

GATHER AT THE RIVER: GLIMPSES OF CHRISTIAN TRADITION
THROUGH 20th CENTURY STONE-CAMPBELL WOMEN

By Dawn Lynette Gentry

A paper submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
CH 5010 – Christian Tradition
Dr. Paul Blowers

Emmanuel Christian Seminary at Milligan College
Johnson City, TN
December 3, 2015

GATHER AT THE RIVER: GLIMPSES OF CHRISTIAN TRADITION
THROUGH 20th CENTURY STONE-CAMPBELL WOMEN

For over 30 years, my experience with Christian tradition was limited to one small stream of the Stone-Campbell movement, the acappella churches of Christ. Raised in the home of a preacher and Christian school educator, it seldom occurred to me that our history was connected to a much larger river of Christian thought and experience. One author summarized this well:

Our memories of our Christian heritage are...selective. As the story of a religious movement is passed on, some things get dropped out and forgotten; intricate events get simplified; conflicts get enshrined and differences get exaggerated; lines of separation get hardened. [But] discovering lost or forgotten parts of this past can bring clarifying perspective – and perhaps healing balm – to Christian life today.¹

Through this paper, I reflect on how the study of Christian tradition has impacted my Stone-Campbell nurtured faith. Taking a cue from Mark Noll, who “examines connections between American religious life and...recent world history,”² I examine connections between my own Stone-Campbell heritage and the lives of ten specific women in relatively recent years. History is, after all, a collection of narratives about the past – *his* story, if you will. Perhaps by focusing instead on the stories of women we can “discover lost or forgotten parts” of our past in order to gain a new perspective, and in doing so, deepen our own experience of Christian faith.³

¹ C. Leonard Allen, *Distant Voices: Discovering a Forgotten Past for a Changing Church*, Abilene: ACU, 1993, 3.

² Mark Noll, *The New Shape of World Christianity: How American Experience Reflects Global Faith*, Downers Grove: IVP, 2009, 11.

³ Loretta Hunnicutt also speaks to the importance of telling women’s stories which are “relevant to the movement and help illuminate what the movement values and believes” in her article “What I Learned about Women,” *Stone-Campbell Journal*, Vol 16, No2 (Fall 2013), 165-176.

My family has a long heritage in the church of Christ. As a young boy, my father attended the West Unity church (est. 1850, closed c. 1948, Putnam County, Indiana)⁴, where his father and grandfather were both elders. My grandfather remembered a woman there from his childhood named Sarah Hillis. “Grandmother Hillis,” as she was known, was a faithful member and the elders used to call on her to “offer a statement” publicly. My grandfather remembered those statements as “quite inspiring and faith strengthening.”⁵ At the turn of the century, this modest congregation of my heritage had a woman exhorter. This is ironic since my family was never part of a church where women were allowed to speak.

After the West Unity church was closed,⁶ my father’s family became members at the Cloverdale Church of Christ, established by J. M. Mathes in 1841. This minister held protracted meetings and established churches throughout the southern half of the state, and had widespread influence.⁷ He was personally acquainted with Barton Stone, having baptized Stone’s daughter-in-law and granddaughter; he also hosted Stone at his home at least once.⁸ Two of the long held values at the Cloverdale church align well with early Stone-Campbell values: holding biblical teaching above tradition, and the importance of the New Testament for faith and practice.⁹ Noll

⁴ Raymond L. Muncy, *Filling the Ancient Measure: A History of the Cloverdale, Indiana, Church of Christ 1841-1991*, self-published by the church, 1991, 28. With few exceptions, discussion of West Unity and Cloverdale come from this source – page numbers will be in footnote form if a specific quote is used.

⁵ Muncy, *Ancient Measure*, 28.

⁶ Muncy, *Ancient Measure*, 62. The church was razed to make room for the development of Leiber State Park. The church steps still stand in overgrown brush...a few years ago my cousin took me there for a photo.

⁷ Muncy mentions the towns of Gosport, Spencer, Cloverdale, New Albany, Indianapolis, and Bedford among others, *Ancient Measure*, 23.

⁸ Muncy, 24. See also connections of Barton Stone with churches in Indiana at http://www.acu.edu/sponsored/restoration_quarterly/archives/1960s/vol_8_no_1_contents/roberts.html accessed 11/21/15.

