

“FOR CHINA AND TIBET, AND FOR
WORLD-WIDE REVIVAL”
CECIL HENRY POLHILL (1860-1938)
AND HIS SIGNIFICANCE FOR EARLY
PENTECOSTALISM

by

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ABSTRACT

Cecil Polhill (1860-1938) remains unfamiliar to the vast majority of Pentecostals, yet he was one of the founding fathers of the tradition in Britain, and his impact and legacy stretch far beyond Britain. Research into his life has been slow and patchy, and what little research there is tends to skim over his pre-pentecostal years (1860-1908). This thesis is the first serious step towards rectifying widespread ignorance about Polhill by taking a more systematic, thorough and chronological approach to analysing and evaluating his life. This is the first to attempt to comprehensively connect Polhill's early life and former experiences with his time as a Pentecostal. This thesis addresses the question of how it is that such a well-established Anglican, senior missionary of the China Inland Mission, dedicated to mission to Tibet, became so involved in the pentecostal movement. What has become evident is that between 1888-1907, his attempts to evangelise Tibet were met with numerous difficulties, but crucially he lacked the long-term support of the China Inland Mission executive. This forced Polhill to look for a new source of missionaries that would be entirely under his direction, and the pentecostal movement became the perfect solution. By providing Polhill with missionaries, the pentecostal movement benefited from his resources and loyalty. For pentecostal history, Polhill is one of the “great persons” through whom the lives of many other Pentecostals can be contextualised and understood.

DEDICATION

For my daughter Iona,
and for my wife who is the most gracious and generous woman I know.

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“By the proud you are not found, not even if their curiosity and skill number the stars and the sand, measure the constellations, and trace the paths of the stars...For they do not in a religious spirit investigate the source of the intelligence with which they research into these matters.” Augustine *Confessions*

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ABBREVIATIONS

AGBI	Assemblies of God for Great Britain and Ireland
BLA	Bedfordshire and Luton Archives
CICCU	Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Christian Union
CIM	China Inland Mission
CMA	Christian and Missionary Alliance
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CSMH	Costin Street Mission Hall
ECP	Eternal Conscious Punishment
EWA	Evangelical World Alliance
EWMB	<i>The Evangelisation of the World: A Missionary Band</i>
FPHC	Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center
HTCOC	<i>Hudson Taylor and China's Open Century</i>
IA	Internet Archive
IDPCM	<i>International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements</i>
JEPTA	<i>Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association</i>
LMS	London Missionary Society
MEP	Société des Missions étrangères de Paris or Society of Foreign Missions of Paris
MUDAI	Memorial University of Newfoundland Digital Archive Initiative
PC	Private Collection
PCO	Polhill Collection Online
PCRA-DGC	Pentecostal and Charismatic Research Archive, Donald Gee Centre
PLP	Pentecostal League of Prayer
PMU	Pentecostal Missionary Union
P&Ps	Principles & Practices
SA	Salvation Army
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies

THR	<i>The Tibetan History Reader</i>
THT	<i>The History of Tibet</i>
TMB	Tibet Missionary Band
TPM	Tibet Pioneer Mission
TPU	Tibet Prayer Union
WMC	World Missionary Conference
WWI	World War One
YUDL	Yale University Digital Library
ZBMM	Zenana Bible and Medical Mission

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Figure 1



Cecil Polhill c.1885

Source: the Polhill Collection Online.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Motivations

Objective research in the Sciences is difficult enough, but in the Arts and Humanities it is almost a truism to say that it is virtually impossible.¹ I am naturally inclined to include data that supports my main thesis and disinclined to include data that does not. Additionally there are few who conduct biographical research about people they dislike, and I am no exception. My own background is Pentecostal. As a teenager I walked into an Elim pentecostal church and immediately encountered love, warmth, acceptance and, I believe, God. I remained there for eleven years and was emotionally and spiritually transformed. The church in York where I grew up was established by “principal” George Jeffreys (1889-1962) in 1935,² but Jeffreys had himself been talent spotted by Cecil Polhill in 1912.³ Moreover I have had the privilege of making a rare “discovery”⁴ of a large number of letters, manuscripts, financial records and other important historical items at Howbury Hall, the ancestral “seat” of the Polhill family near Bedford. These connections do not make it all together easy to remain neutral about Polhill, but I am compelled by honesty and professional standards to be

1 I am thinking, for example, of the ‘observer effect’ in Physics. Another example may be Heisenberg’s uncertainty principle discussed in K. Popper, in *The Logic of Scientific Discovery* 3rd ed. (London: Routledge, 2002) 211-216. For the Arts and Humanities see: J. Mason, *Qualitative Researching* 2nd ed. (London: Sage, 2011), 77; J. Barzun and H. Graff, *The Modern Researcher* 6th ed. (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2004), 142-144 and J. Tosh, *The Pursuit of History* 3rd ed. (London: Longman, 2002), 178; J. Black & D. M. Macraill, *Studying History* 3rd ed. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 161.

2 *Elim Evangel* Vol.16 No.36 (6 September, 1935), ‘Principal Jeffreys back in York’, 563 in *Private Collection* (hereafter abbreviated to PC).

3 According to Gee, Polhill “enabled” Jeffreys to have a short period of training. D. Gee, *These Men I Knew* (Nottingham: Assemblies of God Publishing House, 1980), 49. *PMU Minute Book 1*, 190. Freely available online at the *Pentecostal and Charismatic Research Archive*, Donald Gee Centre (hereafter abbreviated to *PCRA-DGC*) at: digitallibrary.usc.edu/cdm/landingpage/collection/p15799coll14 (last accessed August 2015) cf. *Cash Book 1911-1914* (expenditure) records several payments to individuals at “Bridgend Conference” on 16 September 1912 (Rev. W. W. Lewis, Rev. K. Evans and Mrs Eleanor Crisp), 56-57. This was shortly before Jeffreys applied to the PMU, so Polhill probably spotted Jeffreys at this time. This particular cash book is held at the Bedfordshire and Luton Archive, Bedford, UK (hereafter abbreviated to *BLA*).

