Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism: Fuller Seminary and the New Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1987), 3-4.

¹¹⁵ Kevin Roose, *The Unlikely Disciple: A Sinner's Semester at America's Holiest University* (New York: Grand Central Publishing, 2009).

own religious beliefs. Often times, the students' beliefs do not mirror that of their institution.

In *God's Harvard: A Christian College On a Mission to Save America*,¹¹⁶ Hanna Rosin spends a year and a half at Patrick Henry University, a fundamentalist college popular among home-school families, and finds that the university's administration sought to prepare students for careers of leadership within the government so that the students might influence policy in favor of fundamentalist and Religious Right objectives.

Naomi Schaefer Riley's *God On the Quad: How Religious Colleges and the Missionary Generation are Changing America*¹¹⁷ includes examinations of several religious schools, including Bob Jones University, Brigham Young University, University of Notre Dame, Thomas Aquinas College, Yeshiva University, and Baylor University. Riley finds that these schools, despite their religious affiliations, foster deep intellectual cultivation of their students. Riley also includes a chapter about the impact of the feminist movement on religious institutions, and she concludes that female students and religious institutions have found a balance between students achieving their career and intellectual aspirations within the framework of their religious beliefs.

¹¹⁶ Hanna Rosen, *God's Harvard: A Christian College on a Mission to Save America* (Orlando: Harcourt, 2007).

¹¹⁷ Naomi Schaefer Riley, *God on the Quad: How Religious Colleges and the Missionary Generation are Changing America* (Chicago: St. Martin's Press, 2005).

CHAPTER III

BOB JONES UNIVERSITY

Bob Jones University (BJU) is a quintessential bastion of fundamentalist higher education.¹¹⁸ Founded in 1927 by Bob Jones, Sr., a popular evangelist in the early twentieth century, the institution is notorious among outsiders for its myriad of rules and strict separationist theology. George Marsden writes that the college “became one of the first centers for organized separatist fundamentalism in the Deep South.”¹¹⁹ As an institution birthed by a prominent fundamentalist preacher, BJU has unapologetically retained its fundamentalist stance to the present day. The university’s web site explains the school’s intricate relationship with fundamentalism:

We have an American Fundamentalist identity. We are not in agreement with sweeping changes occurring in American Evangelicalism. We are the heirs of an interdenominational movement of American conservative evangelicals, who published a set of doctrinal statements in the early twentieth century in a series of pamphlets titled *The Fundamentals*... These [pamphlets] defined the theological common ground of Protestant orthodoxy, raising a bulwark against the tide of modernism in the denominational churches and seminaries. Specifically they stood against the twin threats of Darwinian scientism and historical biblical criticism, which they rightly saw as directed at the heart of their faith. They drew battle lines and committed themselves to an aggressive separatist theological stance.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ The author is grateful to the archival staff of Bob Jones University’s Mack Library for their help in locating documents related to the school’s history. The information presented in this paper, however, is subject to the restricted availability of archival sources. Many of BJU’s institutional documents have been sealed and are not available to researchers.

¹¹⁹ George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: New Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 238.

¹²⁰ Ron Horton, “Statement: Christian Education at Bob Jones University,” Bob Jones University, accessed June 2, 2011, <http://www.bju.edu/academics/christian-education.php>.

The university's statement is rife with key words that denote a clear fundamentalist belief, as evidenced in the university's opposition towards evangelicalism,¹²¹ acknowledgement of the importance of the classic fundamentalist publication series *The Fundamentals*,¹²² and denunciation of modernism as evidenced in the theory of evolution and higher biblical criticism.¹²³ BJU is one of the last institutions to still claim the term "fundamentalism." What

¹²¹ Mark Taylor Dalhouse, *An Island in the Lake of Fire: Bob Jones University, Fundamentalism, & The Separatist Movement* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996), 79. One of the progenitors of the evangelistic movement, Billy Graham, was a student at Bob Jones College when the school was located in Cleveland, Tennessee. Dalhouse writes of Graham that "Graham stayed at [Bob Jones] for only one semester. During that brief time, Graham remembered 'I never did fit in...I couldn't believe the rules there...there were demerits for just about everything.'" (79) Although Graham reconciled with the Joneses early in his career as an evangelist, they later had a falling out. In November 1956, Graham contacted Jones Jr. to discuss holding a rally in Greenville. Jones Jr. refused to support the rally because Graham sought "the sponsorship of modernists and liberals." Graham retorted by asking that his name be removed from the popular fundamentalist publication, *The Sword of the Lord*. In a 1956 interview, Graham denounced the term "fundamentalist" and said he preferred to be called a "Christian." Dalhouse contends that the incident with Graham led the Joneses to become increasingly separatist and increasingly militant. (84) See also Patricia Cornwell, *Ruth, A Portrait: The Story of Ruth Bell Graham* (New York: Doubleday, 1997). In this biography, Cornwell describes Graham's relationship with his wife. Prior to their engagement, Ruth told Graham that she believed a woman's highest calling was to become a missionary. Graham countered, "Woman was created to be a wife and mother." Cornwall writes, "As Ruth would recall some fifty-five years later, 'Billy was brought up in a house where the women did not question the men, while in the Bell [Ruth's maiden name] house, that's all we did.' In the rural world of Billy's youth, the woman's life revolved around herself invisibly. Moor Graham [Billy's mother] was gentle and submissive, living eighty-nine years without ever owning a driver's license because her husband did not think women should drive." (79) Following their engagement, Ruth expressed ambivalence about relinquishing her aspiration to become a missionary in exchange for marriage. Graham stated, "'Do you or do you not think the Lord brought us together?' 'Yes,' she had to confess. 'Then,' he said firmly, 'I'll do the leading and you'll do the following.'" (91)

¹²² Marsden explains that *The Fundamentals* were "conceived by a Southern California oil millionaire and edited by Bible teachers and evangelists." (118) From 1910 to 1915, the papers were published in twelve volumes as a "Testimony to the Truth." The Fundamentals essentially explained everything essential to conservative Christians' beliefs. Marsden emphasizes the importance of the publication to fundamentalism, writing that the publication "became a symbolic point of reference for identifying a 'fundamentalist' movement. When in 1920 the term 'fundamentalist' was coined, it called to mind the broad united front of the kind of opposition to modernism that characterized these widely known, if little studied, volumes." (119)

¹²³ Marsden writes that modernism and the theory of evolution "had caused the catastrophe by undermining the Biblical foundations of American civilization...Given the seriousness of these threats, the response demanded was clear. In the intellectual battle between true Christianity and the

was once a proud label among Christian religious conservatives has come to hold, for some, a shameful association and connotation. Pat Berg, a long-time professor for BJU's School of Religion, acknowledged that some people within BJU have recently questioned whether the school should still associate with the term "fundamentalism."¹²⁴ Presently, however, the school openly continues its association with the religious movement.

Given BJU's solid association with fundamentalism, its attitude toward and treatment of women within the educational setting becomes an important example of how fundamentalists truly live out their faith within the confines of their belief structure. Fundamentalists interpret scripture to accord vastly different life roles to men and women.¹²⁵ Despite differing roles, the institution contends that it has always educated men and women equally. Bob Jones III issued the following statement regarding BJU and women:

There's really nothing spectacular or noteworthy about the University's history of educating female students or of having female professors. From the time of the school's founding in 1927 the school has been coeducational, and there has never been a time when we did not have female professors.¹²⁶

Despite Jones III's assertion that nothing "spectacular or noteworthy" has occurred among the university women, BJU has indeed had a sometimes dissonant and sometimes

philosophical materialism of modern life, said J. Gresham Machen, 'there can be no peace without victory; one side or the other must win.' (3-4)

¹²⁴ Pat Berg, Professor of Bible, interview with author, June 2, 2011. Although Berg acknowledged the discussion about the term "fundamentalism," she ultimately pointed the author to the university's official statement on their website regarding their belief. Berg is a professor in BJU's School of Religion where she teaches "Counseling Women" and "The Biblical Role of Women." She has a BA in Bible and an MS in Counseling from BJU. For over thirteen years, Berg has counseled BJU female students, faculty and staff women, and women from her church. She is a keynote speaker at Christian women's retreat conferences and speaks at family conferences with her husband, Jim Berg. See <http://www.bju.edu/academics/faculty/facultymember.php?id=pberg>.

¹²⁵ Berg, interview with author, June 2, 2011. BJU teaches a complementarianism approach to gender roles.

¹²⁶ Bob Jones III, email message to author, 27 May 2011. As this chapter later details, Bob Jones Sr. was succeeded in leadership by his son, Bob Jones Jr. and later his grandson, Bob Jones III. Presently, Bob Jones III serves as chancellor of the university while his son, Stephen Jones, serves as president.

conflicted relationship with its female faculty and students. In its earlier days, Bob Jones College (later University) saw some of its female faculty members attain leadership not only within the university's administrative leadership but also within their respective fields, both inside and outside of the university. Despite the early success of women, later years saw an absence of women in administrative leadership roles¹²⁷ and an increased emphasis of women's part-time roles. Furthermore, the University has maintained a strictly patriarchal, familial leadership: Bob Jones, Sr. was succeeded by Bob Jones, Jr., Bob Jones, III, and now Stephen Jones. BJU had a policy for many years that required female spouses of male employees to work at least part-time at the institution, a policy that has often juxtaposed their views on the importance of women within the home.¹²⁸

Those speaking from outside of the institution tell a different story altogether. Former BJU faculty and students have occasionally spoken out against the school, claiming that the administration exercises unfair and hypocritical treatment of women.¹²⁹ Despite the dissonance among women affected by BJU, one thing is certain: BJU has refused, without apology, to tolerate any creedal dissonance within its institution; women (and men) who have spoken out or acted against the university's policies have been fired or asked to resign. To that end and contrary to Jones III's statement, there *have* been a few rather spectacular or noteworthy events involving women throughout BJU's history.

¹²⁷ Although Eunice Hutto was the first and only woman to serve as the Dean of Students, women have continually held, throughout the existence of the school, the position of Dean of Women.

¹²⁸ Shannon Brooks, BJU Archivist, email message to author, May 25, 2011.

¹²⁹ Former BJU faculty member Camille K. Lewis resigned from BJU in 2007 and has since created a blog to discuss her negative impression of the school. Lewis's blog, *A Time to Laugh*, is accessible at <http://www.drslewis.org/camille/>.

I. The Beginning of Bob Jones College

In 1926, evangelist Robert (Bob) Jones Sr. announced plans to open Bob Jones College in College Point, Florida.¹³⁰ During his time as a traveling evangelist, he met “scores of young people who had lost their faith and morals in liberal and atheistic institutions.”¹³¹ Jones Sr. wished to establish a separatist institution where students would not have to worry about losing their faith. Though Jones Sr. was popularly known on the fundamentalist preaching circuit, he was, by his own admission, not an academic. In one of his chapel sermons to his students, Jones Sr. proclaimed, “I do not claim to be a scholar. I haven’t had time to be a scholar.”¹³² Jones Sr.’s academic background merited secondary importance, however, given the impetus of the school he founded. Though Jones demanded academic excellence from his students in many of his sermons, he also preached, “Primarily we are not trying to produce great scholars. We are trying here to produce great Christian leaders.”¹³³ Jones Sr.’s religious background had impressed upon him the supreme importance of saving souls; he opened the Bible college to prepare women and men for careers in ministry and mission work.¹³⁴

By the time he founded BJU, Jones Sr. had extensive personal experience with saving

¹³⁰ Fred Rapp, a long-time campaign manager for William H. “Billy” Sunday led the national sales campaign for the college development. See “Bob Jones College,” *St. Andrews Bay News*, February 23, 1936, 1. College Point, Florida is presently known as Panama City, Florida.

¹³¹ David O. Beale, *In Pursuit of Purity: American Fundamentalism Since 1850* (Greenville: Unusual Publications, 1986), 91.

¹³² Robert Jones Sr., “Things I Have Learned: No. 1,” *Things I Have Learned: Chapel Talks by Bob Jones Sr.* (Greenville: Bob Jones University Press, 1944), 9.

¹³³ Jones, “Obedience Necessary,” 56.

¹³⁴ Jones’s Bob Jones College was created at a time in history when many fundamentalists were erecting Bible colleges to train future pastors and missionaries. See Brereton, Virginia Lieson. *Training God’s Army: The American Bible School*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990.

souls. He was born in 1883 to Alex¹³⁵ and Georgia Jones as the eleventh of twelve children.¹³⁶ Raised a Methodist, Jones Sr. acquired the nickname of “little boy preacher”¹³⁷ and became pastor of his first church at the age of fourteen. Throughout his life, he preached thousands of revivals and led countless souls to salvation. Not only did Jones Sr.’s preaching merit a great following in the places where he visited, but he also attained local celebrity status. In April of 1912, his widely followed evangelical campaign received front-page news coverage until the sinking of the Titanic relegated the church revival to the back of the newspapers.¹³⁸

Jones Sr. announced his plans for the college during an evangelistic campaign in College Point, Florida in 1926, where he preached about “the need of proper education of our young people and...the founding, within sight of the spot on which the great tent had been erected, and under which we sat, of a great Inter-denominational Christian College.”¹³⁹ By February 1, 1927, construction on the college was underway; the foundation for a girl’s dormitory had been laid and plans for the boy’s dormitories were in the final stage.¹⁴⁰ The college opened on September 14, 1927 as a junior college with departments in the following subjects: education, history, English, mathematics, science, foreign languages, Bible, religious education and music.¹⁴¹

¹³⁵ William Alexander Jones served as a confederate soldier during the Civil War. Robert Jones was named after one of Alex’s fellow soldiers. Archival notes on Robert Reynolds Jones written by former BJU archivist Bertrin Wilhoit. Date unknown.

¹³⁶ Archival notes on Georgia Creel Jones written by former BJU archivist Bertrin Wilhoit. Date unknown.

¹³⁷ Archival notes on Robert Reynolds Jones written by former BJU archivist Wilhoit. Date unknown.

¹³⁸ Shannon Brooks, BJU Archivist, in discussion with the author, June 14, 2011.

¹³⁹ “College Point Celebration,” *St. Andrews Bay News*, July 6, 1921, 1. C. Keith Florida Properties Inc. deeded approximately five hundred acres of land to the trustees of Bob Jones College in the form of unsold lots worth \$400,000.

¹⁴⁰ “Bob Jones College Well Under Way,” *St Andrews Bay News*, February 1, 1927, 4.

¹⁴¹ “The Bob Jones College,” *St. Andrews Bay News*, May 10, 1927, 4. Originally, students would complete two years at the college and transfer to another institution after two years to continue towards receiving a degree.

An early advertisement for Bob Jones College stated:

Do you want your son or daughter educated in a Christian school—in a school which believes in the Bible from cover to cover; in a school which emphasizes the necessity of the new birth and holds uncompromisingly to the “old-time religion?” If you do, send your son and daughter to the Bob Jones College, which was founded by Bob Jones, the evangelist.¹⁴²

The college hosted a little over one hundred students in its inaugural class.¹⁴³ The first year’s course catalog included the phrases “Spiritually Safe” and “Educationally Strong” at the bottom of every page. Parents could trust Bob Jones’s college to care for and protect their children from the dangers of the secular world during their time away from home. The school’s creed, which students, faculty and staff recite before every chapel service to this day,¹⁴⁴ proclaimed its non-negotiable fundamentalist belief structure, included:

The inspiration of the [Bible]; the creation of man by the direct act of God; the incarnation and virgin birth of our Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ; His incarnation as the Son of God; His vicarious atonement for the sins of mankind by the shedding of his blood on the cross; the resurrection of His body from the tomb; His power to save men from sin; the new birth through the regeneration by the Holy Spirit; and the gift of eternal life by the grace of God.¹⁴⁵

Following the creed, the handbook stated that the charter “shall never be amended, modified, altered or changed as the provisions hereinbefore set forth.” Indeed, BJU has never departed from its original creed, which stands as the unchanging stalwart for the school’s fundamentalist beliefs.

¹⁴² “Bob Jones College,” *St. Andrews Bay News*, August 23, 1927, 2. Though Bob Jones University would not receive accreditation for many years (and indeed, to this day has yet to receive regional accreditation from the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools (SACSS)), the advertisement stated the college met “from the start all the requirements of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.” Tuition for the college in 1927 was \$125 for nine months, and room and board was \$25 per month.

¹⁴³ “Returning Visitor Sees Many Changes for Better,” *St. Andrews Bay News*, August 9, 1927, 36, and “Bob Jones College Opens September 17,” *St. Andrews Bay News*, September 4, 1928, 3.

¹⁴⁴ Berg, interview with author, June 2, 2011.

¹⁴⁵ “An Epoch in Education: Facts About The Bob Jones College,” 1927-1928.

During the first semester, Jones Sr. held revival services for the students where “forty of the students came to the ‘mourner’s bench’ either to ‘get right’ or to be converted.”¹⁴⁶ Jones Sr. also imposed a series of rules on the students and faculty and required them to sign written copies.¹⁴⁷ Rules required close chaperoning of any occasion that included a mixing of male and female students, required students to attend Sunday School and church at the college chapel, and mandated that students refrain from tobacco use and hazing in order to promote a home-like environment.¹⁴⁸ Students who failed to adhere to university rules were dismissed from the college.¹⁴⁹ The inaugural faculty of the college represented the diversity of the student body; the first year’s faculty included ten men and six females.¹⁵⁰

For six years, the college flourished in Florida before its tenure in the state came to an end in 1933. Amidst the Great Depression, BJU declared bankruptcy.¹⁵¹ The administration moved the college from Florida to Cleveland, Tennessee, a location that would allow greater access to students from across the South.¹⁵² By that time, the school had blossomed into a degree-granting institution offering Bachelor of Arts degrees in religion, speech and music.¹⁵³ Bob Jones College would not remain in Cleveland for long; in 1947, the school announced its

¹⁴⁶ Daniel L. Turner, *Reflecting God’s Light: Facets of A Miracle* (Greenville: Bob Jones University Press, 2001) 11.

¹⁴⁷ Robert Jones Sr., “Things I Have Learned, No. 4,” *Things I Have Learned: Chapel Talks* (Greenville: Bob Jones University, 1944), 46. An article entitled “Bob Jones College Starts Second Year,” *St. Andrews Bay News*, September 18, 1928, 3, describes a ceremony beginning the new school year where “all members of the faculty were asked to sign the college creed in the presence of the [public] audience.”

¹⁴⁸ “An Epoch in Education,” 11.

¹⁴⁹ “An Epoch in Education,” 11.

¹⁵⁰ Student Handbook, 1927.

¹⁵¹ “Bob Jones Writes Facts Concerning College Affairs,” *Bay County Herald*, January 12, 1933, 1b.

¹⁵² Bob Jones College Catalogue 1932-1933, Volume V, No. 1, 8.

¹⁵³ Bob Jones College Catalogue 1932-1933, Volume V, No. 1, 15-18. The course catalogue also noted a requirement for all students to take Bible every year. In 2011, Bob Jones University offered seventy different majors. See Bob Jones University website’s “Majors” at <http://www.bju.edu/academics/majors/>.

move from Tennessee to its now permanent location in Greenville, South Carolina and changed its name from Bob Jones College to Bob Jones University.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ “School Will Open Session in October,” *Charlotte Observer*, June 8, 1947.

II. Women in the Early History of Bob Jones University

The college's earliest days saw strong female leaders within the university. In 1933, a female professor, Eunice Hutto, became Dean of Students as well as principal of the Bob Jones Academy for pre-college students; she is the only female academic dean of students in the university's history.¹⁵⁵ Hutto received her undergraduate degree from Women's College of Montgomery, her master of science from University of Alabama and her doctoral degree from Westminster College.¹⁵⁶ She was named head of BJU's Math Department in 1929. She served as dean until BJU's move from Cleveland to Greenville in 1947.¹⁵⁷ On August 22, 1947, at the age of 42, Hutto died of leukemia a mere eight months after the birth of her only son.¹⁵⁸

Daniel L. Turner writes of Hutto that "the College's schedules and internal organization did not develop until [she]...became dean in 1933. She was an organized, efficient woman who demanded that the College's work be raised to a higher level."¹⁵⁹ Students had great fondness for Hutto, as evidenced in their dedication of the 1937 yearbook to her, writing, "For the inspiration of her noble Christian character, her sweetness of disposition, and her maintenance of high educational standards, we, her admiring students dedicate this 1937 *Vintage*."¹⁶⁰ A memorial to Dean Hutto praises her work within the university, stating, "Dr. Jones, always perceptive of character, ability, and spirituality, recognized in her the qualities he needed to fill a vacancy in the deanship. He depended heavily on her and has repeatedly praised the work she did in setting up the educational standards." The memorial also notes her unfailing loyalty to

¹⁵⁵ Turner, *Standing Without Apology*, 11.

¹⁵⁶ "Eunice Hutto," Hutto File, Bob Jones University Archives.

¹⁵⁷ Daniel L. Turner, Professor of Music, in discussion with the author, June 15, 2011.

¹⁵⁸ Turner, in discussion with the author, June 15, 2011.

¹⁵⁹ Turner, *Standing Without Apology*, 43-44.

¹⁶⁰ *Vintage*, 1937. Page unknown. Hutto File, Bob Jones University Archives.

Jones Sr. Johnson states, “Dean Hutto subscribed 100 per cent to Dr. Jones’ philosophy...Miss Hutto, being the spiritual women [sic] she was and having the gifts she had, wholeheartedly subscribed to all of this and gladly put her shoulder to the wheel to help [Jones Sr.].”¹⁶¹

Hutto is, however, the last female employee of BJU to serve within the upper administration. Retired Dean of Fine Arts Dwight Gustafson, who served as dean from 1955 until the mid-nineties, attributes the dearth of female leadership within BJU to a long held part-time employment status for women with children. Bob Jones Sr. and Bob Jones Jr. both believed that female faculty with children were too busy mothering to hold full-time employment; as such, the women were only required to work part-time. Though women were not prohibited from working full-time if they wished to do so, the policy of the university called for part-time work. As most of the women were part-time, this disqualified them the opportunity to serve in high-level administrative positions that required twelve-month, full-time appointments.¹⁶² Interestingly, although the university has since departed from its requirement that women work part-time and now employs a great number of full-time female faculty and staff,¹⁶³ no female since Hutto has held any of the various administrative dean positions apart from the position of “Dean of Women.”¹⁶⁴ Today the university continues this tradition; its seventeen officers of administration include only one female, who serves as Dean of Women.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶¹ “Miss Hutto” by R.K. Johnson, Bob Jones University Archives. Unfortunately, though the article is verbose, the memorial article reveals little about Hutto. A fair amount of the article praises Bob Jones Sr.’s philosophy within the college and praises Hutto’s ability to serve within his philosophy.

¹⁶² Dr. Daniel L. Turner, email message to author, June 16, 2011.

¹⁶³ Berg, interview with author, June 2, 2011.

¹⁶⁴ As of June 2011, the university’s highest-level female employee is Carol Keirstead, Chief Communications Officer. See “University Administration,” Bob Jones website, <http://www.bju.edu/welcome/who-we-are/administration/cabinet.php>.

¹⁶⁵ “Administration: Officers of Administration.” Bob Jones University website, <http://www.bju.edu/welcome/who-we-are/administration/officers.php>.

Despite the preponderance of men in BJU's upper-level administration following Hutto's departure, other women within the university distinguished themselves through their faculty appointments. Hazel Riley came to Bob Jones University as a student at the encouragement of her parents. Though Riley had made no plans to attend college, a high school teacher encouraged her to enroll at Florida State University. A mere four days before the new school year, her parents became frightened of sending their daughter to a secular school and contacted Bob Jones College; Bob Jones Sr. personally made plans to have Riley's luggage transported to the college, which she had already sent ahead to Florida.¹⁶⁶ During her time at BJU, Riley became saved¹⁶⁷ at one of the college's revivals and majored in speech.¹⁶⁸ Following her time as a student at the college, Riley became a staff member and eventually the Dean of Women. Students dedicated the 1953 edition of *The Vintage* to her, as she "left the imprint of her gentility and fine sense of Christian propriety on the entire makeup of Bob Jones University and particularly on the lives of 'her girls,' many of whom are today serving in distant parts of the world."¹⁶⁹ As a staff member, Riley worked hard, as did all of the faculty and staff at the university. Page after page of her 1941 journal recounts her exhaustion from work. On Saturday, January 4, 1941, she wrote, "I've not had time to breathe—pupils—class—and Vesper rehearsal up till supper. Am spending the nite [sic] at home."¹⁷⁰

One of the early scandals at BJU involved female faculty member Dorothy Seay. The

¹⁶⁶ "Hazel Claire Riley," author unknown, from the archive's Hazel Riley folder.

¹⁶⁷ Fundamentalist and evangelical Christians believe that a person must repent of their sins to receive salvation. This act of repentance is commonly referred to as being "saved."

¹⁶⁸ "Hazel Claire Riley."

¹⁶⁹ "Hazel Claire Riley." According to the Voice, a student publication, Riley had a keen sense of humor. As dean of women, she appeared at a routine "white glove inspection" in the dorms wearing actual white gloves.

¹⁷⁰ Journal of Hazel Riley, 1941.

school hired Seay in 1936 to teach French, Latin and Greek.¹⁷¹ Very quickly into her tenure at BJU, Seay found herself accused of mimicking and mocking students, denigrating faculty members in front of students, inviting male students to her apartment for study sessions, and refusing to participate in the school's discipline methods for students.¹⁷² Jones Sr. met with Seay on two occasions and made clear that BJU required her to exercise absolute loyalty to the administration, saying, "If something happens in the administration which you do not like, your protest is your resignation. If you stay here you must not under any circumstances criticize the administration."¹⁷³ BJU fired Seay in 1938.¹⁷⁴ In 1940, she published an anonymous article about Bob Jones University in H.L. Mencken's¹⁷⁵ magazine, the *American Mercury*.¹⁷⁶ The article, entitled "Accent on Sin," began:

There is a college where your boy may be put in solitary confinement for a month for smoking one cigarette, where your daughter is restricted to the campus for refusing a boy

¹⁷¹ Turner, *Standing Without Apology*, 72.

¹⁷² Turner, *Standing Without Apology*, 72.

¹⁷³ Turner, *Standing Without Apology*, 73. Jones Sr.'s assertion that protest equated to resignation has applied throughout the school's existence to all faculty and staff members as well as students, who are unable to disagree with BJU's administration. Many versions of the faculty/staff and student handbooks have insisted upon support of the university's policies. The student handbook has included a mandate stating, "It is understood that attendance at Bob Jones University is a privilege and not a right, which privilege may be forfeited by any student who does not conform to the standards and regulations of the institution, and that the University may request the withdrawal of any student at any time who, in the opinion of the University, does not fit into the spirit of the institution, regardless of whether or not he conforms to the specific rules and regulations of the University. Furthermore, if on the basis of the University's judgment, a student's spiritual response, character, or conduct is considered to be sub-Christian or sufficiently spiritually deficient as to make him unworthy of the privilege of holding a degree from this Christian university, the University reserves the right to deny him his degree." See Bob Jones University Student Handbook, 1983-1984. Note that the heavily revised 2010-2011 Student Handbook Preliminary Edition did not include this mandate.

¹⁷⁴ Turner, *Standing Without Apology*, 73.

¹⁷⁵ H.L. Mencken was a popular writer and critic of American life, the South, and religion. His articles derided fundamentalists, and his *American Mercury* publication "thwacked" residents of the "Bible Belt." Mencken is famously remembered for his coverage of the Scopes Trial where he "[reported] with savage joy the verbal mauling of William Jennings Bryan, special prosecutor, by Clarence Darrow, defense attorney." See "H.L. Mencken, 75, Dies in Baltimore," *New York Times*, January 30, 1956.

¹⁷⁶ Turner, *Standing Without Apology*, 73.

to date, where four hundred boys and girls do not dare speak to each other except when crowding into the dining room. These young people—I nearly wrote “inmates”—dare not complain when the roof leaks, because complaints are considered sinful; they wouldn’t dare write home about an outbreak of ptomaine poisoning because letters are read in the office and withheld from the email. Outlandish though this must sound, it is right here in the United States, and I am a member of its faculty.¹⁷⁷

An early edition of BJU’s student handbook included rules confirming some of Seay’s accusations.¹⁷⁸ The book prohibited dancing, card playing, use of tobacco, drinking, gambling, profanity, and obscenity. In bold letters, it proclaimed, “ ‘Griping’ in Bob Jones College will not be tolerated.”¹⁷⁹ Seay wrote about the honor system imposed among BJU students, requiring them to report each other’s sinful failings. Jones Sr. encouraged such tattling in one of his sermons when he preached:

You are no friend to your roommate when you cover up for him or for her the violation of rules. The worst enemy you have is a girl or boy who covers up your wrongdoing and lets you get away with the breach of a rule or regulation here...I have heard students say, “Oh, I wouldn’t squeal on a friend.” Don’t call yourself a friend if you say that. If you are a friend to your roommate you say to that roommate, “We are living in a Christian college. There are rules and regulations here. They were made by both students and

¹⁷⁷ Anonymous (attributed to Dorothy Seay). “Accent on Sin,” *American Mercury*, 1940, accessed June 10, 2011, <http://www.drslewis.org/camille/2011/03/the-more-things-change/>. BJU historian Daniel L. Turner attributes the anonymous article to Seay in *Standing Without Apology*, 73.

¹⁷⁸ Student Handbook, Bob Jones College. The handbook was the oldest available in the BJU archives and does not contain a date; however, the name “Bob Jones College” indicates that the handbook was written before BJU’s move to Greenville, South Carolina, when the school became known as Bob Jones University. See Turner, *Standing Without Apology*, 110.

¹⁷⁹ The act of “griping” has long been prohibited by BJU. It appeared consistently in student handbooks until only recently. While the 2010-2011 Student Handbook Preliminary Edition made no mention of griping, the 2003-2004 handbook read, “The conviction of the Founder was that a “gripy,” critical, or cynical attitude grieves the Holy Spirit and is destructive to Christian growth and Christian fellowship. Constructive suggestions made to the administration will always be welcomed, but griping in Bob Jones University will not be tolerated.” (handbook’s emphasis.) Seay’s article recounts incidences including griping. She writes of one student, “He said, with sugar in his tones, ‘Yes, I did gripe, and I ought not to have done it. I said it made me mad when they opened my letters and read them in the office. I ought not to have done that.’” Another incident included a student who apologized in public for his griping. Seay writes, “Another, more tractable [student] rose and confessed his sin in public. ‘Dr. Jones,’ he said, ‘I do love the school, and I have tried to be loyal. When the toilet upstairs leaked on my bed, I did fuss, but I am truly sorry.’” (19)

faculty, and we signed them. We promised to keep them. I won't cover up for a criminal!"¹⁸⁰

Seay alleged blackmail on the part of Jones Sr. towards a female student, Nell, who was known for her "lively prettiness."¹⁸¹ In the absence of Jones Sr., his son, Jones Jr, allegedly said "far too much to [Nell] on the subject of her wrongdoing."¹⁸² The content of Jones Jr.'s words to Nell were unclear. Nell's father, however, was a popular preacher, and Jones Sr. worried what the father might think if Nell recounted Jones Jr.'s words to her. When Jones Sr. found out that Nell had written a love letter to a fellow male student, which a professor confiscated, Jones Sr. took the love letter and blackmailed Nell; if she "breathed one word against the school, her father would be shown the note."¹⁸³

Seay discussed the university's strict rules against "burgeoning puppy love."¹⁸⁴ She mentioned the administration's obsession with preventing a "scandal" in the form of an illegitimate child; faculty members were tasked with chaperoning dates in fear that "any boy and girl left together for a single unwatched minute are likely to produce a scandal."¹⁸⁵ Aside from holding faculty members accountable for the students' actions, the administration also held female students accountable for their dating decisions. Girls could not refuse a date "without a

¹⁸⁰ Robert Jones Sr., "Things I Have Learned, No.4," *Things I Have Learned: Chapel Talks By Bob Jones Sr.* (Greenville: Bob Jones University Press, 1944), 43.

¹⁸¹ Anonymous, "Accent on Sin," 19.

¹⁸² Anonymous, "Accent on Sin," 19.

¹⁸³ Anonymous, "Accent on Sin," 20.

¹⁸⁴ Anonymous, "Accent on Sin," 20.

¹⁸⁵ Anonymous, "Accent on Sin," 20. Chaperoning of students has been required throughout BJU's existence. The 2010-2011 Student Handbook: Preliminary Edition requires female students wishing to date a non-student in town to be chaperoned by either a faculty/staff member or her parents/grandparents or those of her date. Chaperones can be undergraduate students with "advanced privileges," a faculty/staff or graduate assistant married couple, or a parent/grandparent.

very good reason.”¹⁸⁶ Furthermore, a girl’s refusal towards a boy’s date carried a penalty of twenty-five demerits.¹⁸⁷ Seay writes:

Some boys find it difficult to get dates even when they are thus backed up by the administration police. But the axiom for the dating system at Blank¹⁸⁸ is that “Any boy good enough to come to Blank College is good enough to have a date with any girl in the college.” Wherefore a boy can always *report* a girl for refusing a date. All dateless boys must make excuses for their condition, after which the dateless girls are parceled out among them by the President.¹⁸⁹

Seay further writes that faculty chaperones were nearly driven mad ensuring that they did not let the dating students out of their sight, as one lustful look or stolen kiss between students could subject faculty members to discipline.¹⁹⁰ Following Seay’s departure, the administration fired Joseph Free, a fellow faculty member within the Speech Department and friend to Seay, who spoke out against the college for its paternalism.¹⁹¹ Ruth Flood, another faculty in the Speech Department, resigned after becoming sympathetic to Seay and Free’s criticisms of the college.¹⁹² Turner remarks on the events surrounding Seay:

These faculty problems serve to illustrate the control that the President and Acting President held over the school, a control unlike that in secular institutions. While trying to accommodate individuals to the fullest extent possible and give them the benefit of the doubt, they held the good of the institution and the welfare of the students paramount over personal considerations. As one faculty member remarked some years later, “Remember, Dr. Bob will never consciously do anything to harm the school.”¹⁹³

Turner, writing as a BJU insider, fails to convey the maniacal insecurity and paranoia of

¹⁸⁶ Anonymous, “Accent on Sin,” 20.

¹⁸⁷ Anonymous, “Accent on Sin,” 20.

¹⁸⁸ In her anonymous article, Seay consistently refers to Bob Jones College as Blank College. Despite the lack of attribution within the article, BJU’s internal historian and faculty member Dr. Daniel L. Turner attributes the article to Seay in his book *Standing Without Apology*.

¹⁸⁹ Anonymous, “Accent on Sin,” 21.

