

Realizing the Human Resource Potential of Female Clergy Following 40 Years of Ordination to the Priesthood in the Anglican Church of Canada

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Only in the last 40 years have women been admitted to the priesthood of the Anglican Church of Canada. This study documents the history and the process that made this possible by examining what had happened in the rest of the Anglican Communion (mostly notably Great Britain and the United States), other denominations, and in the secular environment in Canada. The study documents what has transpired in the last 40 years showing that, while great strides have been made, more still needs to be accomplished.

INTRODUCTION

In 1976, the Anglican Church of Canada (ACC), after a very involved and sometimes acrimonious debate, began to ordain women to the priesthood of the ACC. This action opened all levels of ordained ministry (bishop, priest and deacon) within the ACC to women. The debate concerning female ordination coincided with and reflected advances for women in society, professions, and government. Over the course of the twentieth century, many secular occupations that had previously been open solely to males and, therefore, closed to females, were rapidly becoming open to females as a result of changes in attitude, legislation, licensure, and enhanced educational opportunities. Accordingly, many Protestant denominations had changed their long-held requirement that holy orders, referred to in their nomenclature as ministers, be conferred solely upon males. The ACC was no different in these changes to recognize the human resource potential of the female minister.

This paper documents how these changes occurred and the effects that these changes have had over a 40-year period (1976-2016), following the first ordinations to the priesthood in 1976 of six Anglican female priests. In order to portray how these changes occurred in the church, it is necessary to view these changes as part of what was happening in legal, civil, and political life, as well as the movement toward equity in various other professions.

This paper consists of six sections. The first section has introduced the topic. In the second section, the organizational structure of the Anglican Communion is outlined in order to apply managerial paradigms in order to illustrate how the process of recognizing the human resources potential among women has evolved, particularly over the 20th century and into the 21st century. The third section provides the history of female ordinations which have taken place in other denominations to outline how Anglicanism has both taken from and given to other denominations. In the fourth section, notable achievements in the religious and secular history of Canada are provided to demonstrate that the changes have not taken place in a vacuum, but rather reflect what has also transpired in society, business, and government through economic, political, and legal advances. The fifth section expands upon the fourth by specifically examining the advancements in political and economic rights for women in Canada, which aids greatly in appreciating the human resource potential for not only Canadian women as a whole, but for Anglican female clergy as the crux of this paper. The sixth section concludes the paper by outlining some persistent problems and providing avenues for future research to fully document these problems. Much has been done, but much must still be done.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES IN THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION

In order to view the human resource potential of female ministers, one needs to be familiar with the basic polity of the ACC and its governance structure to view how change was undertaken within the church. The basic reporting unit within the Anglican Communion is the diocese, which is headed by a bishop, an ancient office of Christian churches, which embrace the Catholic faith. Bishop is based on the Greek term meaning overseer or more colloquially, leader. A bishop ordains and licenses clergy, both priests and deacons. A diocese is sub-divided into parishes and congregations. The dioceses are linked to one another through shared traditions, canons, sacraments, and meetings, called synods. One of the basic tenets of churches that follow the episcopal model is apostolic succession. Bishops are considered to be successors to the first apostles of the church. The doctrine holds that there is an unbroken chain, which links current bishops back to the first apostles, as the source of authority for the bishop. The Anglican Communion does not have highly codified canon law, like the Roman Catholic Church (RCC) and, while being hierarchical, tends to be much more decentralized than the RCC.

Succession planning is not a facet of the Anglican Communion. The incumbent bishop cannot designate a successor. The next bishop is elected by an electoral synod of the diocese either when the See becomes vacant or through the planned retirement of the bishop, as bishops are required to retire by 70. The canons of diocese specify the eligibility of the electors and the qualifications that candidates for bishop must meet. In terms of corporate governance, the bishop is elected by and is answerable to the synod of the diocese and the various houses of bishops within the church. A diocesan synod consists of ordained ministers and laity. The House of Clergy consists of priests and deacons. They perform a variety of roles, such as rectors or assistants in parishes or congregations, diocesan administrators, hospital chaplains or seminary/theological college professors. The House of Laity consists of the laypeople that sit on parish councils, serve as Eucharistic Assistants, and sing in choirs or as members of committees associated with the activities of the parish or diocese. Resolutions at synods must gain a majority of the votes in both houses and receive the pleasure of the bishop. If a bishop withholds pleasure, the resolution is vetoed. There is no provision to override a veto, but defeated/vetoed resolutions can be reintroduced at subsequent synods. Issues, including the ordination of women or polygamy or homosexual marriage, have been debated over several synods. These issues can remain unresolved for long periods of time.

The Anglican Communion is *episcopally led*, but *synodically governed* in order to maintain a degree of checks and balances within the church. These are, however, not in perfect balance with more weight given to the bishop. A super or two-thirds majority *may* be required on certain issues. A bishop would appear *prima facie* to have wide latitude of power, but it would be inappropriate to superimpose a chief executive officer (CEO) model. The sole reference to bishops as “chief” is usually only found in reference to liturgy or as an administrative officer in diocesan constitutions. Consider the Canadian *Book of Alternative Services* (p. 183), “As chief liturgical officer it is the bishop’s prerogative to preside at the

Lord's Table and to preach the Gospel." In many ways, the bishop's role is more of a regional vice-president in the administration of franchisors or branches on behalf of a national church.