4 The existence of the items were of course already known to the Polhill family.

as balanced and objective as possible, and there are at least two inconvenient truths about Polhill that I would rather leave out. I include a summary of these two examples now to demonstrate that this thesis is not going to be a hagiography. The first concerns Polhill's connection with the military, and how this tended to influence his missionary outlook. He was himself formerly an officer in the British Army, but when talking about missionary activity he tended to blur the lines between his former occupation and his vocational calling.⁵ He was, for example, less critical than he could have been about military ventures into Tibet.⁶ The second inconvenient truth about Polhill concerns his insistence on preaching and evangelism as the missionary's primary calling, at times, to the unnecessary detriment of social amelioration.⁷ His resources were such that he really could have balanced these emphases a little more than he did. Both of these “weaknesses” were, however, actually very common amongst Evangelicals of the time, and Polhill was by no means the worst offender in these respects.⁸ British Pentecostals need feel no shame in recognising the squire of Howbury Hall as one of the founding fathers of their tradition.

5 When it comes to Polhill's actual choice of lexicon see J. Usher, 'Prepared for Pentecost: The Significance of Cecil H. Polhill 1860-1927' (Unpublished M.A dissertation, Regent's Theological College, 2010), 9-11.

6 For example, the Younghusband Expedition 1903-04 and the expansionist campaigns of General Zhao Erfeng 1904-1911.

7 The starkest example being the PMU executive's refusal to allow two of their Indian missionaries, Grace Elkington and Beth Jones, to take control of an orphanage at Faizabad in Uttar Pradesh. This was supposed to be so that they could “keep themselves free for evangelistic work.” *PMU Minute Book 1*, 219-220, *PCRA-DGC*.

8 For example, after leaving the army there is no evidence that Polhill himself yielded a weapon or actively joined a military campaign. Furthermore there are a great number of instances when he used his wealth for social amelioration. To take just one example, searching *The Polhill Collection Online* for the keywords “famine relief” returns two relatively large donations made by Polhill between 1904-1910 totalling £100, far more than the average annual salary of the early twentieth century and, therefore, beyond the means of most. *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), 7 October 1904 and 15 June 1908 in *The Polhill Collection Online* ed. J. M. Usher, www.purl.org/itsee/polhill (last accessed October 2014), hereafter abbreviated to Usher ed. *PCO*. On balance, however, Polhill probably donated a proportionally larger amount towards evangelistic endeavours.

1.2 The Unclaimed Historical Inheritance of Pentecostals

Something somewhere has gone seriously wrong when more than a century after the first pentecostal conference at All Saints church Monkwearmouth, marking the iconic beginning of British Pentecostalism in 1908, there is still widespread ignorance and misconception about one of British Pentecostalism's two primary pioneers.⁹ There is scarcely anything published about Polhill that does not contain an error of some kind. For example, Pollock wrote in what is still one of the best selling christian missionary books that Polhill, who was born in February 1860, died in 1938, "...in his eightieth year."¹⁰ Gee wrote that Polhill retained his place on the council of the China Inland Mission (CIM) until his death, and Schmidgall refers to Polhill as the "chairman" of the CIM.¹¹ He held a place on the London home council of the CIM, but he was never the chairman,¹² and he actually resigned in 1915 over what he regarded as an unacceptably prejudiced stance against Pentecostals.¹³ Gee's error is informative because it demonstrates that he was unaware of the personal sacrifice that Polhill had made in defence of Pentecostalism. Consequently Gee would epitomise the mixed feelings denominational Pentecostals must have had, or still have, about Polhill. Gee had a vague understanding of Polhill's pivotal role in leading and shaping early Pentecostalism,¹⁴ but there was also resentment, bitterness even, for Polhill for a

9 Remarkably Polhill is not even mentioned in N. Hudson, 'The Development of British Pentecostalism' in W. Kay and A. Dyer ed. *European Pentecostalism* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 41-60, nor is there a full-length biography of Polhill. By contrast there are at least two full-length biographies of George Jeffreys, N. Brooks, *Fight for the Faith and Freedom: George Jeffreys Revivalist and Reformer* (Blackpool: Pattern Books, c.1940) and E. C. W. Boulton, *George Jeffreys: A Ministry of the Miraculous* (Tonbridge: Sovereign World, 1999).

10 J. Pollock, *The Cambridge Seven* (Fearn: Christian Focus Publishing, 2006), 109. According to the Christian Focus Publications website *The Cambridge Seven* is their seventh best seller in the 'Missionary' category, www.christianfocus.com/item/show/974/ (last accessed October 2014).

11 Gee, *These Men*, 73; P. Schmidgall, *European Pentecostalism* (Cleveland: CPT Press, 2013), 61.

12 Theodore Howard was chairman.

13 *CIM Minutes of London Council*, 30 July 1915, 279. Available in the Missionary Collection at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London (hereafter abbreviated to *SOAS*).

14 'Nothing will ever diminish the debt of lasting gratitude which, under God, the Pentecostal Movement in the British Isles owes to Alexander A. Boddy and Cecil Polhill for their devoted leadership during its earliest years.' D. Gee, *The Pentecostal Movement* (London: Victory Press,

number of reasons:

- Polhill never gave his support to the amalgamation between the PMU and the AGBI, and he does not appear to have ever openly promoted pentecostal denominationalism.¹⁵
- Polhill's support for British involvement in WWI was contrary to the pacifist position of many Pentecostals, such as Donald Gee himself, some of whom were criminalised as conscientious objectors.¹⁶
- Polhill had a fraught relationship with Pentecostals who subsequently endorsed denominationalism, namely T. Myerscough and S. Wigglesworth. Donald Gee held both of these men in high esteem.¹⁷

Half-truths and bias are not the best basis for writing history, and Gee provides not only inaccurate information about Polhill but also unkind aspersions about his habits,¹⁸ aptitude¹⁹ and even his physical appearance.²⁰ Gee's flagrant lack of objectivity should give the historian serious cause for concern, but for many of the denominational rank and file Gee was, and probably still is, held in high regard.²¹ He must, therefore, bear much of the brunt of responsibility for Polhill's lack of prominence in subsequent pentecostal histories, and in the popular mind of ordinary Pentecostals.²² As a result, a rich historical inheritance has been withheld from

1941), 148.