¹⁹⁰ Anonymous, “Accent on Sin,” 21.

¹⁹¹ Turner, *Standing Without Apology*, 74.

¹⁹² Turner, *Standing Without Apology*, 74.

¹⁹³ Turner, *Standing Without Apology*, 73-74.

President Jones Sr. and Acting President Jones Jr. that is evidenced in their absolute refusal to listen to any refutations against their university.

At the start of a new academic year the following autumn, Jones Sr. would later remark in chapel about the incident, explaining, “The Satanic philosophy is a philosophy of ‘live as you please’; ‘have what you want’; ‘don’t let anybody tell you what to do’; ‘it’s your life, you have got a right to live it.’ The Christian philosophy is a philosophy of self-denial, self-control, and self-restraint.”¹⁹⁴ Indeed, Jones Sr.’s sermon evidences his creation and implementation of a rigid system of control requiring the compliance of everyone within the sphere of the college. He never addresses how he came to believe that he held such authority. Rather, he exempts himself from the “Christian philosophy” of self-denial, self-control, and self-restraint as he controls his college to his controlling heart’s content, imposing gross limitations upon those under his authority. Jones equates submission to his rules with Christ-like behavior; those who violate BJU also violate God.

Though Seay’s relationship with the university soured, other female professors maintained good relations with the institution throughout their tenure; Katherine Stenholm is revered for her work in the Speech Department and BJU’s Unusual Films Production Company. Stenholm came to BJU as a student in 1935. She majored in speech; following graduation, she attended Northwestern University for graduate work and later returned to BJU as a faculty member.¹⁹⁵ Stenholm spent her early career directing Shakespearean plays but later switched to directing films for the university. She recounts:

¹⁹⁴ Turner, *Standing Without Apology*, 75.

¹⁹⁵ Oral History Interview with Dr. Katherine (Corne) Stenholm, Conducted by Dr. Jennifer Sackett and Mr. Dan Boone, January 23, 2002. Retrieved from BJU Archives. Stenholm’s husband, Dr. Gilbert Stenholm, was Dean of the School of Religion, Director of Religious Activities, and in charge of the “Preacher Boys,” the group aptly coined for aspiring future pastors on campus.

I was at a Shakespearean play rehearsal, and Dr. Bob Jr.¹⁹⁶ came back and sat down by me during the rehearsal—he was in the play—and he said “Kitty, next year when you are doing the films.” And I said, “Next year when I am doing what?” He says, “Didn’t you know?” He said, “Dad wants to start a film studio, and we want you to head it.” And he said, “You’ll be in charge of it.”¹⁹⁷

Because Stenholm did not have a background in film, she attended a twelve-week summer class at the University of Southern California where she learned how to make films.¹⁹⁸ The University established Unusual Films and a department of cinema; Jones Sr. placed Stenholm in charge of the film program. Turner writes, “Film, as a tool in mass evangelism, had fascinated Bob Jones Sr.¹⁹⁹ in the early years of his evangelistic work.”²⁰⁰ He intended for the film department to

¹⁹⁶ Bob Jones Jr. was well known throughout his life as a “Renaissance Man” and aesthetic. As a young boy, he accompanied his parents to Europe where he became fascinated by art. In high school, he developed an interest in drama. He graduated from Bob Jones College in 1931 with a major in speech, completed a master of arts degree in history at the University of Pittsburgh in 1933, and completed postgraduate work at the University of Chicago Divinity School and in Northwestern University’s graduate drama and theater program. He returned to BJU as an instructor in ancient and medieval history. He became vice president of the college in 1932 and served as Acting President in his father’s absence. He continued to act in plays and in 1934 received an honorary doctor of letters degree from Ashbury College for acting in Shakespearean plays. In 1934 and 1935, Jones Jr. spent his summers at Stratford-Upon-Avon studying acting under members of the Royal Shakespeare Company. While a student at Bob Jones College, Jones Jr. acted in several Shakespeare plays and came to the attention of actor Fritz Leiber who invited him to join his touring Shakespeare company. In 1937, Hollywood’s Warner Brothers Studios approached Jones Jr. with an acting contract. Jones Jr. refused both offers. Jones Jr. would continue to appear in BJU Shakespeare Plays, Unusual Films productions, and would acquire a massive Italian religious art collection that is today housed in BJU’s Museum and Gallery. See BJU Review: Dr. Bob Jones Jr. 1911-1997, Spring 1997, BJU Archives.

¹⁹⁷ Oral History Interview with Stenholm, 15.

¹⁹⁸ Oral History Interview with Stenholm, 15.

¹⁹⁹ Interestingly, although film fascinated Bob Jones Sr., he also saw its ability to corrupt students. In 1971, the administration added the following prohibition to the student handbook: “Since Bob Jones University believes that Christian young people should manifest their loyalty to Jesus Christ by consecrated living, the institution does not permit...movie-going. (6) In the 2010-2011 Student Handbook Preliminary Edition, students are not permitted to have televisions in their residence hall rooms except for the purpose of game consoles. They are disallowed from watching television on the Internet or on their cell phones. Furthermore, they can only view G-rated movies and movie trailers in private homes. In faculty/staff homes students can watch PG rated movies “when the faculty or staff member watches with the students and objectionable elements are discussed.” Students are not allowed to attend any rated movie within a movie theater. (29)

²⁰⁰ Turner, *Standing Without Apology*, 196.

produce Christian films as another evangelistic medium.²⁰¹ One of Unusual Film's productions, Sheffey,²⁰² premiered at the Cannes Film Festival in 1958; Stenholm remarked, "It won all kinds of awards—probably the most celebrated Christian film that has [been] ever made." Stenholm's tenure is evidence within BJU of a powerful female leader who not only paved the way for film within the university but also served as one of the first female directors and producers to achieve success within the film industry at large. Following her retirement, she recalled, "People were always surprised that a woman—in those days, you know, it was unusual for a woman to have a position like I had—and I used to think, "Sometimes the Lord chooses the weak things to confound the mighty."²⁰³ Stenholm's description of herself as "weak," despite her many career accomplishments, is not surprising given her adherence to fundamentalism, which stresses an inherent weakness in women.

Grace W. Haight, professor of Bible, was a well-loved female faculty member at the university. She was a "character" and famously known as "the woman with the calloused knees." In 1955, doctors and nurses who treated Haight as she lay on her deathbed noticed the thick calluses on her knees, which friends and colleagues attributed to her devoted prayer life; Haight spent a great deal of each day praying on her knees.²⁰⁴ She was born in Massachusetts in 1863, but her family moved to Kentucky shortly following her birth. Haight identified as a Southerner and "didn't like Abraham Lincoln and even insisted that she'd never meet him in

²⁰¹ Turner, *Standing Without Apology*, 196.

²⁰² Oral History Interview with Stenholm, 33.

²⁰³ Oral History Interview with Stenholm, 123.

²⁰⁴ "Tribute to Dr. Haight," Bob Jones University—Voice of the Alumni, April 1956, 3. Retrieved from BJU archives folder on Haight.

Heaven.”²⁰⁵ She became a missionary in China and on a riverboat on the Nile in Egypt.²⁰⁶ A Methodist, Haight became concerned about the modernism infecting her denomination so she returned to the United States in 1923 and worked with Dr. R.A. Meek on a fundamentalist newspaper publication, *Southern Methodist*.²⁰⁷ Despite her petite stature, Haight acquired a reputation as a fighting fundamentalist; Jones Sr. invited her to his college in 1930 to serve as managing editor of his *Fellowship News*, a position she held until her death, and to teach missions classes.²⁰⁸ Despite her departure from the mission field, Haight continued to pray for missionaries and each morning would spread world maps across her bedroom floor and pray, country by country, for the missionaries that she knew.²⁰⁹ She was equally known for her generosity; she often gave money to students in need and had a tendency to pass any gifts to herself along to others.²¹⁰

Despite Haight’s spiritually strong reputation at Bob Jones University, Jones Sr. tried unsuccessfully to have her fired. This fact came to light when, in the spring of 1953, Theodore Mercer, a former student, then-register of Bob Jones University and then-assistant to Jones Sr., was abruptly fired by the university’s Board of Trustees.²¹¹ In retaliation, he penned several booklets that he mailed to alumni, the Board of Trustees, students, faculty and staff at the university. Included in his booklets was an accusation against Jones Sr., claiming Sr. demanded that Mercer fire Haight. Mercer writes:

²⁰⁵ Judy Groff, “A Biographical Sketch of Grace W. Haight: A 50th Anniversary Feature,” publication and date unknown. Retrieved from the BJU archives folder on Haight.

²⁰⁶ Groff, “Biographical Sketch of Haight.”

²⁰⁷ Groff, “Biographical Sketch of Haight.”

²⁰⁸ Groff, “Biographical Sketch of Haight.”

²⁰⁹ Groff, “Biographical Sketch of Haight.”

²¹⁰ Groff, “Biographical Sketch of Haight.”

²¹¹ Turner, *Standing Without Apology*, 153.

Soon after school started [in 1951], Dr. Jones, Sr., with the approval of Dr. Jones, Jr., ordered that Dr. Grace Haight's classes should be taken from her because one student, a nurse, reported to Dr. Jones, who was ill in the infirmary at the time, that the students could not hear Dr. Haight, a fact which had been partially true for many years. Actually Dr. Jones, Sr., was "sore" at Dr. Haight because she had "meddled" in the Jones's domestic affairs, saying she didn't think they ought to put Mrs. Scott (Mrs. Jones's elderly aunt) in the infirmary to live; and following a pattern which I had learned to recognize, Dr. Jones had set out to find something against Dr. Haight so that he could punish her...Dr. Jones instructed me to write Dr. Haight a letter, telling her she could no longer teach. I went to Dr. Haight first and approached her cautiously about giving up her classes and she pleaded with me to keep them. I told this privately to Dr. Jones, Jr., and he said he didn't care but it was "Dad's idea." Then I saw Dr. Jones, Sr., and told him her reaction and suggested that if he felt she had to be relieved of her classes, he as an older man and long-time friend of Dr. Haight approach her...He upbraided me severely for my suggestion and talked to me about my administrative responsibility to do "whatever we want you to do." He reiterated his instruction that I write Dr. Haight at once, relieving her of her classes and he told me most emphatically that if I were not willing to follow instructions, they would get someone else to do my job. His manner was hard and unkind toward Dr. Haight and I saw clearly for the first time that his device was to get someone else to do his "dirty work." I saw also that he feared to see Dr. Haight himself, I think because he knew to do what he was about to do was both unnecessary at the time and unjustifiable except on personal grounds."²¹²

Turner provides a vague description of the events surrounding Mercer's departure in his book, *Standing Without Apology*. In a chapter entitled "The Storm of '53," he discusses examples of Mercer's behavior that led to his firing, although his explanation of the firing itself is not completely clear. Mercer's departure left a stain upon the university; Mercer as registrar had access to all of the BJU's student and alumni mailing lists. Upon his departure, he took the

²¹² Mercer, Theodore C. "An Additional Statement to the Alumni and Board of Trustees of Bob Jones University," 1953, accessed June 17, 2011, www.drslewis.org/camille/2009/10/ted-mercero-blogspot-com-post-2-june-1953/. Though the author requested to see documents related to Mercer's departure while visiting the BJU Archives, Dr. Daniel L. Turner informed her that the documents regarding Mercer had been sealed by the university and were unavailable to everyone, including himself. The author acquired the formerly "sealed" documents on a blog posted by former BJU faculty member Camille K. Lewis following her resignation from Bob Jones University. Despite his attempts to fire Haight, Jones Sr. gave a nice eulogy at Haight's funeral. During her funeral, as Jones Sr. gave a eulogy, he proclaimed, "She has prayers recorded up in heaven right now for this school. How she prayed for Bob and how she prayed for all the faculty and the teachers, and how she stood. There was not a drop of disloyal blood in her veins." See "Tribute to Haight."

mailing lists with him and mailed copies of his pamphlets to BJU students, alumni and every member of the Board of Trustees. That following September, Bob Jones Sr. referred to Mercer's actions as a "satanic attack."²¹³

Despite Jones Sr.'s attempts to have Haight removed, she was ultimately allowed to remain as editor of the *Fellowship News*, though she never taught classes again after the Mercer incident. The excerpt from Mercer's pamphlet provides a disheartening account of Jones Sr's inwardly hypocritical stance toward a woman whom he outwardly revered, though there is no known corroboration for Mercer's claim. The events surrounding Mercer's departure in both Dalhouse and Turner's books are complicated and incomplete at times. Both authors contend that Mercer was fraternizing with students; though neither are ever clear about what exactly Mercer did with the students, they both mention that he only hung out with male students and that he spent a great deal of time in his office with them. Both accounts appear to indicate Mercer's possible homosexual relations with the students, though neither Turner nor Dalhouse explicitly accuse Mercer of such acts.²¹⁴ In his pamphlets, Mercer speaks out against BJU's inflation of enrollment numbers and attacks the university's refusal towards accreditation. It is possible Jones Sr. fired Mercer for failing to adhere to Jones's philosophy for BJU, but there is a dearth of primary sources elucidating BJU's perspective towards the Mercer incident, making it difficult to draw any evidenced conclusions about what really occurred.²¹⁵

Included in Mercer's pamphlets was a letter from his wife, Alice, to Jones Sr. In the letter, Alice addresses Jones Sr.'s defamatory statements regarding Mercer and argues that he

²¹³ Turner, *Standing Without Apology*, 159.

²¹⁴ Dalhouse, *Island in a Lake of Fire*, 77 and Turner, *Standing Without Apology*, 155.

²¹⁵ Mercer, Theodore C. "An Additional Statement to the Alumni and Board of Trustees of Bob Jones University," 1953.

misconstrued Mercer's actions when explaining the situation to faculty, staff and students. In an attempt to refute Jones Sr.'s accusations that her husband bought a soda for a young man and stared steadily at him as he drank it, she accuses Jones Sr. of buying "a young lady a root beer and [looking] STEADILY at her legs."²¹⁶ She also accuses Jones Jr. of misbehavior, writing, "What about those vulgar picture cards enclosed in envelopes which your son when on a trip has sent back to certain members of the Administration as a joke!" Finally, after explaining a controversial incident where a student acquired a teaspoon of port wine from one of Mercer's souvenir phial bottles, she accuses Jones Sr. of consuming alcohol, saying, "Many people have been curious about the little bottle you carry around and take sips from. As you know, on numerous occasions you have imitated a drunk person."²¹⁷ Her letter also accuses Jones Sr. of treating women hypocritically by preaching to them a God-given place in the home while on the other hand requiring them to work. She writes:

Having eyes I could not help seeing things that needed to be changed—the oppression of the mothers who had been forced to forget your platform injunction that "a woman's place is in the home" in order to "help out," the "helping-out" proving many times to be a gross understatement, as in the case of Mrs. Keefer, wife of the DEAN OF FINE ARTS, who was made to rise at 4:30 several mornings a week in order to go to work in the kitchen of the Dining Hall, where she was made to work many hours daily.²¹⁸

Indeed, many of BJU's faculty and staff have wondered about the paradox of BJU's work requirements for women when juxtaposed with the school's strict complementarian theology.²¹⁹ In its earlier days, BJU required wives of male faculty and staff to work on campus.²²⁰ Pat Berg recalls this requirement, explaining that it was primarily in place due to the college's limited

²¹⁶ Mercer, "Additional Statement," 14.

²¹⁷ Mercer, "Additional Statement," 14.

²¹⁸ Mercer, "Additional Statement," 15.

²¹⁹ Berg, interview with author, June 2, 2011. Berg explained that BJU teaches complementarian theology in its women's ministries courses.

²²⁰ Shannon Brooks, BJU Archivist, email message to author, May 25, 2011.

resources and low wages; requiring both spouses to work allowed the university to collectively pay the couple less while receiving the work of two people.²²¹ BJU historian Daniel L. Turner, however, offered a different reason, explaining that in the early days of the university, faculty wives were known to gather and gossip while their husbands went to work. Jones Sr. did not like the faculty wives' banter; requiring the women to work part-time at the university allowed the administration to lessen the amount of gossip and assert control over the wives.²²²

The Mercer incident raises troubling accusations against the administration and accuses the Joneses of practicing a domineering level of control and hypocrisy. To this day, BJU refuses to release Mercer's pamphlets; the documents are not stored at the university's archives, and even faculty and staff claim never to have seen the documents.²²³ Despite the salacious accusations made by the Mercers in their pamphlets, the documents detail events that occurred decades ago in 1953. The Cold War has long thawed; yet, BJU's continued secrecy about the events surrounding Mercer's departure demonstrates the university's enormous amount of control, secrecy, and paranoia.

²²¹ Berg, interview with author, June 2, 2011.

²²² Turner, in discussion with the author, June 15, 2011.

²²³ Author obtained PDF scanned versions of the Mercer documents from Camille K. Lewis's blog, . Daniel L. Turner informed author that BJU's copy of the Mercer records remain sealed.

III. Female Fundamentalist Departures

Perhaps one of the university's most surprising female figures is Virginia Ramey Mollenkott, a well-known lesbian feminist scholar who attended BJU from 1949 to 1953 and taught English at BJU from 1953-54. Mollenkott grew up in a strict Plymouth Brethan home where women had to show submission to all men, even their sons, and could not speak in church.²²⁴ She recalls several troubling instances at BJU. Her account of BJU substantiates Seay's assertions that the college exercised an unreasonable amount of control. Mollenkott perceived the university as an entity "organized [so] that everyone is supposed to tell on everybody else."²²⁵ She also recounted how the university's "no griping" rule actually played

²²⁴ Virginia Ramey Mollenkott, former professor of English Literature, interview with author, June 17, 2011. Mollenkott wrote the classic text *Is The Homosexual My Neighbor?* and published for years on Christian feminism and homosexuality. She has written such works as *Sensuous Spirituality: Out From Fundamentalism* and *The Divine Feminine: Biblical Imagery of God as Female*. She served as a Stylistic Consultant for the New International Version of the Bible. In 1999 SAGE (Senior Action in a Gay Environment) presented her with a Lifetime Achievement Award for her work to combat heterosexism in religion. She received her B.A. from Bob Jones University (1953), her MA from Temple University (1955) and Ph.D. from New York University (1964). She taught English literature and writing at William Paterson University of New Jersey for forty-four years. Her papers are archived at the Center for Lesbians & Gay Concerns in Religion and Ministry Archives located at the Graduate Theological Union Library, Pacific School of Religion (Berkeley, CA). See "Profile of Mollenkott" at The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Religious Archives Network at <http://lgbran.org/Profile.aspx?ID=5>. See also Patricia Rawley, *Desperate for Authenticity: A Critical Analysis of the Feminist Theology of Virginia Ramey Mollenkott* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2010). Rawley provides extensive biographical information about Mollenkott and analyzes the feminist theology in her writings. In the author's interview with Mollenkott on June 17, 2011, Mollenkott explains how she managed to retain her faith after her departure from fundamentalism, stating, "I did know the difference between Christ and Christians. [Fundamentalists] made a lot of claims, but I knew they were not followers of the Jesus I knew, so I maintained my faith despite [all of it]. But it made it easier for me to come out as a lesbian eventually because my choice was really between being a hypocrite and being truthful and that was kind of easy after all the hypocrisy I had witnessed."

²²⁵ Ibid. One of the faculty handbooks discusses a BJU Help Line. The handbook explains, "The Help Line is used to communicate to faculty and staff the names of students who are considering dropping out of school. Faculty and staff who know of a student who is struggling spiritually, academically, with family or personal problems, financial problems, etc., are encouraged to call the dean of students' secretary at Extension 2101." Such careful supervision is justified in the handbook as a means to care for students; however, the helpline is also set up in such a way that the administration can track students'

out, stating, “You’re not allowed to criticize at all. I taught there a year after I graduated, and I heard Bob Jones Sr. telling the faculty that they had no right to form an opinion about what he said.”²²⁶ BJU has traditionally held a strict policy against faculty and staff members speaking out against the institution; many BJU faculty and staff handbooks contain the following section:

As chairman of the Board of Trustees and representing the Board of Trustees, I wish to assure you that if at any time you have any complaint about anything, you may take this complaint up with the proper executive or administrator; and in a sympathetic, Christian way, he will try to work out this problem. If he fails to work this problem out in a way that is satisfactory to you, you may appeal to the Executive Committee, and the Board of Trustees assures you the Executive Committee will see that you are dealt with fairly in every particular. You will note that you are not to lodge a complaint with anybody except the proper executive. *You are not to criticize this institution to anyone except the proper executive; and even this criticism is to be made in a constructive, Christian way...*no one can be retained as an employee who criticizes the institution to anybody except the proper executive...*his salary ceases as of the date he violates his contract.*²²⁷ (handbook’s emphasis)

The amount of control inherent in such a rule is astounding within the setting of a university. Any instance of disapproval by a faculty or staff member against the university is met with immediate threat of dismissal.

Mollenkott’s experience at BJU highlights the difficulty of being homosexual in a fundamentalist environment. She recalls confiding in a BJU professor about her same-sex attractions. The professor “assured [her] that if only [she] would pretend to be heterosexual long

behavior and whereabouts, easily intervening if a student veers from the administration’s proposed way of life.

²²⁶ This assertion is validated in BJU faculty and staff handbooks, which prohibit faculty and staff from speaking critically against the university; see note 110.

²²⁷ BJU Faculty / Staff Handbook, date unknown, vii. Retrieved from BJU Archives. The excerpt is taken from the “Personal Word from the Chairman of the Board” and signed by Jones Jr. The handbook also contains a “Personal Word from the President,” signed by Jones III which reads, “no one who selfishly disregards the necessary regimen contained herein can be anything but a hindrance.”

enough, eventually heterosexual feelings would emerge.”²²⁸ Mollenkott followed her professor’s advice and married a male BJU classmate. Years later, their marriage ended in divorce, and Mollenkott has since openly acknowledged her true sexual orientation.²²⁹ The counsel that Mollenkott received from a BJU faculty member regarding her homosexuality reflects fundamentalism and complementarianism’s strict adherence to separate and fixed gender roles as well as complete repudiation of homosexuality. Such traditional views towards gender and sexual orientation foster repudiation of homosexuality, or worse, homophobia among fundamentalist adherents, who are taught to believe that any uncharacteristic gender displays by men or women violate the Bible.

In her book *Omnigender: A Trans-Religious Approach*, Mollenkott argues that static depictions of gender as strictly male or female highlight “inequities between women and men [which] are supported by overemphasizing the differences between them...the presence of intersexuals, transsexuals, bisexuals, and other transgenderists proves that our society must move toward a sex/gender continuum that I have called omnigender.”²³⁰ In Mollenkott’s framework of sexuality, gender exists along a spectrum that ranges from masculine to feminine, with most people falling somewhere in between the two. Mollenkott contends that prior to the creation of Eve, Adam was neither male nor female. Rather, he was an androgynous being made in the likeness of an androgynous deity. Only when God created the female Eve did Adam become

²²⁸ Virginia Ramey Mollenkott. “Virginia Ramey Mollenkott.” In Ann Braude, ed, *Transforming the Faiths of Our Fathers: Women Who Changed American Religion* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), 59.

²²⁹ Mollenkott, interview with author, June 17, 2011.

²³⁰ Mollenkott, “Virginia Ramey Mollenkott,” 71.

male.²³¹ Mollenkott's views affirm the feminist belief that gender is largely a cultural or social construct.²³²

Unlike Mollenkott, fundamentalists believe in strict, non-negotiable gender roles.

Popular fundamentalist preacher John R. Rice wrote, "Throughout the Bible it is stressed that men and women are different. A man is not like a woman. A woman is not like a man, and it is likewise a sin for a man to try to appear like a woman. God has one place for a man and a different place for a woman."²³³ Beneth Peters Jones, wife to Bob Jones III, writes:

Why and how can masculinity throw a woman into such a tizzy? By its difference from femininity! Contrary to the silly claims that men and women differ from each other only in inconsequential, environmentally produced ways, *we are as unlike as night and day!*... We know the Bible says, "Male and female create he them" [sic] (Genesis 5:2)—but we've hurried over those familiar words without thinking about what they really mean. God's intention in Creation was to form two different, yet complementary beings.²³⁴ (Jones's emphasis)

Jones continues her insistence regarding gender differences, explaining, "A man's performance in life is unlike a woman's because *he* is unlike a woman. Delicacy in a man is out of place.

²³¹ Mollenkott, "Virginia Ramey Mollenkott," 71.

²³² See Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1999). Butler argues that both sex and gender are culturally constructed. The idea of gender as a social construction is not supported by fundamentalists.

²³³ John R. Rice, *Bobbed Hair, Bossy Wives, and Women Preachers: Significant Questions for Honest Christian Women Settled By the Word of God* (Wheaton: Sword of the Lord Publishers, 1941), 73. Rice takes great offense to women with short hair and spends a great deal of the book stating a series of reasons why short hair is an offense to God. In his most bizarre argument against short hair, he states, "Thus, when a woman with bobbed hair and a rebellious heart comes to pray, angels who hover near and see her head and see her heart are tempted to sin; are tempted to commit the sin which such women commit, the sin of rebellion against authority. Because of the angels, every woman should wear long hair and be careful that she does not have a rebellious heart lest she should be a curse to the angels God has sent to be our ministers and guardians."

²³⁴ Beneth Peters Jones, *Ribbing Him Rightly: The Ministry of the Christian Wife* (Greenville: Bob Jones University Press, 2000), 9.

Would you like to see graceful gestures from a man? Certainly not! They would mark him as effeminate.”²³⁵ (Jones’s emphasis)

During the author’s interview with Pat Berg, she insisted that if a BJU student displayed aberrant gestures or mannerisms, a faculty member would mentor them to display gender-appropriate behavior.²³⁶ Even the student handbook requires female students to wear feminine hairstyles.²³⁷ Fundamentalism exhibits an unquestionable disallowance of gender confusion and homosexuality among its adherents.

In 2007, BJU encountered gay and lesbian protestors from the Soulforce Equality Ride.²³⁸ Soulforce, a group of over fifty young adults, visited thirty-two Christian colleges, including BJU; the group chose to visit campuses with climates that silenced lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender students.²³⁹ Dean Gerth, the program coordinator of PFLAG-North Iowa and director of logistics for the equity ride recounted the group’s experience at BJU, stating, “They were yelling and screaming and flailing their Bibles in the air... They were telling us that we were going to go to hell and we need to turn away from our wicked ways.”²⁴⁰ Pat Berg relays a different account regarding Soulforce’s visit to campus. She recalls that although the protestors were not allowed on campus (police arrested three female Soulforce members for trespassing

²³⁵ Jones, 14. Jones asserts quite a few differences between men and women. She writes “he doesn’t think the same way she does. Science has discovered that our brains actually function differently: men’s brains are right-hemisphere oriented, whereas women’s brains operate primarily from the left hemisphere.” (10). Further, she writes, “a woman’s world consists primarily of marriage, home, and family. That is not true of a man. Although he values those things, the real emphasis of his life is his work.” (11)

²³⁶ Berg, interview with author, June 2, 2011.

²³⁷ BJU Student Handbook, 2003-2004, 9.

²³⁸ Peggy Senzarino, “Soulforce Scorned at Bob Jones University,” *The Globe Gazette*, April 6, 2007, page unknown. Article retrieved from BJU archives.

²³⁹ Senzarino, “Soulforce Scorned,” page unknown.

²⁴⁰ Senzarino, “Soulforce Scorned,” page unknown. BJU counterclaimed against Soulforce, stating that the protestors who spoke against Soulforce members did not represent the viewpoints of the university. See Ron Barnett’s “3 Arrested at Campus Gate,” *Greenville News*, April 5, 2007.

onto campus),²⁴¹ the administration showed great compassion to the protestors by sending them boxed lunches during their protest, which they refused to eat. Furthermore, she recounts the sermons preached in chapel that week, which preached compassion towards homosexuals while renouncing their lifestyle.²⁴²

The Soulforce incident at BJU further reinforces fundamentalist's aversions to nuanced or blended ideas toward gender. Fundamentalists preach against homosexuality because their interpretation of the Bible leads them to believe that God has prohibited homosexuality. On a deeper level, however, homosexuality affects fundamentalist notions of gender in the same way that feminism does, as homosexuality challenges traditional notions of gender so deeply ingrained in fundamentalist theology. Because lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans-gendered lifestyles threaten traditional notions of distinctly separate masculinity and femininity, such lifestyles are deemed unacceptable to fundamentalists.

Mollenkott recalls her sexual confusion at BJU, which she largely credits to BJU's strict no-touching policies among men and women. She recalls:

Those rules about not touching each other—they really play into the hands of bad marriages because you think you want something very badly when you can't have it. I didn't realize how unattracted I was [to my husband] because I wasn't allowed to touch him and he wasn't allowed to touch me. You're always looking for ways to circumvent that [restriction], and it's exciting.²⁴³

Indeed, the school has historically mandated many rules regarding sexual indiscretion among students or faculty. A faculty/staff handbook makes clear that any sexual indiscretions will not be tolerated by the institution, stating:

Conduct condemned in the Word of God (such as fleshly living, adultery, homosexuality,

²⁴¹ Senzarino, "Soulforce Scorned," page unknown.

²⁴² Berg, interview with author, June 2, 2011.

²⁴³ Mollenkott, interview with author, June 17, 2011.

sexual perversions of any kind, dishonesty, and lasciviousness)...will render that employee unfit for further ministry at Bob Jones University. Such sinful conduct of any employee will be justifiable cause for the University to terminate his or her employment during any contract period.²⁴⁴

BJU has, throughout its existence, put into writing the sort of behavior in which men and women may not engage, and the university has traditionally held faculty and staff members responsible for ensuring that students do not deviate from such set standards. In addition to countless rules requiring faculty, staff, graduate assistants, parents and grandparents to chaperone dates and off campus outings, the school has drafted lengthy rules regarding what women and men can do and where they can be seen together. From the moment the school opened, it controlled where female (and to a lesser extent, male) students could go; a 1958-59 Student Handbook allows female students to leave campus “only with written permission and in company of their parents or an authorized chaperon.”²⁴⁵ The evils of the world are always at hand, and the university explains, “Student safety requires the University to be aware of student locations and activities so that students can be alerted to danger and be contacted easily in case of emergencies.”²⁴⁶

Furthermore, the school’s rulebooks elucidate the institution’s desire to promote purity among the students.²⁴⁷ To promote purity, the university established a Social Parlor, reminiscent of Victorian times, to allow student couples to engage in chaste and supervised conversation.²⁴⁸ A faculty/staff handbook encourages parlor supervisors to ensure that no couples linger together

²⁴⁴ Faculty/Staff Handbook, date unknown, 15-16.

²⁴⁵ BJU Student Handbook, 1958-59, 12. This rule is common to all of the student handbooks, with the exception of the most recent handbook, 2010-2011 Student Handbook: Preliminary Edition.

²⁴⁶ BJU Student Handbook, 2003-2004, 20.

²⁴⁷ BJU Student Handbook, 2002-2004, 20...

²⁴⁸ BJU Student Handbook, 1971-72, 16. The “Parlor” has existed for much of the school’s tenure; students continue use of the Parlor today. The Parlor is a large open room with ample seating areas; Naomi Shaeffer Riley noted in *God on the Quad* that the students refer to it the Parlor the “furniture store” because of its many rows of couches.

outside the glassed-in section of the Social Parlor, that they “not slouch or sit too closely,” and admonishes faculty and staff to “*walk around* and correct anything that does not look proper or that would reflect on Bob Jones University’s standards and the couple’s testimony.”²⁴⁹

(handbook’s emphasis) The university has carefully regulated when men and women may date, when couples may be seen together, and what the couples may do. The 1976-77 edition of the Student Handbook mandates that couples can only date for the length of time as stated by the Dean of Women’s Office; couples are not to be seen together “any time in any of the public buildings except the Dining Common, the Student Center, and the Amphitorium and Auditorium for dating programs.”²⁵⁰ A later edition of the Student Handbook demands that dating couples who attend ball games “sit up” and resist the tendency “to lean against one another.”²⁵¹ The handbook also explains the need for faculty/staff and graduate students to chaperone coed get-togethers, explaining, “We must work together to combat the effect of today’s immorality upon the Christian young people who are sent here by the Lord.”²⁵²

Mollenkott recounts sexism by BJU towards women in ministry. Not surprisingly, BJU did not allow women to pursue pastoral careers. The university did not expressly state such a limitation, primarily because they did not need to do so; in the late 1940s and early 1950s, fundamentalist women knew their belief structure did not allow for them to become ordained preachers. Such a restriction went without saying. This understood rule highlights a theme common to fundamentalism, wherein the culture and actions of fundamentalist men and women oftentimes speak as loudly, if not louder, than any verbal word. Mollenkott explains:

²⁴⁹ Faculty/Staff Handbook, date unknown, 25.

²⁵⁰ BJU Student Handbook, 1976-1977, 18. These rules are common to all of the student handbooks, though the actual rules vary depending upon what buildings exist at the time.

²⁵¹ BJU Student Handbook, 2003-2004, 24.

²⁵² Handbook, 2003-2004, 24.

The minister's association there was called the "Preacher Boys"²⁵³ because no girls could even think about it. [Women] weren't ever going to be ordained. It wasn't that [BJU] made a point of it, it was just understood that no woman was ever going to be a minister. The stance towards feminism and women's rights was zero—we heard nothing."²⁵⁴

Mollenkott argues that BJU did not need to verbally reinforce the role of women. Rather, women's roles were innately understood within the culture of fundamentalism and the culture of the university. Despite Mollenkott's claims that preaching was reserved strictly for men, BJU's 1943 Alumni paper *Little Moby's Post* ran a story about the creation of a preacher-girls' class.²⁵⁵ The paper reports, "This year at Bob Jones College there is an innovation in the form of a "preacher-girls' class."...There are now ninety girls enrolled in this class, and they are doing a wonderful work in and around Cleveland."²⁵⁶ In keeping with complementarian theology, however, the women did not evangelize adults; rather, they held "chapel programs in the six grade schools in Cleveland for sixteen to eighteen hundred children a week."²⁵⁷ Though the class demonstrated BJU's willingness to use the skills of women to proselytize others, the women were allowed to do so because their work with children did not threaten or abdicate the authority of the Preacher Boys, who led larger revivals for adults.

When women's struggle for equality within society and the church actually posed a threat

²⁵³ Turner, *Standing Without Apology*, 202. Turner writes that the Preacher Boys group would travel and hold evangelizing services.

²⁵⁴ Mollenkott, interview with author, June 17, 2011.

