

## Historical and Theological Works

Achtelstetter, Karin. "Huldah at the Table: Reflections on Leadership and the Leadership of Women." *Currents in Theology and Mission* 37, no. 3 (June 2010): 176–84.

<http://currentsjournal.org/index.php/currents/issue/viewIssue/35/34>

Anderson, Mary W. "The Fortieth Anniversary of Women's Ordination in the Lutheran Church." *Dialog* 49, no. 4 (2010): 354–357.

Appold, Kenneth G. "Women's Ministry and Ordination in Early Lutheranism" *Lutheran Forum* 46, no. 2 (Sum 2012): 34-43.

Belgum, Gerhard L. "A Minority Opinion." *Event* 10, no. 11 (December 1970): 26–27.

Bengtson, Gloria E., ed. *Lutheran Women in Ordained Ministry, 1970-1995*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1995.

This book was prepared for the twenty-fifth anniversary of women's ordination. It includes essays written by ordained women that reflect on personal experience and identities, as well as essays written by other people connected to women's ordination, like Krister Stendahl.

Bloomquist, Karen L. "In Forty Years, What Has Changed ... or Not?" *Dialog* 49, no. 4 (2010): 340–344.

Bloomquist, Karen L. "Ordaining Women Goes to the Heart of the Gospel." *Journal of Lutheran Ethics* 16, no. 3 (March 1, 2016) <https://www.elca.org/JLE/Articles/1149>

Bolz-Weber, Nadia. *Patrix: The Cranky, Beautiful Faith of a Sinner & Saint*. Jericho Books, 2014.

Bird, Caroline. "The New Woman: Out to Finish What the Suffragette Started." *Event* 10, no. 11 (December 1970): 2–6.

Carlson, Kristine. "The Ministry of Women: Texts for the Celebration." *Word & World* 15, no. 3 (Summer 1995): 367–72.

[http://wordandworld.luthersem.edu/content/pdfs/15-3\\_Women/15-3\\_Carlson.pdf](http://wordandworld.luthersem.edu/content/pdfs/15-3_Women/15-3_Carlson.pdf)

Erling, Maria. "Reflecting on the Past, for the Sake of the Future." *Dialog* 49, no. 4 (2010): 345–348.

———. “The Americanization of American Lutheranism: Democratization of Authority and the Ordination of Women, Part I.” *Journal of Lutheran Ethics* 11, no. 6 (October 1, 2011). <https://www.elca.org/JLE/Articles/186>.

In the two parts of this essay, Maria Erling and Susan Wilds McArver argue that American Lutherans recognized and acted upon a new moment of freedom within their churches to adapt new interpretations of Lutheran scripture in regards to women’s ordination. Maria Erling, a scholar of modern church history, details in Part I the debates leading up to the decision to ordain women. She particularly emphasizes the context of a changing American culture, and how the opinions of increasingly more educated and suburban Americans influenced the church. Also, she highlights two sides of ecumenicism in these debates, as American Lutherans wanted to catch up to their European counterparts but also maintain relationships with the Lutheran Church – Missouri Synod. To show the variety of voices in the debate, Erling draws upon Lutheran journal articles from the time. In Part II, Susan Wilds McArver, a church history professor with interests in women’s history, describes the conventions that officially recognized women’s ordination. She concludes by discussing the Lutheran Church – Missouri Synod and its negative reception of the ordination decision and the deterioration of ecumenical advances. McArver draws upon institutional reports to display the opinions leading into the deciding conventions. She also makes space to discuss the opinions and voices of Lutheran women during the time of the decision, which are often ignored in the discourse of this decision.

Ermarth, Margaret Sittler. *Adam’s Fractured Rib: Observations on Women in the Church*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1970.

In this work, Ermarth adapts and expands upon the work completed by the LCA’s Commission for the Comprehensive Study of the Doctrine of the Ministry when it completed its position paper on “The Role of Women in the Life of the Church.”