Often the national church bodies function like the government of their national state. For example, The Episcopal Church of the United States functions in a similar fashion to Congress, whereas in England, synods function very much like the British Parliament. The British constitution is an unwritten constitution which has evolved based on traditions, common law and precedents, but often precedents can take significant time to evolve and laws can take a long time to be enacted. The American constitution is more formalized contained largely in a single document, which can be amended through a laborious process. The Church of England as an established church is the official national church for England. The Episcopal Church is but one of many churches in a country which holds to the separation of church and state. While many churches in the Anglican Communion have become more open, accountable and democratic in seeking to become more inclusive, it is often contingent upon the ecclesiastical polity of the various national churches, as change is not universally accepted.

The bishops of the Anglican Communion meet on a decennial basis in the Lambeth Conference, hosted by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The last conference took place in 2008 with the next originally scheduled for 2018. Resolutions at Lambeth are generally non-binding on the national churches in the Communion and, while the Archbishop of Canterbury functions as the convening and presiding officer, his power of the is more of moral suasion as the *primus inter pares*, the first among equals. While the Archbishop can use statements from his office to persuade delegates, the statements are not binding on other bishops. Again, a corporate governance model based on having CEOs at the helm would appear to not be well applied to bishops, or even archbishops in the Anglican Communion. The current Archbishop of Canterbury, the Most Rev. Justin Welby, had indicated that the planned Lambeth Conference for 2018 will not take place until 2020. He feels that convoking bishops in 2018 would be divisive than unifying.

It is important to note that the majority of church activities take place within the diocese. Assisting the bishop would be the priests and deacons who work largely in the parishes of the diocese. A priest presides at the Eucharist, performs baptisms and sundry rites, thereby functioning as a pastor to the flock in a parish. The bishop is often referred to as the pastor to the pastors. The rector is also responsible for remitting an assessment or percentage of parish income to the diocese. Given this licensing arrangement and assessment of income (akin to a franchise fee), the corporate model that would work well in explaining the activities of the church would again appear to be a franchise or branch model. A bishop can have a very small span of control when the diocese has few parishes and administrative personnel. On the other extreme, the diocese could be divided into several administrative areas with several assistant bishops, regional archdeacons and administrative officers. More staff functions are also exhibited in dioceses with elevated hierarchies. In certain parts of the Anglican Communion, women are still denied access even to the entry level position of deacon; whereas, in other parts, the office of deacon is the glass ceiling being both the entry level and the highest level attainable by a woman.

The Anglican Communion with the Archbishop of Canterbury as its spiritual head recognizes 39 provinces around the world. The Anglican Communion started as the Church in England in 597 when St. Augustine of Canterbury was appointed the first Archbishop. For almost a millennium, the Church of England functioned as a branch of the RCC, but became detached during the Reformation. In 1534, the English Parliament passed the *Act of Supremacy*, which provided autonomy for its own church. While Roman Catholic authority over the Church of England was briefly restored during the reign of Mary, it was rescinded following the accession of Queen Elizabeth I. Parliament passed a second *Act of Supremacy*, (1558). This document, which reflected the doctrine of the Elizabethan Settlement, sought to structure the Church of England as both Catholic and Reformed, later referred to as the *via media* or middle way.

The Church of England is catholic insofar as it views itself as part of the universal church in unbroken continuity with the early apostolic church. This belief is expressed in its emphasis on the teachings from the patristic era of the church and reliance on formalized creedal statements, such as the Apostles and Nicene Creeds. This unbroken chain is recognized through the office of bishop within the church, who through the sacrament of ordination or the laying on of hands, maintains this chain. Ordination is an

ancient rite of the church to admit candidates to Holy Orders, which in the Anglican Communion is the prerogative of the bishop. The entry level position in ordained ministry is as a deacon. To be admitted to the priesthood a second ordination is required. Ordination as a bishop requires a third ordination with a minimum of three bishops performing the ordination.

The Church of England is reformed insofar as it has been shaped by some of the doctrinal principles of the sixteenth century Protestant Reformation with the development of additional theological expressions, such as the Thirty-Nine Articles which expanded the ancient creedal statements and liturgical practices. These articles broke with previous Roman Catholic practices and were outlined in the *Book of Common Prayer* in 1549.

The ordination of women in the Anglican Communion has become increasingly accepted since the first ordinations of women to the priesthood just over 40 years ago. The Anglican Communion uses the orders of deacon, priest and bishop, as does the RCC, and the Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox churches. Some provinces within the Anglican Communion, such as the Episcopal Church in the United States, the Anglican Church of Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, the Anglican Church of Canada, the Anglican Church of Australia and the Church of Southern Africa ordain women as deacons, priests and bishops. Several other provinces ordain women only as deacons (Congo, Pakistan) and still others up to priests (Burundi, Indian Ocean, Jerusalem and the Middle East, Kenya, Korea, Rwanda, South India, West Indies, West Africa). Some provinces allow for the ordination of women as bishops, but have not yet consecrated any: Bangladesh, Brazil, Central America, Hong Kong, Japan, Mexico, North India, Philippines, Scotland, Southern Sudan, and Uganda. Ireland ordained a female bishop in 2015, and the Church in Wales ordained its first female bishop in January 2017. Lastly, some provinces do not allow Holy Orders at any levels of ministry to be conferred on women: Central Africa, Melanesia, Nigeria, Papua New Guinea, South East Asia and Tanzania.