²⁵⁵ "The Christian Work of Our Girls," *Little Moby's Post: Bob Jones College Alumni News* 2, no. 3 (December 1943): 1. A December 1971 article from the BJU publication *Voice* entitled "Bob Jones Campus: The Older We Get, the More Beautiful She Becomes" states "during that initial year in the Greenville area, "preacher boys"" extension work involved the holding of more than fifteen thousand services, dealing with more than forty thousand persons about their spiritual condition, the winning of thousands of them to the Lord, and the distribution of hundreds of thousands of tracts. Bob Jones University girls held child evangelism classes, touched the lives of almost fifteen thousand children by dealing directly with them about salvation, and saw hundreds of them receive Christ as their own personal Saviour." (9)

²⁵⁶ "Christian Work of Our Girls," 1.

²⁵⁷ "Christian Work of Our Girls," 1.

towards the male patriarchy of fundamentalism, the Joneses preached sermons; Jones Sr. addressed female congregants in “The Modern Woman: A Sermon to Women.” Jones Sr. preached against women’s embrace of modernism, which encroached on fundamentalism’s traditional gender roles, thereby creating an issue worthy of address. Jones Sr. proclaimed, “A great change is taking place in the womanhood of the world.”²⁵⁸ He then concluded, “The fight that confronts American manhood is the fight for personal purity, but hear me—I have ceased to hope for men to live pure until women dress modestly.”²⁵⁹ Jones Sr. mixed purity and power; he anxiously proclaimed that women had lost their sense of morality leading men to subsequently suffer. Such teaching indicated the modern world was making life difficult not for women, but for men whose dominant masculinity was threatened by women’s increasingly open sexuality and power. As men morally flailed, Jones Sr. railed against their evil female influences.²⁶⁰

Further, Jones’ guilt-laden address towards women reinforced the notion that fundamentalist views on women have much to do with fundamentalist views on men as well; at times, the ideas towards “male” and “female” are inexplicably intertwined, as one construct is defined by as well as defines the other. Because Jones saw the future of masculinity at stake, he

²⁵⁸ Robert Jones Sr., “The Modern Woman: A Sermon to Women,” The Paragon Press, Montgomery, Ala., date unknown, 4. Jones Sr.’s sermon recalls Betty A. DeBerg’s *Ungodly Women* when the author discusses Christian men’s early twentieth century views of women as angels of domesticity and the keepers of the moral high ground. Jones Sr. states, “As surely as you are here today woman has come down from her pedestal. I made that statement in a certain southern pulpit, and sitting behind me was a brilliant minister. I heard him sobbing while I talked. When I was through my message, he walked into the front and leaned over the pulpit and while big tears were tracing each other down his cheeks, he said: ‘Oh, for the ideal of my youth! When I was young, I thought every woman I knew was a saint, I respected every woman.’”

²⁵⁹ Jones, “Modern Woman,” 9.

²⁶⁰ Jones, “Modern Woman,” 9. He later quips “nine times out of ten, when you find a gambler you will find out, if you will investigate, that he learned to play his first game of cards in a woman’s parlor... There are women in this building who are going to God’s judgment with life blood of gamblers dripping from their finger tips.” (26-27)

shifted blame towards women by scolding them for their godless immorality and its ill effects on men.

Fundamentalist men can only retain their power if women allow them to do so; in a sermon about the rise of the modern woman, not only is femininity, as defined by submissiveness, at stake. A loss of Christian femininity and submissiveness also, in the minds of fundamentalists like Jones Sr., equates to a loss of masculinity, as a God-given authority over women defines masculinity. Lest he leave any doubt about his views towards the modern woman, Jones Sr. declares, “I have no patience with these childless, idle, silly, extravagant, frivolous, godless, good-for-nothing, superficial society women who are drunk with pleasure, who are full of shame and laziness, talking about Woman’s liberty and woman’s rights.”²⁶¹ To ensure that female students, faculty and staff did not depart from traditional femininity, BJU student handbooks regulated women’s dress. From the earliest days of the university, women were required to wear only skirts or dresses on campus, and the skirts or dresses had to modestly cover the knee.²⁶²

In addition to Jones Sr.’s sermons, BJU demonstrated further its intolerance towards women’s rights by requiring faculty husbands to assert authority over their wives. Later editions of the BJU Faculty/Staff Handbook contain the phrase, “Conduct condemned in the Word of

²⁶¹ Jones, “Modern Woman,” 9.

²⁶² Student Handbook, 2003-2004, 9. Since its earliest days, BJU student handbooks have required female students to “dress neatly and modestly at all times.” The 1990-1991 Student Handbook first defined the phrase “dress neatly and modestly at all times” to mean that “dresses must cover the knee and must be modest from a standpoint of both exposure and accent. All women students ninth grade and above are to wear hose at all times. Jean skirts and jumpers are permitted only after 7 p.m. on weekdays, on Saturdays, and on outings. Jean jackets are permitted on outings only. Acid-washed, bleached, frosted, or iced denim is not permitted.” (16) The 2003-2004 Student Handbook further clarified the issue of clothing length, stating “skirts and dresses, as well as slits in skirts and dresses, are to come to the bottom of the knee whether standing, walking, or seated.” The Handbook also prohibited sleeveless or strapless tops and required jeans to only be worn when traveling between residence halls. (31)

God (such as fleshly living, adultery, homosexuality, sexual perversions of any kind, dishonesty, and lasciviousness) as well as the inability of a man to be the head of his household...will render that employee unfit for further ministry at Bob Jones University.”²⁶³ In addition to holding faculty accountable, BJU also held students accountable. Many student handbooks discussed what students could and could not do; the handbooks have often also discussed what wives of male students must wear, regardless of whether or not the wives themselves attended the university. The 2003-2004 Student Handbook states:

Day student women and the wives of day students must abide by the dress standards distributed by the Dean of Women’s office. In particular, they may not wear pants or jeans outside their own home except as stipulated in the women’s dress regulations. They should never be outside dressed in shorts...Any wife of a day student who does not cooperate with this regulation will seriously jeopardize the enrollment of her husband.²⁶⁴

BJU did not issue comparable requirements towards male faculty or the husbands of female faculty. These rules further demonstrate BJU’s insistence for control over its faculty, staff and students, particularly women. Furthermore, the rules put into place a system where the “modernization” or “secularlization” of women directly results in negative consequences for their male spouses.

Throughout history, when the culture of male dominance within fundamentalism has remained unprovoked, sermons regarding the role of women have been few and far between. As long as women know their place and resist threatening men’s sense of masculinity and place of authority, there is little reason to preach about the understood role of women. Fundamentalist preachers, however, increasingly preached about the roles of women once the Equal Rights

²⁶³ BJU Faculty / Staff Handbook; the handbook lists Jones Jr. as Chairman of the Board of Trustees and Jones III as President.

²⁶⁴ BJU Student Handbook 2003-2004, 57.

Amendment and second-wave feminism became an issue.²⁶⁵ Turner recalls that at the height of the Equal Rights Amendment controversy, Jones Jr. preached a significant number of sermons strictly advocating the woman's place in the home, all the while requiring faculty and staff wives to work part-time at BJU.²⁶⁶ One of the handbooks bearing Jones Jr.'s signature has a stunning admonition to faculty and staff wives, stating:

We have a few members of our faculty in the past whose wives did not feel the responsibility of giving full cooperation by helping carry the burden. This system we have of hospitalization and other benefits will not apply to the wife of any employee in the faculty who does not give wholehearted cooperation. Remember, we have spent thousands of dollars to provide a good nursery where mothers can leave their babies in safety. Under our system, these mothers do not have to spend several hours a day cooking and washing dishes as their meals are provided, and these mothers could afford to give at least as much time to the Lord's work at home if we had another system. Then too, there is not a wife of any successful pastor of any church who does not give as much time to the work of the church where her husband is pastor as we would expect of any wife of any teacher here in this school.²⁶⁷

This passage from the handbook demonstrates that BJU policies conflicted with the rhetoric of complementarianism and a woman's role in the home. BJU preached that a woman should be at home with her children, and yet, they required their female faculty and staff members to work while placing their children in BJU's childcare.

In his 1953 pamphlet to the alumni and board of trustees at BJU, Theodore Mercer

²⁶⁵ See Jerry Falwell, "The Biblical Answer to Women's Liberation," Sermon for Old Time Gospel Hour, May 11, 1975. Additionally, the literature surrounding fundamentalism, complementarianism, and feminism abounds beginning in the late 1960s and 1970s when second-wave feminism was particularly active. Prior to that burst in topical literature, the return of women to domestic spheres and a lack of popular feminism during the 1940s and 50s mitigated the need for any conservative Christian response to feminism. For an account of the departure of female faculty from universities during the 1930s through 1950s, see Lillian Faderman, *To Believe in Women: What Lesbians Have Done for America—A History* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1999).

²⁶⁶ Turner, in discussion with the author, June 14, 2011. When the author asked to see Jones Jr.'s sermons, she was denied access, as the sermons have not yet been categorized and made available to the BJU archives.

²⁶⁷ BJU Faculty / Staff Handbook, date unknown, viii. Retrieved from BJU Archives.

explained an abysmal salary system whereby a married man and woman, both working for the university, would only receive only the man's salary.²⁶⁸ BJU required wives and mothers to work within its institution, yet refused to compensate the family for the women's work. This directly disputes Pat Berg's claim that BJU had both men and women work for the institution in order to pay the couples enough to make a living. It also further evidences the level of control by BJU; this control, put into action, superseded its own theological rhetoric. From the pulpit, BJU would advocate for women in the home. Within the institution, however, BJU's administration twisted their interpretations of biblical guidelines to fit the needs of the administration.

In addition to BJU's policies restricting faculty and staff behavior, the administration's guidelines have historically discouraged freedom of academic thought. In 2007, Camille K. Lewis, a former student and professor at BJU, and her husband, a BJU music faculty member, resigned from the university following a disagreement regarding the Lewis's theological beliefs as well as the content of a book that she had contracted with Baylor University Press to publish.²⁶⁹ While revising her dissertation for publication, Lewis included a final chapter critiquing the rhetoric of BJU professor and then-Dean of Students Jim Berg's book, *When Trouble Comes*. Berg dedicated his book about life crises to "families and friends of those who

²⁶⁸ Theodore C. Mercer, "Additional Statement," 7. According to Mercer, a single man working for the university in 1951 would make \$160 per month; a married couple both working for the institution would also collectively receive \$160.

²⁶⁹ Camille Kaminski Lewis, email correspondence to author, June 19, 2011. Lewis's rejected chapter was finally published in the *Kenneth Burke Journal*. See Camille Lewis, "Publish or Perish?: My Fundamental Education from the Inside Out," *Kenneth Burke Journal* 4, issue 2 (Spring 2008), accessed June 17, 2011, <http://www.kbjournal.org/lewis>. The article's abstract describe the events leading up to her resignation; Lewis received a contract from Baylor University Press to publish her dissertation. See Camille Kaminski Lewis, "Romancing the Difference: Kenneth Burke, Bob Jones University, and the Rhetoric of Religious Fundamentalism" (PhD diss, Indiana University Bloomington, 2001). Lewis's article recounting her resignation can be found on the KB Journal website at <http://www.kbjournal.org/lewis>. See also Camille K. Lewis, *Romancing the Difference: Kenneth Burke, Bob Jones University, and the Rhetoric of Religious Fundamentalism* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2007), accessed June 19, 2011, www.kbjournal.org/lewis.

lost their lives in America's tragedy on September 11, 2001."²⁷⁰ When BJU received word regarding the content of Lewis's chapter on Berg, BJU Executive Vice-President Gary Weier told her she would be fired if her book included the new chapter. According to Lewis, Weier claimed, "We can't have faculty members critiquing an administrator's theology."²⁷¹ When Lewis responded that she was merely critiquing Berg's rhetoric and not his theology, Weier asserted that readers would not discern a difference.²⁷²

Lewis's resignation highlights a troubling aspect of fundamentalism within universities. Historically, fundamentalism has not tolerated opposing opinions or viewpoints, yet universities exist to encourage debate and free thought. Such a conundrum has led BJU to restrict its faculty's academic careers; if a faculty member disagrees with the university in some way, their disagreement cannot be written or stated, as BJU refuses to tolerate any criticism. After removing the chapter about Berg from her book, Lewis received an "ultimatum" from Weier and President Stephen Jones stating, "If you cannot hold your [theological] position without openly promoting it in spoken or written communication to colleagues, students, or others at a distance from the University, we would have to come to a parting of ways."²⁷³ Lewis and her husband refused to be silenced and ultimately resigned from BJU.

In the incident of former faculty member Camille Lewis, it is also likely that her sad episode might never have happened if she, as a woman, had not critiqued one of the school's most powerful male figures, Jim Berg. Prior to the publication of her dissertation with Baylor University, Lewis featured prominently in Naomi Shaeffer Riley's book about fundamentalist

²⁷⁰ "Jim Berg," When Trouble Comes, accessed June 23, 2011, <http://www.whentroublecomes.com/>.

²⁷¹ Lewis, "Publish or Perish."

²⁷² Lewis, "Publish or Perish."

²⁷³ Lewis, "Publish or Perish."

religious colleges entitled *God on the Quad: How Religious Colleges and the Missionary Generation are Changing America*.²⁷⁴ Riley's book took her around the country, where she sought interviews with students from the "missionary generation," a term she coins to represent students who choose to attend religious institutions.²⁷⁵ Throughout 2001 and 2002, Riley interviewed students and faculty at twenty institutions representing different faith backgrounds, including BJU. While there, she spoke to student Michelle Berg; Michelle's father, Jim Berg; and political science professor Gary Weier. Riley also spoke with Lewis, long before anyone had an inkling that Lewis's dissertation would one day lead to her resignation from the school.

In Riley's chapter, Jim Berg, Gary Weier, and Camille Lewis are a shining tag-team of administrative and faculty exemplars, collapsing misinformed stereotypes about their authentically academic institution while carefully reaffirming the legacy of its inextinguishable religious fervency. Berg defends BJU's curriculum, which teaches students about creationism as well as evolution, by explaining that one can study the Third Reich without becoming a Nazi.²⁷⁶ Weier claims that the school's prohibition against television actually kindles students' efforts to learn more about news and current events through written publications.²⁷⁷ Lewis argues that BJU takes sheltered home-schooled students and opens their minds to a larger academic world, explaining, "They adjust quickly."²⁷⁸

Years later, Lewis would resign over the school's discontent stemming from her critique of Berg's book; in the months leading up to her resignation, she would find herself in unfriendly

²⁷⁴ Naomi Shaefer Riley, *God On the Quad: How Religious Colleges and the Missionary Generation are Changing America*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2005) 5.

²⁷⁵ Riley, *God on the Quad*, 5.

²⁷⁶ Riley, *God on the Quad*, 42.

²⁷⁷ Riley, *God on the Quad*, 44.

²⁷⁸ Riley, *God on the Quad*, 43.

meetings with Gary Weier (then executive Vice President) and President Stephen Jones.²⁷⁹

Lewis's appearance in Riley's book speaks to the extent to which she was once a part of the "in crowd" within BJU. She is listed side-by-side with the very faculty members whom she now claims had a pivotal role in her career descent. The chapter itself reads like a public relations stunt, as the students and faculty are constantly striving to convince Riley that BJU is not the bigoted and cloistered institution the media had made it out to be just shortly before her visit when George W. Bush's campaign kick-off on campus exposed the school's rules against inter-racial dating.²⁸⁰ It is interesting to note that Lewis's troubles within the BJU administration centered primarily around a written critique of Berg's book. Lewis, a female faculty member, criticized Berg, a male administrator, and ultimately was forced to resign her position; this demonstrates the level of institutional authority: men over women, administrators over faculty.

While pursuing her master's degree at BJU in 1991, Lewis sought to write a thesis about women's pursuit of equality from the Christian perspective. Beneth Peters Jones, wife to Bob Jones III, ultimately rejected Lewis's prospectus, explaining:

In reading your prospectus, I feel considerable unease. The problem, as I see it, is the whole matter of pursuing "rights." That is antithetical to Christianity. I know you state your intention to put women's pursuit for equality into a Christian prospective [sic], but I am not at all sure that can be done. I think you are going to find great difficulty in Christianizing the concept and further more, in presenting it, you may meet with considerable negative response.²⁸¹

Lewis's experiences within BJU suggest that women who question the authority of the institution

²⁷⁹ Lewis, "Publish or Perish."

²⁸⁰ In 2000, George W. Bush began his campaign for president on the campus of Bob Jones University. His decision to use BJU as a launching pad for his campaign caused a media firestorm. In 2000, Bob Jones University still prohibited interracial dating; this rule first appeared in BJU's 1971 Student Handbook. Unlike the rest of the handbook, the rule was underlined. Such a rule emphasizes the university's protection of traditional, fundamentalist whiteness.

²⁸¹ Letter from Beneth Peters Jones to Camille Lewis on Peters Jones's personal stationary, February 27, 1991. Beneth Peters Jones is wife to Bob Jones III.

or who seek to understand the empowerment of women, regardless of how biblical such an empowerment may be, are silenced, dismissed or forced to resign.

IV. Women Teaching Women

How, then, has BJU educated its female students regarding the biblical role of womanhood? Pat Berg, a professor in the School of Religion and instructor in the courses of “Counseling Women” and “The Biblical Role of Women,” explains that BJU adheres to a traditional complementarian view of womanhood, where women and men are assigned by God different life and gender roles; men act as the spiritual authority in the home and women provide assistance and support to the men as well as care to children.²⁸² Within the School of Religion, BJU’s female students can major in Bible or Women’s Ministries and use their education to pursue all avenues of Christian service except the pastorate.²⁸³ She explains that many women pursue degrees in counseling or education in order to become Christian schoolteachers or to home-school their children.²⁸⁴

Berg spends a great deal of time instructing female students about how to prepare for marriage. She stresses to her female students the importance of selecting an unselfish mate; she warns them that if their boyfriend seems selfish prior to the wedding, they should carefully consider whether to make the relationship permanent through marriage. On face value, Berg offers good advice. Inherent in such a warning, however, is a deeper admonition: if you marry a selfish man, you are stuck with him. In fundamentalism, women are oftentimes faulted for the problems that arise within their marriages. If a woman makes the mistake of marrying a “selfish” man, she is told that she knew or should have known about her husband’s inadequate

²⁸² Berg, interview with author, June 2, 2011. Berg has taught at BJU for over twenty-five years. One of the books Berg refers to while teaching her class is John Piper and Wayne Gruden, eds., *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood: A Response to Evangelical Feminism* (Wheaton: Crossway Books, 2006). Incidentally, Dorothy Patterson (Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary) authored a chapter in the book entitled “The High Calling of Wife and Mother in Biblical Perspective.”

²⁸³ Berg, interview with author, June 2, 2011.

²⁸⁴ Berg, interview with author, June 2, 2011.

character beforehand. Although a wife may wish to end a marriage because her selfish husband makes her miserable, under fundamentalism, she does not have biblical grounds for a divorce and therefore must make do. In fundamentalism, there is a lack of sympathy for women who enter poor marriages; oftentimes, these women are portrayed as recklessly choosing such a bad union. These women also have limited options for escape. Fundamentalism's solution for women in bad marriages has typically been along the lines of "adapt and adore."²⁸⁵ The salvation for these women lies in their ability to serve as shining Christian examples to their disagreeable or downright abusive mates, trusting God to provide grace to their horrible situations, as Jones asserts, "sooner or later her man must be drawn irresistibly to the Christ she so beautifully mirrors."²⁸⁶

Beneth Peters Jones, wife to Bob Jones III, wrote a book in 2000 entitled *Ribbing Him Rightly: The Ministry of the Christian Wife*.²⁸⁷ Jones answers the female question of "why am I here?" by explaining, "Simply put, wife, you're here to be *that fella's rib*."²⁸⁸ Behind the observable facts just noted, there are many more aspects of your husband that make your existence and function necessary. You see, he is incomplete without you."²⁸⁹ (Berg's emphasis) In Jones' social construct, the woman is an accessory to her husband; her purpose exists to make *him* whole. (author's emphasis added) Although much of Jones' book touches upon traditional

²⁸⁵ Beneth Peters Jones, *Ribbing Him Rightly: The Ministry of the Christian Wife* (Greenville: Bob Jones University Press, 2000), 19.

²⁸⁶ Jones, *Ribbing Him Rightly*, 103.

²⁸⁷ Jones, *Ribbing Him Rightly*, 103.

²⁸⁸ Jones, *Ribbing Him Rightly*, 2. Jones refers to the biblical creation account where God forms Eve from Adam's rib. Because Eve was created from Adam's rib, and because God, prior to the creation of Eve, declared, "I will make him a help meet for him," (Genesis 2:18), fundamentalists and complementarians interpret the creation account to mean that women were created in submission to men.

²⁸⁹ Jones, *Ribbing Him Rightly*, 2. Jones's book reinforces traditional stereotypes regarding the roles of men and women. She writes, "A woman's world consists primarily of marriage, home, and family. That is not true of a man. Although he values those things, the real emphasis of his life is his work." (11)

gender stereotypes common to complementarianism, parts of her book suggest to women that they remain, as victims, in their abusive relationships. Jones writes, “For the Christian woman, ladylikeness might be defined as a genteel manner arising from her ‘meek and quiet spirit.’ When women cease to be ladies, men abandon their gentleness.”²⁹⁰ Jones equates fundamentalism’s pedestal of ladylikeness with submissiveness and weakness; when women abandon their submissive and weak states, they “cause” men to abandon their gentlemanly states as well, suggesting that a woman who refuses submission will incite non-gentlemanly, and thereby aggressive, behavior from a man. Such masculine wrath is ultimately attributed to the woman’s misbehavior; the man’s poor behavior is not a manifestation of the man’s weakness or insecurity.

Jones discusses examples of women she met while traveling and speaking at conferences. Some of the women married men whose “personality, pursuits, and/or performance would be enough to drive many a woman loony.”²⁹¹ Some examples she cites include:

- The husband who militaristically ordered domestic affairs—choosing his wife’s and children’s clothing, setting a daily housekeeping/cooking schedule, and checking up on every detail therein.
- The “super-drive” executive who constantly made business and social arrangements entailing hours of adjustment, house rearrangement, and cooking for his wife—many of them the last-minute variety.
- The man whose personal likes and dislikes invariably dictated meals, vacations, and house décor.
- The husband who was consumed with hunting trips to such a degree that the bulk of his paycheck went to support his hobby, while his wife’s wardrobe and kitchen necessities were put on hold.²⁹²

Jones flippantly dismisses these examples of husbands’ behavior as inconvenient quirks rather than acknowledging the abusive, controlling and demoralizing aspects of the husbands’ actions.

²⁹⁰ Jones, *Ribbing Him Rightly*, 16.

²⁹¹ Jones, *Ribbing Him Rightly*, 24.

²⁹² Jones, *Ribbing Him Rightly*, 25.

Most appallingly, Jones praises the women's reactions in these situations, explaining, "These ladies have done a superlative job of adapting. They have wisely resisted trying to change their men. They have not been retaliatory. Rather, they have allowed pressure to mold them into shining examples of Christian womanhood."²⁹³ Rather than acknowledging the abusive situations, Jones heaps empty accolades of praise upon the women who never protest against their authoritative husbands.

Jones demonstrates a wretched lack of sympathy for women in abusive situations when she discusses the plight of women married to alcoholics. She acknowledges that "their lives—even in imagination—make most of ours look like Utopia!"²⁹⁴ Jones gives an example of a woman she knew married to an "intemperate" alcoholic husband who refused to allow his wife to attend church. Rather than sympathizing with the woman and encouraging her to leave the domineering husband, she praises the woman's ability to appear as a "lovely spiritual magnet" who will one day lead her husband to Christ through her kind and gentle actions.²⁹⁵

Remarkably, Jones's advice violates the spirit of complementarianism, which ultimately teaches that women are accountable first to Christ and then to their husband. Jones says nothing about the fact that this woman's alcoholic husband refused to allow her to attend church. Rather, she advises, "The wife in a difficult marriage should not badger her man (nagging him to go to church, acting like a martyr if he won't, banging him over the head with Scripture clubs, leaving devotional booklets open to appropriate pages on his bedside table, writing a Bible verse on the bottom of his cereal bowl) but rather should *be quiet and live!*"²⁹⁶ (Jones's emphasis) Jones's

²⁹³ Jones, *Ribbing Him Rightly*, 26.

²⁹⁴ Jones, *Ribbing Him Rightly*, 101.

²⁹⁵ Jones, *Ribbing Him Rightly*, 101-102.

²⁹⁶ Jones, *Ribbing Him Rightly*, 103.

advice, taken to heart, renders powerless any female sufferers of abuse and subjects them to continuing abuse. Rather than acknowledging the perversity of the men's actions, Jones encourages the women to be quiet and let God shine a light through their meek and quiet examples into the souls of their depraved husbands.²⁹⁷

Jones's *Ribbing Him Rightly* intimates that domestic abuse can, under certain circumstances and within certain contexts, feature prominently within fundamentalist relationships. Indeed, not all complementarian marriages are abusive; however, when complementarianism converges with fundamentalism's thirst to control adherent's lives while preaching messages intended to assuage masculinity and silence women, the convergence can create an environment ripe for abuse, as men feel pressured to assert power and women feel pressured to let the men do so.²⁹⁸ For women stuck in such convergences, Jones offers no aid. Rather, she encourages women to suffer their abuse in the hope that their husbands will come to know Christ; she offers no support or advice as to how such broken women can escape their terrible lives, and she offers no encouragement or admonition to fundamentalist churches to help female victims of intimate partner abuse. Furthermore, because Jones is the wife of Bob Jones

²⁹⁷ Beneth Peters Jones emerged from an abusive home. See Beneth Peters Jones, *Mount Up on Wounded Wings* (Greenville: Bob Jones University Press, 1994), 12. In *Mount Up on Wounded Wings*, Jones writes about healing for female survivors of child abuse. Jones offers repugnant advice to female victims, writing, "This book is not intended to help you create even a single excuse for yourself. No one comes from a perfect home, because such a home nowhere exists. Every family will, inevitably, fail in some measure to meet the needs of its members. That truth simply reflects our fallen human state. To pout over, whine about, and accuse parental shortcomings you have magnified is not only shameful but also clearly contrary to the theme of personal accountability which runs through the Bible."

²⁹⁸ Jerome R. Koch and Ignacio Luis Ramirez. "Religiosity, Christian Fundamentalism, and Intimate Partner Violence Among U.S. College Students." *Review of Religious Research* 51, no. 4 (2010): 402-410. Koch and Ramirez explored the relationship between religious behavior, religious belief, and intimate partner violence. Though they found no positive correlation between abuse and religiosity, they discovered that Christian fundamentalism is positively associated with both violence approval and acts of intimate partner violence.

III, current Chancellor of BJU, her words carry greater authority across the fundamentalist community and reflect the mindset of fundamentalist leadership, particularly within BJU.

This fundamentalist message of silent suffering to women was recently evidenced in a case involving a fifteen-year-old girl who was raped repeatedly by Ernest Willis, a church deacon in her Independent Fundamental Baptist church, Trinity Baptist Church, located in Concord, New Hampshire.²⁹⁹ A jury found Willis guilty of forcible rape on May 27, 2011.³⁰⁰ At the time of the rapes in 1997, Willis was thirty-eight years old. Tina Anderson's pastor, Chuck Phelps, made her stand before the church congregation and confess her "sin" of pregnancy. She was not allowed to explain to the congregation the circumstances of her pregnancy or that Willis was the father of her child.³⁰¹ Anderson reported that her pastor "told her she was lucky not to have been born during Old Testament times when she would have been stoned to death."³⁰² Anderson was sent by Phelps to live in Colorado with another Independent Fundamental Baptist family until she carried her pregnancy to term and later gave the child up for adoption.³⁰³ Her move to Colorado led some to contend that Phelps participated in obstruction of justice. Although Phelps removed Willis from the deacon board, Willis remained a member in good standing with the church. Phelps, a BJU graduate³⁰⁴ and former Member of the Cooperating

²⁹⁹ Susan Donaldson James, "15-Year-Old Allegedly Raped, Then Forced to Confess to Church," *ABC News*, June 3, 2010, accessed June 17, 2011, <http://abcnews.go.com/print?id=10806348>.

³⁰⁰ Hanna, Maddie. "Rape conviction a win for advocate," *Concord Monitor*, May 29, 2011, Accessed June 20, 2011. <http://www.concordmonitor.com/article/259928/rape-conviction-win-for-advocate?CSAuthResp=%3Asession%3ACSUId%7CCSGroupId%3Aapproved%3ABA4A9537C4BF4594E11F4BO9D8217743&CSUId=94&CSGroupId=1>.

³⁰¹ Hanna, "Rape conviction a win for advocate."

³⁰² Hanna, "Rape conviction a win for advocate."

³⁰³ Hanna, "Rape conviction a win for advocate."

³⁰⁴ "Dr. Charles Phelps," Maranatha Baptist Bible College, accessed June 23, 2011, <http://www.mbbc.edu/page.aspx?m=3876>. According to his online biography, Phelps received an undergraduate degree in Bible and a Doctorate of Ministry from Bob Jones University.

Board of the BJU seminary,³⁰⁵ recently defended his own actions in Willis's criminal trial for forcible rape of Tina Anderson. Willis claims that he confessed to Phelps that he had sex with Anderson twice and described himself as the "aggressor." Anderson claimed she did not say anything to the police about Willis's actions because years earlier, she had told Phelps about the sexual abuse she suffered from her stepfather, and Phelps told her to "forgive and forget" about the abuse.³⁰⁶ Phelps denies that he ever told Anderson to forgive and forget; he also claims that he reported Anderson's story to the police and that they never acted upon his information.³⁰⁷

In 2009, prior to the Willis trial, former BJU adjunct professor Dr. Rand Hummel preached at a Bob Jones University's chapel service.³⁰⁸ In the message, "Religious Robots: A Mechanical Walk with God," Hummel tells stories about two young women he counseled. The first woman expressed anger and bitterness towards her sister, who attended a party, had pills slipped into her drink, and ended up sleeping with several men. The sister became pregnant, and the young woman expressed anger towards her sister for messing up their family's home life. Hummel encouraged the young woman to forgive her sister for her sinful actions. Hummel also relayed a story of a distraught young woman whom he counseled; her stepfather had sexually molested her for two years. When the young woman told Hummel that God hated her, he told the young woman, "Let's look at your sin in this situation."³⁰⁹ Hummel chastised the girl for having bitterness towards her mother, father as well as her stepfather. He led her to pray and ask

³⁰⁵ Bob Jones University Seminary & Graduate Studies Bulletin 04-05, 195.

³⁰⁶ Hanna, Maddie. "Pastor: I Heard 'Aggressor,'" *Concord Monitor*, May 25, 2011, accessed June 24, 2011, <http://www.concordmonitor.com/article/259101/pastor-i-heard-aggressor?CSAuthResp=%3Asession%3ACsUserId%7CCSGroupId%3Aapproved%3ABA4A9537C4BF4594E11F4BO9D8217743&CSUserId=94&CSGroupId=1>.

³⁰⁷ Hanna, "Pastor."

³⁰⁸ Rand Hummel, "Religious Robots: A Mechanical Walk With God," Bob Jones University, Greenville, 2009, accessed June 17, 2011, <http://www.sermonaudio.com/sermoninfo.asp?SIP=94092035500>.

³⁰⁹ Hummel. at 20:43.

God for her own forgiveness and then told her to ask for forgiveness from her stepfather for her bitterness.

In a 1993 article entitled “Bob Jones Style: Female Students Learn How to Dress for Success,” Mrs. Hay, a professor of Home Economics at BJU, taught BJU women how to dress for the workplace. In the article, Hay recounted a time when a female student had a male coworker make a pass at her while at work. The article states:

She told him to leave her alone and walked toward the door. He yanked her blouse collar and shouted, “Why do you advertise if you don’t deliver?” She came to Mrs. Hay in tears. “We thought her dress might have caused him to misjudge a good book by a flashy cover,” Mrs. Hay said, adding the skirt was “a little too short” and the blouse “a little too unbuttoned.” “We spent six months reforming her style,” she said.³¹⁰

Beneth Peters Jones, Chuck Phelps, Rand Hummel, and Mrs. Hay each have held strong connections to BJU and have influenced students and congregant’s views towards women and abuse. Each one of them has glossed over the abuse suffered by fundamentalist female victims. While their words are certainly not indicative of fundamentalism as a whole, they present a message reaffirmed throughout the history of BJU that threatens women. Their conduct and words send the message that women in abusive situations can never be mere victims; rather, the women share blame for either inviting the abuse in the first place or allowing the abuse to lead to feelings of bitterness. Women are either taught to remain submissive to their male captors, or they are chided for letting their loose moral standards lead to such abuse. The school’s history of “no griping” seems to be a theme applied time and again throughout fundamentalism. Believers are taught that griping is unacceptable, even in the worst of situations, and that they should

³¹⁰ Edwards, Linda. “Bob Jones Style: Female Students at Local University Learn How to Dress for Success.” *The Greenville News*, May 31, 1993, 1B. Edwards followed up with the university’s administration regarding Hay’s comments. David McQuaid, then-director of media relations at BJU, issued a statement, “Journalists rap us as saying women bring harassment on themselves when we don’t think that. Understand that Mrs. Hay’s expertise is esthetics.”

silently bear their burdens, exchanging bitterness for God's grace. For female victims of abuse, this message rings hollow; indeed, it leaves them helpless in abusive situations.

V. Conclusion

Upon returning to Jones III's assertion that nothing "spectacular or noteworthy" has occurred with BJU in relation to women, one sees that the opposite is true. Many significant events involving women have occurred throughout the history of BJU. These events indicate a need on the part of BJU to bring some issues to light. The university's level of control has allowed it to cover many events throughout the school's history, but its ability to remain sequestered from the secular society has long waned; Camille Lewis's blog release of sealed BJU documents demonstrates that secrets will be increasingly difficult to keep in the age of the Internet and technology.

Despite its past issues, BJU represents some of fundamentalism's most salient features. BJU professor Beale defines a fundamentalist as "one who desires to reach out in love and compassion to people, believes and defends the whole Bible as the absolute, inerrant, and authoritative Word of God, and stands committed to the doctrine and practice of holiness."³¹¹ BJU is an institution comprised of loving and faith-filled faculty, staff and students. Even acerbic comedian and congressman Al Franken, following a prank-trip to BJU in 2006, concluded the people he encountered were "welcoming, friendly, and extremely nice."³¹² During the author's visits to BJU, she encountered nothing but kind and accommodating people. Despite the wonderful people at BJU, the institution has troubling discrepancies in its rhetoric and its culture; such discrepancies obfuscate and overshadow the admirable conviction of fundamentalists. BJU has historically presented itself as an institution separated from the world, protective of its students, and pure in mind, body and spirit. Yet, the incidents discussed in this

³¹¹ Beale, *Pursuit of Purity*, 3.