⁹ Thomas Campbell, *Declaration and Address*. Available online at <http://www.therestorationmovement.com/states/wv/declaration.htm>, accessed 11/21/15.

asserts American religion is “more oriented to the Bible... than to tradition or history” and in that regard, the Stone-Campbell movement is uniquely American.¹⁰ My grandfather served as an elder at the Cloverdale church from 1951-1981, and my father became a preaching minister in conservative churches of Christ when I was eight years old; consequently, these values were ingrained in me from an early age.

What I learned of Christian tradition and the Stone-Campbell movement was not just through Sunday service and Wednesday night bible study, however. On one family vacation we traveled to visit the Cane Ridge meeting house and on another, Alexander Campbell’s home site. My parents wanted us to understand our family’s Christian heritage, although they never discussed the tradition prior to the Campbells and Stone. There was a definite assumption that we were part of the “true” church and others were not. In college, I remember asking questions of a Bible teacher about instrumental music as it related to the contemporary Christian genre which was so popular at the time.¹¹ Other than that experience, I do not remember challenging any beliefs or assumptions I had about the church. I accepted my parents’ faith and practice as my own.

My personal faith grew during college, largely thanks to relationships I had with strong Christians who encouraged my prayer, journaling, and individual discipleship. But my life experience remained firmly planted in moderately conservative churches of Christ until 1994. As far as I knew at that point there was only one true stream flowing from the Stone-Campbell

¹⁰ Noll, *New Shape of World Christianity*, 13.

¹¹ I was a student at Michigan Christian College (now Rochester College) at the time (1981-83). My professor said that instrumental Christian music was fine during the week as long as it wasn’t used in the Sunday service.

legacy. But as a stream's flow responds to rocks and trees along the way, my tributary boundaries changed when I discovered Allen's book¹² in a friend's guest room. Stories of women preachers and deacons, an ecumenical spirit of fellowship, gifts of the Holy Spirit, a positive view of Christian tradition – none of the churches I worshiped with had ever discussed these topics!¹³ I began asking more questions of Christians I knew, and reading more broadly of Christians I would never meet.

In late 1997, my questions had led to membership in an independent Christian church. We learned much about what this stream of the movement had in common with the acappella churches and how few differences were between us. It seemed our Christian history and tradition was the same, but our approach to the “silence” of scripture was different. In general, acappella churches view silence as a prohibition; independent churches, as an invitation to choose. But the approach to silence was not consistent in either stream. In acappella churches, the text's silence on instruments meant “singing only.” But a similar silence did not apply in terms of Sunday schools, paid preachers, or church camps. In instrumental churches, the phrase “in opinions, liberty” applied to the use of instruments. They were happy to fellowship with non-instrumental Stone-Campbell siblings. But it did not seem to apply to the question of women in ministry; many leaders seemed unwilling to discuss the topic since the text in 1 Timothy 2 was “so obviously clear.”¹⁴ One of many insights I learned about the Stone-Campbell tradition was the

¹² C. Leonard Allen, *Distant Voices*.

¹³ Allen, *Distant Voices*. See chapters 4, 5-9, 16-18.

¹⁴ I use quotes to refer to a general attitude. I also confess that this attitude is not found in all independent Christian churches. There are churches who value their “independent” status and governance, and their leaders have been willing to study the issue and make a decision on such topics for *their congregations*, regardless of the current wave of opinion in the movement; for example, North American Christian Convention leadership, the Christian Standard journal, nearby mega-churches, etc.

multitude of scripture interpretations; faithful people often had strong, differing opinions about what a text meant and what it means today.

I experienced an insistent call to ministry in the year 2000, unsure about what that might mean. Even after joining an independent church, and having many additional areas of service open to me, I still had no example of a woman with leadership and teaching gifts, serving publicly as part of a pastoral staff. Nevertheless, in 2001 I was hired as the children's ministry director. I loved the work; both my education (child development) and my business experience (marketing, recruiting, and promotion) made it a good fit. But I always sensed my call to ministry was to ministry in general, not just to children's ministry. I always believed God was preparing me for something more.

In the meantime, I began looking for examples of other women who had entered ministry or struggled with a calling in the church of Christ. I began looking for mentors and pioneers who had traveled this path before. Many women were gracious enough to talk with me by phone or online, and some have written books or articles to share their stories. The narratives come from all streams of the Stone-Campbell movement: non-instrumental Churches of Christ, Independent Christian Churches, and Disciples of Christ. Some of these stories (like my own) have moved fluidly from one course to another. All of the stories have intersected with my own narrative history as part of the Stone-Campbell movement (both acappella and independent branches).