15 Contra Hocken, Polhill abstained from the crucial vote to merge the PMU with the AGBI in 1924. *PMU Minute Book 5*, 54-55, *PCRA-DGC* cf. P. Hocken, 'Cecil H. Polhill: Pentecostal Layman', *Pneuma* Vol.10 No.2 (Fall 1988), 136. It may be that Hocken is thinking of the decisions made by the PMU executive in September 1924 to send two PMU representatives, at the request of the AGBI, to have an unofficial talk about amalgamation with J. N. Parr (representing the AGBI). *PMU Minute Book 5*, 40-41, *PCRA-DGC*. Polhill was one of the two representatives elected to represent the PMU, but by the next meeting he had changed his mind and asked for E. W. Moser to take his place instead. *PMU Minute Book 5*, 40-41, *PCRA-DGC*.

16 Gee, *These Men*, 5. See also, L. Goodwin, 'The Response of the Early British Pentecostals to National Conscription During the Great War (1914-1918)', *JEPTA* Vol.34.1 (2014), 77-93.

17 See for example, D. Gee, *These Men*, 67-70; 90-92 and *The Pentecostal*, 109-113. The source of the conflict between these men may not necessarily have been about denominationalism.

18 For example, "His continual repetition of 'Beloved Friends' became a byword and a joke." Gee, *These Men*, 75.

19 For example, Gee described him as a "poor chairman" and that he only "dimly understood" the Pentecostal movement Gee, *These Men*, 75-76.

20 According to Gee, "they" referred to Polhill as "the ugly man with the lovely soul", *These Men*, 73.

21 M. J. Taylor noted Gee's "uncharacteristically acerbic" remarks about Polhill in 'Publish and Be Blessed: a case study in early Pentecostal publishing history.' (PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1994), 377. The AGGBI archives at Mathersey Hall, Doncaster, are named after Donald Gee.

22 I recognise there are additional factors that have contributed to this state of affairs e.g. lack of primary sources on Polhill, a general trend within Pentecostalism to look no further back than their

Pentecostals.

This poor inheritance has resulted in a slow and patchy development of research into Polhill's life. This is epitomised in a statement by one of the most noted and respected scholars of Pentecostalism of the twenty-first century, "...in 1888 he [Polhill] went with his wife to work with the CIM in Sining in Gansu, 30 miles from the Tibetan border. Nearly 20 years later he returned to England after his father's death to manage his estate and look after his own wife who had become an invalid. On a visit to the USA in 1907 Polhill received Spirit baptism in the Upper Room in Los Angeles...."²³

It is understandable that Anderson skips over the period between 1888 and 1907, nineteen years, because it is a huge gap in the research. Polhill and his wife did indeed go to Gansu in 1888 although Xining is now part of Qinghai province. They remained in Xining for three years before spending three months in Songpan, West Sichuan, where there was a riot resulting in their return to England in 1893.²⁴ In 1895, Polhill was called to the Indo-Tibetan border where he established a new mission, the Tibetan Mission Band (TMB), and in a bi-lateral agreement with Hudson Taylor the TMB was officially affiliated with the CIM in 1896.²⁵ Polhill returned to West Sichuan, to Kangding, with his wife and the TMB in 1897. In 1900, the Boxer Uprising halted their work in Sichuan, and Polhill retreated with his family to the UK again.²⁶ This was the end of their full-time, in-the-field, missionary career. He inherited Howbury Hall in 1899 not from his father (who died in 1881) but from his

denominational founders and the hitherto relatively small body of Pentecostal scholars in the UK.

23 A. Anderson, *Spreading Fires* (London: SCM, 2007), 124.

24 C. Polhill and A. Polhill, *Two Etonians in China* (hereafter abbreviated to *Memoirs*), 119 (arrival at Xining), 141 (Move to Songpan), 149 (first return to the United Kingdom), *PCO*.

25 *Memoirs*, 151; V. Funnel, 'Cecil Polhill-Turner and Tibet', *Asian Affairs* (June 2002), 238. For the original agreement see 'Memorandum of agreement between the China Inland Mission and the Tibetan Mission Band c.1896', *PCO* cf. *CIM Minutes of Shanghai Council* 11 April 1896, 269 and 272, *SOAS*. Taylor confirms the agreement.

26 *Memoirs*, 151 (From India to West Sichuan), 159-161 (Boxer Uprising and return to England), *PCO*.

older brother, F. E. Fiennes Polhill-Turner (1858-1899).²⁷ In 1907, he made a short-term missionary trip to the Tibetan border before visiting Los Angeles on his return to England. He made port at San Francisco on 6 January 1908, and his pentecostal experience came not in the Upper Room, nor at Azusa Street, but in the home of a “simple, earnest, believing” couple known simply as “Mr and Mrs Riggs.”²⁸ It is only natural to assume that Polhill inherited his great wealth in 1899 when he inherited Howbury Hall, but this is not the case at all. His great wealth was inherited in 1900 from the “Page estate” left to him by his unmarried uncle who died childless.²⁹ Howbury Hall was by contrast a relatively small estate. Moreover there is evidence that the Howbury estate may have been somewhat neglected before he inherited it. This left Polhill in a difficult position. He was torn between returning to the mission field with a sickly wife and child (he had already lost one child) and with no male heir to inhabit Howbury Hall (his remaining brother, Arthur, was also a missionary in China), or restoring order to his ancestral estate, caring for his family and using his wealth and experience to promote mission from the UK.³⁰ He chose the latter, and the British pentecostal movement can be thankful that he did.