“God’s Faithfulness on the Journey: Reflections by Rostered Women of Color.” Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, n.d. [http://download.elca.org/ELCA%20Resource%20Repository/Gods\\_Faithfulness\\_on\\_the\\_Journey.pdf?\\_ga=2.70290832.168586435.1564069575-2108440256.1561646216](http://download.elca.org/ELCA%20Resource%20Repository/Gods_Faithfulness_on_the_Journey.pdf?_ga=2.70290832.168586435.1564069575-2108440256.1561646216).

This resource was created and compiled by women of color clergy within the ELCA. The largest section is “Reflections,” which contains essays, stories, hymns, poetry, and artwork from 43 women of color clergy. It also contains a list of “remembrances” for clergy who have passed away, and an appendix containing statistical data on women of color clergy.

Gonzalez, David. “The Women Priests of the Church of Sweden.” *The New York Times*, November 5, 2018. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/05/lens/the-women-priests-of-the-church-of-sweden.html>

This article details the work of Juliette Robert, a photographer who captured images of the lives of ordained women within the Church of Sweden, which is a Lutheran denomination. Some of Robert's photos are included within the article.

Grindal, Gracia. "Getting Women Ordained." *Lutheran Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (2018): 281–306.

Gracia Grindal – a professor of rhetoric, English and theology – examines Lutheran theologians' hermeneutical arguments concerning women's ordination and the conflict these interpretations created. She examines these arguments to evaluate the causes of a Lutheran theological debate about the changing role of the pastor. She primarily draws upon theological articles in Lutheran journals and official reports prepared by Lutheran seminaries and church organizations. The article follows a chronological timeline of the debate and details the evolution of interpretations put forth only in the time before the decision. Throughout, Grindal also highlights the ecumenical impact of this debate, particularly regarding relationships with the Lutheran Church – Missouri Synod.

Hurd, Jean Larson. "Women and Vocation: Co-Creating with God." *Word and World* 15, no. 3 (Summer 1995): 272-278.

[https://wordandworld.luthersem.edu/content/pdfs/15-3\\_Women/15-3\\_Hurd.pdf](https://wordandworld.luthersem.edu/content/pdfs/15-3_Women/15-3_Hurd.pdf)

Jepsen, Maria. "Women Bishops: 'Unhierarchical and Related to Everyday Life.'" *Word and World* 13, no. 3 (1993): 304, 306.

[http://wordandworld.luthersem.edu/content/pdfs/13-3\\_Science/13-3\\_Face\\_to\\_Face.pdf](http://wordandworld.luthersem.edu/content/pdfs/13-3_Science/13-3_Face_to_Face.pdf)

Koch, Donna and Lawes, Carolyn J. (advisor). "Theology, Tradition, and Turbulent Times: Ordination of Women in the Lutheran Church, 1970," 2001, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses.

Lagerquist, L. DeAne and Elyssa J. Salinas Lazarski. "'Emancipatory Potential': Women Experiencing the Gospel." *Word and World* 38, no. 2 (Spring 2018): 169-179.

[https://wordandworld.luthersem.edu/content/pdfs/38-2\\_1968/38-2\\_Lagerquist\\_Lazarski.pdf](https://wordandworld.luthersem.edu/content/pdfs/38-2_1968/38-2_Lagerquist_Lazarski.pdf)

Lagerquist, L. DeAne. *From Our Mothers' Arms: A History of Women in the American Lutheran Church*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1987.

———. "Responding to the Call: Lutheran Women and Pastoral Ministry." *Dialog* 38, no. 4 (Fall 1999): 264–75.

Larson, April Ulring. "Women Bishops: The Opening Door of Pentecost." *Word and World* 13, no. 3 (1993): 305, 307.

[http://wordandworld.luthersem.edu/content/pdfs/13-3\\_Science/13-3\\_Face\\_to\\_Face.pdf](http://wordandworld.luthersem.edu/content/pdfs/13-3_Science/13-3_Face_to_Face.pdf)

LWF Institutional Memory DPO/Archive services. "A Gallery of Portraits: The Women Who Made the LWF at Assemblies," September 2015.

[https://www.lutheranworld.org/sites/default/files/lwf\\_women\\_since\\_1947.pdf](https://www.lutheranworld.org/sites/default/files/lwf_women_since_1947.pdf).