Katie Hays¹⁵ grew up in acappella churches and attended both Princeton and Yale Divinity Schools. She and her husband Lance served as co-ministers in Alabama and then in West Islip, New York at non-instrumental (but radical for the 90s) churches of Christ. At both

¹⁵ Katie Hays, Phone interviews by author, Indianapolis, IN, 3/1/11 and Johnson City, TN, 11/24/15.

churches she and Lance shared preaching duties but as time went on, Katie realized she was struggling with trying to fit in and *not* to offend anyone. “We felt like refugees,” she said. “There was no Church of Christ progressive enough for our theology.” Lance eventually went on to teach at Brite Divinity School and Katie was ordained as a Disciples of Christ minister. She now serves as lead planter at the Galileo Church in the Dallas suburbs. “I finally found my voice and became unapologetic and unashamed about who I was,” she said. Katie’s story reminds me that each person receives the Holy Spirit at baptism; what God *gifts* a person to do may not be the same as what a person is “allowed to do” at a particular church. Some may have to be willing to look in other streams to find a place to swim.

Micki Pulleyking and Kathy Pulley are two sisters who were raised in acappella churches, but went on to teach and write academic articles that question the status quo regarding “women in ministry.” Both are professors in the religious studies department at Missouri State, but Micki also served as the pulpit minister for a Disciples’ congregation for 21 years. “Can I hold to a vision of the church, where the gifts of everyone are shared?” she asks.¹⁶ While her focus is academics, she also serves as an associate minister for another Disciples’ church “because,” as she adds, “I love ministry!”¹⁷ Like Micki, I am committed to the church and hope the church will use my gifts for God’s glory.¹⁸

Kathy’s primary area of research is women and religion, particularly in relation to evangelicals and the Stone-Campbell movement. In one article, she mentions the social factors

¹⁶ Micki Pulleyking, “What Shall I Do? My Gender Shall Follow Me All the Days of My Life,” *Mission Journal* (November 1987), 36.

¹⁷ Micki Pulleyking, Facebook message to author, 11/24/15.

¹⁸ Pulleyking, “What Shall I Do?” 37.

that may influence churches' decisions regarding women in ministry and the reality that in some church circles, "a woman's intelligence and her ability to lead are still suspect."¹⁹ In this instance, Kathy notes that congregational autonomy may both help and hinder.²⁰ For example, the lack of a denominational board requiring leaders to include women on their teams can result in churches simply ignoring the issue. On the other hand, congregational autonomy also means that church leaders are able to study and apply their theology in a way that works for their local church, whether or not it follows the "traditional" conservative model. What I learned from both these sisters is to not to be afraid to ask questions, and to look for opportunities in academia if the ministry doors swing shut.

I first met D'Esta Love last year but her legacy reaches far and wide. As a co-editor of *Leaven*, she published a 1996 issue with the theme "Women And Ministry." This journal issue was my first introduction to the reality that other women like me were asking similar questions and forging new paths. "We have a long and rich, although flawed, heritage," she notes.²¹ She writes about her personal journey from fear to faith; when she is finally invited to give a public prayer, she realizes "after a lifetime of silence in the sanctuary of God, I cannot utter a word."²² This may explain the title of a recent book she edited, *Finding Their Voices*, in which she shares sermons by women in Churches of Christ.²³ D'Esta has served as a pioneer and encourager to many women in ministry and states "We live in a time of struggle and change, but I believe it is

¹⁹ Kathy Pulley, "Change Factors Affecting Women in the Local Church," *Leaven* (Spring 1996), 42.

²⁰ Kathy Pulley, "Change Factors," 42.

²¹ D'Esta Love, Facebook message to author, 11/22/15.

²² D'Esta Love, "Why Am I Afraid?" *Leaven* 4.2 (Spring 1996), 4.

²³ D'Esta Love, ed. *Finding Their Voices: Sermons by Women in the Churches of Christ*. Abilene: ACU Press, 2015.

a time of courage and hope.”²⁴ Her example teaches me not to fear the criticism of others but to bravely lean into ministry opportunities as they arise.

When I had the privilege to interview Sara Barton,²⁵ she was one of the Bible professors at Rochester College (my alma mater) and she was gracious enough to share an advance copy of her book with me. I appreciated her focus on our responsibility to use the gifts God has given us. “We are not whole when we do not,” she notes. “We’re meant to join the whole story.”²⁶ When she had the confidence to “step into [her] calling” she found that her smaller story fit “under the guidance of the big story of God.”²⁷ Sara speaks to the importance of having a community of faith that provides encouragement and guidance in the process of discovering one’s ministry gifts²⁸ and she now provides that encouragement for others as the chaplain of Pepperdine University.