The problem hitherto is that most research on Polhill focuses on his pentecostal years,

27 See the *Will of Frederick Charles Polhill-Turner* all wills are available, for a fee, from the London Probate Office, Royal Courts of Justice, London, unless otherwise stated. He left an estate worth just over £5,000 to Cecil's brother, Frederick Edward Fiennes (b. 1858), who subsequently died childless in 1899 in a private asylum. He left no will, so Howbury was left to Cecil by default. I can find no evidence of Cecil ever mentioning his older brother, even in personal correspondence, and so the only evidence of his existence is sparse. In addition to being mentioned in his father's will there is a short entry in J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigiensis: A biographical list of all known students, graduates and holders of office at the University of Cambridge, from the earliest times to 1900* (Cambridge: CUP, 1953) s.vv. 'Polhill-Turner, Frederick Edward Fiennes'.

28 G. Studd, *Diary 1908*, unpaginated entry for Monday 3 February. Available from the *Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center*, Springfield, Missouri (hereafter abbreviated to *FPHC*). Probably Fred Riggs mentioned later in Studd's diary (entry for 2 June). Apparently no relation to Ralph Meredith Riggs (1895-1971). Shipping records show that Polhill made port at San Francisco on 6 January 1908. 'California, Passenger and Crew Lists, 1882-1957', s. vv. 'Polhill, Cecil' on www.ancestry.co.uk (subscription required).

29 See the *Will of Sir Henry Page-Turner Barron*.

30 He lost a baby boy, Eric, in 1894. Marston, *With the King* (London: Marshall Brothers, 1905), 154.

from 1908-1925, as if they can be understood in isolation from the previous forty-eight years of his life.³¹ It is common to see lip service paid to Polhill's pre-pentecostal years, but he imported so much of his previous experiences into British Pentecostalism that it is simply not possible to fully understand the British movement without more fully understanding Polhill's past. For example, how is it that such a well-established Anglican, senior missionary of the China Inland Mission, dedicated to mission to Tibet, became so involved in the pentecostal movement? Why did he feel so compelled to establish a new pentecostal mission? The crucial point for pentecostal historiography, and my primary thesis, is that Polhill's determination to penetrate Tibet between 1886-1908, and his perceived lack of support in this endeavour from the CIM executive, meant that he needed a new pool of missionaries directly under his control. The pentecostal movement with all its unhindered missionary zeal was the answer to his need for missionaries, and so the movement's emergence would have seemed utterly providential to Polhill. His prodigious funding

31 I address this in more detail in section 3.1, but for example: P. Hocken, 'Cecil H. Polhill: Pentecostal Layman', *Pneuma* Vol.10 No.2 (Fall 1988), 116-140; P. Kay, 'The Pentecostal Missionary Union and the Fourfold Gospel with Baptism in the Holy Spirit and Speaking in Tongues: A New Power for Mission?' *JEPTA* Vol.19 (1999), 37-61; Kay's similarly titled MA dissertation, 'The Four-Fold Gospel in the Formation, Policy and Practice of the Pentecostal Missionary Union (PMU) (1909-1925) (Cheltenham & Gloucester College of Higher Education, 1995) and his similarly titled conference paper 'The Four-Fold Gospel: Cecil Polhill and the Pentecostal Missionary Union, 1909-1925' position paper number 20 for the 1996 Currents in World Christianity, North Atlantic Missiology Project, University of Cambridge. Funnell and Pollock go to the opposite extreme and completely focus on Polhill's pre-pentecostal years but not in any great detail. I have written an MA dissertation on Polhill. Given the nature of biographical research, there are inevitably some superficial overlaps, but the MA dissertation had chronic lack of detail, gaps in primary sources and some errors. I have also published two articles on Polhill. The earliest, written in 2009, does not really address his pre-pentecostal years, but the second, published in 2012, provides original information about Polhill's activity between 1900-1908, namely his interest in the Welsh revival; his visit to the Keswick conventions of 1902 and 1904 and his patronage of George Kendall at the Costin Street Mission Hall. These were snapshots of activity, during 1900-1908, that have been elaborated upon and contextualised considerably with new primary sources in this thesis. In addition, most of my previous research on Polhill has focussed on his financial contributions to the movement. I have made a conscious effort to try and move beyond that aspect of Polhill's life in this thesis. It is still there, but it is far less central to this thesis than Polhill's drive to evangelise Tibet. J. M. Usher, 'The Significance of Cecil H. Polhill 1860-1927' (Unpublished M.A dissertation, Regent's Theological College, 2010); 'The Significance of Cecil H. Polhill for the Development of Pentecostalism' *JEPTA* Vol.29 No.2 (2009), 37-61 and 'Cecil Henry Polhill: The Patron of the Pentecostals' *Pneuma* Vol.34 No.1 (2012), 37-56.

of other pentecostal initiatives including mission to other parts of the world were actually by-products, albeit important by-products, of his primary purpose of evangelising Tibet. Had the PMU never been established to achieve this primary goal of evangelising Tibet then, I suspect, Polhill's interest in the movement would have waned considerably. As a result the movement's financial liquidity would have dried up: Boddy's *Confidence* periodical would have ceased publication; international visitors would have been unable to afford fares let alone cover their additional expenses or make a living; pentecostal church buildings would not have been built or rented; conferences would have been small, under-publicised affairs and the whole pentecostal economy propped up by Polhill would have collapsed within a year or two at most.³² In short, except for divine intervention, things would look very different today. Nevertheless I am indebted, to a greater or lesser extent, to virtually all of the authors referenced thus far, Gee especially, for their research. No one is immune to making errors, or bias, and I stand on the shoulders of giants. A great difficulty facing many who have gone before me is simply the lack of primary sources, particularly the sources at Howbury Hall, but also lack of access to the internet, that most revolutionary of historical tools.³³ The tide is turning, however, and it can only be hoped that this thesis will help release the full depth and richness of the rightful historical inheritance of the Pentecostals, “For there is nothing hidden that will not be disclosed, and nothing concealed that will not be known or brought into the open.” (Luke 8.17).