³¹² Al Franken, "I'm a Bad Liar," *National Review*, September 5, 2006, accessed June 15, 2011, <http://www.nationalreview.com/articles/218638/im-bad-liar/al-franken>.

chapter—Jones Sr.’s hostility toward Grace Haight, the messages continually sent by BJU spokespeople to female victims of abuse, and years of controlling and sexist rules—suggest a disconnect in rhetoric and culture.

From a secular perspective, one could easily conclude that BJU needs to dismantle its ironclad campus gates,³¹³ pull back the curtains of secrecy, unseal the files, and let the sunshine expose some long-held secrets. Yet, BJU’s separatism is its defining characteristic, and for an institution intent on remaining separate from the world, what motivation is there to justify past actions to a secular world audience? For BJU to truly be the institution it claims to be, however, it must *authentically* be that institution; the evidence herein suggests that BJU has, at times, exchanged authenticity for hypocrisy, and women have oftentimes paid the price.

³¹³ BJU has a gated campus that opens each morning at 7 am and closes each evening at 7 pm.

CHAPTER IV

LIBERTY UNIVERSITY

Reverend Jerry Falwell had a tumultuous history with feminists. In the early 1970s, Falwell vocally and vehemently opposed the Equal Rights Amendment, a proposed addition to the United States Constitution that would have mandated gender equality. On May 11, 1975, Falwell preached a sermon to his Thomas Road Baptist Church congregation entitled, “The Biblical Answer to Women’s Liberation.” During the sermon, Falwell stated, “Because I believe the Bible to be the word of God, because I accept the scriptural foundation and structure for the Christian home as being the right one, I totally reject the philosophy of women’s liberation as being antichrist and unscriptural.”³¹⁴ In a sermon preached on December 2, 1979 entitled, “Whatever Happened to the Family?” Falwell made the following statements about his opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment:

There’s not going to be an Equal Rights Amendment because you know Christians believe in superior rights for women. We don’t believe in equal rights for women. We help them with their coats, we open the doors for them, we go out to war and fight for them. We don’t want them going for us. We’ve always believed that women were special, and we’ve always believed that they not only should get equal pay for equal work and have equal opportunities in careers. All those things of course we believe, but more important than that we believe they should have the protection of godly loving husbands, men around them, they ought to be cared for by their husbands, and women don’t need to use unisex toilets and go out to battle fronts to fight and give their lives doing a job men ought to do.³¹⁵

³¹⁴ Jerry Falwell, “The Biblical Answer to Women’s Liberation,” Sermon for Old Time Gospel Hour, May 11, 1975. Obtained from Liberty University archives.

³¹⁵ Jerry Falwell, “Whatever Happened to the Family?,” Sermon for the Old Time Gospel Hour, December 2, 1979. Obtained from Liberty University archives. During Falwell’s sermon, he invited

Twelve years later, Falwell stated in his autobiography that he supported “absolute equal rights for women” and opposed the Equal Rights Amendment on the ground that it would not have effectively provided his perceived version of equality for women.³¹⁶ Despite society’s growing acceptance over time towards the expansion of women’s rights and equality, Falwell’s hatred of feminists would continue to flourish. Following the attacks of September 11, 2001, Falwell gave the following indictment on the religious television show, *The 700 Club*:

I really believe that the pagans, and the abortionists, and the feminists, and the gays and the lesbians who are actively trying to make that an alternative lifestyle, the ACLU, People for the American Way, all of them who have tried to secularize America—I point the finger in their face and say “you helped this happen.”³¹⁷

The majority of Americans found Falwell’s statement appalling, and public backlash propelled Falwell to issue an apology for his remarks. Despite Falwell’s apology, his disdain for feminists continued. In a televised sermon to his Thomas Road Baptist Church congregation in 2004, Falwell referred to the large feminist group National Organization for Women as the “National Order of Witches.”³¹⁸

Despite his hatred of feminism and his tenuous relationship with the issue of women’s

Phyllis Schlafly, a vocal opponent against the Equal Rights Amendment, to speak. Schlafly stated “I opposed [the Equal Rights Amendment] because of the ridiculous things it would do like putting our young women in military combat and drafting them the next time there was a draft and increasing the power of the federal government. But the more I worked with this issue the more I realized that the whole women’s liberation movement is truly anti-family. The proof of that came just two years ago when the Conference on International Women’s Year met in Houston. They passed twenty-five resolutions that show very clearly what they are after. They are for the Equal Rights Amendment which would take away the marvelous legal rights of the wife and mother to be in the home supported by her husband.”

³¹⁶ Jerry Falwell, *Strength for the Journey: An Autobiography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), 393.

³¹⁷ “Falwell apologizes to gays, feminists, lesbians.” *CNN*, September 14, 2001, accessed March 30, 2011, http://articles.cnn.com/2001-09-14/us/Falwell.apology_1_thomas-road-baptist-church-jerry-falwell-feminists?_s=PM:US.

³¹⁸ “Falwell called NOW ‘the National Order of Witches.’” *Media Matters for America*, November 23, 2004, accessed March 15, 2011, <http://mediamatters.org/research/200411230011>.

equality, Falwell opened Liberty University (formerly Lynchburg Baptist College) in 1971 as an institution offering education to both women and men. From its earliest days, Falwell had a grand vision for his university. He often stated, “What Notre Dame is to Roman Catholic youths and what Brigham Young is to Mormon young people, Liberty University will become to the Bible-believing fundamentalist and evangelical students of America.”³¹⁹ His vision of a great fundamentalist Christian university also included a vision for the educational development of the institution’s female students. From its opening day, Liberty University welcomed women who wished to pursue an education. That Falwell would open a university to educate women for careers in the corporate world seems, at first blush, to contradict his antagonistic views towards women’s equality. After his vocal diatribes against feminism, many assumed that Falwell believed a woman’s place was in the home. But did that assumption accurately reflect Falwell’s views on women?

This chapter examines the history of Falwell’s Liberty University and the way in which the institution has approached the education of women throughout its existence. Despite Falwell’s vitriolic rhetoric against feminism and the Equal Rights Amendment, there is scant evidence in Liberty University’s history to suggest that the institution has ever treated women as inferior to men. The university ascribes, however, to the theological concept of complementarianism, a belief that men and women are equal before God but mandated distinct God-given gender roles. Such a “separate but different” view of men and women signifies inherent sexism towards women, who are accorded the submissive roles of homemaker. The complementarian view of distinct gender roles colors what men and women within LU can and should do with their lives in terms of career aspirations and family. Though Liberty’s

³¹⁹ Jerry Falwell, *Strength for the Journey* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987) 393.

complementarianism does not advocate the stated unequal treatment of women, the institution's theological viewpoint inherently creates subtle and nuanced discrimination against women at the university. Surprisingly, despite the apparent discrimination of women by fundamentalist theology, many women within fundamentalism ardently support the complementarian interpretation of different gender roles.

Women at Liberty University presents a strange paradox: Falwell demonstrated a seemingly unequivocal support for the education of women within his own institution, while outwardly speaking out against women abandoning their roles as homemakers in exchange for careers.

I. Liberty University as a Fundamentalist Institution

This chapter characterizes Liberty University as a fundamentalist institution. Throughout his life, Falwell identified as a fundamentalist.³²⁰ When asked the difference between an evangelical and a fundamentalist in press conferences, Falwell often replied, “A fundamentalist is an evangelical who is mad about something.”³²¹ Throughout his life, Falwell demonstrated anger toward what he perceived as an increased secularization of American society. His radio and television show, *The Old Time Gospel Hour*, and his lobbying group, *The Moral Majority*, both retained core audiences comprised primarily of fundamentalists.

Scholars have long studied the phenomenon of Christian fundamentalism. George Marsden, a leading scholar of American fundamentalism, states, “In the mid-1970s the Religious Right entered the national consciousness as a politically active movement [and] some of its early core leadership was drawn from separatist fundamentalists, of whom Jerry Falwell [was] fairly typical.”³²² In the early nineteenth century, evangelicalism and fundamentalism had been distinguishable. Evangelicalism included major Protestant denominations and newer revivalist groups including the holiness movement and premillennialists. Evangelicals typically believed in a born-again conversion experience to secure salvation. Fundamentalists, on the other hand,

³²⁰ Ed Dobson, Jerry Falwell and Ed Hindson, *The Fundamentalist Phenomenon, Second Edition, The Resurgence of Conservative Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1986), 1-2. In this work, Falwell and other writers declare the resurgence of religious fundamentalism in America, of which they are leaders. The authors define fundamentalism, saying, “Fundamentalists view themselves as the legitimate heirs of historical New Testament Christianity. They see themselves as the militant and faithful defenders of biblical orthodoxy. They oppose Liberalism, communism, and left-wing Evangelicalism. True fundamentalists hold strongly to the same basic tenets that they were debating seventy-five years ago. These defenders of the faith range from well-educated professors to backwoods preachers.”

³²¹ Falwell, *Strength for the Journey*, 360.

³²² George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture, New Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 234.

incorporated the beliefs of Evangelicalism and added an ingredient of militant opposition towards modernism in the church and in American culture.³²³ In 2006, Marsden presented a new argument, however, that by the mid-1970s, evangelicalism and fundamentalism wed to create a new group known as “fundamentalistic evangelicalism,” which he defines as “the Religious Right (a label that also includes Catholics and Mormons) [including] ‘fundamentalistic’ militants who form not only separatist fundamentalists groups, but also form almost the whole spectrum of evangelicals, even though by no means all evangelicals, including self-styled fundamentalists, are politicized.”³²⁴ Falwell is a perfect example of Marsden’s fundamentalistic evangelicalism; although Falwell remained distinctively fundamentalist, he used alliances with other Christian denominations to build political support for the Moral Majority’s objectives.³²⁵

Despite Falwell’s well-known fundamentalist affiliation, there is recent evidence that Liberty University is perhaps moving away from its fundamentalist past in attempts to shape a more moderate future. Dr. Elmer Towns, co-founder of Liberty University, describes the institution not as fundamentalist but rather evangelical.³²⁶ He classifies Liberty University as falling somewhere in the middle of a religious education spectrum that has separatist Bob Jones University, representing an extreme version of fundamentalism, on one side and heavily secularized Christian institutions like Southern Methodist University on the other side of the spectrum. Though this moderate classification of Liberty University may come as a surprise to critics of Falwell, Towns’s classification is further evidenced in the school’s marketing and admissions materials; the university has distanced itself from Falwell’s divisive image and makes

³²³ Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 234.

³²⁴ Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 235.

³²⁵ Falwell, *Strength for the Journey*, 360. Falwell’s decision to work with people from other denominations was primarily influenced by Francis Schaeffer.

³²⁶ Dr. Elmer Towns, Dean of the School of Religion, interview by author, April 12, 2011.

no mention of any fundamentalist ties. Although Kevin Roose, in his semester at Liberty University during the spring of 2007, described seeing such Liberty paraphernalia as “Team Jerry” shirts and limited-edition Jerry Falwell bobble heads, the campus bookstore no longer carries such items.³²⁷ The direct mail marketing materials from the Admissions Office at Liberty contain images of campus visits from former Arkansas governor Mike Huckabee and television personality Glenn Beck. There are no photos or even a mention of Jerry Falwell.³²⁸

Those within the fundamentalist movement have largely disassociated Falwell from the movement at large; because the Moral Majority worked with conservatives of different religious backgrounds, including Mormons and Catholics, many strict fundamentalists actually regarded Falwell as an evangelical. Beale writes of the Moral Majority:

This group has taken strong anti-liberal, anti-abortion, and pro-inerrancy positions. They oppose Fundamentalists primarily for the latter’s practice of separation from new evangelical ecumenism. Commonly referred to by both the secular and the religious press as “neo-fundamentalists,” these reconstructionist evangelicals actually differ quite radically from Fundamentalism because they consider anyone a Fundamentalist who holds to the cardinal Christian doctrines, such as inerrancy, virgin birth, vicarious atonement, bodily resurrection, and the personal second coming of Christ. Unlike present-day Fundamentalists, they refuse to regard the militant defense of the faith and the full doctrine and practice of holiness as intrinsically fundamental.³²⁹

Bob Jones III vehemently spoke against Jerry Falwell and the Moral Majority, stating:

A close, analytical, biblical look at the Moral Majority [reveals] a movement that holds more potential for hastening the church of [the] Antichrist and building the ecumenical church than anything to come down the pike in a long time...Disobedient preachers (such as Billy Graham, Bill Bright, Jerry Falwell, and others) are, to a large degree, responsible for the moral decay in America. They preach morality, but they live disobediently.³³⁰

³²⁷ The author searched to no avail for such items in the campus bookstore during April 2011.

³²⁸ Liberty University Viewbook. Liberty University Office of Admissions. Received March 2011.

³²⁹ David O. Beale, *In Pursuit of Purity: American Fundamentalism Since 1850* (Greenville: Unusual Publications, 1986), 267-268.

³³⁰ Bob Jones III, “The Moral Majority,” *Faith for the Family*, publication date unknown, accessed July 11, 2011, <http://www.web.archive.org/web/19990203170604/http://www.bju.edu/faith/vol8num7/majority.html>.

Such statements emanating from BJU indicate that even fundamentalists have a difficult time agreeing on who qualifies as a fundamentalist. Though Liberty University has made apparent strides in recent years to divorce itself from a fundamentalist association, the institution has historically identified as a fundamentalist institution. Falwell proclaimed himself a fundamentalist “by doctrine, by conviction, and by practice”³³¹ and published the *Fundamentalist Journal*, a publication with articles of interests to fundamentalist followers.³³² Time will tell if Liberty University can successfully make the transition from fundamentalist to evangelical affiliation. Because of Liberty’s long-regarded reputation as a fundamentalist institution, however, this chapter will examine Liberty University as such.

³³¹ Falwell, *Strength for the Journey*, 377.

³³² Beale, *In Pursuit of Purity*, 268.

II. Early History of Liberty University

Reverend Jerry Falwell and Dr. Elmer Towns,³³³ educator and author, co-founded Liberty Baptist College in Lynchburg, Virginia, in 1971. Falwell, a Lynchburg, Virginia native, “determined to invest his life in training young people from his city, across and [sic] nation, and around the world to affect their world academically and spiritually.”³³⁴ On a Wednesday night in January 1971, Falwell preached a sermon on Second Timothy 2:2.³³⁵ Falwell proclaimed, “While he was on this earth, Jesus Christ chose twelve men to follow him closely.” Men, he stressed, “have always been God’s method for carrying the gospel to the world.”³³⁶ He continued:

Young people are the hope of our nation and our world. I believe we have a sacred obligation to provide thousands of young people with a solid Christian education. Let us dedicate ourselves tonight to starting a college with the goal of seeing thousands of young men and women, deeply in love with the Lord Jesus Christ, who will go out in all walks of life to shake this world for God.³³⁷

Falwell created Liberty Baptist College, hereafter “LBC,” to provide outstanding education to students, taught within the context of Christian values. Falwell’s desire to start a college came as a shock even to his family. His wife, Macel, responded to Falwell’s ideas with initial apprehension. She told Falwell, “My kids are not going to that school.” Macel later explained, “I wasn’t going to let my children go to it because I didn’t think they would get a good

³³³ At the time of LBC’s founding, Dr. Elmer Towns, 38, had authored fifteen theological books, served as editor for several church magazines, and was a former Bible college professor. At the time, Towns became the youngest college president in North America when in 1961 he was appointed president of the Winnipeg Bible College in Winnipeg, Canada. Today, Towns is the Dean of the School of Religion at Liberty University.

³³⁴ Diantha Knutson, “The Miracle on Liberty Mountain: A Manuscript Delivery Speech Prepared for Dr. Earl Mills in fulfillment of partial requirements for Com 505,” April 26, 1982. Liberty Archives.

³³⁵ Ruth McClellan, *An Incredible Journey: Thomas Road Baptist Church and 50 Years of Miracles* (Lynchburg: Liberty University, 2006), 138.

³³⁶ McClellan, *Incredible Journey*, 138.

³³⁷ McClellan, *Incredible Journey*, 139-140.

education.” Only Falwell’s daughter, Jeannie, expressed an interest in attending. Macel Falwell recounted Jeannie’s support, stating, “Jeannie spoke up and said, ‘Daddy, I’ll go to your school.’”³³⁸ Incidentally, all three of Falwell’s children as well as Macel Falwell received undergraduate degrees from Liberty.

From the very beginning, Falwell intended for his college to sharply contrast the “current liberalized trends at many colleges and universities.”³³⁹ The college’s doctrinal statement said:

1. We believe in the verbal inspiration and authority of the Scriptures. We believe that the Bible reveals God, the fall of man, the way of salvation, and God’s plan and purpose in the ages.
2. We believe in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit.
3. We believe in the deity and virgin birth of Jesus Christ.
4. We believe that salvation is “by grace” plus nothing and minus nothing. The conditions to salvation are repentance and faith.
5. We believe that men are justified by faith alone and are accounted righteous before God only through the merit of our Lord and Saviour [sic] Jesus Christ.
6. We believe in the visible, personal, and premillennial return of Jesus Christ.
7. We believe in the everlasting conscious blessedness of the saved and the everlasting conscious punishment of the lost.³⁴⁰

When he founded the college, Falwell conveyed his desire to see a thousand pastors trained and at least one hundred of those pastors to build churches as large as Falwell’s Thomas Road Baptist Church.³⁴¹ The 1971-72 Course Catalogue explains, “Lynchburg Baptist College has as its ultimate aim the equipping of young people for evangelistic ministry in the local church.”³⁴² Despite the fact that LBC was open to both men and women, the language in the first course catalogue is decidedly masculine. The catalogue states as one of the college’s purposes, “to

³³⁸ Jonathan Parker, “Living a Legacy: University blossoms over 40-year history,” *Liberty Champion* 28, issue 16, March 2, 2011, 1.

³³⁹ Henry Martin, “Thomas R. Baptist Pastor Plans 4-Year Arts College,” publication unknown, 1. This article was among many displayed in the Jerry Falwell Museum at Liberty University.

³⁴⁰ Lynchburg Baptist College Catalogue 1971-1972.

³⁴¹ Martin, “Pastor Plans 4-Year Arts College.”

³⁴² Course Catalogue, 6.

cultivate the life of the student into a mature man of God.”³⁴³ In reference to guest lectureship, the catalogue states, “The college is convinced that students become “mature men of God” by coming in contact with “great men of God.”³⁴⁴ All pronouns in the catalogue are solely masculine, providing syntactic evidence of masculine dominance within Falwell’s realm.

The college held students’ lifestyles to a high standard, expecting students to exhibit a “godly life.”³⁴⁵ Upon applying to the college, students wrote a “one page, hand written [sic] testimony concerning salvation and reasons why the student desires to attend the Lynchburg Baptist College.”³⁴⁶ This allowed the college to screen applicants based upon their stated spiritual beliefs. Students receiving admittance to Liberty faced many requirements; the course catalogue required students to attend daily chapel services and to pray before every class, meal, and meeting. In addition to chapel, regular prayer meetings were held in student dormitories. To increase students’ spiritual wellbeing, the administration reserved a day of prayer each semester, “setting aside classes and other activities to seek God’s blessing upon the personal life and Christian service of each student.” Students and faculty were also required to transfer their church membership to Thomas Road Baptist Church and tithe a percentage of their income to the church.³⁴⁷

In addition to the rules designated in the course catalogue, students adhered to rules in the LBC student handbooks. These rules included the stern warning that “the administration may at any time request the withdrawal of any student who in the opinion of the administration does not

³⁴³ Course Catalogue, 8.

³⁴⁴ Course Catalogue, 10.

³⁴⁵ Course Catalogue, 10.

³⁴⁶ Course Catalogue, 12. Even today, students are still required to submit a statement of purpose with their application. The prospective student, however, need not proscribe to LU’s Baptist beliefs in order to receive admittance to the university.

³⁴⁷ Course Catalogue, 12.

fit into the spirit of the institution, regardless of whether or not he conforms to the specific rules and regulations of LBC.”³⁴⁸ Among the vices that the handbook prohibited were such things as griping, jazz music, civil rights demonstrations, pants for women, any public displays of affection, tobacco, and alcohol.³⁴⁹ In addition to prohibitions against illicit substances, clothing, music and actions, the handbook also contained a few idiosyncratic rules. For example, the handbook stated that electricity in the rooms was reserved for lights and radios, and any students wishing to use sewing machines or hair dryers had to obtain permission from the dormitory supervisors. The handbook also requested that students refrain from conversing each day between the hours of 7:00 pm to 9:30 pm so that the time could be used for studying.

The handbook also contained rules specific to single “girls”; the handbook notably does not include comparable restrictions for single male students. Additionally, there is no use of the term “boy” to refer to the male students. Regarding single women, the handbook explains:

In order for a single girl to go home or out of the city for a weekend, she must submit a letter of permission from her parents to the Dean of Women. When groups travel from the College for weekend trips to homes, home churches, or homes of friends, the single girls must outnumber the single men. Single girls—please note: any time that your trip requires a note of permission from your parents, you must have that permission or else not go on the trip.³⁵⁰

This distinction in treatment hearkens to fundamentalists’ historical interpretation of women as the weaker sex, in need of protection from men. The phrase “the single *girls* must outnumber the single *men*” is particularly noteworthy; single female students are infantilized simply through the handbook’s word choice of “girl,” while males of the same age and status are relegated to the

³⁴⁸ Lynchburg Baptist College Student Handbook 1971-1971, 2. This mandate was absent in later versions of student handbooks, later titled “The Liberty Way.” The author speculates that accreditation requirements demanded that LBC discard this tenuous warning.

³⁴⁹ Regarding public displays of affection, the handbook brashly states, “Such display is usually considered disgusting by the observer, and the young people involved appear immature.”

³⁵⁰ Student Handbook, 11. (handbook’s emphasis)

status of “men.” The handbook’s infantilizing language towards women suggests the university’s differencing approaches to the capacities of men and women, as well as the its inherent sexism against women.

III. Liberty Curriculum

LBC sought to employ exceptional instructors. The catalogue states, “The college seeks teachers in the area of academics who are the best qualified in the country.” In addition to academic prestige, the college also recruited “men who have made outstanding contributions to evangelism and church service”³⁵¹ to teach classes in practical Christian service. A fair number of Liberty’s early professors were women; of the fifty-eight professors in 1974, twenty were women.³⁵² Many of these women had undergraduate and graduate degrees from Bob Jones University.³⁵³ LBC placed great emphasis not only on the academic development of students but also on the spiritual development. The catalogue states, “High academic standards will not be sufficient to be fully successful at Lynchburg Baptist College. A student must be completely dedicated to the will of God and be led by the Holy Spirit.”³⁵⁴ To help facilitate the students’ spiritual developments, LBC required each student to participate in a ministry at Thomas Road Baptist Church. If a student failed to exhibit Christian character, he or she risked forfeiting the opportunity to graduate. The course catalogue stated, “Since godly living is a part of the educational program, failure to achieve this standard may prevent graduation.”³⁵⁵

In the first year, students could choose from six majors: The Christian Teachers Course, The Christian Workers Course (students chose one of three emphases including Christian Education / Music Major, the Pastors Major, and the Youth Workers Major), History Major and

³⁵¹ Course Catalogue 1971, 12.

³⁵² Selah: 1974, Volume 1. Obtained from Liberty University Archives.

³⁵³ Towns, interview by author, April 12, 2011. Towns explained that the speech program at Bob Jones University had produced particularly articulate women. Towns brought these gifted professors to LBC to teach speech to students. Because fundamentalists sought to evangelize nonbelievers, they regarded highly one’s ability to speak effectively in public.

³⁵⁴ Course Catalogue 1971, 8.

³⁵⁵ Course Catalogue 1971, 14.

English Major. Although nothing in the first course catalogue explicitly prohibited women from pursuing any major, there were boundaries regarding what women could pursue—the pastoral major was reserved for men, not through any written prohibitions against women but rather through Falwell’s belief that the role of pastor was reserved strictly for men. Falwell’s teaching was implicitly supported through custom and traditional social norms within LBC and Thomas Road Baptist Church; women simply did not preach from the pulpit or hold pastoral authority. Falwell and LBC held to traditional notions of women’s roles within the church; according to the Bible, men, and only men, could fill the role of preacher.³⁵⁶

In 1974, LBC opened the Lynchburg Theological Seminary and hired Dr. Robert Hughes to serve as the dean of the seminary. In its opening year, the seminary enrolled forty-one students. The advent of a seminary made it possible for students to begin their studies at the Lynchburg Christian Academy, a primary and secondary school operated by Thomas Road Baptist Church, and continue their undergraduate and postgraduate studies at Lynchburg Baptist College. Students could, if they wished, spend their entire academic lives cloistered in Falwell’s academic institutions.

Regarding the seminary’s approach to women, Dr. Elmer Towns, co-founder and current dean of Liberty’s School of Religion, explained that Hughes did not want to allow divorced men or any women to pursue a master’s of divinity degree; this became an area of tension within LBC among Hughes, Falwell, and other administrators. After six years of service, Hughes left LBC,

³⁵⁶ This belief is based upon First Timothy 2:12 which says, “I do not permit a woman to teach or to assume authority over a man; she must be quiet.”

and Towns took over as dean of the seminary, changing the purpose of the master's of divinity program from educating only men to educating men and women.³⁵⁷

³⁵⁷ Towns, interview by author, April 12, 2011.

IV. Facilities

LBC began as an outgrowth of Falwell's Thomas Road Baptist Church, both financially and physically.³⁵⁸ In the fall semester of 1971, 154 students from twenty states enrolled at LBC.³⁵⁹ Despite the college's successful opening, the institution did not have any initial dormitories or classroom facilities. Instead, students attended classes at Thomas Road Baptist Church, the church staff served as the college's faculty, and students resided in four room houses located close to the church.³⁶⁰ College gym classes were held in the church's parking lot.³⁶¹ Irene S. Larson, an English professor in 1971, described the church's classroom conditions, stating:

On school days, neither the faded pink woodwork, battleship gray surplus chairs, stray toys, nor abandoned diapers could dampen our enthusiasm...Notwithstanding assorted and scattered classrooms—a noisy church balcony foyer, an unclaimed Academy room, those in abandoned public schools where alternately we choked in smoke from a faulty furnace, or froze with coats, boots, and mittens on when the inadequate thing refused to smoke—notwithstanding those conditions, we taught.³⁶²

By the end of the school year, student enrollment increased to 305. As a part of the college's curriculum, all students in good academic standing received a trip to the "Holy

³⁵⁸ "Our History: History of TRBC," Thomas Road Baptist Church, accessed February 20, 2011, <http://trbc.org/visitors/history/>. Thomas Road Baptist Church was founded on June 17, 1956 when "thirty-five adults and their children gathered in the Mountain View Elementary School in Lynchburg, Virginia for the church's first Sunday worship service." Jerry Falwell, the church's founding pastor is described as a "particularly aggressive young man." Thomas Road Baptist Church later grew to include a radio ministry (1956), a television show called "Old Time Gospel Hour" (1957), the Elim Home for alcoholic men (1959), Lynchburg Christian Academy (1967), and Liberty University (1971).

³⁵⁹ Knutson, "Miracle on Liberty Mountain," 4.

³⁶⁰ Knutson, "Miracle on Liberty Mountain," 4.

³⁶¹ McClellan, *Incredible Journey*, 56.

³⁶² Irene S. Larson, "Unique," date unknown, 1. Liberty Archives.

Land.”³⁶³ A LBC Choral was formed; students toured Israel to sing and recruit future LBC students.³⁶⁴

In its second year, LBC acquired four thousand acres of land on Candler’s Mountain Road, where Liberty University is located today.³⁶⁵ The college also experienced a growth in students, as enrollment reached 484. To accommodate the growth, LBC purchased hotel properties around town for the next several years. Larson explains, “The Old Virginian Hotel on Church Street, our largest and most permanent dorm, was designated Liberty Baptist College Downtown Campus, but the artificial designation never caught on. ‘The Hotel’ is what it was dubbed the fall of ’73 when a burgeoning student body moved in before the paint which had been hastily sprayed over the cobwebs was dry.”³⁶⁶ In 1972, Dr. J. Gordon Henry came to LBC to serve as vice president of academic affairs. His move to LBC was not without thought; he later explained, “Before I would come to Liberty I asked Dr. Falwell, ‘Are you going to have a bonafide [sic] college?’[and] he said, ‘Yes.’”³⁶⁷ Henry, along with other members of the administration, began working towards obtaining regional accreditation for the college. With the blessing of Falwell, Henry worked to establish a credible academic reputation for LBC. He recounted, “One of our best days was when the newspaper reported about an athlete who had been suspended from a team due to academic reasons.”³⁶⁸ From its earliest days and despite its classification as a Bible college (an institution typically not associated with true academic rigor),

³⁶³ Larson, “Unique,” 4. The following year, students received a trip to England to study such Evangelical scholars as John Wesley.

³⁶⁴ Larson, “Unique,” 4.

³⁶⁵ History—Liberty University, 2. Retrieved from Liberty University Archives. Author and date unknown.

³⁶⁶ Larson, “Unique,” 2.

³⁶⁷ Larson, “Unique,” 3.

³⁶⁸ Larson, “Unique,” 2.

LBC sought affirmation not only among fundamentalists but also among the academic community at large. With its continual pursuit of accreditation, LBC demonstrated its desire to be taken seriously as an academic institution.³⁶⁹

In 1973, LBC faced its first financial scandal. The school carried a multi-million dollar debt, and the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) launched an investigation into Thomas Road Baptist Church's sale of bonds to cover the debt. In December 1972, William Schief, then regional director for the Securities and Exchange Commission, contacted Thomas Road Baptist Church for information regarding bonds that had been issued. On July 3, 1973, the SEC charged the church with fraud and deceit as well as declared the church insolvent and filed a suit in a federal district court.³⁷⁰ Falwell's friends and associates recommended that he close LBC and discontinue his television ministry; despite their advice, Falwell refused to consider either closing his college or ending his television ministry.³⁷¹ On August 9, 1973, Judge James Turk concluded, "So far as this court can determine, there is no evidence of any intentional wrongdoing by the Thomas Road Baptist Church."³⁷² LBC averted its own undoing, and Jerry Falwell cleared his name.

Despite the SEC's investigation of and allegations against LBC during this time, student enrollment continued to increase. During this time, students resided in a summer youth camp facility known as "Treasure Island" and were bused to campus (transportation from student housing to the church facilities took at least an hour, one way).³⁷³ Larson described the

³⁶⁹ Liberty University's pursuit of regional accreditation starkly contrasts Bob Jones University's disregard for accreditation.

³⁷⁰ McClellan, *Incredible Journey*, 161.

³⁷¹ McClellan, *Incredible Journey*, 161.

³⁷² McClellan, *Incredible Journey*, 163.

³⁷³ Knutson, "Miracle on Liberty Mountain," 4.

transportation situation, explaining, “The student body [had] doubled; and busing continued to be the name of the game. Lynchburgers not only saw those antique green and white buses everywhere, but ‘heard’ them peeling out ‘Victory in Jesus,’ and ‘I’ll Fly Away.’”³⁷⁴ The course curriculum expanded during the second year as course offerings increased from twenty to 150.³⁷⁵ The faculty also grew to include twenty-six full-time and nineteen part-time members.³⁷⁶ The year of 1973 also witnessed the addition of varsity football and baseball to LBC’s athletics program.

Although the court system had cleared Thomas Road Baptist Church and Falwell of any wrongdoing, the court still invalidated Thomas Road Baptist Church’s bond programs. In 1974, the debt became due and payable immediately.³⁷⁷ Again, advisers told Falwell to close LBC; he refused. Instead, he pleaded with his followers to give money to his cause by traveling the country alongside the Liberty Chorale Choir. By January of 1975, the church had received more than two million dollars in donations, a notable feat in the midst of a national recession.³⁷⁸ Although the amount received failed to completely cover the debt, the church and LBC paid off their debt in full three years later through extensive fundraising.

In 1974, with an enrollment of 1,428 students, a need for additional student housing led LBC to pursue additional properties. LBC acquired the Stuart Arms Hotel in downtown Lynchburg and rented the Kennedy House, an abandoned hospital.³⁷⁹ To provide for classroom space, LBC acquired several condemned schools including Ruffner Elementary School and

³⁷⁴ Larson, “Unique,” 3.

³⁷⁵ Knutson, “Miracle on Liberty Mountain,” 5.

³⁷⁶ Knutson, “Miracle on Liberty Mountain,” 5.

³⁷⁷ McClellan, *Incredible Journey*, 166.

³⁷⁸ McClellan, *Incredible Journey*, 166.

³⁷⁹ Knutson, “Miracle on Liberty Mountain,” 5.

Timberlake Middle School.³⁸⁰ In April of 1974, the State Council of Higher Education for Virginia approved LBC as a degree-granting institution. On May 22, 1974, LBC held its first commencement. J. Harold Smith gave the speaker's address and twenty-seven graduates received their degrees.³⁸¹

Students and faculty exhibited a “pioneering spirit” during the early years of LBC. An instructor, Mrs. Tobyann Davis, understood from students that the two hour daily bus rides were some of their favorite times in college. Davis said, “You would have thought there would have been a lot of griping and bitterness—they must have been a mature group of people.”³⁸² During the academic year of 1974-75, Jerry Falwell became Chancellor of the college, a position he held until his death in 2007. That same year, Dr. Pierre Guillerman became the first college President. Guillerman later elucidated his leadership vision for LBC, explaining:

From the beginning, we have sought to find the balance that has eluded so many Christian colleges. We have sought scholarship under the Lordship of Christ without compromising either. We believe academic excellence and spiritual excellence can co-exist harmoniously in a way that will bring glory to God and will demonstrate to a watching world that Christians need not be afraid of knowledge.³⁸³

When Falwell opened the college, he was fully aware of the fact that many Christian colleges had, in recent history, become secularized.³⁸⁴ To help guard LBC against secularization, the LBC Board of Directors placed university properties “permanently in the name of the Old Time

³⁸⁰ Knutson, “Miracle on Liberty Mountain,” 5.

³⁸¹ History—Liberty University, 3.

³⁸² Knutson, “Miracle on Liberty Mountain,” 6.

³⁸³ History—Liberty University, 10.

³⁸⁴ Falwell, *Strength for the Journey*, 394. Falwell writes, “One of the big challenges facing the young board of directors for Liberty University during our first year of existence in 1971 was how to keep our university Biblically and theologically sound in generations to come. History told us that most of America’s major universities, including Harvard, Yale, Dartmouth, the University of Pennsylvania, and the others had been established by conservative Bible-believing Christians for the purpose of training servants of God. In our own lifetimes we had watched too many denominational schools move from their original doctrinal positions to become something the founders did not have in mind.”