When I consider the metaphor of streams in the Stone-Campbell movement, I think of those who choose to cross streams and minister with Disciples’ churches who are more open to women in leadership. When hiking, if one comes to a stream that needs to be crossed, a question that should be asked is if the risk is worth the reward. Some, like the Pulley sisters and Katie Hays, decided the answer to that question was “Yes!” But some, like D’Esta Love and Sara Barton, chose to stay and affect change in their own churches and schools. What these women

²⁴ D’Esta Love, “Why Am I Afraid?” 6.

²⁵ Sara Barton, Phone interview by author, Indianapolis, IN, 4/10/11.

²⁶ Sara Barton, *A Woman Called: Piecing Together the Ministry Puzzle*, (Abilene: Leafwood, 2012), 51.

²⁷ Sara Barton, *A Woman Called*, 62.

²⁸ Sara Barton, *A Woman Called*, 96.

share includes higher education as part of their path and a positive impact on the Stone-Campbell tradition in general, as well as on my own Christian experience.

When I moved to Tennessee to begin my Master of Divinity program I realized God was writing a new story for my life. While I would not let go of Christian traditions like the importance of scripture and value of study, I also kept the early Stone-Campbell call to unity in view and asked more questions about the shared history of acapella, independent, and Disciples' churches. I want to see additional dialogue taking place between the three streams, and I want to encourage churches to work together for the good of the kingdom. My husband and I became members at an instrumental Christian church that wore its independence proudly. Almost 30 years ago the church's leaders studied the biblical theology of women for more than a year before deciding that all areas of service were open to any gifted, willing servant, regardless of gender.²⁹ This willingness to be truly autonomous – for the leadership to take a stand and create a policy with which other “brotherhood” churches might disagree– seems well in line with Thomas Campbell's plea for churches to form conclusions about what scripture means without making it a test of fellowship for other Christians.³⁰

My understanding of the Eucharist tradition has also deepened in our new congregation. Growing up, taking communion was an individual event; each member participated as they “examined themselves.”³¹ We took a single piece of bread, followed by an individual cup, as the tray passed by. But communion at Grandview is celebrated together. We hear a common liturgy,

²⁹ Our church's experience is profiled in Robert Hull's article, “A Grand View of Women and Men Working Together,” *Leaven* 22.2 (Second Quarter, 2014), 90-93.

³⁰ *Declaration and Address*, accessed 11/21/15. Regarding the value of this autonomy, see note 18 above.

³¹ 1 Corinthians 11:26

we walk forward with family to accept a piece of bread and dip it into a cup, offered by one of our brothers and sisters. It is a visible reminder of the body of Christ sharing the body of Christ. As part of the priesthood of believers, we are all invited to serve this meal to one another.

Making new connections in Tennessee also meant there were new stories to hear. I learned the legacy of other women in ministry whose impact was rich and deep. Some women passed on before I came but left their mark on both Milligan and Emmanuel. One of these women was Mildred Welshimer Phillips (1902-1983). She was the daughter of the influential Disciples' minister, P. H. Welshimer. Mildred is described to have "carried on much of her father's legacy," serving as an editor at Standard Publishing before becoming the dean of women at Milligan College in 1947.³² In that role, she mentored both women and men, giving particular encouragement to ministerial students. She married B. D. Phillips in 1963 and carried out decades of philanthropic ventures, of particular benefit to many Christian colleges. Mildred's influence on Milligan continued through her service as chair of the trustees from 1976-1982. Mildred's story exemplifies the importance of mentoring young people and the value of generosity.

Dorothy Keister Walker (1920-1999)³³ is another woman whose ministry spans multiple states. She was a student of Dean Walker's at Butler School of Religion (now Christian Theological Seminary) and graduated with her Master's degree in 1949. After her graduation she was ordained by the Loch Haven Church of Christ in Pennsylvania. Dorothy served as an assistant minister for the Fleming Garden Christian Church in Indianapolis for three years before

³² Clinton Holloway and Lee Fierbaugh, *Milligan Celebrates 150 Years*, Milligan College, 2015, 56.

³³ Bruce Shields and Rosemary Shields, "Those Women of the Hopwood Church," *Leaven* 22.2, (2014) 98.

she began a 20 year ministry as an evangelist and artist. She often spoke on the importance of women recognizing and assuming the “stewardship of their lives.”³⁴ She married Dean Walker and settled in Johnson City in 1962. In the mid-1980s, she was elected as an elder at Hopwood Memorial Christian Church and served in that capacity for many years. Like Mildred, Dorothy was a single woman during the beginning of her ministry. Dorothy’s legacy shows that gifted women can and should serve in a wide range of ministries both in and outside the church.