1.3 Pentecostal Historiography

The history of Pentecostalism has developed its own specialised taxonomy of

32 Usher, ‘*Patron of the Pentecostals...*’, 37-56.

33 It is now possible to cross reference online and search archives online in a way that was simply not possible just fifteen years ago.

approaches.³⁴ I will briefly outline the characteristics, weaknesses and strengths of a slightly modified version of these approaches before outlining the approach that I have adopted for this thesis. The four most readily recognisable pentecostal approaches include: providential, historical-critical, socio-political and multicultural approaches, but it is rare not to find some crossover. Indeed it could be said that synchronistic approaches are always the most appropriate. The approach I have adopted, the critical great person approach, will already be familiar to many even if it has not yet been spelled out as a distinctly separate approach to writing pentecostal history. It is a modified version of the 'Great Thinker' approach to writing the history of Christian doctrine, which is a traditional taxonomy of Church history outlined by Bradley and Muller.³⁵ Pentecostals were pragmatists as well as thinkers (and arguably even more so than thinkers), and so my alteration allows for this distinction. For various reasons, but no doubt mainly because of lack of funding, the history of early British Pentecostalism has suffered by comparison to, for example, the history of early Pentecostalism in the United States.³⁶ My aim is to demonstrate that a Polhill-focused critical great person approach is not only the best method for establishing my main thesis, but that the by-product of this approach is to more effectively unpack early British Pentecostal history in general. I should also add that “great” in this context does not necessarily mean “good,” but just as “Great Britain” simply used to

34 For a general overview of these approaches see A. Cerillo, 'Interpretive Approaches to the History of American Pentecostal Origins' *Pneuma* Vol.19 No.1 (Spring 1997), 29-52; W. Kay, 'Karl Popper and Pentecostal Historiography' *Pneuma* Vol.32 (2010), 5-15; C. M. Robeck Jr., 'The Origins of Modern Pentecostalism: Some Historical Issues' in Robeck and A. Yong ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Pentecostalism* (Cambridge: CUP, 2014), 13-25; A. Cerillo Jr. and G. Wacker, 'Bibliography and Historiography of Pentecostalism in the United States', 382-405 in S. M. Burgess and E. M. van der Mass ed. *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* revised and expanded (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2003), hereafter abbreviated to *IDPCM*.

35 J. Bradley and E. Muller in *Church History: An Introduction to Research, Reference Works, and Methods* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995), 26-31.

36 S. M. Burgess and E. M. van der Mass ed. *IDPCM* still has, for example, no section on: John Phillips or E. J. Phillips, James Tetchner or the Beruldsen family amongst many many additional British-based absences.

indicate that it was the largest island in the region the term “great person” is intended to indicate a relatively large impact compared to others in the subject's context.

1.3.1 Traditional Approaches

Traditional approaches or “golden oldies” are typically partisan, uncritical and reluctant to attribute the emergence of Pentecostalism to any particular individuals.³⁷ They are dominated by what has come to be known as the providential approach. The providential approach traditionally understands the pentecostal movement to have emerged spontaneously, usually in Los Angeles in 1906, with roots not much further back than the Welsh revival of 1904. The movement is regarded as the latter rain restoration of the Holy Spirit's gifts, for the conversion of the world ahead of the *Parousia*.³⁸ A classic example is Bartleman's *How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles*,³⁹ but also Brumback's *Suddenly...From Heaven*⁴⁰ and Gee's *The Pentecostal Movement*.⁴¹ There are few within the Academy who now advocate this approach, but it has some strengths. At the very least it views the pentecostal movement as something positive, and something that changed the lives of many for the better. It has the additional benefit of a shared perspective with the subjects which may bring insight otherwise difficult to obtain from a purely critical perspective. The weakness of this approach, for many of the first generation Pentecostals with whom the

37 G. Wacker, 'Are the Golden Oldies Still Worth Playing? Reflection on History Writing among Early Pentecostals.' *Pneuma* Fall (1986), 81-100.

38 For a critical overview of providential approaches that view Azusa Street as the source of Pentecostalism see J. Creech, 'Visions of Glory: The Place of the Azusa Street Revival in Pentecostal History' *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture* Vol.65 (September 1996), 405-424.

39 F. Bartleman, *How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles* (Los Angeles: Bartleman, 1925), 5-8. Available online at Christian Classics Ethereal Library www.ccel.org (last accessed April 2014).

40 C. Brumback, *Suddenly...From Heaven: A History of the Assemblies of God* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1961). Brumback is certainly partisan, uncritical and reluctant to attribute the movement to any particular individual, but he does note a number of significant sociological and theological precursors to the emergence of Pentecostalism. Brumback, 1-10.

41 Subsequently known as *Wind and Fire*. According to Gee, “The Pentecostal movement does not owe its origins to any outstanding personality...[it] was a spontaneous revival...” Gee, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 3.

approach had its zenith, without all the tools of modern historical and sociological methods, is a tendency to see the movement in isolation from multiple complex historical and social interactions. Too much providentialism in historical method is detrimental for historical investigation for the same reason that it is detrimental for the scientific method i.e. if a phenomenon is too readily attributed to providence then it potentially thwarts further investigation, and there is the danger that alternative explanations remain unexplored. More recently Kay has argued that, "...it is impossible to write Pentecostal history without reference to providence..." since there is, "...the recurrent attestation of glossolalia which, by its nature, is an interactive process which is both natural and supernatural, and therefore providential."⁴² This extremely technical understanding of providence, on the basis of the interaction between God and the individual in the act of speaking in tongues, is still inherently flawed by its demand for more credulity than is justifiable for historical objectivity and for its narrow parameters. It does, however, have the benefit of accounting for instances of tongues throughout history, and it moves the providential approach beyond the demonstrably erroneous latter rain historical schema.⁴³

1.3.2 Historical-Critical Approaches

These approaches meet what Hollenweger referred to as, "...the challenge [from within Pentecostalism's own ranks] for a critical historiography..."⁴⁴ It recognises historical influences on the emergence of Pentecostalism beyond the Welsh revival of