The road to ordained ministry for women in the Anglican Communion began in 1855, when the Bishop of Maryland blessed two deaconesses. The Bishop of London ordained deaconesses in 1862. Both bishops had realized the human resource potential of women to provide ministry to a neglected segment of the population. In 1885, Alabama and New York followed suit. In 1889, the General Convention adopted a Canon on Deaconesses, which was followed by training programs for deaconesses instituted in New York, Philadelphia and San Francisco. In 1919, the General Convention recommended the inclusion of deaconesses in the Clergy Pension Fund, but the Board refused saying that they were not clergy. The 1920 Lambeth Conference concluded that the laying on of hands for deaconesses was in fact ordination and that Holy Orders had been conferred on deaconesses. The 1930 Lambeth Conference rescinded its 1920 decision and in 1948 refused to hear Hong Kong's request for experimentation with the ordination of women. In 1958, the Episcopal Theological School in Boston admitted women to the Bachelor of Divinity (B.D.) program, now known as the Master of Divinity (M.Div.). This decision to allow women to study theology was significant as this degree was the basic educational requirement for ordained ministry. Admission to theological colleges removed a significant barrier to entry.

In 1964, the General Convention in the United States changed the Canon on Deaconesses to read "ordered" rather than "appointed." Deaconess Phyllis Edwards was then recognized as a deacon by Bishop James Pike of San Francisco. In 1966, the House of Bishops of the United States asked the Lambeth Conference to consider ordaining women to the priesthood. In 1968, the Lambeth Conference agreed that deaconesses are part of the diaconate, but referred the issue of the ordination to the priesthood back to national churches for further study. Hong Kong, Kenya, Korea and Canada began ordaining women to the diaconate and suspended using the term deaconess. At the American General Convention in 1970, women were admitted as lay delegates after a 50 year struggle. The Canon on Deaconesses was eliminated and then included in the Canon on Deacons. Women became eligible for the pension plan!

In the early 1970s, the American Church faced enormous debates on whether or not to ordain women to the priesthood and whether the ordinations were valid. The debate became acrimonious. Both clergy and lay people left the church. Eleven women were ordained as priests by three retired bishops in Philadelphia in 1974, known as the Group of Eleven. Four more ordained in Washington in 1975. These ordinations were considered irregular until the 1976 General Convention which normalized the

ordinations. Since then women in the United States were well on their way to becoming ordained to all three orders. In 1989, Barbara Harris was ordained as the first female bishop. The Episcopal Church has ordained 20 female bishops including Mary Glasspool, an openly gay woman as Suffragan Bishop of Los Angeles in 2010, and Katharine Jefferts Schori as Presiding Bishop for a nine year term from 2006-2015.

While Episcopalians have overcome many problems associated with glass ceilings for female ordination, there are often other issues that are addressed simultaneously. While churches have been contending with the issue of female ordination, it has also encountered issues dealing with an ancillary issue of same sex marriage. While this issue has, of course, been a notable national issue for secular authorities, it has also been prominent within the Church. Pless (2010) asked the question in his article, "The Ordination of Women and Ecclesial Endorsement of Homosexuality: Are they Related?" Gene Robinson, an openly gay male priest, was elected Bishop of New Hampshire in 2003 and married his partner, Mark Andrew, in 2008. When Mary Glasspool was elected bishop in 2010, she had been in a relationship for 19 years. While it is difficult, if not impossible, to provide quantitative evidence, many opponents of ordaining women in The Episcopal Church would also be opposed to same-sex marriages.

It was 17 years following the ordination of the first six female priests by the ACC in 1976 that a woman was elected as a bishop in the ACC. In November 1993, Victoria Matthews was elected area bishop (a suffragan or assistant bishop) in Toronto and was consecrated in February 1994. In 1997, she became the first woman elected as a diocesan bishop in Canada, when she was elected as Bishop of Edmonton. She held that office for 10 years until she resigned in 2007.

Since Bishop Matthews' election, 10 more women have been elected as bishops in the Anglican Church of Canada. They are:

- Ann Tottenham (area bishop of Toronto, 1997);
- Sue Moxley (suffragan of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island; diocesan, 2007);
- Jane Alexander (diocesan, Edmonton, 2008);
- Linda Nicholls (area bishop of Toronto, 2009; diocesan for Huron, 2016);
- Barbara Andrews (suffragan to the Metropolitan with responsibilities to the Parishes of the Central Interior, 2009, now known as the Territory of the People);
- Lydia Mamakwa (Bishop for the Spiritual Community of Mishamikoweesh, 2010);
- Melissa Skelton (diocesan, New Westminster, 2014);
- Mary Irwin-Gibson, (diocesan, Montreal, 2015);
- Jenny Andison and Riscylla Shaw (two area bishops, Toronto, 2016).

The ACC is in full-communion with the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada. In 2007, Susan Johnson was elected as the National Bishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada. She was consecrated in Winnipeg by her fellow Lutheran bishops and several Anglican bishops. In the ACC, she is afforded all the rights and privileges that would be given to an Anglican bishop.