Gospel Hour corporation so that Thomas Road Baptist Church would have influence over the doctrinal position of Liberty University in the generations to come.”³⁸⁵ The faculty continued to grow, and the Faculty Organization Constitution and By-Laws were approved, giving the faculty members a greater amount of control over decisions affecting the college.³⁸⁶ That year, the federal government approved LBC to have foreign students on campus. Additionally, LBC was listed in the *Education Directory: Higher Education*.

In 1975, the name of the college changed from Lynchburg Baptist College to Liberty Baptist College.³⁸⁷ The change occurred after Thomas Road Baptist Church’s Fourth of July celebration on Liberty Mountain. Amidst the celebration, Falwell preached that the United States had entered a moral decline; to counter the country’s descent, Falwell urged his congregation to realize that the future of the nation resided in Christians’ hands. McClellan writes, “In light of these thoughts, it seemed only natural that Lynchburg Baptist College officially became Liberty Baptist College and changed its colors from green and gold to red, white and blue.”³⁸⁸ On May 14, 1975, Dr. W.A. Criswell, pastor of First Baptist Church, Dallas, Texas and a longtime leader in the fundamentalist movement, gave the commencement speech at LBC’s graduation.³⁸⁹ As the years progressed, LBC’s student enrollment continued to increase, and by 1976, enrollment reached 1,569 and the faculty increased to eighty-one.

An important event in the history of LBC occurred on January 21, 1977 when 2,500 students and faculty joined Falwell on Candler’s Mountain to pray for the future of the college. Students returned from Christmas break to rumors that the Brookville High School, a condemned

³⁸⁵ Falwell, *Strength for the Journey*, 394-395.

³⁸⁶ Knutson, “Miracle on Liberty Mountain,” 6.

³⁸⁷ History—Liberty University, 3.

³⁸⁸ McClellan, *Incredible Journey*, 178.

³⁸⁹ Knutson, “Miracle on Liberty Mountain,” 7.

building where LBC held many of its classes, would be torn down in the summer to make way for a new public school.³⁹⁰

Also around that time, a furnace stopped working at Brookville High School. McClellan writes, “Outside temperatures stood at seven degrees as students huddled in classrooms with coats and gloves on. Long blow-type heaters were rented, but they took much of the oxygen out of the air in the cold building. Light headed students had to be helped outside.”³⁹¹ The situation at LBC was dire; something had to be done. Although LBC administrators searched for new rental property, their search proved futile. LBC had no classroom space for the fall semester. Larson recalls, “An unrepeated service was held in the snow [on] barren Liberty Mountain while our Chancellor led us in much prayer for buildings on that mountain; we had no place to go come August.”³⁹² Despite the eight inches of snow and sub-freezing temperatures, students and faculty fervently prayed for almost two hours that God would provide facilities to accommodate the ever-growing college.³⁹³ The congregants sang a hymn entitled “I Want that Mountain.” They prayed for the money to allow a construction company to raise four buildings that could be used that fall as classrooms and as dorms.³⁹⁴ By February, more than \$2.5 million in donations had been received, and by March 1, LBC construction began on Liberty Mountain.³⁹⁵ Larson writes, “By mid-August God had given us two classroom buildings and two dormitories on the new

³⁹⁰ McClellan, *Incredible Journey*, 184.

³⁹¹ McClellan, *Incredible Journey*, 184.

³⁹² Larson, “Unique,” 3. (Larson’s emphasis)

³⁹³ Knutson, “Miracle on Liberty Mountain,” 8.

³⁹⁴ McClellan, *Incredible Journey*, 185.

³⁹⁵ McClellan, *Incredible Journey*, 8.

campus.”³⁹⁶ The acquisition of land would spark a surge in construction on the campus, leading to a gymnasium, two classroom buildings and twelve dormitories.³⁹⁷

From the time LBC opened, Falwell required all LBC students to attend daily chapel services. Every Wednesday, Falwell spoke to the students. Other chapel guests included missionaries and pastors. Even in the earliest days, chapel services included presentations from female speakers. Larson recalled a presentation by missionary Dr. Helen Rosevere, who told about the horrors and redemption surrounding her rape in Uganda in the 1960s. Larson also recalled a presentation by Joni Ericson, stating, “Awe overcame us as we tried to fathom the extent of her spiritual victory over a paralyzed body shackled in a wheelchair.”³⁹⁸ Dr. Elmer Towns, co-founder of LBC, explained that even in the earliest days, the college encouraged women to speak in convocation. He recalled that when LBC invited its first female speaker, some members of the faculty voiced their objections about having a female speak in chapel. One faculty member made a point to attend the service, sit on the front row, and intentionally divert attention to himself by making a noticeably loud and agitated exit at the moment the female presenter began speaking.³⁹⁹

In 1979, Falwell became inspired by theologian Francis Schaffer’s works⁴⁰⁰ and made the

³⁹⁶ Larson, “Unique,” 3.

³⁹⁷ Larson, “Unique,” 8.

³⁹⁸ Larson, “Unique,” 4.

³⁹⁹ Towns, interview by author, April 12, 2011.

⁴⁰⁰ Schaffer’s works encouraged Christians to actively confront the growing secular humanism in United States. Francis Schaeffer was a former agnostic turned Presbyterian minister who believed that the questions of philosophy were the same questions of the Bible, but in a different language. He believed that the Bible gave sufficient answers to life questions. In his book, *How Then Shall We Live?*, Schaffer spoke against secular humanism, which he defined as “a religious world view based on atheism, naturalism, evolution, and ethical relativism—the belief that no absolute moral code exists, and therefore man must adjust his ethical standards in each situation according to his own judgment.” See Francis A Schaeffer, *How Then Shall We Live? The Rise and Decline of Western Thought and Culture* (Wheaton: Crossway Books, 1983), 10. Schaeffer notably encouraged Evangelicals to speak out, through political

decision to enter into the political realm. Later that year, Falwell launched the Moral Majority Incorporated, “a political lobbying organization” and the Moral Majority Foundation, “an educational foundation that would publish newspapers and position papers, produce radio and television programs, and conduct lectures and seminars in churches, colleges, and public forums across the nation.”⁴⁰¹ As a part of the Moral Majority, Falwell became involved with many political issues. Chief among the issues involving women was his denunciation of abortion as well as the proposed Equal Rights Amendment. Falwell opposed the idea of a constitutional mandate demanding equality between men and women. He despised the idea of women in combat. He held tight to a belief that men and women were inherently different, and he advocated for what he termed “better” treatment of women.⁴⁰² His better treatment of women, however, hearkened back to Victorian times when women were the angels of domesticity and the weaker sex.⁴⁰³

In 1980, LBC received accreditation from the Southern Association of Colleges and

means, against encroaching secular humanism, which he believed grew rampant in the American culture. Though Schaeffer had a successful career as a minister, his marriage was less than ideal. Schaeffer’s son, Frank, recounts, “Dad was abusive at times, but my mother was in no way intimidated. In fact, she seemed to relish her martyr status. And she loved him, as he did her. In some ways they had a very good marriage, with some horrible moments. In other words, they were like most people.” See Frank Schaeffer, *Crazy for God: How I Grew Up as One of the Elect, Helped Found the Religious Right, and Lived to Take All (or Almost All) of It Back* (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 2007), 104.

⁴⁰¹ McClellan, *Incredible Journey*, 202.

⁴⁰² Jerry Falwell, “The Biblical Answer to Women’s Liberation,” Sermon for Old Time Gospel Hour, May 11, 1975. Obtained from Liberty University archives. Pohli’s 1983 article confirmed certain stereotypes of evangelical and fundamentalist women. She found that the women generally opposed the Equal Rights Amendment, but one-fifth of the women could not elucidate the reasons behind the position they claimed. The women had very little knowledge about the amendment, and forty-two percent did not know if their state had ratified it.

⁴⁰³ Betty A. Deberg, *Ungodly Women: Gender and the First Wave of American Fundamentalism* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2000).

Schools,⁴⁰⁴ making LBC “the only fundamental, separatist, local-church affiliated college in the United States with regional accreditation.”⁴⁰⁵ At the time of accreditation, LBC offered thirty-four majors, thirty minors and a student body of 3,200.⁴⁰⁶ The school constructed the B.R. Laken School of Religion. The campus boasted twenty-five college buildings, an FM radio station, and the acquisition of the Carter Glass mansion, former home to the late Virginian United States Senator Carter Glass.⁴⁰⁷ That same year, then President Ronald Reagan addressed the LBC student body and the American public at a National Religious Broadcaster’s Conference. By 1981, Knutson writes, “In a ten-year period, LBC had grown from a small Bible school to a liberal arts college offering thirty-four majors and more than thirty minors with class offerings of over four hundred.”⁴⁰⁸ That same year, the college was accepted into the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) as a Division II institution.⁴⁰⁹

Liberty has a history of inviting influential political and corporate speakers to campus. In

⁴⁰⁴ “Institution Details,” Southern Association of Colleges and Schools Commission on Colleges, accessed April 14, 2011, <http://sacscoc.org/details/asp?instid=43000>.

⁴⁰⁵ “Institution Details,” 9. According to Knutson, the accreditation team was impressed with LBC’s rapid development in a short amount of time. Knutson writes “according to SACS, Liberty’s most impressive asset was its faculty. The group was impressed that LBC could bring together such a qualified faculty in only ten years of existence.”

⁴⁰⁶ History—Liberty University, 4.

⁴⁰⁷ History—Liberty University, 5. The Carter Glass mansion originally housed Liberty’s administration as well as Jerry Falwell’s office. On the morning of May 15, 2007, Falwell was found unconscious and was not breathing in his office in the Carter Glass mansion. He was later pronounced dead of heart failure. Ron Godwin, Liberty’s executive vice president at the time, had a breakfast meeting with Falwell on the morning before Falwell’s death. Godwin said that Falwell had been in good spirits and that they had talked about the future. See “Rev. Jerry Falwell dies at age 73,” *CNN*, May 15, 2007, accessed February 28, 2011, http://articles.cnn.com/2007-05-15/us/jerry.falwell_1_thomas-road-baptist-church-ron-godwin-falwell?_s=PM:US.

⁴⁰⁸ Knutson, “Miracle on Liberty Mountain,” 10.

⁴⁰⁹ McClellan, *Incredible Journey*, 218.

1983, Liberty welcomed the following speakers: Sen. Edward Kennedy,⁴¹⁰ Rep. Jack Kemp, former Secretary of the Interior James Watt, then Vice President George Bush, former Secretary of Education Terrel Bell, former astronaut Jack Lousman, co-owner of AMWAY Rich DeVoss, British scholar Professor John High Adam Watson, former manager of the Philadelphia 76ers Pat Williams, and former Whitehouse Liaison officer Robert Billings.⁴¹¹ In 1984, the school made changes to the university structure and established three new schools—business and government, arts and sciences, and communications.⁴¹² That same year, enrollment reached 4,566 students from fifty states and thirty foreign countries; LBC offered sixty-six major fields of study.⁴¹³ In December of 1984, graduate programs in the schools of religion and education received accreditation and LBC moved from a Level II institution to a Level III institution.⁴¹⁴

On May 6, 1985, the Board of Trustees approved the renaming of the college from Liberty Bible College to Liberty University.⁴¹⁵ The commencement that year included almost 700 graduating students.⁴¹⁶ With Liberty University (LU) officially established and finally on solid footing, Liberty began to focus on further developing its already existent programs.

Following its promotion in status to “university,” LU continued to develop and add to its academic programs. In the early nineties, however, the school again encountered financial difficulties. Following the scandal with televangelist Jim Bakker and the Praise the Lord

⁴¹⁰ Falwell invited Kennedy after Kennedy was photographed with a Moral Majority membership card, something that Falwell assumed was a joke. Kennedy received a warm welcome from LBC students, and Kennedy and Falwell formed a friendship. See Falwell, *Strength for the Journey*, 377-378.

⁴¹¹ History—Liberty University, 7.

⁴¹² History—Liberty University, 7.

⁴¹³ History—Liberty University, 7.

⁴¹⁴ History—Liberty University, 8. According to the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools Commission on Colleges website, a Level II institution offers only baccalaureate degrees while a Level III institution offers master’s degrees.

⁴¹⁵ History—Liberty University, 8.

⁴¹⁶ McClellan, *Incredible Journey*, 244.

program, donations to Falwell's Old Time Gospel Hour diminished significantly. The public became distrustful of televangelists, and Falwell's years spent on air in his Old Time Gospel hour led him to be grouped with the rest of the televangelists. Due to the decrease in donations, LU faced financial hardships. To help the university withstand the financial turmoil, LU acquired bonds to purchase its campus from the Old Time Gospel Hour.⁴¹⁷ About the decision to purchase bonds, Jerry Falwell Jr. stated, "Liberty was in a position to pay for the campus over time, but not all at once. The danger was that, if even one of the many Old Time Gospel lenders was unable or unwilling to work with us, the whole plan would fail."⁴¹⁸ Unfortunately, one of the lenders reneged on their commitment to fund a multi-million dollar bond, leading to the default of all short-term debt.⁴¹⁹ Following the Chicago group's actions, LU filed suit and the court later decided against LU.⁴²⁰ In 1992, Falwell and the Board of Trustees called together LU's 120 creditors and drafted a Debt Restructuring Plan. The plan allowed LU to avoid closing its doors.

Following the financial crisis, the school emerged with even stronger numbers. By the academic year of 1993-94, LU had 12,500 students enrolled in residential and external degree programs.⁴²¹ For the rest of the decade, LU would continue to erect new buildings and degree programs. The debt that LU had sustained through its purchase of the campus, however, led to additional troubles. In 1996, the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS) placed LU on probation due to its financial instability.⁴²² Falwell Jr. and John Borek, a business officer from Georgia State, designed a plan for Liberty to emerge from its debt in order to satisfy SACS.

⁴¹⁷ Ron Brown, "The Liberty Miracle," *Liberty Journal* 1, 2011, 10.

⁴¹⁸ Brown, "The Liberty Miracle," 10-11.

⁴¹⁹ Ruth McClellan, *Liberty University: Twenty-Five Years of Miracles, 1971-1996* (Lynchburg: Liberty University, 1996), 165.

⁴²⁰ McClellan, *Twenty-Five Years of Miracles*, 179.

⁴²¹ McClellan, *Twenty-Five Years of Miracles*, 191.

⁴²² McClellan, *Twenty-Five Years of Miracles*, 191.

The plan succeeded, and LU retained its coveted accreditation. In 1997, LU received a “multimillion dollar infusion from insurance titan Arthur L. Williams Jr.,” a gift that signaled a financial turning point for the university.⁴²³

In 2003, Dr. James Stevens, assistant dean of the School of Religion, brought Monica Rose⁴²⁴ to LU to write the curriculum for an undergraduate religion degree with a specialization in women’s ministries.⁴²⁵ Stevens intended the program to train women to become effective ministers to other women within the local church. Rose drafted the program to introduce Biblical theologies of womanhood, including the concepts of egalitarianism and complementarianism. Central to the program is Titus 2:1-5, which reads:

You, however, must teach what is appropriate to sound doctrine. Teach the older men to be temperate, worthy of respect, self-controlled, and sound in faith, in love and in endurance. Likewise, teach the older women to be reverent in the way they live, not to be slanderers or addicted to much wine, but to teach what is good. Then they can urge the younger women to love their husbands and children, to be self-controlled and pure, to be busy at home, to be kind, and to be subject to their husbands, so that no one will malign the word of God.

The women’s ministries specialization includes the following required courses: Inductive Bible Study, Romans, Introduction to Missions, Cross Cultural Ministries, History of Christian Church I, History of Christian Church II, Introduction to Church Ministries, The Role of the Christian Woman Ministry, The Christian Woman, A Survey of Women’s Ministries, Methods of

⁴²³ John W. Kennedy, “Liberty Unbound: How Jerry Falwell’s ambitious sons have led the Lynchburg university to financial success and a burgeoning student body.” *Christianity Today*, September 10, 2009, accessed January 20, 2011, http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/article_print.html?id=84775.

⁴²⁴ Rose has since obtained her doctorate and has married. She is now Dr. Monica Dawn Rose Brennan.

⁴²⁵ Dr. Monica Rose Brennan, Associate Professor, Women’s Ministries, interview with author, April 12, 2011.

Teaching the Bible, Professional Orientation of Women for Ministry, Fundamental Theological Issues, and Principles of Youth Ministries.⁴²⁶

Rose, along with other church leaders, became concerned after learning that there had been a twenty-two percent decrease in female church attendance since the 1990s; researchers attributed the decrease to the fact that women worked outside the home and then arrived at church, only to be put to work again in such areas as church nurseries. Church leaders noticed a need for ministry directed towards women. LU's women's ministry program teaches women how to counsel other women, to direct women's ministries programs in the local church, to lead women's ministry conferences, to serve in such ministries as pregnancy help centers and battered women's shelters, and to minister to teenage women. Currently, graduates of LU's women's ministry programs work in many different areas. One recent graduate is working for a ministry in South Asia that assists women in finding a way out of the area's burgeoning sex trade.⁴²⁷

Over the years, LU overcame many challenges and added many new programs. In 2007, however, the university experienced a profoundly altering change. On May 15, 2007, Jerry Falwell was found unconscious and nonresponsive in his office at LU. Paramedics pronounced him dead on his way to the hospital.⁴²⁸ Jerry Falwell Jr. assumed leadership of LU, and the late Falwell's life insurance policy payout of \$34 million finally paid off the school's debt.⁴²⁹ LU now gives \$100 million in scholarships to students each year.⁴³⁰ Although LU has held tight to

⁴²⁶ Liberty University Course Catalogue: Undergraduate Edition XXVII, no.1, January 2006, 130.

⁴²⁷ Brennan, interview with author, April 12, 2011.

⁴²⁸ "Rev. Jerry Falwell dies at 73," *CNN*, May 15, 2007, accessed March 13, 2011, http://articles.cnn.com/2007-05-15/us/jerry.falwell_1_thomas-road-baptist-church-ron-godwin-falwell?_s=PM:US.

⁴²⁹ Kennedy, "Liberty Unbound."

⁴³⁰ Kennedy, "Liberty Unbound."

its faith-based affiliation, the school offers education to students of many different faiths.⁴³¹

Perhaps one of the largest changes in LU's programs has been the addition of its fast-growing online degree programs. LU's fall 2010 online enrollment numbered 52,956.⁴³²

⁴³¹ Kennedy, "Liberty Unbound." The article mentions an LU student who is a practicing Hindu from Nepal.

⁴³² "About Liberty: Liberty University Quick Facts," Liberty University, accessed February 1, 2011, <https://www.liberty.edu/index.cfm?PID=6525>.

V. Women and Liberty University

What does LU's history convey about Falwell and the institution's approach to the education of women? In its early years, LBC openly discriminated against women, requiring them to secure permission slips for travel outside of LBC and requiring women to outnumber men in social outings. Since that time, however, LU's education of men and women has appeared relatively equal with the exception of the women's studies program aimed solely at women. The university has successfully educated thousands of women during its forty years of existence. Notably, LU effectively educated women at the same time as Falwell decried women's entry into the workforce and railed against talk of equal rights among men and women. Throughout the history of the university, Falwell's rhetoric against women has starkly contradicted his university's education of women. Falwell and women's education at LU present a messy paradox.

Falwell expressed his belief regarding the inequality of women when he stated, "To assume that the woman is to be, as far as leadership and headship, equal with a man, is to say that you and I, as members of His church, are coequal with Christ, and that's heresy."⁴³³ Falwell believed that any notions of men and women being equal in ministry were heretical. Here, fundamentalism's unequal view towards men and women rears its ugly head. Despite fundamentalists' attempts to downplay the unfairness and inequality in their views of separate gender roles, it is a momentous task to downplay when a loaded religious term like "heresy" enters the discussion.

When Falwell presented the idea of opening a college to his Thomas Road Baptist

⁴³³ Jerry Falwell, "God's Answer to the Women's Liberation Movement," Old Time Gospel Hour, May 11, 1975. Retrieved from Liberty University archives.

Church congregation, his language stressed the need to train men for Christ. Despite his sermon's emphasis on men's spiritual importance in the world, the college welcomed the admittance of both men and women. From the time of its opening in 1974, the School of Religion allowed women to pursue degrees in Christian education, though they were denied entry to pastoral degree programs. Following Towns' ascension to leadership as dean in 1980, the seminary allowed women to take any classes they wished, including pastoral courses. Today, despite LU's endorsement of complementarianism theology,⁴³⁴ the seminary retains several female students whom other denominations ordained prior to their seminary attendance.⁴³⁵

Fundamentalists are typically viewed as antifeminist.⁴³⁶ They have acquired this reputation over time, in part because of their vocal affirmation of distinctive gender roles. The Council on Biblical Manhood and Womanhood issued the Danvers Statement in 1987, affirming a complementary view of theology. Part of the statement reads:

In the family, husbands should forsake harsh or selfish leadership and grow in love and care for their wives; wives should forsake resistance to their husbands' authority and grow in willing, joyful submission to their husbands' leadership.⁴³⁷ In the church, redemption in Christ gives men and women an equal share in the blessings of salvation; nevertheless, some governing and teaching roles within the church are restricted to men.⁴³⁸

Feminists have traditionally decried fundamentalism's alleged substandard treatment of women,

⁴³⁴ In complementary theology, men and women are created with equal access to salvation, but each sex is assigned different roles by God.

⁴³⁵ Towns, interview by author, April 12, 2011.

⁴³⁶ Margaret Lamberts Bendroth, *Fundamentalism and Gender: 1875 to the Present* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 1.

⁴³⁷ To support this proposition regarding the authority of husbands over their wives, the Danvers Statement cites the following Bible verses: Ephesians 5:21-33; Colossians 3:18-19; Titus 2:3-5; I Peter 3:1-7.

⁴³⁸ To support this proposition of some church leadership roles being strictly mandated for fulfillment by men, the Danvers Statement cites the following Bible verses: Galatians 3:28, I Corinthians 11:2-16, and I Timothy 2:11-15.

as elucidated by the Danvers Statement. During the Victorian era, the church and society viewed women as the keepers of morality; women remained chaste, they ran churches and charities, and they provided a foil to the godlessness of middle class men. Over time, however, men became threatened by women's power within the home and church. Eventually, fundamentalist men went to great lengths to strip their fellow females progress and value within the church.

Sociologist Margaret Lamberts Bendroth writes:

In 1946, evangelist John R. Rice condemned the old Victorian piety about sainted womanhood as 'a lie out of Hell.' It is 'wicked, hellish, ungodly, satanic teaching,' he declared, "that by nature men are not as good, that by nature women are...[more] inclined toward God and morality.' In fundamentalist culture, women became the more psychologically vulnerable sex, never to be trusted with matters of doctrine, and men stronger both rationally and spiritually, divinely equipped to defend Christian orthodoxy from its enemies within and without.⁴³⁹

Fundamentalist institutions of higher education have, at times, redefined acceptable educational parameters for women; sometimes outsiders see the new programs as a diminishment of women's capabilities within the church and society. In 2008, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary began offering a bachelor's degree for women with an emphasis in homemaking.⁴⁴⁰ Media outlets relished the opportunity to tell their audiences about the homemaking program, portraying it as a backwards, Stepford-wife like curriculum for subservient women who lacked intellect and substance.⁴⁴¹ Media coverage about the opening of the homemaking program largely failed to describe properly the program within the wider context of the institution. While Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary offers a degree in homemaking, women can pursue

⁴³⁹ Bendroth, *Fundamentalism and Gender*, 3.

⁴⁴⁰ Dr. Dorothy Patterson, Professor of Theology in Women's Studies, interview by author, January 17, 2011. Incidentally, LU professor Dr. Monica Rose Brennan cited Patterson as one of her mentors

⁴⁴¹ Rose French, "Baptist Seminary to offer homemaking program for women only," *USA Today*, August 8, 2007, accessed September 19, 2010, http://www.usatoday.com/news/religion/2007-08-11-homemaking_N.htm.

undergraduate and graduate education in many other fields offered within the school such as religious education and counseling as well as a traditional liberal arts degree. In an interview with the author, Dr. Patterson expressed mild dismay at the fact that the majority of women attending Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary do not enroll in the homemaking program or the women's ministry program that she designed. There is formal research yet to be done on the female students' actual adherence to Dr. Patterson's belief structures; based upon conversations with several female students, however, the author suspects that a significant amount of female students within Southwestern disapprove of the homemaking program and despise their institution's association (and thereby their own association) with the widely ridiculed program.

LU, on the other hand, fails to offer any programs so overtly contradictory towards feminism as Southwestern's homemaking program. Instead, LU has welcomed women with open arms and fostered their spiritual and academic development within all of the university's degree programs.⁴⁴² LU's policies towards women lead one to ask if there is anything inherently different about the spirit of LU's education of women when compared to similar secular institutions.

Even Falwell, a man who virulently fought against the Equal Rights Amendment, saw his daughter and his wife graduate with undergraduate degrees from LU. His daughter, Jeannie Falwell Savas, is a practicing surgeon and faculty member at the Virginia College of Medicine; she is also a single mother.⁴⁴³ Savas defies traditional notions of fundamentalist women. She is extremely well educated and works in an academic and scientific environment. Yet her

⁴⁴² As stated earlier, one exception to this allowance included women's inability to pursue a Master of Divinity prior to Towns's ascension as Dean of the School of Religion in the early 1980s.

⁴⁴³ McClellan, *Incredible Journey*, 379.

continued appearance in Liberty archive materials speaks to Jerry Falwell's extreme love and affinity for his daughter. Against stereotypical expectations, Falwell adored his highly educated, intelligent, and career-driven daughter.

Jeannie recalls that Falwell always supported her career aspirations; when she decided, at four years old, to become a doctor, her father encouraged her intellectual endeavors.⁴⁴⁴

According to Jeannie, her mother, Macel, held the more restrictive views within the family of what women could and could not do; Jeannie recalls her mother worrying about wearing pants to a meeting hosted by conservative Christian women. While Macel worried what the women might think of her, Falwell encouraged Macel not to worry about their opinions and wear her pants.⁴⁴⁵ Regarding women in ministry, Jeannie recounts that her father did not believe a woman should serve as pastor. Her family ascribed to complementarian theology and believed that men should be the head of the household. Jeannie's parents taught her that while the man served as the head of the household, however, the woman served as the neck that turned the head."⁴⁴⁶

Jeannie did not encounter feminist opposition to her dad's ministry until she attended medical school at Virginia Commonwealth University School of Medicine. She recalls having a difficult time understanding the women's liberal viewpoints, particularly their disdain for fundamentalism's sexism, as Jeannie never experienced sexism while growing up.⁴⁴⁷

Admittedly, Jeannie grew up at the center of Falwell's realm of power and attended school at Falwell's Liberty Academy (primary and secondary education) and Liberty University; it is

⁴⁴⁴ Dr. Jeannie Falwell Savas, Associate Professor, Division of General and Trauma Surgery at Virginia Commonwealth University Medical Center, interview with author, May 27, 2011.

⁴⁴⁵ Falwell Savas, interview with author, May 27, 2011.

⁴⁴⁶ Falwell Savas, interview with author, May 27, 2011.

⁴⁴⁷ Falwell Savas, interview with author, May 27, 2011.

unlikely that anyone within Falwell's sphere would treat his daughter unfairly based upon her sex.

Jeannie also recalls her father's devotion to his children. Although he traveled extensively, he usually flew home each day before the children's bedtimes.⁴⁴⁸ He made their birthdays a top priority. On Jeannie's sixteenth birthday, President Reagan invited Falwell to attend a meeting at the White House, which Falwell declined on account of his daughter. Falwell's devotion to his family contradicts traditional notions of fundamentalist complementarianism where women take care of the children while men largely relegate their lives to their work.⁴⁴⁹

In a sermon entitled "The Virtuous Wife and Mother," Falwell pointed nineteen-year-old Jeannie out to his congregation, told them that she wanted to become a doctor, and expressed his desire to see her become a doctor while also becoming a godly wife and mother. He said, "That may just completely blow the stereotype of the feminists and Betty and Gloria and Bella, but I want to tell you that one can be a Christian and a Christian mother and intelligent all wrapped up in the same package."⁴⁵⁰

Falwell's support of Jeannie never wavered. He evidenced a complete lack support, however, for women who failed to adhere to traditional notions of femininity. In the same sermon where Falwell praised his daughter Jeannie's career aspirations, he also criticized women who failed to adhere to traditional notions of femininity, which he described as the beautification of women through makeup and hair styling. Falwell criticized weight lifting for women and then

⁴⁴⁸ Falwell, Savas, interview with author, May 27, 2011.

⁴⁴⁹ See Beneth Peters Jones, *Ribbing Him Rightly: The Ministry of the Christian Wife* (Greenville: Bob Jones University Press, 2000), 9.

⁴⁵⁰ Jerry Falwell, "The Virtuous Wife and Mother—Proverbs 31," Old Time Gospel Hour, May 8, 1983. Sermon retrieved from Liberty University Archives.

proclaimed, “I’m into a woman being a woman, being feminine, somebody we [men] have to do something for...I would never marry a woman that I couldn’t whip. Now I don’t plan to whip one, but I certainly would like to think I could.”⁴⁵¹ His statement reeks of misogyny and he exhibits a sense of pride at his ability to physically overtake and abuse women. Such statements indicate that Falwell held complicated and contradictory views of women.

Although Falwell supported his daughter’s career aspirations (and assumedly, the career aspirations of LU’s female students), he clearly held some very patriarchal views regarding women. Falwell praised female weakness and ridiculed female strength. Furthermore, he placed on a pedestal the notion of the ideal women as chaste, innocent beings. While remembering his mother, Falwell once stated in a sermon:

In her whole life, she’s never had a beer can to her mouth or a bottle of booze to her mouth. I’m glad I’ve never seen a cigarette in her lips. If my mother were to die today, I could walk to her graveside without one memory of my mother using a word of profanity or telling a dirty joke or ever acting in anyway unbecoming to a godly woman.⁴⁵²

His rhetoric evokes a Victorian era mindset, when women safeguarded morality and chastity.

This elevation of chastity, however, also infantilizes women; Falwell only finds acceptable women who remain innocent and refrain from worldliness and vices. In terms of morals, women must remain child-like, never touching such illicit substances as alcohol or uttering swear words.

LU, including the School of Religion, supports female students’ career aspirations. Dr. Monica Brennan, director of the women's ministries specialization, has stated that she believes a woman should be able to take on any role she desires in the corporate or nonprofit sector; if a woman wants to assume the role of president of the United States, Brennan supports her

⁴⁵¹ Falwell, “Virtuous Wife and Mother,” 18.

⁴⁵² Jerry Falwell, “The Biblical Answer to Women’s Liberation,” Old Time Gospel Hour, May 11, 1975. Retrieved from Liberty University Archives.

endeavor. LU has invited Sarah Palin, former Vice Presidential candidate for John McCain, to speak at LU's convocation in the fall of 2011. In 2010, Palin referred to her husband, Todd, as her helpmate [sic], a reference that employs great significance for fundamentalists who have traditionally relegated the role of "helpmeet" solely to women in relation to the assistance they offer their husbands.⁴⁵³

In the fall of 2010, LU elected junior Bethany Davis as its first female class president.⁴⁵⁴ LU demonstrated its support of Davis's election by including her in an LU admissions mailer entitled "The Liberty University Experience." The marketing piece features Davis on the cover as well as inside the mailer and includes a quote from her stating, "Liberty ended up being the perfect university for me. I am the Student Government Association's (SGA) first female president. Everything I've done here has been unexpected."⁴⁵⁵ Clearly, in certain situations, LU has a great affinity for the academic and professional development of women. However, Davis's quote regarding her unexpected presidency implies that LU has not typically had female leadership, at least in reference to LU's highest student leadership echelons.

Despite the university's apparent embrace of women as leaders within its own institution, as well as within the working world, LU continues to possess hostility towards feminists. When the author visited LU and interviewed Dr. Towns, dean of the school of theology, Towns insisted

⁴⁵³ Jolie Du Pre, "Sarah Palin's Alaska—Obsession about Joe McGinniss Mars an Otherwise Perfect Picture," *Associated Content*, November 15, 2010, accessed March 3, 2011, http://www.associatedcontent.com/article/6011400/sarah_palins_alaska_obsession_about.html.

⁴⁵⁴ Omar Adams, "Female Steps Up As President," *Liberty University News*, September 21, 2010, accessed April 20, 2011, <http://www.liberty.edu/index.cfm?PID=10609&CAID=1551>. Davis subsequently appointed Maria Eller as Vice President of Government Affairs. The appointment signaled the first time that LU has had two of the three executive student government positions filled by females.

⁴⁵⁵ The Liberty University Experience. Direct mail piece from Liberty University's Admissions. Received by author in April 2011.

the author first answer three questions: are you a Christian; are you a born again Christian; and are you a feminist?

Towns, as Dean of the School of Religion, is clear about the limits of a woman's vocation in Christian ministry; like most fundamentalists, he insists that Bible relegates pastoral authority within the church solely to men. Beyond that restriction, however, women may freely serve within the church. Furthermore, the mandate concerning pastoral authority does not extend outside the church, thereby allowing women like Monica Rose Brennan to support the idea of female leadership in positions of authority such as president or CEO without violating any biblical mandates. If, however, the limits of what a fundamentalist woman can do concern only the pastor's pulpit, then why the tumultuous and long historic battles between feminists and fundamentalists? Do feminists really care about fundamentalist women's denial of access to pastoral positions? Or, have fundamentalists and LU in general traditionally conveyed a much more nuanced and limited role for women, not only within the church but also within the workplace and home?