42 W. Kay, 'Three Generations on: The Methodology of Pentecostal History' *EPTA Bulletin* Vol.11 No.1+2 (1992), 58-70.

43 Erroneous in that it was expected that the emergence of Pentecostalism heralded the imminent *Parousia*.

44 W. J. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide* (Peabody:Hendrickson, 2005), 1.

1904. It recognises the confluence of a number of potent theological trends resulting in the emergence of Pentecostalism. Notably John Nelson Darby's dispensationalism, which provided a sense of apocalyptic expectation, conflated with John Fletcher's dispensational scheme, which provided a role for an outpouring of the Holy Spirit.⁴⁵ Holiness theology promoted the theological framework for subsequent experiences of the Holy Spirit beyond conversion,⁴⁶ and evangelical missionary movements provided a sense of urgency for mission, and a worldwide network of communities that shared their experiences by means of annual conferences and periodicals.⁴⁷ Historical-critical approaches recognise that Pentecostalism had a multi-genesis, or polycentric, emergence in different parts of the world, and did not merely ripple outwards from one spontaneous epicentre like Los Angeles in 1906. Historical-critical approaches will also tend to highlight instances of similar revivals, and ecstasism throughout history, in for example: revival movements of the nineteenth century, the methodist revivals of the eighteenth century, the radical offshoots of the Protestant Reformation, the Middle Ages in Europe, the pre-Whitby Celtic Churches of Britain and Ireland and the patristic period.⁴⁸ The strength of the approach is that the historical precedents upon which Pentecostalism emerged are, to a greater or lesser extent, empirically

45 *IDPCM*, 584-586. R. Balmer, *Blessed Assurance: A History of Evangelicalism in America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1999), 51. D. L. Moody was influenced by a populariser of Darby's ideas, and in turn Moody's preaching was full of dispensationalism and apocalyptic expectation. D. L. Moody, *Where Art Thou?* (London: Morgan and Scott, undated), 21 and 77 respectively. *PC*; J. P. Ward, 'The Eschatology of John Nelson Darby's' (PhD. Thesis, University of London, 1974), 258;

46 D. W. Faupel, 'The Everlasting Gospel: The Significance of Eschatology in the Development of Pentecostal Thought' (PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1989), 61; D. Dayton, 'The Theological Roots of Pentecostalism' *Pneuma* Vol.2 No.1 (Spring 1980), 9-15; A. Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 29.

47 Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 22-31; Robeck, 24.

48 Some first generation Pentecostals did acknowledge these previous "outpourings," but usually for polemic purposes and they were diminished as mere "showers" or "springs" instead of the Latter Rain. S. Frodsham does so admirably, albeit uncritically, in *With Signs Following: The Story of the Pentecostal Revival in the Twentieth Century* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1946), 252-263 and Gee, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 3. Contemporary examples include D. Hillborn, 'Charismatic Renewal in Britain: Roots, Influences and Later Developments', available online at the Evangelical Alliance UK website, www.eauk.org, under 'Church', 'Resources', 'Theological Articles', 'Charismatic Renewal in Britain' (last accessed November 2015) and M. Cartledge, *Encountering the Spirit: The Charismatic Tradition* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 2006), 33-51 and Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 2-42.

demonstrable. Further it is neutral by default on instances of providence and does not demand any undue credulity, yet the approach permits room for credulity where it is deemed to be deserved by the historian. It is, therefore, entirely possible to be Pentecostal, by conviction, and utilise a historical-critical approach, and conversely it is possible to be a Baptist, a Tibetologist or an Atheist and understand the emergence of Pentecostalism utilising a historical-critical schema.⁴⁹ This latitudinarian aspect of the approach is one of its main strengths, but some, especially those who advocate a providential approach, may view its neutrality as a weakness.⁵⁰

1.3.3 Socio-Political Approaches

This approach is really a sub-set of the historical-critical approach. Socio-political approaches view the emergence of Pentecostalism, or its spread and appeal, as a function of a number of socio-political variables such as: race, migration, adverse social environments, disenfranchisement and or economic deprivation. Examples include Anderson's *Vision of the Disinherited*,⁵¹ Beckford's *Dread and Pentecostal: A Political Theology for the Black Church in Britain*,⁵² and Calley's *God's People*.⁵³ The weakness of these approaches is that they tend towards reductionism. Pentecostalism did not, and does not, depend on one particular ethnicity nor does it just appeal to the

49 T. B. Welch and Wim van Spengen may serve as examples of the former two.

50 Kay has expressed concern that historical-critical approaches are "...inhospitable to accounts of the miraculous." W. Kay, '*...Pentecostal Historiography*', 10.

51 R. M. Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1979). I address Anderson's highly selective use of data in my conclusion.

52 R. Beckford, *Dread and Pentecostal: A Political Theology for the Black Church in Britain* (London: SPCK, 2009). I recognise that Beckford's work is not primarily historical, but it is clear from his short historical sections that he believes the connection between ethnicity and socio-political factors in the pentecostal revival to be paramount. For example, "I want to propose that while Cox's analysis provides an important conceptualization of Pentecostalism as a 'recovery' movement, like many other pentecostal scholars, he fails to analyse the socio-political dimensions of Black faith that fuelled Azusa Street." Beckford, 171.

53 M. Calley, *God's People: West Indian Pentecostal Sects in England* (Oxford: OUP, 1965). Calley's adoption of the pejorative term 'sect' seems to betray a negative prejudice against the churches he observed. Ibid, 2. There are also a number of basic factual errors in Calley's history of Pentecostalism. For example, the PMU was not founded in 1905 (it was 1909), and Elim was not established in 1916 (it was 1915). Ibid, 156.

marginalised, as there are numerous counterexamples of its appeal to the middle classes, enfranchised and secure. The strength of the approach is in its specialisation. Reasons for the appeal or emergence of Pentecostalism in certain communities, in different parts of the world and at different times must be almost innumerable. Efforts to narrow the perimeters of historical enquiry to certain groups are likely to provide extremely useful albeit limited insight.