In addition to bishops, five female priests have also been appointed as Dean of the Diocese in the ACC, which are usually the Bishop's commissary, if the bishop is absent from the diocese or is incapacitated. Those appointed as Deans are:

- Susan Charbonneau (Hermanson) as Dean of Saskatoon and Rector of St. John's Cathedral, 2001;
- Louise Peters as Dean of Cariboo/APCI and Rector of St. Paul's Cathedral, 2003;
- Nissa Basbaum as Dean of Kootenay and Rector of St. Michael's Cathedral, 2009;
- Mary Irwin-Gibson as Dean of Ontario and Rector of St. George's Cathedral, 2009 and elected Bishop of Montreal in 2015;
- M. Ansley Tucker as Dean of British Columbia and Rector of Christ Church Cathedral, 2015.

While the Anglican Communion was considering female ordinations, Pope Paul VI reminded Anglicans of the RCC position, when the Anglican Communion was initially considering the ordination

of women. The Pope wrote to F.D. Coggan, then Archbishop of Canterbury on November 30, 1975 (Zagano 2008, p. 135):

She holds that it is not admissible to ordain women to the priesthood, for very fundamental reasons. These include: the example recorded in the Sacred Scriptures of Christ choosing his Apostles only from among men; the constant practice of the Church, which has imitated Christ in choosing only men; and her living teaching authority which has constantly held that the exclusion of women from the priesthood is in accordance with God's plan for his Church.

It is ironic that in the preceding quote the Church is referred to in feminine terms, while denying women admission to the orders of the RCC. In addition to warning Anglicans against the admission of women to Holy Orders, Hunt (2011, p. 87) recounts that three recent popes have made pronouncements against the ordination of women: Pope Paul VI in 1977 in *Inter Insigniores*; John Paul II in *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis* in 1994; and Benedict XVI in 1995 (as Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger) in *Responsum Ad Dubium*.

When national churches in the Anglican Communion were considering the ordination of women, some adopted conscience clauses that allowed dissenting bishops to not ordain women into Holy Orders or to not license them to fulfill clerical responsibilities following ordination. These clauses effectively allowed a barrier to entry as if the aspirant were on the outside peering in through a stained glass window. Once inside, it became a stained glass ceiling. For example, in 1975 the ACC approved the ordination of women, but allowed bishops in Canada to have a conscience clause, which meant that they need not ordain women if they chose to do so. This clause was rescinded in 1986, thereby allowing all bishops to fully realize the human resource potential of female clergy.

There have been incidences of bodies reversing their stance on the ordination of women following ordination, such as the Presbyterian Church in Australia and the Southern Baptist Convention in the United States and, as previously reported, the Anglican Communion reversed its stance on whether ordinations of deaconesses constituted a valid ordination. The three situations are examples of stained glass windows postulated by Cotter et al. (2001). In ecclesiastical settings, a barrier has the ability to be put back up after it had been taken down. In business and government, rights are not diminished once they have been established.

In addition to gender discrimination being exhibited at the national and diocesan level, it can be exhibited at the local congregational/parochial level by refusing to appoint/accept a woman as a minister, which may be a basic employment equity issue, thereby restricting the human resources potential of female clergy. Even if a woman were to become part of a parish's ministerial team, discrimination through the imposition of glass windows can take place via other means, some of which are subtle. Consider parishioners leaving the congregation, altering pattern of monetary giving or selective non-attendance at celebrations when the female minister presides at liturgies. A phenomenon, which is often identifiable in congregations, is *church-shopping* wherein potential congregants check out the various activities of a church, such as Sunday School activities, youth groups, Bible Studies, Christian fellowship and social activities, prior to joining a congregation. Sometimes the cost of search expended in church-shopping can be very extensive, whereas on the opposite extreme, no monetary or time costs are incurred as others do not move regardless of what happens in a congregational setting. Conversely, a change in ministers can also give rise to congregants following a minister from one parish to the next.

In some cases, the acceptance of an ordained woman can be restricted to a certain level within ministry. A congregation, for example, could accept a female deacon, but would not accept a female priest. Alternatively, career progression could stop at priest. Some national churches ordain women as priests, but will not ordain them as bishops. Women may not always be willing to accept other women in roles of authority, as argued by Buchannan, Warning and Tett (2012). This concept of women in authority in church-settings has been debated by Radford-Ruether (2011), Via (2011) and Hunt (2011).

While the ordination of women started with six women ordained to the priesthood in Canada in 1976, the growth has been spectacular. The statistics for December 2016 are:

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>% Female</u>
Active	733	406	1139	35.6%
Retired	<u>1381</u>	<u>369</u>	<u>1750</u>	21.1%
	2114	775	2889	26.8%

Currently, female bishops comprise approximately 30% of all bishops in Canada. Worldwide there were 751 Anglican bishops with 51 female or 6.8%.