I also learned the stories of three women still living in East Tennessee. The first was Ottiemearl Stuckenbruck.³⁵ By the time she was 14 years old, she had lost both parents, but her aunt’s family took her to a Christian church. She decided to “dedicate [her] life to the Lord” and remembers the church leaders laying hands on her for commissioning when she went forward at a gospel meeting. She majored in Bible at Butler University and met her husband Earl there. Ottiemearl mentioned with pride that Earl’s mother, Olivia May Stuckenbruck, was ordained into ministry at a Christian church in Iowa. Earl’s father and brother were also ordained ministers.

Both Ottiemearl and Earl were ordained by the European Evangelistic Society and then moved to Tubingen, Germany. When she mentioned the dates they served overseas (1947-1968 including a couple of furloughs), I asked her about the schism between independent and Disciples’ churches. Ottiemearl got quiet for a moment and replied, “We tried not to be involved with the tensions. We had friends in all streams of the movement.” Her eyes were sad as she shared how difficult it was raising missionary support. “One group wouldn’t support the efforts of another,” she said. “It really affected missions.” After serving in Tubingen, Earl and

³⁴ Dorothy Keister Walker, Ministry description folio in personal files, Helsabeck Archives of the Emmanuel Christian Seminary library, Johnson City, TN.

³⁵ Ottiemearl Stuckenbruck, Interview by author, Johnson City, TN, 11/9/15

Ottiemearl settled in Johnson City where they both taught at Milligan for several years. She shared fond memories of several people who had a significant impact on her life. “It’s amazing how many people can influence you so deeply, with just a word, or a single action, in your life.” Ottiemearl’s story impressed me with the value of relationships, mentoring, and working together within all three streams of the movement for the common good of the kingdom.

Another woman whose life radiates faithfulness is Velma Hall.³⁶ Growing up in southern Indiana, she left home to attend college in Indianapolis to study business at the age of 17; upon graduation, she worked for Eli Lilly. When I commented on how unique it must have been in the late 40s for a young woman to leave a rural home for school far away, she said there were two reasons. “I had an aunt who had done the same thing, so I knew it was an option,” she said. “But I also worked at a restaurant in high school and the owners wanted me to marry their son. I was having none of that, so I decided to go away to school!” Velma attended Englewood Christian Church in Indianapolis and met her husband, Bob Hall, there in 1953.

Bob preached for several different ministries in Indiana, Wisconsin, and Tennessee. Velma noted that in those days, minister’s wives were expected to do their share; they were considered part of the ministry team.³⁷ Bob and Velma served at both independent and Disciples’ churches but did not see many differences in those days. She noted “I think too much is made of the differences and not enough of the similarities.” Velma was the first woman elder at Grandview Christian Church³⁸ and often encourages younger women in their preaching and

³⁶Velma Hall, Interview by author, Johnson City, TN, 11/16/15.

³⁷ On this phenomenon, see Glenn M. Zuber, “Professional Wives: The Rise and Decline of the Preaching Minister’s Wife and Widow among the Disciples of Christ 1910-1970” (master’s thesis, Emmanuel School of Religion, 1994).

³⁸ See Hull, “A Grand View,” 92-93.

leadership. “To be a good pastor you just have to love your people,” she notes. “You have to make yourself available to them.” This love for people, the importance of seeing others blaze a trail before us, and the many commonalities between the three Stone-Campbell streams, are the most important lessons I learned from Velma Hall.

I first met Pat Magness³⁹ when she was my daughter’s professor at Milligan; her husband, Lee, was my Greek professor at Emmanuel. Pat grew up in Hammond, Indiana where her father, Calvin Phillips, was the preacher at a small congregation for 34 years. She was involved in children’s ministry while in college, and she and her husband have served churches in Tennessee, Virginia, Idaho, and Georgia before establishing teaching careers at Milligan in 1983. Like Velma, Pat mentions that she and Lee attended both Disciples’ and independent churches in these various states, noting “we were always comfortable participating in all streams of the Restoration Movement.” Pat and Lee were members at Hopwood when Dorothy Keister Walker was elected an elder, and Pat notes “she had been serving as an elder before that, without a title.” Pat has often agreed to assignments even when they were outside her areas of passion or experience just because she wanted to see a woman in that role. “I sometimes saw myself as a place holder for the women who would come along later,” she remarked, “and wanted to get my foot in the door on their behalf.” This is important; much of what we learn about Christian tradition is observed more than taught. Every time a woman serves in a visible way, younger people have a tangible example of what a “woman in ministry” can be.