1.3.4 Multicultural Approaches

This approach borrows from historical-critical approaches, and socio-political approaches, in its use of a multi-genesis historical schema and distinguishing between 'Pentecostals' i.e. the impact and influence of Pentecostalism in different nations and communities.⁵⁴ The approach recognises that pentecostal history has tended to focus on western, Global North, emergence narratives and attempts to redress the balance in favour of majority-world narratives and participants in pentecostal history. It is argued that a western focus is not only unbalanced but also historically erroneous. Allan Anderson has consistently advocated this approach, and it has many strengths.⁵⁵ It can seamlessly synchronise with historical-critical and socio-political approaches, and it has broadened our understanding of pentecostal origins. It has the added benefit of writing pentecostal history from the perspective of the majority world where Pentecostalism has its greatest following. The main weakness of this approach is in its execution rather than its rationale. Ambitious, sweeping monographs of international Pentecostalism which attempt to accurately elucidate its historical origin and or political contexts all over the world are, as more specialisation occurs, increasingly less viable. The greater the parameters; the greater the likelihood of errors and

⁵⁴ Anderson, *Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 10-11, 170-172.

⁵⁵ A. Anderson, *To the Ends of the Earth* (Oxford: OUP, 2013), 3; *Introduction*, 15 and *Spreading Fires*, 5-15.

omissions.⁵⁶ The historian's chief task is to as accurately as possible reconstruct history where there are gaps, and only then does the historian have a solid enough foundation to begin attempting to evaluate that history. The future of the multicultural approach lies in specialised monographs or edited collaborations which, by definition on an individual level, entail a parochial approach. In my view, the best approach to a parochial history in the case of early British Pentecostalism is a top-down, critical great person approach beginning with Cecil Polhill.

1.3.5 The Critical Great Person Approach

This approach is also really a sub-set of the historical-critical approach. The approach aims to find a mean between purely objective, positivist, views of history and postmodern, purely subjectivist, views of history.⁵⁷ I would wish to avoid, on the one extreme, grasping objectivity too firmly. I cannot be absolutely certain that I can determine anything truly certain about Polhill in the same way that I cannot be absolutely certain that I am not a brain in a vat.⁵⁸ On the other hand, I do not think the historical data now available about Polhill allows room for endless subjective interpretations regarding the emergence of British Pentecostalism. A critical great person approach is aware of the pitfalls in both extremes and maintains that, after critical self-reflection, it is still possible, by the rules of probability, to determine some degree of historical objectiveness about the impact of a particular individual. If

56 According to Cerillo and Wacker, "The literature on the subject has become so extensive that bibliographic guides are virtually indispensable." *IDPCM*, 382. That is not to say that monographs by the likes of Hollenweger or Anderson do not have a vital role to play, as books that give "the big picture," but there comes a tipping point where too much specialization is required to do justice to global Pentecostalism. The *IDPCM*, Robeck and Yong ed. *Cambridge Companion* and Kay and Dyer ed. *European Pentecostalism* are examples of a more parochial approach.

57 Somewhat inspired by T. Wright's critical-realist approach. N. T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God* (London: SPCK, 1992), 32-46; Black and Macraill, 46, 156-163.

58 Some would of course argue that it is possible to be certain we are not brains in vats. For example, H. Putnam, *Reason, Truth and History* (Cambridge: CUP, 1981), 1-21. Putnam's argument has not received widespread acceptance.

used properly this approach should not stem from any fallacious sense of superiority on the part of the individual in question. In the case of Cecil Polhill and British Pentecostalism this approach is in fact, counterintuitively, the most egalitarian.

1.3.5.1 Top-Down History with Bottom-Up Results

There is much to be said for bottom-up views of history, but the reality is that the socially deprived, by the very nature of their circumstances, cannot leave a great deal of primary sources behind for the historian.⁵⁹ The socially secure, by contrast, are more likely to leave the historian something to work with. This is not a value judgement. It is not to say that the wealthy were necessarily good, or that their gains were rightful by virtue of the history that they have left. Conversely it is not to say that those who had little material wealth were, or are, worth less as human beings. There are indeed also exceptions even within the pentecostal movement, but it is generally the case that the socially secure leave something behind where the less socially secure cannot.⁶⁰ Where there has been money; there is usually history. The job of elucidating the roles of obscure British-based Pentecostals such as, for example: James Tetchner, Edwin Dennis or Ayoob Hakim is made clearer (and only possible in some cases) by their connection to Polhill and his records.⁶¹ Some Pentecostals have remained obscure even when they could not realistically be considered socially insecure, and for these Polhill's records also act as a missing link corroborating other sources. For example, the roles of: E. E. Berry, John Phillips and Harry Small are elucidated more clearly by their connection to Polhill.⁶²

59 Anderson, *To the Ends of the Earth*, 3; *Introduction*, 15 and *Spreading Fires*, 5-15.

60 For example, George Jeffreys.

61 Admittedly Hakim was only based in Britain for a couple of years.

62 Dividing these six individuals between the categories of socially insecure and socially secure is certainly open to challenge and could be regarded as a crass oversimplification, but the important point is that Polhill's records help to clarify the roles of obscure British Pentecostals from across

The weakness of the critical great person approach is the ever-present risk of not being critical enough and sliding into hagiography, but all of these approaches are more or less susceptible to under critique as historians naturally strain to affirm their own choice of method. The strengths of this approach are enormous for the basic task of getting on with writing history. Examples of critical biographical approaches include: Wakefield's *Alexander Boddy: Pentecostal Anglican Pioneer*;⁶³ Miskov's *Life on Wings: The Forgotten Life and Theology of Carrie Judd Montgomery*;⁶⁴ Welch's *Joseph Smale: God's Moses for Pentecostalism*⁶⁵ and Goff's *Fields White Unto Harvest: Charles Parham and the Missionary Origins of Pentecostalism*.⁶⁶ Polhill's case is unprecedented for early British Pentecostalism, as he has left behind an unusually broad range of primary sources, and under these circumstances there is really no better option than a biographical, critical great person approach.

1.4 Primary Sources

1.4.1 Pre-1908 Sources

Basic biographical details such as the lifespan of Polhill and some of his relatives, and details of inheritances, can be gleaned from: Venn's *Cantabrigienses*, Burke's *Landed Gentry*, census records available online, and wills from the London probate office.⁶⁷

In his memoirs, Polhill provides information about his life in the years leading up to

the social spectrum.