To understand feminist's disdain towards fundamentalism, one must first understand the definition of feminism. Joann Wolski Conn defined feminism as:

Both a coordinated set of ideas and a practical plan of action, rooted in women's critical awareness of how a culture controlled in meaning and action by men, for their own advantage, oppresses women and dehumanizes men.⁴⁵⁶

Feminism seeks to dismantle patriarchal control, believing that fundamentalist complementarianism inherently promotes patriarchal control. Clifford explains:

[Feminists'] major problem with Christianity is the centrality given to the revelation of a male God, whom they believe is used to legitimate the patriarchal oppression of women by Christian churches. In addition, they point out that Christians continue to subordinate

⁴⁵⁶ Anne M. Clifford, *Introducing Feminist Theology* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2001), 17.

women in their churches and in their marital relationships. Thus, these theologians have abandoned Christianity as oppressive to women.⁴⁵⁷

While feminists chide the patriarchal authority of traditional Christianity, complementarians blame feminism for its role in the decline and destabilization of Western society; in their opinion, feminist pursuits of freedom have led to an increase in divorces, cohabitation, and out-of-wedlock births and a decrease in marriage rates.⁴⁵⁸

Fundamentalism adheres to patriarchal notions of authority, yet female adherents have found ways to exercise agency within such authority, namely through women's ministries.⁴⁵⁹ Indeed, fundamentalist women meet resistance among their own Christian brothers when they seek to operate women's ministries. LU women's ministries professor Monica Rose Brennan wrote a dissertation justifying a need for women's ministries within the church. She identified four misunderstandings held by men regarding women in ministry:

1. Women will want to take over the church
2. Women will take off on their own without consulting men
3. Women will do a better job with their ministries than the men and thus, unwittingly make the men look bad by comparison.
4. Women don't have the spiritual gifts of teaching, preaching, and organizing.⁴⁶⁰

Brennan's stated misunderstandings suggest a great deal of male paranoia towards and distrust of women within the local church. To these men, women who want to serve within the church are not merely wanting to partake in ministry; rather, these women want to usurp men's power and

⁴⁵⁷ Clifford, *Introducing Feminist Theology*, 33. See also Merlin Stone, *When God Was a Woman* (New York: Barnes and Noble Books), 1976, posits that Old Testament Israelites used Abrahamic traditions to suppress goddess worship and the power of women.

⁴⁵⁸ Mary Kassian, *The Feminist Mistake: The Radical Impact of Feminism on Church and Culture* (Wheaton: Crossway Books, 2005).

⁴⁵⁹ See Brenda Brasher, *Godly Women: Fundamentalism and Female Power* (Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1998).

⁴⁶⁰ Monica D. Rose, "Education for Women's Ministries: A Rationale for and Review of Women's Ministries for the Beginning of the 21st Century" (PhD diss., Liberty University, 2008), 4.

take over the church. Brennan's exposition regarding men's assumptions towards women in power highlights the concerns such women must quell before they can effectively carry out their own ministry. To successfully operate women's ministries in conservative fundamentalist and evangelical churches, women must convince men that they will not threaten their male power.

To successfully convince men that they will retain their power, fundamentalist women must attack secular feminist ideals. Brennan writes, "The world's view of womanhood continues to deceptively capture and engulf women, leading them astray from God's design."⁴⁶¹ Brennan finds the world's view of womanhood exemplified in Oprah Winfrey. Regarding Oprah, she asserts, "Women's power and women's rights have been a primary focus of Oprah's message."⁴⁶² She describes Winfrey's efforts to construct a leadership academy for young girls in South Africa:

One student remarks, "Men have always ruled the world, but that's all over now, because we are coming and we are coming in a storm. I believe girls are going to take over the world. Men have been in control for long enough but don't worry; we are prepared to share power." It is evident, if the church does not take its rightful place and if the Christian university does not see the importance of providing education for women in a Biblical theology of womanhood, then secular voices will continue to shape the minds of Christian and non-Christian women.⁴⁶³

Brennan argues that that the church must replace secularized notions of female power, revealed in such figures as Oprah, with biblical notions of womanhood.⁴⁶⁴ This notion of replacing secular feminism with biblical notions of womanhood appeals to fundamentalist men. Oprah

⁴⁶¹ Rose, "Education for Women's Ministries," 5.

⁴⁶² Rose, "Education for Women's Ministries," 5.

⁴⁶³ Rose, "Education for Women's Ministries," 12.

⁴⁶⁴ Rose, "Education for Women's Ministries," 43. Brennan clarifies the church ministry roles unavailable to women, stating "the only office that a woman is restricted from is one in which they would engage in the duties of a head pastor or to be in a position in the church where they were not under the authority of the pastor."

Winfrey, as a wealthy, black, and secular⁴⁶⁵ woman, evinces the personification of white fundamentalism's fears toward the modern woman. Oprah has refused marriage, shunned motherhood, and maintains far-reaching female authority within Western culture. Brennan admonishes the church to teach biblical notions of womanhood so as to counter future Oprah-protégés from attaining and asserting secular power within society. Brennan empowers fundamentalist and evangelical women's disempowerment of feminism, urging a replacement of complementarianism; ironically, such empowerment of fundamentalist and evangelical women secures the ultimate empowerment of fundamentalist and evangelical men.

Brennan defines God's design for men, as interpreted by complementarians. She writes, "Complementarians [advocate] God's design of headship and subordination. Headship would be one in which the man takes on his God given responsibility to lead, guide, and protect in a God honoring way."⁴⁶⁶ In this context, women are God-ordained helpers to men. Brennan does not want women to disparage their roles as helpers. Rather, she encourages women to embrace their God-given role. She quotes complementarian writer John Piper who states, "At the heart of true femininity is a freeing disposition to affirm, receive and nurture strength and leadership from worthy men in ways appropriate to a woman's differing relationships."⁴⁶⁷ Piper paradoxically teaches that women will not experience true freedom until they give their freedom over to men.

It is clear, judging from Brennan's publication, that she believes men and women have different God-given roles. Yet, she represents a liberated version of female

⁴⁶⁵ Fundamentalists and evangelicals typically disapprove of Oprah's support of spirituality and New Ageism. See "Oprah the Most Dangerous Woman in the World says Internet Evangelist, Bill Keller," *Christian News Wire*, March 3, 2009, accessed June 29, 2011, <http://www.christiannewswire.com/news/476325862.html>.

⁴⁶⁶ Rose, "Education for Women's Ministries," 60.

⁴⁶⁷ Rose, "Education for Women's Ministries," 61-62.

complementarianism. Brennan's dissertation serves as a well-reasoned, complementarian argument to help women exercise their God-given authority within the church. Undoubtedly, complementarian women still reside under the pastoral authority of men and the headship of their husbands; yet, they can find empowerment and a sense of purpose through their participation in women's ministries. Furthermore, by supporting the theoretical presidency of Sarah Palin, Brennan evinces an authentic espousal of complementarianism as limited to hierarchy within the church. Although Brennan herself prescribes to complementarianism, she also teaches egalitarianism to her female students. In an interview with the author, Brennan expressed her acceptance of students' academic freedom; she indicated that although she possessed definite beliefs regarding the role of women, she respected students' right to disagree with her.⁴⁶⁸ Such academic freedom substantiates Towns's claim that LU is an evangelical institution, as fundamentalism demands total adherence to its tenets.

Brennan's dissertation indicates, however, that the fundamentalist battle with feminism is about much more than the pastoral pulpit; the great majority of fundamentalist and evangelical women still struggle to convince men that women's ministries have a place within the church. Fundamentalist men deny women any authority that might threaten their own. To exercise their God-given agency, women must convince men that women's ministries will not abdicate their male power. Furthermore, if women begin to threaten men's authority, they will likely lose their power or their ministry. Such women can only exercise their authority within confines of complementarianism's strictly distinct gender roles.

Despite Brennan's empowerment of women at LU through the women's ministries major, one cannot dismiss the vitriolic rhetoric of Falwell's sermons to women. Indeed, Falwell the

⁴⁶⁸ Brennan, interview with author, April 12, 2011.

preacher and Falwell the father seem like two different men. Typical to fundamentalism, Falwell insisted on strict adherence to traditional gender roles. Though he professed a belief in equality among men and woman, the misogyny of his sermons overshadows such belief. It is difficult to reconcile Falwell's sexist rhetoric with his act of building LU as a coeducational institution. Falwell's university made possible the education of countless women, including his wife and daughter. Perhaps one explanation for the disconnect in Falwell's rhetoric and Falwell's actions could be explained by the fact that Falwell, as a televangelist, had a great need to appeal to his fundamentalist audience for continued financial support of his ministries and LU. His university received funding through Falwell's Old Time Gospel Hour. LU spent a great deal of its existence, prior to Falwell's death, mired in deep debt. Recordings of Falwell's Old Time Gospel Hour reveal a litany of sales pitches for books and taped sermons. Falwell depended upon his fundamentalist audience for continued funding of his ministry and his university. Indeed, it is possible that a great deal of his over-the-top rhetoric was intended to draw attention from fundamentalists and incite them to donate money to his cause.

Indeed, Falwell's rhetoric and Falwell's actions are puzzling, when taken together. Regardless of Falwell's past rhetoric regarding women, LU currently appears situated to support female leadership outside of the church and foster the contribution of women within fundamentalist and evangelical churches.

VI. Conclusion

While LU voices its support of women in the workplace and offers them the knowledge, courses, and eventually, baccalaureate and graduate degrees to enter the workplace, the institution, while ascribing to a complementarian worldview, will never fully support women's equality in a way that satisfies feminists. Feminists decry patriarchal authority, and complementarianism secures such male authority.

In his book *The Unlikely Disciple: A Sinner's Semester at America's Holiest University*, author Kevin Roose describes his semester spent undercover as a student at LU. During the semester, he meets Leslie, a women's ministries major who has a closeted reputation of being a feminist. When Roose confronts Leslie about her beliefs, Leslie clarifies, "I'm an *evangelical* feminist. Here's the difference: Evangelical feminists don't believe we are better than men. Secular feminists do. They have meetings, and they sit around in a circle and talk about all the bad things men have ever done to them. It's a male-bashing faith system."⁴⁶⁹ Leslie continues, "Most of the girls in the women's ministries department are just pastors' wives in the making. They're here to get their degrees, get married, and throw church raffles and tea parties for the rest of their lives."⁴⁷⁰

Leslie's identity as an evangelical feminist may shed light on LU's future. As the university sheds its past associations with fundamentalism, it will no doubt invite increasingly diverse viewpoints into realm. That LU's co-founder would describe the school as evangelical evinces a noteworthy departure from its fundamentalist past. Furthermore, LU's rising enrollment numbers will likely lead to greater diversity and representation among its student

⁴⁶⁹ Kevin Roose, *An Unlikely Disciple: A Sinner's Semester at America's Holiest University* (New York: Grand Central Publishing, 2009), 207.

⁴⁷⁰ Roose, *An Unlikely Disciple*, 208.

body. During the 2010-2011 school year, LU had a residential enrollment of 12,200 and an online enrollment of 58,000.⁴⁷¹ LU has come a long way since its early days as a tiny, struggling Bible college in the early 1970s. Though the school has traditionally associated with fundamentalism, the school rarely treated females unequally. LU's women's ministries program prepares women to exercise to the full extent the limits of God-given authority to women within the church, thereby empowering the female students and allowing for female agency within complementarian theology.

⁴⁷¹ "About Liberty Quick Facts." Liberty University, accessed April 14, 2011, <http://www.liberty.edu/aboutliberty/index.cfm?PID=6925>.

CHAPTER V

SOUTHWESTERN BAPTIST THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

In August 2007, the *Associated Press* reported that Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary (SWBTS), located in Fort Worth, Texas, planned to begin a homemaking program for female undergraduate students. The Seminary, founded in the early twentieth century, had never before offered a degree concentration in homemaking to its students. The institution offered the new program exclusively to women in an effort to teach them such homemaking basics as cooking and sewing. Seminary President Paige Patterson explained that the wives of seminary students had requested lessons in homemaking; the Seminary merely answered the wives' supplications for domestic instruction. In response to the new homemaking program, Terri Stovall, dean of women's programs at the Seminary, stated, "Whether a woman works outside or strictly in the home, her first priority is her family and home."⁴⁷²

Today, the Seminary's homemaking courses are based in the newly constructed Horner Homemaking House. As a part of the program, students reference such Horner Homemaking House library books as *How to Have a Happy Marriage*,⁴⁷³ *Taste of Home Freezer Pleasers*

⁴⁷² Rose French, "Baptist Seminary to offer homemaking program for women only," *USA Today*, August 8, 2007, accessed September 19, 2010, http://www.usatoday.com/news/religion/2007-08-11-homemaking_N.htm.

⁴⁷³ David Robert Mace, *How to have a happy marriage: a step-by-step guide to an enriched relationship* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1977).

Cookbook,⁴⁷⁴ *Should I Home School? How to Decide What's Right for You and Your Child*,⁴⁷⁵ and *The Feminist Mistake: The Radical Impact of Feminism on Church and Culture*.⁴⁷⁶ The new homemaking program seems glaringly anachronistic in contemporary society. Fifty years ago, universities nationwide offered degrees in domesticity. In recent years, however, universities have reclassified their outdated homemaking programs into more academically rigorous and theory-based disciplines such as Consumer Sciences, Nutrition, and Child Development. The Seminary, on the other hand, has unabashedly granted their program the obsolescent title of “homemaking.” Such action begs the question: why would a well-respected seminary, one that had spent decades educating women for careers outside the home, open such a program?

This paper examines the history of women’s education at SWBTS and finds that prior to a fundamentalist takeover of the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the Seminary offered rigorous and progressive programs for women aspiring to become ministers, missionaries, teachers, and professors. Following the fundamentalist takeover of the SBC, however, the Seminary experienced a great shift in theological views regarding the biblical role of women. The effects of the SBC’s fundamentalist takeover made their way to the seminary when Paige Patterson became president in 2002. Since Patterson’s inauguration, the Seminary has affirmed the exclusivity of pastoral roles for men, released many of its female faculty members from their teaching positions, and proclaimed that a woman’s most important obligation is the support she provides to her husband and family through the home. Such rhetoric

⁴⁷⁴ Janet Briggs, *Taste of Home Freezer Pleasers Cookbook* (New York: Reader’s Digest Publications, 2009).

⁴⁷⁵ Elizabeth Guignard Hamilton, *Should I Home School? How to Decide What's Right for You and Your Child* (Downer’s Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1997).

⁴⁷⁶ Mary A. Kassian, *The Feminist Mistake: The Radical Impact of Feminism on Church and Culture* (Wheaton: Crossway Books, 2005).

has limited women's opportunities for theological and career pursuits within the institution and the SBC at large.

I. In the Beginning

Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary (SWBTS) grew out of the Biblical Department at Baylor University in the early twentieth century. Founded by Benajah Harvey (B.H.) Carroll, a professor in the Bible Department at Baylor University, the seminary originally began as Baylor's Department of Theology.⁴⁷⁷

Historical sources regarding SWBTS revere Carroll's life story and the rocky events that led to his eventual conversion. As a young man, Carroll attended Baylor University, but he withdrew from school two months prior to his graduation to join the military where he became a Texas Ranger and a soldier in the Confederate Army. Despite his religious upbringing, Carroll rejected his childhood faith and garnered a reputation as an eloquent debater who could argue fiercely and convincingly against the religious beliefs of preachers.

Carroll's military service ended in the Battle of Mansfield on April 8, 1864, when Carroll received a bullet to his thigh. Following his recovery, Carroll left the military to teach grade school in Texas. In 1865, at his mother's pleading, he attended a Methodist camp meeting. Contradictory stories detail his conversion experience. One version claims that he experienced conversion while at the camp meeting. Following the service, his mother found him crying at home and realized that her son had "found the Lord."⁴⁷⁸ A more dramatic version claims that he was unaffected by the camp meeting until his journey home:

[Carroll] turned his horse into the woods and got down alone with God. Similar to Paul's Damascus road experience, he emerged from the thicket both converted and called to preach, and within six months he was licensed and ordained for ministry.⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁷ "1908-1914—B.H. Carroll, First President," *Southwestern News* 66, no. 2 (Spring 2008).

⁴⁷⁸ Robert A. Baker, *Tell the Generations Following: A History of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary 1908-1983* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1983), 62. This account of Carroll's conversion experience is based upon a sermon that Carroll later presented.

⁴⁷⁹ "B.H. Carroll," *Southwestern News*. This version of Carroll's conversion is recounted by SWBTS.

All sources agree, however, that Carroll's conversion experience led him to surrender his life's calling to ministry. For twenty-eight years, he served as pastor of First Baptist Church, Waco.⁴⁸⁰

Following his years of preaching, he joined the faculty of Baylor, where he served as Professor of Bible. During his teaching years, he became convinced that his students needed more opportunities for pastoral education and training. At the time, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary (SBTS) in Louisville, Kentucky existed as the only option for men and women wishing to pursue formal education in Southern Baptist theological studies. Carroll believed that students from Baylor needed local access to theological instruction.⁴⁸¹ In 1901, Carroll announced that Baylor would offer ministerial instruction in a newly formed Theological Department.⁴⁸² By 1905, however, "it became manifest that the time had come for the establishment of a fully equipped Theological Seminary."⁴⁸³ While riding a train through West Texas, Carroll felt convicted to establish a seminary.⁴⁸⁴ He stated:

I saw multitudes of our preachers with very limited education, with few books and with small skill in using to the best advantage even the books they had...I saw here in the Southwest many institutions for the professional training of the young teacher, the young lawyer, the young doctor, the young nurse, the young farmer, but not a single institution dedicated to the specific training of the young Baptist preacher...from that hour I knew...that God would plant a great school here in the Southwest for the training of our young Baptist preachers.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸⁰ "B.H. Carroll," *Southwestern News*.

⁴⁸¹ Baker, *Tell the Generations*, 122. Carroll noted that SBTS could not continue to fulfill the increasing demands for seminary education, and he believed that rural pastors needed access to formal theological training. Additionally, Carroll found, to his alarm, that many students who attended SBTS never returned to Texas. These findings collectively convinced Carroll that an alternative for theological education needed to exist in Texas.

⁴⁸² Baker, *Tell the Generations*, 115.

⁴⁸³ Catalogue, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas, 1910-1911, 18.

⁴⁸⁴ Leon McBeth, *The Baptist Heritage: Four Centuries of Baptist Witness* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1987), 669.

⁴⁸⁵ McBeth, *Baptist Heritage*, 669, quoting Baker at 115.

In response to Carroll's advocacy, Baylor established a seminary in 1905 at its Waco campus to offer three degrees: the Bachelor of Theology, the Master of Theology, and the Doctor of Theology.⁴⁸⁶ The relationship between Baylor and the seminary soon proved ill fit; by 1908 it became apparent that the seminary needed to move to a separate location and attain an identity distinct from Baylor.⁴⁸⁷ On March 15, 1908, trustees filed a charter with the secretary of state, leading to the creation of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary.⁴⁸⁸ The charter stated:

The purpose of said corporation is hereby declared to be mainly for the promotion of theological education, but to include the instruction of a Women's Training School for special Christian service, and such other instruction as may be needful to equip preachers in their life work.⁴⁸⁹

In 1910, SWBTS relocated to its present campus in Fort Worth,⁴⁹⁰ where instruction began on October 3, 1910.

⁴⁸⁶ Baker, *Tell the Generations*, 123. First year students took courses in English New Testament, systematic theology, church history, biblical introduction, apologetics, and missions. Second year students took New Testament Greek, Hebrew, homiletics, English Old Testament, and ecclesiology. Third year students took Old and New Testament theology, Hebrew, Greek, church history, pastoral duties, polemics, religious pedagogy, and history of preaching. The Th.B. degree was awarded after two years of study; the Th.M. required a third year of study. Those seeking a doctoral degree needed a bachelor's degree and a working knowledge of German or French. Doctoral students would select one major field and two minor fields as well as produce a thesis.

⁴⁸⁷ McBeth, *Baptist Heritage*, 670; Baker, *Tell the Generations*, 145. Baker writes, "[Carroll] felt, as did many others, that if the seminary remained at Waco it would either overshadow Baylor University or would be overshadowed by it."

⁴⁸⁸ Baker, *Tell the Generations*, 136; Catalogue, 19. In 1907, the Baptist General Convention of Texas approved the founding of a seminary as well as a board of trustees. J. B. Gambrell, D. I. Smyth, and A. J. Barton, three of the twenty-five appointed trustees, applied for a charter with the state of Texas. The charter officially named the seminary "The Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary". The creation of SWBTS was initially controversial, as opponents believed it would detract from the already well-established SBTS.

⁴⁸⁹ 1910-1911 Catalogue, 42.

⁴⁹⁰ 1910-1911 Catalogue, 18. The catalogue states that a committee appointed by the Trustees of Baylor determined that the "Seminary be separated from the University and incorporated as an independent institution, located at Waco until it should, if ever deemed best, be removed elsewhere; that its charter name clearly differentiate it from Baylor University."

II. Early History of the Seminary: The Education of Women

T. Laine Scales writes, “At the turn of the twentieth century, when women knocked at the doors of the Seminary, the entire nation was struggling with ‘the woman question.’”⁴⁹¹ People struggled to define women’s roles within the church, particularly within a Southern evangelical environment. Women had successfully achieved the 1920 ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, allowing them to vote. The 1848 Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions at Seneca Falls, New York called for the removal of gender divisions and an “overthrow of the [male] monopoly of the pulpit”.⁴⁹² In the late nineteenth century, Elizabeth Cady Stanton published *Woman’s Bible*, a translation of the Bible from a female perspective.

Despite feminist efforts, women continued to struggle for equality not only within the realm of the church but also within education.⁴⁹³ The early twentieth century brought further discrimination against women. Dean Briggs proclaimed in his address to Smith College alumnae that women’s colleges existed “not for the competition of women with men, but for the ennobling of women as women....If women’s colleges...teach women to compete with men, they will fall—or what is worse, they will make women ignoble.”⁴⁹⁴

Women at SWBTS, however, found their roles within the church and education greatly expanded. Leon McBeth’s seminal *Baptist Heritage* discusses the role of women in the early days of SWBTS. He writes, “Southwestern Seminary pioneered in several areas, including

⁴⁹¹ T. Laine Scales, *All That Fits a Woman: Training Southern Baptist Women for Charity and Mission, 1907-1926* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2000), 4.

⁴⁹² Scales, *All That Fits a Woman*, 5.

⁴⁹³ For a summary of women’s education in early twentieth century Baptist colleges, universities, and seminaries, see Lori Bland Bateman, “Separation, Coordination, and Coeducation: Southern Baptist Approaches to Women’s Higher Education, 1880-1920,” *Baptist History and Heritage*, Summer/Fall 2003, 88-99. Bateman argues that separate and coordinate colleges, in addition to coeducational colleges, were popular among Baptists during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

⁴⁹⁴ Scales, *All That Fits a Woman*, 6.

religious education, church music, education for women, and in practical studies in evangelism.”⁴⁹⁵ In the spring of 1910, seminary leaders met with representatives from the Women’s Missionary Training School in Dallas and determined that that the training school should reside on the seminary’s campus.⁴⁹⁶ The Women’s Missionary Union Training School for Christian Workers began in 1907 to “train women for efficient service in foreign, home, and city missions and as church and Sunday School workers.”⁴⁹⁷ In November 1910, the Executive Committee of the Baptist Women Mission Workers of Texas passed a resolution to sponsor a building to house the Seminary’s Women’s Training School. At a quarterly meeting in Houston by the Executive Committee, members Mrs. William Reeves of Fort Worth, Mrs. F.S. Davis of Dallas, and Mrs. J.W. Byars of Waco presented a resolution:

Whereas, in the enlarging Kingdom of Jesus Christ, God is more and more using women as missionaries, as teachers in Sunday Schools and Mission Schools, and as soul winners and soul builders; and,

Whereas, God is calling hundreds of our daughters in the Southwest to be workers in every department of this glorious service; and,
Whereas, He has already blessed our land in the starting of the Women’s Missionary Training School as a department of the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary; and,

Whereas, This school needs and must have a great and worthy building in which to house the scores and hundreds of women who are coming and will come to it for training in God’s work and word; and,

Whereas, This convention could lay its heart and hand to no nobler or more far-reaching task than to provide this building; therefore be it,

Resolved, That the B. W. M. W. of Texas, in session at Houston, at once begins the glorious work of raising funds for the erection of a \$50,000 building for this Training

⁴⁹⁵ McBeth, *Baptist Heritage*, 670.

⁴⁹⁶ Baker, *Tell the Generations*, 157.

⁴⁹⁷ Scales, *All That Fits a Woman*, 1. Scale maintains that the Women’s Missionary Union (WMU) opened doors for Southern Baptist women, as it prepared women to travel overseas as missionaries and allowed for women to partake in men’s seminary classes at SBTS.

School, and that we continue by our prayers, sympathy and money, until this building is finished, furnished and dedicated as the Women's Temple of Missions.⁴⁹⁸

That a building for women was the second structure to be erected on campus speaks greatly to the importance of women's theological education during this time. The 1910 *Catalogue* explained, "The purpose of this Training School is to provide in the Southwest a place for the training of the women who are impressed that God is calling them into special fields of labor for soul-winning and soul-building."⁴⁹⁹ The *Catalogue* further explained that the Training School would provide education for women to "devote themselves to mission work at home or abroad, to train them to become Bible workers in cities, teachers in mountain schools, or Mission schools, assistants to pastors, Sunday School workers and workers among young people."⁵⁰⁰

Mrs. W. L. "Mother" Williams, "a longtime worker with Baptist women and former president of the Baptist Women Mission Workers,"⁵⁰¹ became superintendent of the Women's Missionary Training School in 1915. In her memoir, *Golden Years*, she describes her involvement in bringing the Training School to the Fort Worth seminary. In 1909, during the State Baptist Convention meeting in Dallas, she heard seminary administrator Dr. J. D. Ray give a speech about the building of Fort Worth Hall at the seminary. Ray informed the women that he expected their help in the completion of Fort Worth Hall. Instead of envisioning a way to fulfill Ray's request, Williams writes, "A thought came to me under the influence of his remark with such forceful conviction of what would be best for the Baptist women of Texas to do, that I remarked to my husband who was sitting by my side, 'The way for the women to help the Seminary will be to build a home for a women's missionary Training School on the Seminary

⁴⁹⁸ Baker, *Tell the Generations*, 170.

⁴⁹⁹ 1910-1911 Catalogue, 50.

⁵⁰⁰ 1910-1911 Catalogue, 50.

⁵⁰¹ Baker, *Tell the Generations*, 203.

Campus.”⁵⁰² Williams describes Carroll’s support for women’s involvement within the seminary; in June 1910, in a meeting with the Baptist Women Mission Workers Executive Board, Carroll “quoted Scripture showing that in all time women had rendered acceptable and beautiful service for God and humanity.”⁵⁰³

To train women for mission work, SWBTS offered a robust curriculum requiring two years of study to obtain the title of Graduate in Missions. Courses included The English Bible, Biblical Introduction, Church History, Christian Doctrines, Church Polity, Christian Sociology, Evangelism, Comparative Religions, Missions, Sunday School Pedagogy, Kindergarten, Medical Instruction, Nursing, and Music.⁵⁰⁴ Both male and female instructors taught the classes, and female students could also take a course led by Mrs. J. B. Gambrell entitled, “Woman’s Work in World Redemption,” which the catalog described as “a study of those fields and conditions calling for women workers.”⁵⁰⁵ The curriculum offered only one course entitled, “Domestic Science,” which the catalogue described as “Cooking, Housekeeping, Sanitation, Sewing, etc., Care of the Sick, Nursing, Sanitation of Rooms, Administering Simple Remedies, Contents of Medicine Chest, etc.”⁵⁰⁶ By and large, the curriculum offered women a chance to obtain the same skills and knowledge available to men.

⁵⁰² W. L., Williams, *Golden Years: An Autobiography* (Dallas: Baptist Standard Publishing Company, 1921), 145. In the foreword, George W. Truett, pastor of First Baptist Church, Dallas and later president of Baylor University, writes of Williams, “[she] was an intense lover of her home, and the home is woman’s contribution to the world. Her first care was for her husband, her children and her home, then came her church and then the great outlying, suffering world.” (8)

⁵⁰³ Williams, *Autobiography*, 147. Interestingly, Williams lived out her days at SWBTS. Following her role with the Women’s Training School, she later oversaw the landscaping and gardening at the seminary. Her apparent tenacity against the rocky, alkaline soil reaped culinary benefits for the entire seminary. In her memoir, she writes, “Many dear people protested that sweet potatoes would not grow in this black, rocky soil. One zealous brother wrote on a black board, ‘Wanted, some one to tell Mother Williams that sweet potatoes will not make good in this black, rocky soil.’” (152)

⁵⁰⁴ 1910-1911 Catalogue, 50.

⁵⁰⁵ 1910-1911 Catalogue, 50.

⁵⁰⁶ 1910-1911 Catalogue, 58.

McBeth notes that women at the seminary were “eligible for every degree program at Southwestern, though this may not have been the intention of its founders.”⁵⁰⁷ Although women initially received diplomas from the Missionary Training School, in 1914, a woman applied for a degree from the seminary. Attorneys examined the charter of the seminary and determined that the school could “confer upon any pupils of said Seminary, or upon any other persons, any of the degrees usually conferred by Theological Seminaries, or other degrees arising from its curriculum.”⁵⁰⁸ On November 30, 1920, SWBTS conferred its first Doctor of Theology degree to a woman, Mrs. E. O. Thompson.⁵⁰⁹

Women served as faculty members in the seminary’s earliest days. In 1911, Mrs. Herbert Haywood was selected to teach choral music and basic culture.⁵¹⁰ In 1917, Miss Lou Ella Austin graduated with a diploma in religious education as “the first person anywhere to receive a diploma designated “Religious Education.”⁵¹¹ In 1919, the university hired Miss Wayne Walker and Mrs. I. E. Reynolds to serve as assistant teachers of piano. Miss Floy Barnard served as a teacher of education arts, and the seminary elected her Dean of Women in 1944. By the 1940s and 1950s, the number of female faculty members had increased significantly. Those years saw the hiring of Ann Bradford (1945) in elementary education and kindergarten, Gladys Day in organ, Alpha Melton (1945) in social work, and Gracie Knowlton (1947) in educational arts, Sara V. Thompson (1945) in theory and music history, and Evelyn (Marney) Phillips (1948) in church music education.⁵¹² In 1955, the seminary appointed Miss Monte McMahan as a

⁵⁰⁷ McBeth, *Baptist Heritage*, 670.

⁵⁰⁸ 1910-1911, Catalogue, 42.

⁵⁰⁹ Baker, *Tell the Generations*, 228.

⁵¹⁰ Baker, *Tell the Generations*, 173.

⁵¹¹ Baker, *Tell the Generations*, 206.

⁵¹² Baker, *Tell the Generations*, 307.

professor in church administration. That same year, the president of the seminary, J. Howard Williams, wrote an editorial to the seminary's newsletter, *Southwestern News*, encouraging the wives of students to "make every effort to secure training along with their husbands."⁵¹³ To make their attendance possible, the seminary offered a reduced tuition fee and night classes. Later years saw such faculty additions as Jeroline Baker (1964) in childhood education, Hazel M. Morris (1971) in childhood education, Alva G. Parks in education administration (1973), Sue Biggs King (1979) in voice, and Elizabeth R. McKinney (1979) in piano. In 1974, Gladys Lewis became the first woman to serve on the Board of Trustees for SWBTS. In 1977, the board elected her vice-chairman.

Despite SWBTS's increase in female faculty members, the institution still faced scrutiny for its hiring procedures. In the early 1980s, the seminary faced a lawsuit from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) alleging violation of Title VII.⁵¹⁴ The EEOC argued that the seminary had unlawfully refused to file a report describing the gender and race of all employees holding positions at the school.⁵¹⁵ The seminary counter-argued, "Congress did not intend Title VII to apply to the employment relationship between a church and its ministers."⁵¹⁶ The Fifth Circuit of the United States Court of Appeals held that the seminary, wholly supported and controlled by the Southern Baptist Convention for the purpose of training ministers, achieved "church" status. The court further found that the seminary administration, deans, and faculty possessed minister status and excluded them from governance under Title VII.

⁵¹³ Baker, *Tel the Generations*, 354.

⁵¹⁴ "EEOC Title VII," EEOC, accessed November 30, 2010, <http://www.eeoc.gov/laws/statutes/titlevii.cfm>.

⁵¹⁵ Equal Employment Opportunity Commission v. Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 651 F.2d 277 (1981).

⁵¹⁶ EEOC v. SWBTS.

Seminary support staff, on the other hand, did not qualify as ministers and thereby merited the filing of EEO-6 reports.⁵¹⁷ The Court's ruling was both a win and a loss for the seminary. Although the school's hiring of faculty and administration was protected from government regulation, their staff hiring procedures would now be subject to government administrative review.

By the early twenty-first century, seminaries nationwide had increased female representation among its faculty.⁵¹⁸ The 2002-2003 directory for SWBTS listed the following female faculty members:

Karen O'Dell Bullock, Associate Professor of Church History and Associate Dean for Ph.D. Studies in Theology⁵¹⁹

Esther L. Diaz-Bolet, Assistant Professor of Administration

Norma Sanders Hedin, Associate Professor of Foundations of Education, Associate Dean for Masters Degrees (2001-2002, Chair of Denominational Relations

Fang-Lan Hsieh, Music Librarian

Sheri L. Klouda, Assistant Professor of Old Testament Language

Margaret Lawson, Assistant Professor of Foundations of Education

Caia Kent McCullar, Professor of Church Music Education

Marcia Granger McQuitty, Associate Professor of Childhood Education and Supervisor

⁵¹⁷ EEOC v. SWBTS.

⁵¹⁸ Thomas Bartlett, "I Suffer Not a Woman to Teach," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, April 13, 2007, accessed October 20, 2010, <http://chronicle.com/article/I-Suffer-Not-a-Woman-to/33121>. Bartlett writes, "Over the last three decades, the percentage of female faculty members at seminaries has more than tripled. In 1977 only 6 percent of professors were women, according to the Association of Theological Schools. Last year it was 22 percent. What was once unusual has become increasingly commonplace."

⁵¹⁹ Karen Bullock is currently a Fellow and Professor of Christian Heritage at B.H. Carroll Theological Institute, a seminary founded by faculty members opposed to Patterson's leadership at SWBTS. Many faculty members from SWBTS have since moved to B.H. Carroll, including Russell Dilday, former President of SWBTS.

of Naylor Children's Center

Jill Tudgeon Sprenger, Associate Professor of Piano

Teresa H. Stovall, Assistant Professor of Adult Education and Aging

Dana Wicker, Assistant Professor of Psychology and Counseling⁵²⁰

Female faculty achieved marked success within seminaries in several short decades. Most notably, Karen O'Dell Bullock served as Associate Dean in Theology at SWBTS, a position of authority in a department once comprised solely of tenured male faculty. By 2002, it seemed the seminary had significantly advanced towards gender equality among its faculty. More importantly, however, the seminary had continued to expand its embrace of women in ministry and within its own faculty. While women still faced limitations within the SBC, SWBTS asserted the significance of female contributions to ministry and encouraged women in their scholarly and theological pursuits.

⁵²⁰ SWBTS Directory, 2002-2003.