In a recent article, Pat wrote, “When I hear a woman preach or pray or read scripture, I am hearing my own voice and being challenged to find my own voice and speak up in my own

³⁹ Patricia Magness, Interview by author, Elizabethton, TN, 4/4/14.

voice.”⁴⁰ This combination of visual and auditory examples empowers us to realize that God has a mission for each of us, even if it does not look like the mission God gave our mothers. The connections we make by hearing stories – of those in our churches, and of those from the distant past – all intersect to create the river of our own experience. While changing in response to objects in its path, the movement of the water also affects its environment in sometimes powerful ways. The variety of streams in the Stone-Campbell movement have combined to create a confluence in my own theology and Christian experience, and I am richer because of this variety.

Our churches can be filled with men and women serving in partnership and accomplishing the God’s work without any concern for who has power or authority. Pat reminds us “all the voices together create a more complete story and a better sense of the whole of the church.”⁴¹ Our “practices of memory”⁴² can be a vital piece in the study of Christian tradition that we tell our daughters and sons. Telling each other the stories of women, some long gone, some still thankfully close by, in a way that connects them to God’s greater story will impact our faith, allowing us recognize ourselves in that story as well. Perhaps this new perspective will enable our ministry leadership to serve with long-reaching power and potential influence for those who come along behind us. May we find our own voices in the process.

⁴⁰ Patricia Magness, “God Speaks My Language,” *Leaven* 22.2 (Second Quarter, 2014), 66.

⁴¹ Patricia Magness, “God Speaks My Language,” 67.

⁴² Elizabeth A Johnson, *Friends of God and Prophets: A Feminist Theological Reading of the Communion of Saints* (New York: Continuum, 2005). See chapter 8.

Bibliography

- Allen, C. Leonard. *Distant Voices: Discovering a Forgotten Past for a Changing Church*. Abilene: ACU, 1993.
- Barton, Sara. *A Woman Called: Piecing Together the Ministry Puzzle*. Abilene: Leafwood, 2012.
- Campbell, Thomas. *Declaration and Address*. Available online at <http://www.therestorationmovement.com/states/wv/declaration.htm>, accessed 11/21/15.
- Holloway, Clinton J. *He Still Speaks: A Literary Biography of Robert Milligan*. Milligan College, 2014.
- and Lee Fierbaugh. *Milligan Celebrates 150 Years*. Milligan College, 2015.
- Hull, Robert. "A Grand View of Women and Men Working Together." *Leaven* 22.2 (Second Quarter, 2014): 89-93.
- Hunnicut, Loretta. "What I Learned About Women" *Stone-Campbell Journal Vol 16, No 2* (Fall 2013): 165-176.
- Johnson, Elizabeth A. *Friends of God and Prophets: A Feminist Theological Reading of the Communion of Saints*. New York: Continuum, 2005.
- Love, D'Esta. "Why Am I Afraid?" *Leaven* 4.2 (Spring 1996): 4-6.
- , ed. *Finding Their Voices: Sermons by Women in the Churches of Christ*. Abilene: ACU Press, 2015.
- Magness, Patricia. "God Speaks My Language." *Leaven* 22.2 (Second Quarter, 2014): 66-68.
- Muncy, Raymond L. *Filling the Ancient Measure: A History of the Cloverdale, Indiana, Church of Christ, 1841-1991*. Self-published by the church, 1991.
- Noll, Mark A. *The New Shape of World Christianity: How American Experience Reflects Global Faith*. Downers Grove: IVP, 2009.
- Pulley, Kathy J. "Change Factors Affecting Women in the Local Church." *Leaven* (Spring 1996): 41-43.
- Pulley, Micki (now Micki Pulleyking). "What Shall I Do? My Gender Shall Follow Me All the Days of My Life." *Mission Journal* (November 1987): 34-37.
- Shields, Bruce and Shields, Rosemary (2014) "Those Women of the Hopwood Church," *Leaven* 22.2 (Second Quarter, 2014): 98-101.
- Zuber, Glenn M. "Professional Wives: The Rise and Decline of the Preaching Minister's Wife and Widow Among the Disciples of Christ 1920-1970." Master's thesis, Emmanuel School of Religion, 1994.