"Man and Woman Roles." Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod. Accessed July 24, 2019.

<https://wels.net/about-wels/what-we-believe/doctrinal-statements/man-and-woman-roles/>.

McArver, Susan Wilds. "The Americanization of American Lutheranism: Democratization of Authority and the Ordination of Women, Part II." *Journal of Lutheran Ethics* 11, no. 6 (November 1, 2011).

[https://elca.org/JLE/articles/187?\\_ga=2.203116375.716922477.1559331193-1809329406.1559139844](https://elca.org/JLE/articles/187?_ga=2.203116375.716922477.1559331193-1809329406.1559139844).

This is the second part of the two-part essay series begun by Maria Erling. See the annotation included with Part 1 for more information.

Mork, Carol J. "Women's Ordination and the Leadership of the Church." *Word and World* 7, no. 4 (1987): 374-379.

[https://wordandworld.luthersem.edu/content/pdfs/7-4\\_Baptized/7-4\\_Mork.pdf](https://wordandworld.luthersem.edu/content/pdfs/7-4_Baptized/7-4_Mork.pdf)

Neumark, Heidi. *Breathing Space: A Spiritual Journey in the South Bronx*. Beacon Press, 2004.

Parvey, Constance F. "Ordain Her, Ordain Her Not...?" *Dialog* 6, no. 3 (Summer 1969): 203-8.

———. "Where Are We Going? The Threefold Ministry and the Ordination of Women." *Word and World* 5, no. 1 (1985): 5-11.

[http://wordandworld.luthersem.edu/content/pdfs/5-1\\_Emerging/5-1\\_Parvey.pdf](http://wordandworld.luthersem.edu/content/pdfs/5-1_Emerging/5-1_Parvey.pdf)

P.J.H. "The Ministry of Women." *The Lutheran Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (May 1966): 98-103.

Pless, John T. "The Ordination of Women and Ecclesial Endorsement of Homosexuality: Are They Related?" *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 74, no. 3-4 (July 2010): 343-58.

Preus, Herman. "Should Women Be Ordained? - No!" *Scope* 10, no. 4 (April 1970): 9-12.

Proux, Dawn. "Should Women Be Ordained? - Yes!" *Scope* 10, no. 4 (April 1970): 6-9.

Reumann, John. "Ecclesial Recognition of the Ministry of Women: Lutheran Experience and an Ecumenical Impasse" in *Ministries Examined: Laity, Clergy, Women, and Bishops in a Time of Change*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1987.

Schaper, Donna. "When the Seminarian Is a Woman." *Event* 10, no. 11 (December 1970): 18–24.

Solberg, Mary M. *Compelling Knowledge: A Feminist Proposal for an Epistemology of the Cross*. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1997.

Stendahl, Brita K. *The Force of Tradition: A Case Study of Women Priests in Sweden*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985.

Stendahl, Krister. *The Bible and the Role of Women : A Case Study in Hermeneutics*. Facets 15. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966.

Krister Stendahl, a Swedish theologian and New Testament scholar, originally wrote this booklet in 1958 to contribute to theological debates about the ordination of women in the Church of Sweden. The culmination of the booklet is Stendahl's conclusion that the question of women's ordination is inextricably linked with the problem of women's emancipation in general. Stendahl argues that, if emancipation of women is right, then there is a lack of biblical reason against women's ordination. To support this final conclusion, Stendahl gives detailed explanations of the Swedish practice of "realistic interpretation" of the Bible and its interactions with hermeneutics. He also discusses complications surrounding the use of this realistic interpretation when applied to several key New Testament passages often used in the discussion of women's ordination. This version of the booklet is written for an American audience – translated into English with additional explanations of elements of Swedish culture and religious institutions. Stendahl uses the example of Sweden as a case study from which Americans can learn ten years after the booklet's initial publication. This work is acknowledged by many for its influence and relevance in the debate surrounding women's ordination.

Stjerna, Kirsi Irmeli. *Women and the Reformation*. Malden, Mass., Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2009.