III. The Seminary and Fundamentalism

For a full understanding of women's history in SWBTS, one must understand the evolution of the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC)⁵²¹ and its battles with religious fundamentalism. The SBC adopted the seminary in 1925.⁵²² Since that time, the SBC has provided theological guidance and monetary support to SWBTS. When the SBC faced controversy, however, the dissent trickled down to the seminary. Such controversies have historically involved a clash between those who hold theologically moderate views and those who embrace fundamentalist beliefs.

Despite the rise of fundamentalist institutions in the early twentieth century, SWBTS and Baptists in general did not succumb to fundamentalism. Alternatively, SWBTS did not garner a reputation as a liberal institution; of the six Southern Baptist seminaries, it was perhaps the most theologically conservative institution. Several years after the founding of SWBTS, however, the school experienced its first encounter with fundamentalism when Baptist preacher J. Frank Norris began promoting fundamentalist teachings.

J. Frank Norris, the erratic pastor of First Baptist Church of Fort Worth, is largely credited with introducing fundamentalism to white Southerners.⁵²³ Despite his importance in the

⁵²¹ The denomination of Southern Baptists formed in 1845 as an alternative to northern Baptists' opposition towards slavery. Southern Baptists defended slavery while northern Baptists participated increasingly in abolitionist efforts. Members from various southern Baptist churches met in Augusta, Georgia on May 8, 1845 and formed the Southern Baptist Convention. Over the next 100 years, the Southern Baptist denomination became the largest Christian denomination in the South. See Susan M. Shaw, *God Speaks to Us Too: Southern Baptist Women on Church, Home & Society* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2008), 7.

⁵²² McBeth, *Baptist Heritage*, 669.

⁵²³ Barry Hankins, *God's Rascal: J. Frank Norris & the Beginnings of Southern Fundamentalism* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 3. Hankins writes, "The principle argument of this book is that Norris introduced fundamentalism in the South and thereby helped shape both the religion of his region and the fundamentalist movement nationwide."

history of fundamentalism, Norris was known for his vindictive and unpredictable behavior. He invited controversy and made headlines for allegedly committing arson against his own church. Norris killed a man in his pastoral church study.⁵²⁴ Mary Beth Swetnam Mathews writes that “Norris’s continued attacks on men within and outside of his own Southern Baptist denomination earned him such titles as ‘one of the most militant leaders of the Fundamentalists,’ and ‘the Texas Cyclone.’”⁵²⁵

Although Norris initially identified as a Southern Baptist, he eventually aligned with Northern Fundamentalists. Norris’s biographer Barry Hankins writes, “Norris was not a typical Southern Baptist. In fact, I have wondered whether he should be considered a Baptist at all.”⁵²⁶ Although Norris initially served as a great supporter of SWBTS during its founding, he became the progenitor of the “most serious controversy Southwestern has faced.”⁵²⁷ In the early days of the seminary, Norris taught courses at the seminary; the 1910 catalogue lists Rev. J. F. Norris as teaching “Modern Isms,” a course of “ten lectures by Pastor Norris of the First Baptist Church, Fort Worth.”⁵²⁸ Despite his involvement with the seminary, Norris attacked Southern Baptists for tolerating modern views within their seminaries. Observers attributed Norris’s bitterness to the fact that he did not inherit the presidency of SWBTS following Carroll’s death. Whatever his

⁵²⁴ Norris was later acquitted of both charges, and First Baptist Church of Fort Worth supported him during both court trials. In July 1926, Norris shot and killed D. E. Chipps, a man who had visited Norris’s church study to demand that Norris stop verbally attacking the Fort Worth mayor, H. C. Meacham, a Roman Catholic who Norris disdained. Norris claimed that he shot Chipps in self-defense. Following his murder trial, Norris acquired the nickname “gundamentalist.” See Mary Beth Swetnam Mathew, *Rethinking Zion: How the Print Media Placed Fundamentalism in the South* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2006), 102.

⁵²⁵ Hankins, *God’s Rascal*, 99.

⁵²⁶ Hankins, *God’s Rascal*, 2.

⁵²⁷ McBeth, *Baptist Heritage*, 671.

⁵²⁸ 1910-1911 Catalogue, 57.

motive, “for over thirty years, Norris attacked the seminary, seeking to divert students and funds from it to his own school.”⁵²⁹

Norris’s attacks were personal and vicious. Wake Forest Professor of Theology James Dunn recounted his father-in-law’s experiences with Norris years later in the book, *Exiled: Voices of the Southern Baptist Convention Holy War*.⁵³⁰ In the early 1930’s, the Seminary suffered financial distress in the midst of the Great Depression. Dunn’s father-in-law, Edwin McNeely, a professor in the Seminary’s School of Sacred Music, discovered that the seminary planned to close the music school due to a lack of funding. McNeely, along with two other professors, offered to stay and teach without pay. For three years, McNeely and the other two professors suffered to keep the music school open, losing their houses in order to see their school become “one of the great graduate schools of music in the nation.”⁵³¹ Despite McNeely’s well-intentioned efforts, he became the target of Norris’s harassment. Dunn recounts, “During the difficult years economically, Norris would send the McNeelys rotten fruit and vegetables.”⁵³² Norris also sent hecklers to harass SWBTS chapel speakers.

In those days, the seminary and the Southern Baptist Convention stood firm against Norris’s fundamentalist antics and retained a strictly Baptist identity. McBeth writes that Norris was “eventually excluded from SBC life and formed an independent fundamentalist denomination of his own.”⁵³³ Baptists have traditionally held strong beliefs in local church

⁵²⁹ McBeth, *Baptist Heritage*, 671.

⁵³⁰ Carl L. Kell, ed., *Exiled: Voices of the Southern Baptist Convention Holy War* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2006) xxv. This book includes chapters written by former Southern Baptists, including women, who left the SBC following the fundamentalist takeover.

⁵³¹ Kell, *Exiled*, xxv.

⁵³² Kell, *Exiled*, xxv.

⁵³³ McBeth, *Baptist Heritage*, 677.

autonomy, the importance of a conversion experience, an aversion to creedalism,⁵³⁴ democratic governance of churches, the priesthood of believers,⁵³⁵ and separation of church and state.⁵³⁶

David Stricklin writes, “While theologically conservative, Southern Baptists as a denomination were not fundamentalists, strictly speaking, for most of the twentieth century.”⁵³⁷ The inherently controlling aspects of fundamentalism contradicted traditional notions of Baptist faith, which prizes the independence of individuals before God.⁵³⁸

⁵³⁴ Southern Baptists have historically held an aversion to religious creeds or any single summation of beliefs. Rather, Southern Baptists have traditionally believed in a “priesthood of the believer,” meaning each person’s choice to interpret the Holy Spirit in their lives on their own. See Charles W. Deweese, “Creedalism and Baptists,” *Biblical Recorder*, January 3, 2003. Deweese urges Southern Baptists to fight against creedalism, stating, “Creedalism creates a set of beliefs, demands uniformity to them, and punishes those who refuse to submit. Creedalism violates free faith. It contradicts voluntarism. It strikes against nonconformity. It subjugates liberty of conscience. It denies soul competency. It denigrates the priesthood of all believers. It counters individual interpretation of the Bible...creedalism flies in the face of the Baptist spirit of freedom; for that reason alone, Baptists should fight creedalism at every corner and in every way possible.”

⁵³⁵ A belief in the priesthood of all believers means that laypersons have the same right as ordained ministers to communicate with God, interpret the Bible, and minister in Christ’s name. See Position Statement on Priesthood of all Believers, Southern Baptist Convention, accessed February 22, 2011, <http://www.sbc.net/aboutus/pspriesthood.asp>.

⁵³⁶ Shaw, *God Speaks To Us, Too*, 248-268.

⁵³⁷ David A. Stricklin, *Genealogy of Dissent: Southern Baptist Protest in the Twentieth Century* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1999).

⁵³⁸ The adoption of the 2000 Baptist Faith and Message removed such terms as “priesthood of the believer,” “soul competency” and “religious liberty,” ideas generally associated with Baptist beliefs and terms that were present in the 1963 Baptist Faith and Message. The SBC’s current Position Statement on “Priesthood of All Believers” states, “The doctrine is first and foremost a matter of responsibility and servanthood, not privilege and license. It is, of course, a perversion of this doctrine to say that all views are equally valid, that you can believe anything and still be a Baptist or that the pastor has no unique leadership role.”

IV. The Influence of Fundamentalism on Baptist Women

Years following the Norris controversy, fundamentalism experienced a resurgence within the SBC and the seminary in the late 1970s. The SBC's second major encounter with fundamentalism radically altered the identity of the convention and its seminaries. Susan Shaw writes, "in 1979, when the fundamentalists began their movement to take over the Convention, their rallying cry was biblical inerrancy, but their intention to stop the progress of women in areas of ordained ministry quickly became evident."⁵³⁹

The evolution of the Convention's viewpoints on women is evident in the resolutions it approved throughout the 1970s and 1980s. In June 1973, the Convention approved the "Resolution on the Place of Women in Christian Service." The resolution avowed that the Bible accorded distinctive roles to men and women in the church and home and stated that women had made significant contributions to ministry. The resolution also posited that women's liberation movements had attacked women's places in society and the home. The Convention affirmed biblical belief in a male headship over women and concluded, "Man was not made for the woman, but the woman for the man; [the] woman is the glory of man; [as] woman would not have existed without man, henceforth, neither would man have existed without the woman, they are dependent upon the other—to the glory of God."⁵⁴⁰ The resolution reflected a prevailing conservatism as well as a traditionally subordinate placement of women under the leadership of men.

In 1980, the SBC adopted a new and significantly altered resolution regarding women.

⁵³⁹ Shaw, *God Speaks To Us, Too*, 156.

⁵⁴⁰ "Resolution on the Place of Women in Christian Service, 1973" Southern Baptist Convention, accessed October 18, 2010, <http://www.sbc.net/resolutions/>.

Instead of reaffirming women's biblical role as mere homemaker, the new resolution acknowledged women's many responsibilities and called for service within the home, the church, and the "work-a-day world."⁵⁴¹ The Convention conceded that men and women had to make difficult decisions regarding their apportionment of responsibility for household duties. The resolution further expressed gratitude for the contribution of women and called upon women to model their priorities after Christ. Finally, it urged employers to treat women fairly in their "compensation, advancement, and opportunities for improvement."

Despite the credit given to working women, the resolution reaffirmed "the biblical role which stresses the equal worth but not always the sameness of unction of women" and declared that the Convention would not endorse the Equal Rights Amendment. Once again, the Convention held to a conservative view regarding the role of women, but paradoxically, it also evidenced an emerging acceptance of women in professional spheres. The resolution reinforced a theological complementarian view of Christian gender roles, a view that presupposes men and women are inherently equal before God but created to fulfill different tasks. Complementarians believe husbands should exercise loving, humble and servant-leadership authority while wives intelligently and joyfully submit to their husbands. Men are tasked with leadership of and provision for the family, and women are charged to care for the household and nurture their children.⁵⁴²

⁵⁴¹ "Resolution on Women," Southern Baptist Convention, 1980, accessed October 18, 2010, <http://www.sbc.net/resolutions/>.

⁵⁴² James M. Hamilton, "Gender Roles and the Glory of God," *Journal of Biblical Manhood and Womanhood* 9, no.2 (Fall 2004), 35-39, accessed October 31, 2010, http://www.cbmw.org/images/jbmw_pdf/9_2/gender_roles.pdf. Hamilton relates the following "humorous" interpretation of the differences that complementarian gender roles elicit, thereby creating gross stereotypes. He writes: Daniel Akin, president of Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, relates some humorous observations on men and women in his book, *God on Sex*. He asks:

In a 1983 resolution, the SBC abandoned complementarianism and shifted to a more liberal and egalitarian view of gender roles. The resolution acknowledged that the Bible affords men and women shared dignity of creation and that Christ affirmed the worth and dignity of women. It then referenced a Bible passage, Galatians 3:28, a verse used by Christian egalitarians to stress the equality of men and women.⁵⁴³ The verse from Galatians states, “There is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus.”⁵⁴⁴ The resolution offered gratitude for the contribution of women in the home, society and the church and affirmed the contribution of homemakers while simultaneously concluding, “be it finally resolved, that we encourage all Southern Baptists to continue to explore further opportunities of service for Baptist women, to

Is it a cat? Is it a woman? Maybe it's both! Why?

1. They do what they want.
2. They rarely listen to you.
3. They're totally unpredictable.
4. They whine when they are not happy.
5. When you want to play, they want to be alone.
6. When you want to be alone, they want to play.
7. They expect you to cater to their every whim.
8. They're moody.
9. They can drive you nuts and cost you an arm and a leg.
10. They leave hair everywhere.

Conclusion: Cats are tiny little women in fur coats.

Is it a dog? Is it a man? Maybe it's both! Why?

1. They lie around all day, sprawled out on the most comfortable piece of furniture in the house.
2. They can hear a package of food opening half a block away, but they can't hear you even when you're in the same room.
3. They leave their toys everywhere.
4. They growl when they are not happy.
5. When you want to play, they want to play.
6. When you want to be left alone, they still want to play.
7. They are great at begging.
8. They will love you forever if you feed them and rub their tummies.
9. They do disgusting things with their mouths and then try to give you a kiss.
10. They can look dumb and lovable all at the same time.

Conclusion: Dogs are tiny little men in fur coats.

⁵⁴³ For a detailed explanation of the biblical rationale for equality, see Christians for Biblical Equality, accessed June 1, 2011, <http://www.cbeinternational.org>.

⁵⁴⁴ Galatians 3:28, New International Version.

ensure maximum utilization of all God-called servants of our Lord Jesus Christ.”⁵⁴⁵ Finally, it seemed that the SBC was fully embracing the role of women in ministry and the working world while simultaneously supporting their role in the home. A year later, however, the SBC drafted legislation erasing the progress of the 1983 resolution.

In 1984, the Convention jettisoned its newfound egalitarianism and reaffirmed its dedication to complementarianism. The 1984 resolution stated, “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).”⁵⁴⁶ It continued, “While Paul commends women and men alike in other roles of ministry and service, he excludes women from pastoral leadership to preserve a submission God requires because the man was first in creation and the woman was first in the Edenic fall.”⁵⁴⁷ One year after its progressive 1983 resolution, the Convention completely reversed its position on the role of men and women as well as women’s ministerial abilities. The 1984 resolution stripped women of their right to pursue pastoral positions and denigrated women’s so-called equality with men. Furthermore, the resolution’s title indicated that Southern Baptists had settled on a new answer to the pesky question regarding the role of women within the church. The Convention endorsed a non-negotiable subordination of women to men based upon woman’s responsibility for the “Edenic

⁵⁴⁵ “Resolution on Women, 1983” Southern Baptist Convention, accessed October 18, 2010, <http://www.sbc.net/resolutions/>.

⁵⁴⁶ “Resolution on Ordination and the Role of Women in Ministry, 1984” Southern Baptist Convention, accessed October 18, 2010, <http://www.sbc.net/resolutions/>. James and Leazer write, “The 1984 resolution blaming women for the sin in the world (for so it was understood) was greeted with surprise and outrage throughout much of the convention. It helped mobilize many [moderates] who were just beginning to understand the seriousness of the takeover.” See Rob James and Gary Leazer, *The Fundamentalist Takeover in the Southern Baptist Convention: A Brief History* (Timisoara: Impact Media, 1999), 45.

⁵⁴⁷ Paul is the purported author of several biblical books. In support of the Pauline viewpoint, the resolution references Titus 2:1-10, 1 Timothy 2:12, and 1 Timothy 2:13.

fall.” This edict greatly diminished the availability of options for women pursuing careers in the ministry. Because the SBC interpreted woman as subordinate to men, women could not pastor churches and thereby instruct men. Because women could not preach to men, seminary options became limited to church worship, religious education, and missions.

In 1987, the Convention issued a resolution, acknowledging the contributions of female homemakers. The statement read:

Whereas, much positive publicity is being generated honoring wives and mothers who pursue employment outside the home for personal fulfillment, financial reward, and independence; and

Whereas, we recognize the accomplishments of women who choose such careers, and we also praise the contributions of full-time homemakers, and

Whereas, there has been a lack of recognition for the great benefits full-time homemakers provide for their families, churches, and nation; and

Whereas, full-time homemakers have shown dedication, diligence, and unwavering commitment to their families and to the Lord who has ordained the home as a workplace.

Therefore, be it resolved, that we, the messengers of the Southern Baptist Convention meeting in St. Louis, Missouri June 16-18, 1987, honor the rich and valuable contributions of full-time wives and mothers who through their service and self-sacrifice have strengthened their families, enriched our nation, and pleased our God by honoring His purposes in their lives each day.⁵⁴⁸

What happened during the 1980s to cause such a shift within the convention towards the role of women? In 1983, the SBC adopted egalitarianism and praised the work of men and women; by 1987, it sought to praise women who worked as homemakers. In the early 1980s, the Convention once again encountered proponents of fundamentalism and ultimately surrendered control to them, thereby acquiring a host of fundamentalist viewpoints regarding the biblical role of women, as supported in the SBC’s resolution on homemakers. Following the fundamentalist

⁵⁴⁸ “Resolution on Honor for Full-Time Homemakers, 1987.” Southern Baptist Convention, accessed October 18, 2010, <http://www.sbc.net/resolutions/>.

take-over of the SBC, Billy Ramsey, pastor of Norris's former First Baptist Church of Fort Worth, stated, "I feel if J. Frank Norris were here today and saw the direction the SBC was moving, he would vote with us to reunite with Southern Baptists. This is an effort to complete the fight for the Bible started under Norris."⁵⁴⁹

Paige Patterson, current president of SWBTS, is largely credited with strategizing the fundamentalist takeover of the SBC. James and Leazer write that in 1967, Patterson and Paul Pressler, a Texas state appeals judge, had a "late night meeting at the Café du Monde...in the French Quarter of New Orleans" where the two men "discussed what they believed was a liberal drift in the Convention."⁵⁵⁰ Patterson and Pressler plotted a strategy for a conservative takeover of the SBC; their plot came to fruition in 1979 with the election of Reverend Adrian Rodgers as president of the Convention. The seminary also verifies this story. In a 2008 edition of the newsletter *Southwestern News*, an article describing the life of Patterson recounts the events of the Convention in 1979, stating:

During this time, a decade-old dream, percolated over coffee with Paul Pressler at the historic Café Du Monde in New Orleans, would become a reality. As the architects of what would become known as the "Conservative Resurgence"⁵⁵¹ in the SBC, Pressler and Patterson agreed to stand in front, taking the heat from certain attack, to allow a grassroots movement to return the Convention to fidelity in the inerrant Scriptures. Only a few believed this Herculean task could be accomplished; however, a miracle of God occurred.⁵⁵²

The effects of Rodger's election were not immediately felt, as evidenced by the SBC's resolution

⁵⁴⁹ James and Leazer, *Fundamentalist Takeover in the Southern Baptist Convention*. A report from the Baptist General Convention of Texas recommended James and Leazer's book as an informative summary of the fundamentalist takeover of the SBC. See "BGCT Seminary Study Committee Report," September 13, 2000, 63.

⁵⁵⁰ James and Leazer, *Fundamentalist Takeover*, 27.

⁵⁵¹ Fundamentalists within the SBC typically refer to themselves as "conservatives" or "neo-conservatives," although their version of conservatism defies traditional Baptist conservatism.

⁵⁵² "2003-Present: Paige Patterson." *Southwestern New* 66, no. 2 (Spring 2008).

on egalitarianism in 1983. Over the years, however, Rodgers and other fundamentalists began to “clean house.” Following the takeover, Patterson publicly announced in 1984 that the Criswell Institute had solicited seminary students to secretly tape-record and archive liberal professors’ lectures.⁵⁵³ In the July 1984 edition of *SBC Today*, Patterson stated, in big-brother fashion, “any time these [liberal professors] talk, we have someone there listening and sending us tapes.”⁵⁵⁴ SWBTS also experienced upheaval. In 1990, seminary president Russell H. Dilday sealed his fate when he proclaimed at the 1990 SBC in New Orleans that “crass, secular political methodology used in the takeover of the convention these past 12 years has satanic and evil qualities to which I am desperately opposed.”⁵⁵⁵

Precisely one day after Dilday received an auspicious performance evaluation, the trustees at SWBTS voted to fire him on March 9, 1994. James and Leazer write, “Within minutes of the firing, trustees changed the locks on the president’s office and denied him access.”⁵⁵⁶ The fundamentalist takeover of the SBC had finally extended to the seminary; the institution would sever its future from its moderately progressive past by embracing fundamentalism. In a letter to Joe Heacock, Dean Emeritus of SWBTS, the niece of Floy Barnard, a former faculty member at the seminary, wrote, “I grieve over what has happened in the Southern Baptist Convention referring to the ‘take-over’ of the Radical Right...I recall conversation with [Floy] when she said that denying the right of women to have any spiritual

⁵⁵³ James and Leazer, *Fundamentalist Takeover*, 11.

⁵⁵⁴ James and Leazer, *Fundamentalist Takeover*, 57.

⁵⁵⁵ James and Leazer, *Fundamentalist Takeover*, 64.

⁵⁵⁶ James and Leazer, *Fundamentalist Takeover*, 64. The seminary’s alumni magazine recounts Dilday’s firing, explaining, “When Dilday appeared to side with moderates in his 1984 convention sermon ‘Higher Ground,’ this convention-wide debate about the Bible had officially reached the seminary...in 1994 Dilday was relieved of his office through the action of the seminary’s board of trustees.” See “1978-1994—Russell H. Dilday,” *Southwestern News* 66, no. 2 (Spring 2008).

authority in the Lord's work struck her as strange, since the whole foreign mission field would have collapsed without [the women].”⁵⁵⁷ The old could hardly recognize the new.

⁵⁵⁷ Letter from Virginia Sodergner to Dr. Joe Davis Heacock, undated. Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Library Archives.

V. Women and Fundamentalism at SWBTS

Women enrolled in Southern Baptist seminaries experienced a transition in their roles throughout the twentieth century. In 1964, Addie Davis became the first female preacher to receive ordination⁵⁵⁸ from a Southern Baptist church.⁵⁵⁹ The 1970s and 1980s saw an increase in female enrollment at Southern Baptist seminaries. Southern Baptist seminaries embraced the role of women in ministry. Barry Hankins writes that by the early 1990s, when men interviewed for a faculty position at Southern Baptist Seminary, “his support for the ordination of women was practically a requirement for his getting the vote of the faculty.”⁵⁶⁰ Years earlier, Southern Baptist Seminary issued a statement affirming the ordination of women, stating:

Most Baptists have long since explained the admonitions to women to keep silent in the church as being rooted in a local situation. It has not been understood by most Baptists as a universal prohibition against female speech in the church.⁵⁶¹

Many women pursued such academic areas as music or religious education.⁵⁶² During that time, however, women also pursued pastoral vocations. Even before the takeover of the SBC by fundamentalists, however, female seminary students experienced backlash from their male peers and faculty. Shaw recounts interviews with women who attended seminary and were told by their male colleagues that they did not belong in a leadership role and that they needed to find a husband and become a housewife. One woman recounted a difficult seminary experience:

One student told me one day, he said, “It’s too bad you’ll never be able to pastor a church—you can’t because you’re a woman—but someday I’m going to be the pastor of a big church. I may have as many as a thousand people, and I’ll be affecting their lives every week.” And I looked at him and said, “Do you know that this very coming Sunday, I’m going to be affecting thousands and thousands of lives because the discipleship

⁵⁵⁸ Ordination affirms a call to ministry and allows a person to preach within churches.

⁵⁵⁹ Shaw, *God Speaks to Us, Too*, 161.

⁵⁶⁰ Hankins, *Uneasy in Babylon*, 202.

⁵⁶¹ Hankins, *Uneasy in Babylon*, 203.

⁵⁶² Shaw, *God Speaks to Us, Too*, 156.

training materials that will be used in churches in the Southern Baptist Convention, I wrote.” And the look on his face; he was astounded. And then, after he digested that, a couple of days later, he came back and said, “Your stuff’s not touching men as well as women, is it?” I said “Oh, yes! The stuff I wrote is going to be read by men.” [He responded] “Well, you can’t do that—you’re a woman!” He was very appalled at the idea that a woman would be writing something that a man would use as a study guide.⁵⁶³

Despite the ability of Southern Baptist women, prior to the fundamentalist takeover, to pursue theological degrees that prepared them for pastoral leadership, many women still found that Baptists churches refused to ordain them. A significant number of female pastors eventually transferred to other denominations in order to receive ordination.⁵⁶⁴

After the take-over of the SBC, the Baptist General Convention of Texas (BGCT) sent surveys to all six seminaries funded by the SBC, including SWBTS. One of the survey questions asked, “Does the seminary encourage / discourage female students from pursuing certain ministry positions? If so, which positions?” Southwestern Seminary answered, “Women are encouraged to pursue God’s calling [sic] their lives. Women are also encouraged to be mindful of the call of local churches on their vocations. Most Southern Baptist churches believe that the office of pastor is limited to men as qualified by scripture.”⁵⁶⁵ The BGCT report alleged that during faculty interviews, seminary board of trustee members asked faculty candidates about their beliefs regarding women in the ministry. The report also found that young faculty members felt that the seminary’s administration scrutinized their religious and political beliefs; many young faculty members chose to leave the seminary rather than find themselves in the unlucky position of not receiving tenure. The authors of the report wrote, “Loyalty to the current

⁵⁶³ Shaw, *God Speaks to Us, Too*, 160. Susan M. Shaw attended Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky and became an ordained minister.

⁵⁶⁴ Shaw, *God Speaks to Us Too*, 167. In Baptist churches, the decision to ordain someone is reserved for local churches.

⁵⁶⁵ BGTC report, 30. The information for this report was collected through questionnaires sent to all six seminaries falling under the SBC, as well as through interviews.

direction of the SBC...[was] essential to faculty accession at least by 1997.”⁵⁶⁶ Overall, the report concluded that the seminary’s days as a burgeoning beacon of theological instruction for both men and women had passed; it asserted, “Several former professors, and many long-time friends of Southwestern say that ‘the old Southwestern is no more.’”⁵⁶⁷

The take-over of the SBC greatly affected SWBTS’s female faculty members. In 2002, Dr. Sheri L. Klouda, a Hebrew scholar, received a tenure-track position as Assistant Professor of Old Testament Languages in the School of Theology at SWBTS. Dr. Kenneth Hemphill was president at the time of Klouda’s 2002 hiring. In 2003, Dr. Paige Patterson became president of SWBTS. Three years later, Patterson informed Klouda that the seminary would not consider her for tenure. She brought suit against SWBTS and Patterson, alleging unlawful discrimination based upon her gender. In her complaint, Klouda contended that she was a “prominent professor” who “taught both male and female students,” and at the time of her hiring, Klouda was the only female professor to teach in the male-dominated School of Theology.⁵⁶⁸

Klouda became alarmed when Patterson announced in a press conference following his hire by SWBTS that “he planned to build the faculty with ‘God-called men.’”⁵⁶⁹ Shortly thereafter, Klouda scheduled a meeting with Patterson to discuss her future tenure status. According to Klouda’s legal complaint, Patterson assured her that she had nothing to worry about concerning her ability to pursue tenure. In 2006, Klouda received word that she would not be considered for tenure. Patterson states in his affidavit that “after assuming my post at the Seminary...I determined...it was not ‘in the best interests of the mission of the Seminary’ for Dr.

⁵⁶⁶ BGCT report, 90.

⁵⁶⁷ BGCT report, 90.

⁵⁶⁸ Plaintiff’s First Amended Complaint and Request for Declaratory Judgment and Jury Demand, Klouda v. Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, No. 4-07CV-161-A, 3.

⁵⁶⁹ Plaintiff’s First Amended Complaint, 5.

Klouda to continue her service in her faculty position within the School of Theology based on my interpretation of the Bible as it relates to preparing future pastors.”⁵⁷⁰ The Seminary alleged that the First Amendment Establishment Clause barred Klouda’s gender discrimination suit. This Clause prohibited government interference in the Seminary’s employment matters. On March 19, 2008, the United States District Court in the Northern District of Texas held that SWBTS enjoyed First Amendment protection and subsequently dismissed Klouda’s case.⁵⁷¹ Klouda’s loss signaled one more nail in the coffin for women’s opportunities in ministry at SWBTS.

Recent course catalogues at SWBTS have stated the seminary’s position towards gender roles, explaining, “We affirm that the Lord has appointed the pastoral office to men, and we affirm that the Lord has appointed many ministry positions to women. We deny that the biblical limitations of the pastoral office to men were culturally limited and that role distinctions are no longer valid.”⁵⁷² When Patterson assumed the presidency at SWBTS, he encountered resistance from the seminary’s acting librarian Jo Philbeck (a woman). Patterson demanded that the seminary’s new seal, containing the biblical passage 2 Timothy 3:17, be placed inside every library book. Philbeck argued that the Bible verse’s inclusion of the phrase “man of God” would alienate female students. Patterson responded:

The Seminary under its president, trustees, and administrative leadership will not be an encouragement to women seeking a pastoral role. Regardless of one’s conviction, he or she is welcome to study at seminary but official encouragement of the seminary will not be given to a woman seeking a pastoral leadership role. The vast, overwhelming majority of the Southern Baptist constituency as well as the trustees of the institution wish it that

⁵⁷⁰ Affidavit of Leighton Paige Patterson, *Klouda v. Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary*, No. 4-07CV-161-A.

⁵⁷¹ *Klouda v. Southwestern*, 543 F. Supp. 2d 594; U.S. Dist. Ct., 2008.

⁵⁷² SWBTS 2006-2007 Official Catalogue, 10.

way, and it is a responsibility that they have before God to carry this out as a conviction generally held.⁵⁷³

Despite recent changes in the SBC, women at SWBTS may still pursue any degrees offered by the seminary, though the seminary offers a wide variety of degrees with an emphasis in women's ministries.⁵⁷⁴ In 2005, SWBTS Board of Trustees approved the founding of an undergraduate institution at the seminary named the College at Southwestern.⁵⁷⁵ Along with the introduction of the college came a new major in humanities with an emphasis in homemaking, offered exclusively to female undergraduate students. Presently, women at SWBTS can pursue any undergraduate or graduate degree at SWBTS, including the following degrees with emphases in Women's Studies or Women's Ministry:

School of Theology

- Master of Divinity with Concentration in Women's Studies – A focus on the theological foundations of biblical womanhood with the majority of concentration hours being WOMST courses.
- Master of Divinity with a Concentration in Women's Ministry - A focus on woman-to-woman ministry through the local church with the majority of concentration hours being WOMIN courses.
- Doctorate of Ministry – Female cohort for those students in “Year 2” where the focus is typically on preaching.

School of Educational Ministries

- Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) Women's Ministry minor.
- Master of Arts in Christian Education with Concentration in Women's Ministry.

⁵⁷³ Finch, Candi, “The Question of Women and Southern Baptist Theological Education” (working paper, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2009). Finch quotes Jerry Sutton, *The Baptist Reformation: The Conservative Resurgence in the Southern Baptist Convention* (Nashville: Broadman & Holman Publishers, 2000), 335. Finch is a Ph.D. student at SWBTS and Assistant to Dr. Dorothy Patterson. Her review of conservative writer Carolyn McCulley's book *Radical Womanhood: Feminine Faith in a Feminist World*, Chicago: Moody, 2008, reminds the reader that God-ordained gender roles are “violently under attack in today's society and [have] been under attack for many years. See Candi Finch, “Where Faith and Life Meet,” *Journal of Biblical Manhood and Womanhood* 14, no.2 (Fall 2009).68-70, accessed February 20, 2011, http://www.cbmw.org/images/jbmw_pdf/14_2/faith_life_meet-finch.pdf.

⁵⁷⁴ Dr. Terry Stovall, SWBTS Dean of Women, email message to author, December 8, 2010.

⁵⁷⁵ “The Seminary's Heritage,” Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, accessed October 31, 2010, <http://college.swbts.edu/index.cfm?pageid=513>.

- Leadership Certificate in Women's Ministry (LCWM)
 - 12 hour leadership training course in women's ministry. One course each semester is offered in a weeklong format. Targeted to women's ministry leaders in the local church.
- Certificate of Education and Ministry (SSSW-Student Wives)
 - 13 hour Certificate of education and Ministry. This includes three hours of Mrs. Patterson's Wife of the Equipping Minister course plus 5 additional two-hour courses.

Havard Center for Theological Studies

- Students may earn a Women's Ministry concentration in the MACE program on the Houston campus.
- Students may earn the LCWM on the Houston campus. Courses are offered each semester over three weekends.

The College at Southwestern

- Bachelor of Arts in Humanities with a concentration in Homemaking⁵⁷⁶

The women's ministry and women's studies programs are new editions within SWBTS curricula.

As recently as 2002, the seminary did not offer any courses or programs specifically for women

other than a few courses for student wives.⁵⁷⁷ Not surprisingly, all women's degrees prepare

women solely for ministry to other women or to children. Though feminists have often attacked

this complementarian model that disallows women from teaching men, complementarians,

including SWBTS first lady Dorothy Patterson, often accuse feminists of denigrating women and

children by implying that a career spent teaching them is not nearly as important as a career

teaching men.⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁷⁶ "Women's Programs at Southwestern" from Dr. Terry Stovall to author, December 8, 2010. Several programs are currently in development for women, including the School of Theology's Doctor of Ministry in Women's Studies; the School of Educational Ministries' PhD major in Women's ministry and Leadership Certificate in Women's Ministry; and The College at Southwestern's Certificate in Homemaking.

⁵⁷⁷ Dr. Terry Stovall, Dean of Women, Interview by author, December 21, 2010.

⁵⁷⁸ Patterson, Dorothy, "Should Women Serve As Pastors?" The Center for Theological Researcher, 2006. Mrs. Patterson states, "As a woman, I am astounded and concerned when self-styled 'biblical feminists' imply that teaching men has higher value or importance than teaching women, children, and young people! Women teaching women is 'spiritual mothering' in which spiritually mature women share

Though the women's degrees provide women with instruction in the biblical languages of Greek and Latin, biblical exposition, evangelism and missionary outreach, as well as leadership and administration (all skills reminiscent of the seminary's early days in women's education), the recent historical reinforcement of separate women's programs and the seminary's insistence on women's inability to pursue pastoral training denote a significant step back in time, or at the very least, a hypocrisy on the part of the institution. The seminary's policy allows women to take any courses offered, yet the Seminary does not support women pursuing any ministerial careers where they will teach men or serve as a pastor. Candi Finch, SWBTS doctoral student and Assistant to Dr. Dorothy Patterson at SWBTS, noted this juxtaposition, writing:

Many women inclined toward ministry are baffled that even in the twenty-first century Southern Baptists open their seminary classrooms to women, yet do not encourage the denomination's sisters to enter all forms of Christian ministry. Why equip women if they will be barred from using their education? Has the SBC shot itself in the foot, so to speak, because it has equipped women and then set boundaries for them?⁵⁷⁹

Former SWBTS professor and former Associate Dean of Theology Karen Bullock argues that early twentieth-century Baptist women could pursue more fields of study within Baptist seminaries than contemporary women; American Baptist woman Helen Barrett Montgomery became a licensed minister, social activist, author and lecturer who published a Greek translation of the New Testament and became the first president of the Northern Baptist Convention in 1921 and 1922. Bullock notes the recent limitations of the SBC towards its own women, writing:

through teaching and lifestyle the importance of carrying into daily life an example of holiness as well as voluntarily submitting themselves to God's order for the welfare of the family." (4)

⁵⁷⁹ Finch, "Question of Women," 10. Finch quotes Scales, *All That Fits a Woman*, 15-16.