FEMALE ORDINATIONS IN NON-ANGLICAN DENOMINATIONS

Until the nineteenth century women were routinely denied access to the ordained ministry by almost all Christian denominations. It was not until the early nineteenth century that the first ordinations were made by the Society of Friends (Quakers). Part of their belief system was that there is an existence of an element of God's spirit in every human soul. The initial justification was proposed by Margaret Fell (1614 - 1708) who sought to justify equal roles for women and men in her denomination. In 1853, Antoinette Brown was ordained by the Congregational Church, but her ordination was not widely recognized even within her own denomination. She subsequently left that church and later became a Unitarian. In 1863, Olympia Brown was ordained by the Universalist denomination, despite a last moment case of cold feet by the seminary that she attended. She later became a Unitarian. The Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) underwent a struggle in the late 1990s which ended in a fundamentalist victory and a prohibition against future female ordinations. At that time, the SBC had about 1,600 ordained women in their 41,099 churches and 16 million congregants. The existing female pastors were allowed to remain, but no new female pastors would be ordained. These instances of cold feet, waffling and leaving/joining different denominations represent a pattern of behavior that persists in various forms surrounding the ordination and advancement of women within various religious denominations, including female bishops in the Anglican Communion. When the Salvation Army was founded in 1865, it ordained both women and men with married couples sharing the same rank.

Other notable dates and events in the ordination of women are:

- 1866 Helenor Alter Davisson became a circuit rider in Indiana of the Methodist Protestant Church as the first ordained Methodist. Later church conferences challenged the ordination of women
- 1871 Celia Burleigh became the first female Unitarian minister
- 1888 Fidelia Gillette first ordained woman in Canada in Universalist Church in Bloomfield, Ontario
- 1889 Cumberland Presbyterian Church ordained Louisa Woosley
- 1889 United Brethren Church ordained Ella Niswonger
- 1892 Church of the Nazarene ordained Anna Hanscombe
- 1909 Church of God (Cleveland, TN) began ordaining women
- 1911 Mennonite Church ordained Ann Allebach
- 1914 Assemblies of God was founded and ordained its first female clergy
- 1917 Congregationalist Church (England and Wales) first ordained women
- 1920s some Baptist churches in the United States ordained female clergy
- 1920s United Reformed Church in the United Kingdom ordained female clergy
- 1930 Presbyterian Church (USA) ordained its first female as an elder
- 1936 United Church of Canada ordained female clergy

- 1947 Czechoslovak Hussite Church ordained female clergy
- 1948 Evangelical Lutheran Church of Denmark ordained female clergy
- 1949 Old Catholic Church (in the United States) ordained female clergy
- 1956 The General Conference of the United Methodist Church approved full clergy rights for women
- 1960 Evangelical Lutheran Church in Sweden ordained female clergy
- 1964 Southern Baptist Convention ordained Addie Davis but later the “Baptist Faith and Message” doctrinal statement was modified in 2000 to prevent future female ordinations.
- 1967 Presbyterian Church in Canada ordained female clergy
- 1968 Metropolitan Community Church was founded and accepted female ministers with Freda Smith ordained in 1972
- 1970 Lutheran Church in America (LCA) ordained Elizabeth Platz and later that year American Lutheran Church (ALC) ordained female ministers. The LCA and ALC later merge to form the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America
- 1972 Swedenborgian Church ordained female clergy
- 1974 Methodist Church in the United Kingdom
- 1974 Presbyterian Church of Australia (stopped further ordinations in 1991)
- 1976 Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada ordained Pamela McGee
- 1984 Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints ordained female clergy
- 1988 Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland ordained female clergy
- 1995 Seventh Day Adventist in Virginia ordained three women in violation of the denomination’s rules
- 1998 Guatemalan Presbyterian Church ordained female clergy
- 1998 Old Catholic Church in the Netherlands ordained female clergy
- 1999 Independent Presbyterian Church of Brazil ordained female clergy
- 2000 The Baptist Union of Scotland voted to allow their churches to either allow or prohibit the ordination of women
- 2000 Church of Pakistan ordained its first female deacons
- 2007 The Worldwide Church of God decided to allow women to serve as pastors and elders

Some denominations have ordained women as bishops. Included in these are:

- 1980 United Methodist Church
- 1989 Episcopal Church in the United States of America
- 1996 Lutheran Church in Sweden
- 1997 Anglican Church of Canada
- 1997 Evangelical Lutheran Church of Denmark
- 1997 Anglican Church in New Zealand
- 1998 Presbyterian Church in Guatemala
- 1998 Moravian Church in America
- 1999 Czechoslovak Hussite Church
- 2002 Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada
- 2008 Anglican Church of Australia
- 2009 Lutheran Church of Great Britain (first female bishop in Great Britain)
- 2010 Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland
- 2010 Christian Methodist Episcopal Church
- 2011 Northern Elbian Evangelical Lutheran Church
- 2012 Evangelical Church of Iceland

The history of women in ordained ministries has been well documented through: “ELCA Gathers Power-Filled Women for a Power-Filled Church” (2004); United Methodist Church in “Growing Churches Led by Clergywomen” (2012); Houseal (2003) on Nazarene Clergy Women; Presbyterian Church (USA) “Clergywomen’s Experiences in Ministry: Realities and Challenges” (2003); Roebuck (2012) in Pentecostalism, “I have done the best I could: Opportunities and limitations for women ministers in Church of God-a Pentecostal denomination;” Coombs (2016) for the Church of God; and Danberry (2017) for United Methodist Church in West Virginia. Power (2017) provides a case study of Pat Storey as the first female bishop in the Church of Ireland, one of the provinces in the worldwide Anglican Communion.

NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS BY WOMEN (RELIGIOUS AND SECULAR) IN CANADA

In order to fully appreciate what role woman have played in Canadian society, it is important to document not only the religious history but also the secular history. The 20th century witnessed by far the most advances which was conducted under the backdrop of two World Wars, the Great Depression, the Women’s Movement, better access to birth control and greater acceptance of family planning, as well as the need for dual income households. The following is a snapshot of notable changes.

- 1671 Marie Morin-the first Canadian to become a religious sister
- 1868 Emily Stowe-the first woman to practice medicine in Canada
- 1875 Grace Annie Lockhart-the first Canadian woman to receive a university degree from Mount Allison University in Sackville, NB
- 1917 Women whose husbands were in the military allowed to vote in Federal elections
- 1921 Agnes Macphail-the first woman elected to the House of Commons
- 1928 the first time Canada’s Olympic team included women (2 Gold, 1 Silver, 1 Bronze)
- 1936 Lydia Gruchy-the first United Church woman minister ordained
- 1944 Florence Li Tim-Oi-the first woman ordained to the priesthood in the Anglican Communion
- 1947 Gabrielle Roy, French Canadian author-first female member of the Royal Society of Canada, a collegium of distinguished scholars and artists
- 1951 Charlotte Whitton-first Canadian female mayor of Ottawa
- 1954 Elijah Knott-first woman in Canada elected chief of a First Nation
- 1966 Shirley Jeffery-first female minister ordained in the Presbyterian Church of Canada
- 1970 Dianna Boileau-first Canadian woman to have gender-confirming surgery
- 1972 Rosemary Brown-first black woman elected to a provincial legislature
- 1976 Pamela McGee-first woman ordained in the Lutheran Eastern Canada Synod
- 1976 Lois Wilson-first woman President of the Canadian Council of Churches and four years later, the first female Moderator of the United Church of Canada
- 1976 first six women priests ordained in the Anglican Church of Canada
- 1978 Judy Cameron-first woman pilot hired by Air Canada
- 1980 Sandie Rinaldo-first news anchor on national TV (still broadcasting)
- 1984 Jeanne Sauvé-Canada’s first female Governor-General
- 1988 Ethel Blondin-first Native woman to sit in the House of Commons
- 1989 Audrey McLaughlin-first female leader of a political party in Canada
- 1991 Rita Johnston-Canada’s first woman Premier
- 1991 Nellie Cournoyea, a North West Territories Member of the Legislative Assembly became the first women Premier of a Canadian Territory
- 1992 Roberta Bondar-first Canadian female astronaut launched into space
- 1993 Victoria Matthews-the first woman bishop in Canada

- 1993 Kim Campbell-Canada's first (and to date) only female Prime Minister
- 1997 Judy Rois-the first woman Vicar appointed to a Canadian Anglican Cathedral
- 1997 Adrienne Clarkson-Canada's second female Governor General
- 2005 Mich  elle Jean-Canada's third female Governor General
- 2006 Katherine Jefferts Schori-first woman Primate in the Anglican Communion (presiding bishop of The Episcopal Church)
- 2007 Susan Johnson-first National woman Bishop for the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada
- 2008 Shelly Glover-a Manitoba Metis and policewoman to become an MP in Canadian history
- 2008 Leona Aglukkaq-first Inuk sworn into the Federal Cabinet
- 2010 Angela James-first Canadian woman inducted into the Hockey Hall of Fame
- 2013 Kathleen Wynne-first openly gay female Head of Government in Canada, province of Ontario
- 2017 Julie Payette-second female astronaut and incoming Governor General, fourth female

POLITICAL RIGHTS OF WOMEN IN CANADA

Canada has had a long political history, initially as a colony, but later with its own political institutions. Several documents are important in understanding the evolution of women's political rights in Canada and the closely related economic situation. Concurrent with the political and economic situation is the change of their status within the Church. The political documents are the Royal Proclamation of 1763 (following the Treaty of Paris, 1763), The Quebec Act of 1774, the Constitutional Act of 1791, the Act of Union of 1840, the British North America Act of 1867 and the Canada Act/Constitution Act of 1982. The early legislation ignored female rights, and it was not until the Constitution Act with its Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms that embraced female issues. Our discussion begins with early 20th century movements, as there was little of consequence before that time.

It was during the First World War that some women in Canada were allowed to vote. While women's suffrage groups had existed since the 1870s, it was during the war that the women's suffrage movement gained impetus. Women were actively serving in the war; they took over from men in factories and offices, given the labor shortage created by the war; they were holding families together and functioning as the head of the household when men went overseas; and, they were working in volunteer organizations that supported the war effort. Given the shift in social and economic realities, it was difficult to deny participation by women in the political system, particularly when they were now paying income tax, which had been brought into effect in 1917 as a temporary measure to fund the war.

In 1921, women gained the right to vote in a federal election, but not all women were enfranchised. At the time, aboriginal and Asian women were not allowed to vote. Women of color, Chinese women, Hindu or East Indian women, and Japanese women were not fully enfranchised at the provincial or federal levels until the 1940s. In fact, the province of Quebec only enfranchised women in 1960. Aboriginal women could not vote for band councils until 1951 and in federal elections until 1960.