Storaasli, Herman. "Should Women Be Ordained? - Why Not?" *Scope* 10, no. 4 (April 1970): 12–14.

Stortz, Martha E. "The Questions We Left Behind: Reflections from a Teaching Theologian." *Dialog* 49, no. 4 (2010): 349–353.

Streufert, Mary J., ed.. *Transformative Lutheran Theologies: Feminist, Womanist, and Mujerista Perspectives*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2010.

Stumme, John. "Some Thoughts on the Ordination of Women and the Lutheran Confessions" *Journal of Lutheran Ethics* 16, no 3 (March 2016).  
[https://elca.org/jle/articles/1146?\\_ga=2.130156815.1883427055.1564432159-2108440256.1561646216](https://elca.org/jle/articles/1146?_ga=2.130156815.1883427055.1564432159-2108440256.1561646216).

Synod, Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran. "Man and Woman in God's World: An Expanded Study," 1987. <http://essays.wls.wels.net/handle/123456789/1129>.

"The Oral History Collection of the Archives of Cooperative Lutheranism", 1984, ELCA Archives, Collection OH, Record Group OH 1.

"The Persistent Voice." *The Persistent Voice*, ed. Norma Cook Everist. Accessed July 25, 2019.  
<https://thepersistentvoice.wordpress.com/>.

This newsletter was created and staffed by students of Wartburg Theological Seminary to connect women awaiting ordination, as they typically have longer wait times than their male peers. Issues were published every year from 1989 to 2017, when publication ceased. Articles from 2011-2017 are available online (see link above). Physical copies of early issues can be found at the Iowa Women's Archive at the University of Iowa, the University Archives at Iowa State University, and the Wartburg Seminary Library.

Thompson, Deanna A. *Crossing the Divide: Luther, Feminism, and the Cross*. Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 2004.

Tiemeyer, Raymond. *The Ordination of Women: A Report Distributed by Authorization of the Church Body Presidents as a Contribution to Further Study*. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1970.

Raymond Tiemeyer, a Lutheran pastor and editor of many works about the Lutheran church, wrote this book as a condensed digest of research presented in 1970 by the Division of Theological Studies of the Lutheran Council in the U.S.A. Tiemeyer takes the 123-page report by the Division of Theological Studies and restructures it into a 50-page booklet aimed at a general Lutheran audience. He summarizes the findings of the research – mainly that there is inconclusive evidence in scripture supporting both the arguments for and against the ordination of women. The chapters divide the research findings into scriptural arguments, hermeneutical complications, historical precedent, and the practical considerations for the implementation of women's ordination. In all, Tiemeyer reflects the Division's conclusion that the scripture allows for a variety of interpretations. The appendix of the booklet reprints the official summary of the

Division's findings – the Statement of Findings Relating to the Requested Study on the Subject of the Ordination of Women. There is also a bibliography at the end, including additional sources from books, articles, essays, and other study reports.

Todd, Mary. "Women and Lutheranism." In *Encyclopedia of Women and Religion in North America*, edited by Marie Cantlon, Rosemary Radford Ruether, Rosemary Skinner Keller, 1:307–18. Project Muse DDA. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006.

"Voices of Vision: The ELCA at 25" Oral History Project, 2009, ELCA Archives, Collection OH, Record Group OH 9

Wahlberg, Rachel Conrad. *Jesus According to a Woman*. Revised and Enlarged edition. New York: Paulist Press, 1986.

Wenz, Armin. "The Argument over Women's Ordination in Lutheranism as a Paradigmatic Conflict of Dogma." *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 71, no. 3/4 (2007): 319-346.  
<http://www.ctsfw.net/media/pdfs/wenzargumentoverwomensordination.pdf>

Wold, Margaret. "Must She Lead a Double Life?" *The Lutheran Standard* 10, no. 12 (June 9, 1970): 4–5, 17.

———. "One in Christ: An Impossible Dream for the Church?" *Event* 10, no. 11 (December 1970): 13–17.

———. *The Shalom Woman*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1975.

"Your Life of Faith as a Woman" Oral History Project, 1988-1994, ELCA Archives, Collection OH, Record Group OH 6.