As the twenty-first century dawned, opportunities for women to teach men students in theological disciplines classrooms in SBC seminaries closed, and women divinity students found their courses different from those of their brothers.⁵⁸⁰

Indeed, Bullock left SWBTS following Patterson's inauguration, and she now teaches at the newly-formed B.H. Carroll Theological Institute in Fort Worth.⁵⁸¹ A recent search through SWBTS's website reveals Patterson's words against female teachers put into action. The School of Theology is now devoid of female faculty members, with the exception of Dorothy Patterson. Mrs. Patterson admits that for some time, feminism was allowed to go too far and influence too much within the SWBTS; evidently, her husband successfully removed all vestiges of feminism from the seminary.⁵⁸² The very few remaining female faculty teach in such fields as children's and women's ministries, counseling, and music. The representation of female faculty among the seminary in Bible, languages, and theology is gone, as women can no longer instruct men, even in the classroom.

That women would take offense to such limits against their ability to teach men does not signify a women's discontent with the "lowly" position of teaching women and children; rather, the SBC has vested all authority to men and barred women from having any influence on them. Southern Baptist women cannot possess power, and they cannot influence the men who have power. As women are denied access to the pastorate and the ability to teach men, they are ultimately rendered powerless within the convention. They cannot make decisions affecting

⁵⁸⁰ Karen Bullock, "Baptists and Women and the Turn Toward Gender Inclusion," *Turning Points in Baptist History: A Festschrift in Honor of Harry Leon McBeth*, eds. Michael E. Williams and Walter B. Shurden (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2008), 218.

⁵⁸¹ Karen Bullock is currently a Fellow and Professor of Christian Heritage at B.H. Carroll Theological Institute, a seminary founded by faculty members opposed to Patterson's leadership at SWBTS. Many faculty members from SWBTS have since moved to B.H. Carroll, including Russell Dilday, former President of SWBTS.

⁵⁸² Dr. Dorothy Patterson, Professor of Theology in Women's Studies, interview by author, January 17, 2011.

churches and the convention at large, as such decisions fall within the purview of men. Rather, they must exercise the little authority that they do have over women and children, also powerless figures.

The current organization of the SBC solidifies patriarchal power.⁵⁸³ Adherents to egalitarianism theology argue that complementarianism is based upon poor theology; many prescribers to egalitarian theology agree that the theology behind complementarianism is not only incorrect but also perfectly situated to provide justification for men's ultimate authority over women.⁵⁸⁴ Feminists decry the SBC's restriction against preaching and teaching of men because such a restriction solidifies men's power over women.

The rhetoric of fundamentalism pleads with society to hearken back to more traditional and conservative times; at SWBTS, the direction of the institution has so shifted course that it can no longer be called a return to traditional values. The traditional values in the early days of the seminary offered more options than are currently available to female students, as the institution never, until recently, fervently pushed a political agenda to banish female faculty members and so openly affirm women's place in the home. The seminary's recent actions demonstrate an interesting cognitive dissonance within fundamentalism and the SBC; though

⁵⁸³ Anne M. Clifford, *Introducing Feminist Theology* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2001), 29. Many feminists, including Clifford, view Christianity as an institution dominated by men. Clifford writes, "What is included under the gender-blind term 'Christian theology' is actually male theology, done with an almost exclusive focus on questions of interest to European or Euro-American, well-educated, middle-class males. Therefore, when someone uses the term 'Christian theology,' what that person is usually talking about is faith in God being brought to understanding from the perspective of male experience. Christian theology was and often still is presented to Christians as if it represented everyone, but the generic "Christian theology" incorporates only the lived experiences of relationship to God of Christian men."

⁵⁸⁴ Reverend Katherine Cooke Kerr, Associate Minister for Pastoral Care and Congregational Life, interview with author, May 25, 2011. Reverend Katherine Cooke Kerr has a Masters in Divinity from Princeton Theological Seminary.

fundamentalists profess a desire to return to a traditional past, the past they imagine is oftentimes illusory. Though SBC fundamentalists claim that they are simply returning to past traditions, their idealized past is imaginary, and the “traditional” future they are creating is unprecedented.

VI. The Homemaking Concentration

Currently, SWBTS women can pursue twenty-two hours of credit in a homemaking concentration as a part of their Humanities degree. The students take such classes as Orientation to Homemaking, Meal Preparation with Lab, and Value of a Child.⁵⁸⁵ Though the degree includes a wide assortment of typical humanities courses including Early Western Civilizations, World Religions, Enlightenment, and language courses as well as a selection of biblical and theological studies classes, the intent behind women's education has completely changed.⁵⁸⁶ Prior to the fundamentalist take-over of the SBC and SWBTS, the seminary intended women's education to prepare women for careers as ministers, missionaries, professors, and teachers.⁵⁸⁷ Today, the seminary's education affords female students an opportunity to pursue missions and teaching positions (teaching women that they should never instruct men or preach), but the underlying emphasis behind all of the women's programs signifies that a woman should first and foremost use her time and efforts to create an ideal home environment in order to support her husband and family.

Instead of receiving a homemaking degree from SWBTS, women could easily take homemaking courses at community colleges and pay cheaper tuition. Additionally, women could dismiss taking homemaking courses altogether and instead learn such skills from books, magazines and the Internet. Furthermore, because men and women marry later in life and

⁵⁸⁵ "Bachelor of Arts in Humanities with a Concentration in Homemaking: Online Course Catalogue," Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, accessed May 1, 2011, http://www.swbts.edu/catalog/page.cfm?id=1015&open=9_area.

⁵⁸⁶ "Bachelor of Arts," Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, accessed May 1, 2011, <http://www.swbts.edu/catalog>.

⁵⁸⁷ Women were allowed to take any of the seminary's classes, and the seminary did not vocally make a point to tell women that they should not become ministers, like it has done since Patterson's ascension to leadership.

therefore spend a significant number of their adulthood taking care of themselves, it is imperative that both sexes know enough homemaking skills to live sufficiently and independently. In summary, students can obtain homemaking skills outside of SWBTS's homemaking classes. That SWBTS would offer such classes speaks largely to their viewpoint regarding the role of women, namely, that women belong in the home.

Leading the new homemaking program is Dr. Dorothy Patterson, wife to Paige Patterson. Mrs. Patterson, as she prefers to be called, identifies herself first and foremost as a wife, mother and homemaker.⁵⁸⁸ She explains, "An assignment that my husband gave to me many years ago was to teach women in a theological setting."⁵⁸⁹ The seminary created the homemaking concentration in an effort to "[challenge] social norms and...provide the next generation of godly women with the tools they need to manage their households well."⁵⁹⁰ Mrs. Patterson, currently the only woman to serve as a Professor of Theology at SWBTS, teaches several of the homemaking classes.⁵⁹¹

Ironically, though Mrs. Patterson defines herself as a homemaker, she has an extensive resume uncharacteristic of most homemakers. In addition to receiving two Ph.D.s, Mrs. Patterson has traveled to more than 75 countries, met with Pope John Paul in his private apartment at the Vatican, served as Chair for President Ronald Reagan's Presidential Bible Committee, had coffee with former Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, and served as a

⁵⁸⁸ "About Dorothy Patterson," Dorothy Patterson Official Website, accessed November 24, 2010, <http://www.dorothypatterson.info/about.cfm>.

⁵⁸⁹ Video greeting from Dr. Dorothy Patterson, SWBTS's Women's Programs, accessed November 11, 2010, <http://www.swbts.edu/womensprograms>.

⁵⁹⁰ Keith Collier, "Building the next generation of homemakers," *Southwestern News* 67, no. 1, (Fall 2008).

⁵⁹¹ Mrs. Patterson only provides educational instruction to seminary women.

guest of Yaser Arafat at a midnight banquet in Saddam Hussein's Baghdad palace.⁵⁹² She has also published extensively; her works include *A Handbook for Minister's Wives; Where's Mom: The High Calling of Wife and Mother in Biblical Perspective*; and "Should Women Serve as Pastors?"⁵⁹³ Additionally, she has strongly influenced the Southern Baptist Convention's move towards complementarianism. In 1987, she served on a council to draft the "Danvers Statement," the Council on Biblical Manhood and Womanhood's affirmation of complementarianism, which SWBTS endorses.⁵⁹⁴

If the hallmark of fundamentalism is biblical inerrancy, then Mrs. Patterson is indeed a fundamentalist. She believes firmly in the inerrancy of the Bible, and she supports all her beliefs with Bible passages, explaining that she would rather people argue with the Bible than with her.⁵⁹⁵ She finds the feminist movement to stand in direct opposition to the Bible. Though women may feel that she has been called by God to become a pastor, Mrs. Patterson maintains that the Bible strictly prohibits a woman serving as a pastor, thereby trumping any woman's feelings.⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁹² It should be noted, however, that aside from Mrs. Patterson's work with Reagan, most of her resume's world travels appear social in nature.

⁵⁹³ "About Dorothy Patterson," Dorothy Patterson Official Website, accessed May 21, 2011, <http://www.dorothypatterson.info/about.cfm>. See Dorothy Patterson, *A Handbook for Minister's Wives: Sharing the Blessing of Your Marriage, Family, and Home* (Nashville: Broadman & Holman Publishers, 2002); Dorothy Patterson, *Where's Mom? The High Calling of Wives and Mothers* (Wheaton: Crossway Books, 2003); Dorothy Patterson, *Should Women Serve as Pastors?* (The Center for Theological Research, October 2006), accessed June 14, 2011, <http://www.baptisttheology.org/documents/ShouldWomenServeasPastors.pdf>. In answer to the question of whether women should serve as pastors, Patterson adheres to a complementarian viewpoint that does not allow for women to teach men or to hold pastor positions in the church.

⁵⁹⁴ John Piper and Wayne Grudem, "The Danvers Statement, The Council on Biblical Manhood and Womanhood: Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood, A Response to Evangelical Feminism," accessed October 28, 2010, <http://www.cbmw.org/Danvers>. The statement was prepared by evangelical leaders at a meeting in Danvers, Massachusetts in December of 1987.

⁵⁹⁵ Patterson, interview by author, January 17, 2011.

⁵⁹⁶ Patterson, interview by author, January 17, 2011.

Mrs. Patterson's accomplished background both contradicts and affirms women in the role of homemakers. Years ago, her mother-in-law asked Mrs. Patterson why she spent so much time editing her husband's writing when she could be writing her own books; the question shocked Mrs. Patterson, but she soon began to write her own publications.⁵⁹⁷ Paige Patterson also influenced Mrs. Patterson's pursuit of education, as he encouraged her to take graduate courses alongside him. Patterson wanted Mrs. Patterson to learn everything he learned so that she could have a career in ministry as well.⁵⁹⁸

Mrs. Patterson recounts her experiences in graduate school, where she was one of only two women in the program. Because of her sex, Mrs. Patterson experienced resistance from a Hebrew professor. Though she had always done well in languages, the professor pulled her out of her study group and made her work alone. She received a "B" in the course, which her professor attributed to her lack of class participation, but Mrs. Patterson remembers that the professor called on her repeatedly throughout the semester.⁵⁹⁹

Her early years were spent largely in school, pursuing degrees alongside her husband. During that time, she became pregnant but miscarried. Prior to her miscarriage, Mrs. Patterson remembers feeling, amidst her excitement about the baby, a sense of inconvenience. She worried about how she would finish her classes and continue her career in ministry. After her loss, however, she recalls guilt over her realization that she was no different from feminists, whom she believed found the role of childbearing an inconvenience to career women.⁶⁰⁰ Mrs. Patterson made it her mission to never take her role as wife and mother for granted again.

⁵⁹⁷ Patterson, interview by author, January 17, 2011.

⁵⁹⁸ Patterson, interview by author, January 17, 2011. Though Paige Patterson wanted his wife to pursue a career in ministry, he did not intend for her to become a pastor or to teach men.

⁵⁹⁹ Patterson, interview by author, January 17, 2011.

⁶⁰⁰ Patterson, interview by author, January 17, 2011.

When her children entered high school, Mrs. Patterson decided leave her outside ministry to work solely as a homemaker in support of her children. She recounts that her husband did not want her to suddenly abandon her hard-won career; nonetheless, Mrs. Patterson insisted that it come to a temporary end. She describes her time at home as the “wilderness years,” when she shed many tears and worried that she would lose her language abilities and career contacts.⁶⁰¹ Though she faced difficulties during that time, she maintains that she is glad she decided to stay home during those years.⁶⁰²

Mrs. Patterson often speaks at churches and conferences, and she is careful to never appear as if she is superseding a male pastor’s authority. Mrs. Patterson recalls one incident where she was invited by churchwomen to speak in a Sunday service. When she arrived, she found to her dismay that the women had taken over the pulpit for that day.⁶⁰³ Mrs. Patterson decided to set things in proper order by insisting that she would not let the women exclude their male pastor from the church service. To emphasize her submission to the pastor, Mrs. Patterson made clear that she would give her testimony, not a sermon.⁶⁰⁴ She demanded to speak from the

⁶⁰¹ Patterson, interview by author, January 17, 2011.

⁶⁰² Patterson, interview by author, January 17, 2011.

⁶⁰³ Patterson, interview by author, January 17, 2011.

⁶⁰⁴ The issue of women “preaching” has long been a sore topic. Dr. Christine D. Pohl, Professor of Church in Society at Asbury Theological Seminary, recalls in her book, *Living on the Boundaries: Evangelical Women, Feminism, and the Theological Academy*, a time that she was asked to speak in a conference at a religious, unnamed school. When the school expressed ambivalence about her speaking, Pohl asserted that she would not mind preaching at their conference, only to find that the chairman wanted to re-categorize her session as a mere talk, noting that “several trustees and faculty members had been very concerned when another woman who had been invited to speak in chapel had done so “with authority.” Pohl recounts the experience, explaining, “the invitation was simultaneously bewildering and illuminating. To be invited to speak in one’s area of expertise is normal for an academic. To be warned that to speak with authority would be problematic for that sector of evangelicalism reveals the complex terrain that a “good” woman traverses.” See Nicola Hoggard Creegan and Christine D. Pohl, *Living on the Boundaries: Evangelical Women, Feminism, and the Theological Academy* (Downer’s Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2005), 11. Creegan and Pohl questioned academic women in the fields of theology, biblical studies, church history, ethics and missions who identified, or had at one time identified, as

floor and would neither sit nor speak from the platform.⁶⁰⁵ She recalls that the women who initially invited her to speak did not appreciate her insistence that she not usurp the pastor's authority, but Mrs. Patterson believes that she behaved merely as God had commanded her, and all women, to behave.

Over the years, Mrs. Patterson has faced resistance from moderate Christian women's groups such as the Women's Missionary Auxiliary (WMU). Mrs. Patterson alleges that feminism nested itself within the WMU years ago, and since then, the group has not expressed any interest to work with Mrs. Patterson. She believes the WMU's portrayal of key Christian figures, such as missionary Lottie Moon, exhibits improper historical revisionism; in Mrs. Patterson's opinion, the WMU is rewriting historical Baptist female figures as early feminists, when the women were not feminists.⁶⁰⁶

The Homemaking Program at SWBTS came about thanks to Mrs. Patterson.⁶⁰⁷ Though the Homemaking Program is the newest, and therefore smallest, program at Southwestern, it has generated a disproportionate amount of media attention.⁶⁰⁸ Dr. Terry Stovall, Dean of Women at SWBTS, explains that the program's negative media coverage unexpectedly helped to recruit students to the program.⁶⁰⁹ For Stovall and other women affiliated with the program, the

evangelicals. The authors found that women's encounters with feminism often pushed them away from evangelicalism.

⁶⁰⁵ Patterson, interview by author, January 17, 2011.

⁶⁰⁶ Patterson, interview by author, January 17, 2011.

⁶⁰⁷ Patterson, interview by author, January 17, 2011.

⁶⁰⁸ Avis Yarbrough, "Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Homemaking Program Controversy," *Associated Content from Yahoo!*, August 29, 2007, accessed June 28, 2011, http://www.associatedcontent.com/article/358702/southwestern_baptist_theological_seminary.html?cat=4. See also Rose French, "Baptist Seminary to offer homemaking program for women only," *USA Today*, August 8, 2007, accessed September 19, 2010, http://www.usatoday.com/news/religion/2007-08-11-homemaking_N.htm.

⁶⁰⁹ Stovall, interview by author, December 21, 2010.

homemaking degree has rewardingly affirmed women who believe they have a calling from God to serve in the home, a calling that secular society largely criticizes.⁶¹⁰

Stovall explains that the program offers “an opportunity to encourage, train, and affirm those women whose heart is the home, reinforce the teachings of Titus 2, and to make a firm statement for the home and family today.”⁶¹¹ In 2007, Andy and Joan Horner⁶¹² provided a donation to construct the Horner Homemaking House, an academic building that includes a teaching kitchen, clothing and textiles lab, formal dining room, library, and classrooms.⁶¹³ Joan Horner expressed her belief in the importance of homemaking education, explaining, “All of it will help [the women] in their future role as a homemaker to keep their home a haven for their children and their husband. She is a helpmate to him. Everything she does in the home should be pointed toward that role as a helpmate and loving wife.”⁶¹⁴

Though the career direction of women in the homemaking program seems obvious, Stovall argues that women may use the degree for a variety of career paths, such as service in the mission field, home-based businesses such as bed and breakfasts, interior design, and the service

⁶¹⁰ Stovall, email message to author, December 8, 2010.

⁶¹¹ Ibid. Titus 2:3-5 says “likewise, teach the older women to be reverent in the way they live, not to be slanderers or addicted to much wine, but to teach what is good. Then they can urge the younger women to love their husbands and children, to be self-controlled and pure, to be busy at home, to be kind, and to be subject to their husbands, so that no one will malign the word of God.” Interestingly, a few verses later, Titus 2:9-10 reads, “Teach slaves to be subject to their masters in everything, to try to please them, not to talk back to them, and not to steal from them, but to show that they can be fully trusted, so that in every way they will make the teaching about God our Savior attractive.” (New International Version)

⁶¹² Andy Horner dedicated the Horner Homemaking House in memory of his own mother, a single mom who worked to support his family. See Keith Collier, “Building the next generation of homemakers,” *Southwestern News* 67, no. 1, (Fall 2008).

⁶¹³ “Homemaking House,” SWBTS Horner Homemaking House, accessed November 21, 2010, <http://www.swbts.edu/homemakinghouse/>.

⁶¹⁴ Keith Collier, “Building the next generation of homemakers,” *Southwestern News* 67, no. 1, (Fall 2008).

industry.⁶¹⁵ Despite the career opportunities available to women within the homemaking program, Stovall admits, “Our focus is not necessarily to set women up for careers, as the homemaking concentration is a mere twenty-one hours of a 131 hours degree program. Rather, it is to equip them to use their homes to nurture the family and for ministry through biblical hospitality.”⁶¹⁶ Stovall also alleges that one of the challenges regarding the homemaking concentration has been finding the right faculty to serve within the program. Mrs. Patterson has taught some of the program’s courses,⁶¹⁷ and in fall 2011, Dr. Patricia Ennis, will join the faculty of the Horner Homemaking House as Distinguished Professor of Homemaking and Director of the Homemaking Program.⁶¹⁸

As for the students enrolled in the homemaking program, Stovall explains that many of the students are “fresh out of high school,” though some have joined the program in their older years as “empty-nesters.”⁶¹⁹ Most of the students are single when they join the program but marry before they graduate.⁶²⁰

Though the homemaking concentration allegedly prepares women for a host of careers following college, why would a woman choose to use such a degree as a stepping-stone into the working world? If students plan to use their homemaking degree to enter into missions or interior design, why not pursue a degree in missions or interior design in the first place?

⁶¹⁵ Stovall, interview by author, December 21, 2010.

⁶¹⁶ Stovall, interview by author, December 21, 2010

⁶¹⁷ Patterson, interview by author, January 17, 2011. Patterson discussed a recent homemaking practicum she taught during the fall of 2010 where students learned skills related to laundry, ironing, event preparation, cleaning and home organization.

⁶¹⁸ Prior to joining the faculty at SWBTS, Dr. Patricia A. Ennis was chair and professor of Home Economics at The Master’s College. For an exposition on Ennis’s views towards hospitality, see Patricia A. Ennis, “Practicing Biblical Hospitality,” *Journal for Biblical Manhood and Womanhood* 11, no. 2 (Fall 2006), 116-127.

⁶¹⁹ Stovall, email message to author, December 8, 2010.

⁶²⁰ Stovall, email message to author, December 8, 2010.

Furthermore, what if marriage and home-life fail to work for these women? Women who graduate the program while still single or who marry and find themselves later divorced or widowed will have a difficult time acquiring a position that can financially support them outside of the home. Such a program is a detriment to women, who may never achieve financial independence.

Finally, Mrs. Patterson's experience defies the homemaking program she has opened for other women. She pursued a doctoral degree in Theology, a well-respected and highly rigorous academic field. Yet, she now encourages women to pursue homemaking as an undergraduate degree, and even as a graduate degree; during an interview with the author, she revealed her aspirations to establish masters and doctoral programs in homemaking. Despite never receiving a degree in homemaking, Mrs. Patterson managed to acquire enough homemaking skills to not only take care of her own household but also to found and teach within a university-level homemaking program. Instead of encouraging women in their intellectual pursuits, Mrs. Patterson denigrates their abilities to the tedious and intellectually-bereft work of cleaning and cooking. Much of her own, well-established career has been built by relegating other women to the cloistered environment of their homes. She has told women, in speeches and in her books, that they belong in the home, while she herself has spent much of her career building a life outside of the home by speaking, teaching, and publishing books.⁶²¹

⁶²¹ Patterson, *Where's Mom?*, 30. Patterson writes, "although to some, paychecks represent independence and achievement, to be bound to paychecks requires in exchange the time formerly allotted to work for the family in private, personal ways. My plea to women to consider the overwhelming importance of giving full energies to home and family is not to say that there are never times when a woman should seek employment outside her home. Nevertheless, the day is coming when a woman's employment outside the home is the rule rather than the exception, leaving too many vacancies in the job of guarding the hearth. Seemingly too many families have no one giving primary attention to the home and to nurturing the next generation."

Though she is careful to not preach or teach men, her acts of “speaking” and giving her testimony seem like mere semantics. She plays the game of fundamentalism by letting men tell her that she can only speak to men, not preach to them. That she is allowed to speak before men at all, however, demonstrates the hypocrisy of fundamentalism, as it uses women’s talents while stripping them of any real authority. Furthermore, Mrs. Patterson uses her elevated status among Southern Baptists to restrict other women. Her publications on complementarianism teach women that they violate God’s authority if they fail to center their lives around their home and family, and her work on the Danvers Statement has significantly restructured the SBC and Southern Baptist Seminaries, leading to the dismissal of countless female employees and professors. Indeed, such authority over women is the only authority she can legitimately hold in the male-dominated world she upholds.

Despite Mrs. Patterson’s authority over women at SWBTS, she admits that the majority of female students at SWBTS do not pursue degrees within the women’s studies or women’s ministries programs.⁶²² Perhaps Mrs. Patterson’s influence does not affect the majority of women within the seminary. Many of the former students that the author spoke with expressed dismay at the seminary’s changes regarding women in recent years.⁶²³ Though the Pattersons may wish women to adhere to certain beliefs, time will tell whether a majority of female students will take their message to heart.

⁶²² Patterson, interview by author, January 17, 2011.

⁶²³ Author’s discussion with former students, names anonymous, winter 2010.

VII. Conclusion

The Fall 2010 volume of *Southwestern News* features a slick, half-page photograph of four female students sitting attentively in their homemaking class. The caption reads, “Homemaking students practice what they have learned.”⁶²⁴ The women’s classroom is a kitchen, and their shared desk is the edge of a gleaming granite countertop. In matching floral aprons, the women passively observe as another young woman, presumably the instructor, carefully dumps a cup of flour into a stainless steel bowl. The students do not have any books, writing instruments, or paper. They sit, simply, before a household electric mixer.

Despite the recent turn of events at SWBTS, the seminary has historically provided an evolving expansion of opportunities for women. To date, thousands of Southern Baptist women, some of them graduates from SWBTS, have received ordination as ministers. Female students have also become missionaries, counselors, teachers, and leaders. They excel in their roles as mothers and wives, but they are also far more than housewives. The recent take-over by fundamentalists has deeply altered the course of the SBC and the SWBTS. To say that the seminary has taken a step back in time is a misnomer; the seminary never was, for past women, what it is today. What began as a place of opportunity for women who felt the call of Christ has sadly succumbed to right-wing extremist politics and misogyny. For future women seeking an education that emphasizes their role outside the home as ordained ministers and teachers of adult men and women, they will have to look outside of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary.

⁶²⁴ *Southwestern News*, Volume 69, No. 1, Fall 2010, 22.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

For years, American society has grappled with the question of women's roles in the home, the workplace, and the church. In recent years, the question remains as salient and unanswered as ever. Such a question ultimately extends outside the realm of fundamentalist institutions into the secular and even Ivy League campuses as well. In a 2005 article about female undergraduate students at Yale University, a reporter found that sixty percent of surveyed female students planned to abandon, suspend, or scale back their careers in favor of raising their future children.⁶²⁵ In the article, Princeton University President Shirley M. Tilghman stated, "There is nothing inconsistent with being a leader and a stay-at-home parent. Some women (and a handful of men) whom I have known who have done this have had a powerful impact on their communities."⁶²⁶ Indeed, even the secular academic community has female students who wish to pursue fulltime motherhood at the expense of their careers.

Certainly, motherhood is a wonderful calling. Women who stay home to raise their children make enormously rich contributions to their children's lives. Fundamentalist teachings related to women and homemaking, however, raise the question of whether women really have an opportunity to chose their vocation, whether in the working world or in the home. Though all three fundamentalist institutions examined in this thesis market their homemaking concentration

⁶²⁵ Louise Story. "Many Women at Elite Colleges Set Career Path to Motherhood," *New York Times*, September 20, 2005, accessed July 5, 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/09/20/national/20women.html>.

⁶²⁶ Story, "Women at Elite Colleges."

and women's ministries programs to women who feel called by God to work within such areas, the institutions teach, through complementarianism, that a married woman's primary responsibility is her home and family. Therefore, how can any married woman who adheres to complementarian teachings *not* feel called to the home? The argument put forth by fundamentalists regarding women's roles has become increasingly sophisticated over the years, but the underlying message is essentially the same: yes, women can work outside the home, but such work should come second to a woman's God-given role as submissive wife and homemaker. Just as the surveyed Yale female students feared an inability to successfully juggle career and family, fundamentalist women ultimately face great difficulty trying to pursue meaningful careers while keeping their families as their foremost priority. Such an inability by these women to juggle so many priorities results in a moral failure against God. Unlike secular academia, which continues to lament the shackles of traditional gender roles as impediments for women's careers, fundamentalism upholds and preserves traditional gender roles. Upon hearing the results of the New York Times survey, Peter Salovey, dean of Yale College, voiced concern that "so few students seem to be able to think outside the box; so few students seem to be able to imagine a life for themselves that isn't constructed along traditional gender roles."⁶²⁷

Fundamentalists, however, seek to preserve traditional gender roles at all costs; such gender roles are non-negotiable and mandated by God. This stolid approach to gender roles continues to determine the direction for women within fundamentalist higher education institutions.

For women within fundamentalist seminaries, universities and churches, the issue of ordination for women will likely gain little progress in the near future. Fundamentalists' interpretation of an inerrant Bible prohibits women's leadership over men in the church. Women

⁶²⁷ Story, "Women at Elite Colleges."

who wish to receive ordination as pastors must continue to look outside of fundamentalism to other denominations for support. For female ministers outside of fundamentalism, however, the issue of women serving as pastors is increasingly a non-issue. Reverend Katherine Cooke Kerr, an ordained minister at First Presbyterian Church of Charlotte, North Carolina, explains that female ministers outside of the fundamentalism are not affected by fundamentalism's prohibition against female ordination. Rather, Kerr and other ordained women simply go about their jobs as ministers, working in congregations where their pastoral authority is accepted and respected. Indeed, there is hope for women who aspire to become ordained ministers outside of fundamentalism.

For women who remain fundamentalists, however, gender will continue to determine the boundary line for ordination. Unless fundamentalists change their interpretation of the Bible, women within such congregations will never receive ordination. Despite their limits within the church, fundamentalist women have made and will continue to make significant contributions within their congregations. That complementarianism stands in stark contrast to feminism should not in any way denigrate the contributions of fundamentalist women to their churches. LaVerne M. Gill, an ordained female minister educated at Princeton Theological Seminary wrote:

I stand on this crowded stage with many women in ministry who, like my mother, did not have the imprimatur of ordination but preached and ministered anyway. I also stand with the women who had the courage to follow their call not knowing whether the door to ordination would open to them...The position of women today is not to dwell on the past but to prepare to walk through the doors when God opens them and to know that our ministry is not confined by geography, culture, denomination, or ambition, but by the call of God in our lives.⁶²⁸

⁶²⁸ LaVerne M. Gill, "Wanted: Women in Ministry. Requirements: Suasanna's faith, Vashti's courage and Mary's obedience," *The Princeton Seminary Bulletin* 27, no. 1, (2006): 34-50, accessed February 9, 2011, <http://pdf.ptsem.edu/digital/default.aspx?src=PSB2006271.xml&div=6&print=all>.

The prohibition against ordination for fundamentalist women does not define or undermine their ministries. For many, the badge of ordination is simply unnecessary resume adornment. Instead of dwelling on their limitations, these women trust that God will bless their efforts despite their title or classification, and they exercise as much agency as they possibly can within the limits given to them. Fundamentalist women, serving as un-ordained ministers, Sunday School teachers, and professors greatly impact children, women, and men's lives.

The education of women at BJU, LU, and SWBTS evokes several emerging themes. At BJU, fundamentalism is evidenced through the school's separatism from secularization and other, non-fundamental Christians. Indeed, the school's separation from society has allowed fundamentalism its continued control over adherents. BJU isolates itself from the threat of modernization, secularization, and liberal Christian denominations by imposing strict boundaries upon its students, faculty, and staff. It offers no tolerance to any alternative interpretations of men and women's biblical roles. While such separation allows the school to retain its fundamentalist identity, history suggests that such separation and level of control often leave its female adherents powerless, particularly in abusive situations.

As fundamentalists relinquish separatism, however, women gain greater agency, as evidenced in Liberty University. Despite Falwell's assiduous rhetoric towards women in his sermons, he created an institution that largely fosters the equality of women, with the exception of pastoral authority. Women operate powerfully within the restrictions imposed upon them by complementarianism through women's ministries courses and their general majors. Women at LU can become leaders, and LU has endorsed its support for women's authority over men outside of the church by electing a female class president and by inviting Sarah Palin to speak on

campus in the fall of 2011. Even the women's ministries program arms women with a biblically based argument for why women should create women's ministries within churches and the non-profit sector. Such ministries allow women to minister to other women, to seek fulfillment in ministries that meet their unique needs, and to ultimately assert their own agency within fundamentalism's God-given boundaries. Though LU has traditionally associated with fundamentalism, however, it appears to be drifting further into evangelicalism. Each passing year, incoming LU classes will be less and less familiar with the Moral Majority and Jerry Falwell; as Falwell's image becomes increasingly distant from the school's official image, the university may shed its fundamentalist association in exchange for evangelicalism. Because LU continues to attract Christians from various denominations as well as practitioners of other religious faiths, LU can embody the diversity and academic freedom characteristic of college campuses.

Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, however, represents a twisted version of an emerging fundamentalism within the Southern Baptist Convention. Dorothy Patterson exemplifies a fundamentalist woman who has used complementarianism as a way to gain authority, as a teacher and scholar, over other women by introducing Southern Baptist women to a strict interpretation of complementarianism and homemaking. Patterson has solidified her own authority by stripping other women of theirs. Time will tell how long the Southern Baptist Convention remains in the grip of Patterson and other fundamentalists; in the meantime, she will continue to advance the agenda of patriarchal figures by helping to relegate women away from the pulpit and workplace and back into their homes.

Indeed, the women's ministries programs at BJU, LU, and SWBTS support Brasher's

argument in *Godly Women* that fundamentalism can empower women. The degree programs offered at the three institutions teach female students how to effectively minister in churches and non-profit organizations, as well as within the home. Even in the midst of male-dominated fundamentalism, the very presence of women's ministries within these schools demonstrates that while women cannot serve in positions of pastoral authority over men, they can cultivate effective ministries for women and children. Such ability empowers fundamentalist women.

When women fail to remain within the gender boundaries set by fundamentalism, however, they risk retribution by churches and denominational leadership; this affirms Julie Ingersoll's argument in *Evangelical Christian Women: War Stories in the Gender Battles*. Ingersoll argues that women who fail to adhere to the expectations for proper female behavior will meet resistance within the church. This argument is apparent in the history of SWBTS; when Southern Baptist women began to redefine the role of women within the church by seeking ordination and by teaching theological classes to men, the SBC ultimately reigned in the women's power. Today, the SBC refuses to ordain women and SWBTS has dismissed the majority of its female faculty. Monica Rose Brennan's LU dissertation also affirms Ingersoll's argument; to operate women's ministries within the church, women must not threaten men's authority. If men's authority within the church is threatened, it is far less likely that they will support women's ministries. To achieve any empowerment within fundamentalism, female students at BJU, LU, and SWBTS must adhere to the gender strictures set by their institutions.

BJU, LU, and SWBTS demonstrate the intricacies of education and women's roles within fundamentalism. What has been a struggle throughout the existence of fundamentalism will continue to remain an issue. Complementarianism stands in stark contrast to modernism and

feminism. So long as fundamentalists ascribe to a belief in complementarianism, fundamentalist higher education institutions will continue to balance the fine line of educating Christian women while ensuring that such women do not stray too far from the home or too close to the pastor's pulpit.

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