Following gaining right to vote in the 1920s, women became more involved in society and the workforce than before. However, women earned only one-half of what men earned. Equal pay for equal work legislation was still a half century away. By 1929 women made up 29% of the work force, working largely as secretaries, sales clerks, factory workers, teachers, and nurses. While gaining the right to vote was an important victory, it did not allow women to fully participate in the Canadian democracy. A woman could not take her place in the Senate as women were not yet declared persons under the law. The declaration took another eight years after the first group of women voted in a federal election in 1921. A court decision was necessary. This legal victory is important because without an identity as a person, a woman could hardly be a candidate for various professions, or as a priest. It was the persistence of five Alberta women, *The Famous Five*, as petitioners in a groundbreaking person's case that resulted in

women becoming persons in the eyes of the law. Led by Judge Emily Murphy, the group included Henrietta Muir Edwards, Nellie McLung, Louise Crummy McKinney and Irene Parlby. In August 1927, the Supreme Court was asked this question in a test case:

Does the word persons in Section 24 of the British North American Act of 1867 include female persons?

Eight months later (April 1928) the Supreme Court of Canada said: **No, women are not persons.**

Eighteen months later this decision was overturned by the British Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Prior to 1929, women were not understood to be persons in Canadian law until five women challenged the antiquated interpretation of the law and conventions and insisted that women be officially recognized as persons. In 1930, Cairine Wilson became Canada's first woman Senator.

The expansionary period of the 1920s was cut short by the Great Depression, but production and employment expanded enormously with World War Two. Employers hired single and married women to do *men's jobs*, but, of course, for lower wages. During the war, incentives were offered to attract married women into the labor force, such as free government nurseries and income tax concessions. But, at the end of the war, these incentives were immediately withdrawn and married women were relegated out of the work force. It was the expectation that women relinquish their jobs to returning servicemen. All day nurseries were shut down forcing women to return to the home. By 1946, the rate of women's participation in the labor force had dropped to the Great Depression levels. The federal government introduced the *Baby Bonus* which was a monthly government check issued to mothers to cover child expenses. Birth rates were very high following the war, which is often referred to as the Baby Boom. By the 1950s, there was rapid growth and economic expansion with research and development and expansion in the health, welfare and educational services, with the need to advertise, sell and finance new products following the War. This expansion created new jobs overall, but especially for women. By 1951, women comprised 22% of the total labor force and by the mid-20th century, many families needed two income earners to afford more goods and to educate their children. There was a steady increase in part-time work by women; 70% of part-time jobs were filled by women in the 1990s.

In the 1960s, women were under-represented in political institutions and universities, and they were often subject to a range of discriminatory policies and legislation in both the public and private sectors. However, by the end of the 1960s, the women's movement voiced protest which resulted in women's centers, consciousness-raising groups and rape crisis centers. In 1967, the final report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women's contained 167 recommendations on employment, educational opportunities, and family law. The establishment of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women as a lobby group ensured that addressing women's issues continued beyond the 1970s.

It was at this time that there was another notable event for women in Canada, abortion, which raised the question whether a woman has the right to make decisions concerning her body. Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, as Minister of Justice, made an often quoted declaration: "*The state has no business in the bedrooms of the nation.*" As early as the 1960s, Trudeau fought to legalize abortion and framed the *Canadian Human Rights Act* which declared no discrimination based on sex, race, or religion.

In 1869, the Canadian government had passed a law that resulted in a life sentence to anyone who performed an abortion. Until 1969, abortion was a criminal offence under the Criminal Code and women were dying trying to procure abortions outside the law. As well, in 1892 birth control was outlawed in Canada and put into the Criminal Code as an obscene act, corrupting morals. Advising people on birth control or distributing artificial birth control could result in a 2-year jail term. By the end of World War One, the law was seldom enforced particularly when servicemen returned from the war with STDs. The last case of prosecution took place in 1936 in a predominantly French speaking, low income area of Ottawa. In 1969, limited abortion was permitted in Canada. In 1970, women organized a cross-country movement and an abortion caravan from Vancouver to Ottawa was organized calling for increased

reproductive freedom, through increased access to abortion and birth control. In Ottawa, 35 women chained themselves to the parliamentary gallery as part of a two-day demonstration for abortion rights.

In 1988, Canada became one of a small number of countries without a law restricting abortion, and in 1989, the Supreme Court ruled that a father had no legal right to veto a women's abortion decision. In the late 1970's, the Canadian *Human Rights Act* came into effect prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sex and ensuring equal pay for work of equal value. By the mid-1980s, women in Canada still did not have equality. Women accounted for 45% of the work force, while earning 72% of the salary earned by men for the same work.

Women's groups have fought hard to ensure that the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in the Canadian Constitution of 1982 enshrined equality for both sexes, and it has been effective in striking down discriminatory laws. However, some controversial issues affecting the status of women remain unresolved, such as pornography, equal pay, and pensions. In 1997, the United Nations ranked Canada first in the world as a desirable country in which to live. However, Canada dropped to 7th, when gender equality was factored into the equation.

These events in Canadian history are important in understanding the road to the priesthood of women, which centers around 1976. It was a time for political, economic, social, and theological change. Finally, the ordination of women to the priesthood of the ACC became a reality. This may well not have even been considered without the tireless efforts of female trailblazers through their efforts to enshrine an egalitarian, representative and fair democracy, the declaration of personhood, and the access to birth control, as well as family planning.

In outlining the path, consider the first woman ordained to the priesthood, Florence Li Tim-Oi, in 1944 in Hong Kong. She was ordained because, following the Japanese invasion of China, male priests could not reach the Macau region where Li Tim-Oi was a deacon. Her congregation where she was a deacon saw in her the vocation to priesthood long before Bishop Ronald Hall laid hands on her. However, her priesthood was noted as irregular. So too with the first ordinations of women in North America in 1974. The Philadelphia Eleven had waited long enough for The Episcopal Church's structures to recognize their calling. It had claimed that the priesthood was open only to males, but eleven female deacons were ordained to the priesthood by three retired bishops. These ordinations were also (initially) noted as irregular. The road has been a long one for women in Canada and in the Church with much to do and much still to change in terms of who stands at altars on Sunday mornings and who wears a miter at confirmations and ordinations (i.e. a bishop), not to mention the communities that support them.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

There have been several milestones since the ordination to the priesthood of Li Tim-Oi in 1944, The Philadelphia Eleven in 1972 and the six Canadian women in 1976, but these are steps on a far longer journey. Perhaps this journey will not be truly complete until the Church is fully transformed into an inclusive entity from the inside out to remove the remaining vestiges of patriarchy, sexism, heterosexism, racism, and forms of oppression to produce a truly expansive entity which recognizes the human resource potential of its participants. This paper has documented the trailblazing and pioneering women, in not only the ACC but also in political and social arenas, who have sought to make institutions more inclusive. Notwithstanding the strides that have taken place, there are still several barriers that must be overcome.

This paper identified barriers to entry, glass ceilings and persistent problems like underpayment and non-acceptance of women in various roles. From anecdotal evidence, conversations, and reading the literature critically, the authors promulgate and enumerate several salient points over the following three paragraphs that need to be addressed. These points are based on previous articles by (Anderson 2010, Coombs 2016, Housel 2003, Hunt 2011, Longman & Lafreniere 2012, Martinez & Rodriguez-Entrena 2012, McLean 2011, Pless 2010, Power 2017, Radford-Ruether 2011, Roebuck 2012, Via 2011, Zagano 2008, and in denominational writings by the United Methodist, Nazarene, Presbyterian, Pentecostal and ELCA churches), as well as being witnessed in various parts of the Anglican Communion (ACNS 2012, Folkins 2015, Rois, Rixon & Faseruk, Sison 2012, 2014, 2015, Williams 2012).

In many churches, there is still the persistence of the tradition of male-dominance as Jesus chose 12 male disciples and women are men's "help-mate" etc. Women are perceived to be wired for empathy and consensus decision-making and while these attributes are excellent qualities for ministry, some believe that women will not be tough enough to make the tough decisions, yet women have traditionally dominated some caring professions, e.g. nursing, physical therapy, teaching, and more recently medicine which have histories of making tough decisions within these caring professions.

Women may well find it harder to drop everything for the demands of ministry, as childcare is still considered more of a female responsibility, which in turn registers concerns for work-life balance. Women are still perceived by many, both inside and outside the church, to be the primary care-givers at home, and the ones who are responsible for housework, babysitting, transporting children to school and extra-curricular activities, medical appointments, etc. The compensation packages in churches are skewed towards salary, living and car allowances, and pension issues, while not fully recognizing maternity leave for female ministers, which may well be inadequate.

Women are perceived by many to be too emotional. On the other hand, some women are perceived to be too 'manly', taking on masculine characteristics to be part of the "clerical club." Women change the old boys club; many men enjoy the companionship and collegiality of men too much to let women "in", a place where men cannot tell off-color jokes or complain about their wives and home life in the presence of women. One of the more frequently encountered adages is "no tits in the chancel please" (an *olde-tyme* phrase but still alive and well). Women get pregnant and need parental leaves, and it is easier for men with wives at home to care for children, although this is changing with male clerics now wanting parental leave. It is important to note that resentment to female clergy may not only be present in males but also in females. There can be persistent resentment toward women clergy from older, non-career, stay-at-home wives. It is potentially easier with men only, e.g. travelling, hotels, going out for dinner, sporting events, etc. There is also the issue of change and how to deal with it: clergy had been male for years so "it doesn't seem right" or "we're not accustomed to it" or "we've never done it that way before." Churches already attract more women than men as congregants. With more female clergy, who will remain in the pews? Conservative theology abounds in many denominations: God is at the head, then men, then women, then children (traditional family order). Many women in the church enjoy "taking care" of their male clergy. Many women are very active in church work because male clergy will often act 'helpless' which provides women the opportunity to feel needed and important. Women clergy change all of this! Some believe that women are God's second choice for ministry. Men are preferred and women are not equal to men in that pecking order. A congregation may seem inferior or flawed if it has a female minister. The thought may be what's wrong with that congregation if they are unable to attract a male minister. A stronger version is from the RCC once compared women priests to the crime of pedophilia.

Overall many strides have been made in the political, legal and social arenas for female advancement, as well as the Church, but there is still a long way to go, as attitudes will need to change to fully integrate women into the life of the church in not only Anglican churches, but several other denominations as well.

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