63 G. Wakefield, *Alexander Boddy: Pentecostal Anglican Pioneer* (London: Paternoster, 2007).

64 J. Miskov, *Life on Wings: The Forgotten Life and Theology of Carrie Judd Montgomery* (Cleveland, TN: CPT Press, 2012).

65 T. Welch, *Joseph Smale: God's Moses for Pentecostalism* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2013).

66 J. Goff, *Fields White Unto Harvest: Charles Parham and the Missionary Origins of Pentecostalism* (Fayetteville, AR: UAP, 1988).

67 Venn, s.vv. 'Polhill-Turner (post Polhill) Cecil Henry.' cf. Burke's *Landed Gentry* 18th ed. Vol.2 (London: Burke's Peerage Limited, 1972), s, vv. 'Page-Turner of Ambrosden' and Vol.1 s, vv. 'Polhill of Howbury'.

his departure for China in 1885, such as his time at Eton, Cambridge and his life in the British Army.⁶⁸ The CIM archive at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), London, has a wealth of material relating to Polhill's time in the CIM such as: letters, minutes and articles in the CIM's official periodical *China's Millions*. In addition, two books by Polhill's sister-in-law, Annie Westland Marston, provide added insight. The first of these is about mission to Tibet, and the second is a biography of Polhill's wife, Eleanor, based on letters written by her throughout her life.⁶⁹ Polhill himself also wrote a language textbook, *The Colloquial Language of Tibet*, and the preface contains some important information about the context in which he composed the book on the Indo-Tibetan border in 1896.⁷⁰ Additionally Polhill contributed a chapter on Tibet to an edited book, *The Chinese Empire*, by Marshall Broomhall in 1907.⁷¹ It is a sober, factual contribution describing Tibet's geography, demography, politics, religion and economics, as well as its mission history and the current status of mission hitherto. It is an impressive and informative summary that no doubt contributed towards Polhill's election as a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, in 1910.⁷² An additional major source of primary information comes from the records preserved at Polhill's ancestral home which include, for example:

- Approximately 250 letters sent to Cecil Polhill and his family with a date

68 *Memoirs* 'C.2 From Eton to China', *PCO*.

69 A. Marston, *With the King*, consists of letters sent by Eleanor Polhill throughout her life; A. Marston, *The Closed Land: A Plea for Tibet* (London: S. W. Partridge, 1894) cf. W. Carey, *Adventures in Tibet: Including the Diary of Miss Annie R. Taylor's Remarkable Journey*. (Boston: United Society for Christian Endeavor, 1901) and Funnell.

70 C. Polhill-Turner, *The Colloquial Language of Tibet or The Occurrences of Daily Life Indoors and Out, Described According to the Lhasa Idiom in a Series of Exercises, Including Grammatical and Other Notes* (Ghoom, India: 1896). I am only aware of one copy in the UK which is kept at the British Library, but according to the World Cat database there is also a copy at the University of Leiden library.

71 C. Polhill, 'Tibet – The Land of the Lamas' in M. Broomhall ed. *The Chinese Empire: A General & Missionary Survey* (London: Morgan & Scott, 1907), 318-337. Freely available online at <https://archive.org/stream/chineseempiregen1907broo> (last accessed October 2014), (hereafter items from the Internet Archive website are cited with the initials *IA* with the full url in the bibliography).

72 *Royal Geographical Society: List of Honorary Members, Honorary Corresponding Members and Fellows* (London: House of the Society, 1921), 70, *IA*.

range of 1902-1906. These are largely from rank and file members of the CIM, but include former members of the Tibet Mission Band, home supporters and other missionary organisations.

- Approximately one hundred items related to the CIM executive. Polhill was superintendent of Tibet and subsequently held a place on the CIM London home council from 1903-1915. This meant that he was privy to a great deal of executive correspondence including minutes, letters from other members of the executive and application forms.
- Personal papers consisting of: a bilateral agreement between Polhill and Hudson Taylor for the establishment of the Tibet Mission Band, c.1896; An Invitation to a prayer meeting for revival being held in Cambridge, in 1903; An early draft of Polhill's missionary periodical *Tidings from Tibet*, c.1904; A list of Tibetan "curios" used to stir interest in mission to Tibet, and several newspaper clippings regarding the Younghusband Expedition to Tibet 1903-04.
- Handwritten drafts of his memoirs that include details edited out of the typed draft.
- His financial records 1904-1914, consisting of loose receipts, Cash Books (which organise transactions chronologically) and Ledgers (which group financial activity into categories).⁷³

Many of these items have been collated into the freely accessible Polhill Collection Online,⁷⁴ and have provided indispensable insight into the years 1893-1908, between his first return from China and his visit to Los Angeles. Items that are viewable online are cited with the initials PCO, and items that have not been uploaded at the time of writing are designated with the initials PC.

1.4.2 Post-1908 Sources

These largely fall into four categories: periodicals, minutes, correspondence and financial records. Alexander Boddy's *Confidence* periodical, Polhill's *Fragment of Flames* (later *Flames of Fire*) and *China's Millions* when triangulated can be excellent sources of information.⁷⁵ The same event can be recorded in more than one periodical

73 Most of these are in the Polhill Collection but there is one cash book, *Cash Book 1910-1914*, held at the Bedfordshire and Luton Archive. Most of the content of this cash book is duplicated in the corresponding ledger in the Polhill Collection.

74 <http://www.purl.org/itsee/polhill> (last accessed August 2015).

75 The FPHC website has a digital section on which they have uploaded an almost full set of *Confidence* periodicals at <https://ifphc.org/index> under 'Digital Publication Search' (no subscription

each adding a unique perspective reflecting the editor's preferences. The minutes and correspondence of the CIM and the PMU are a wealth of information about Polhill and other important individuals, particularly the latter. Polhill's financial records provide an excellent perspective on events. He was an active philanthropist, and the records are the next best thing to a diary. This type of detailed financial record is arguably even better than a diary, as the data is largely impartial. Additional sources for this period include, for example: George B. Studd's diary, newspaper archives, shipping records and census records.⁷⁶

1.4.3 Oral Sources

I have formally utilised very few oral sources in this thesis, but informal interviews I have held with members of Polhill's family and others have helped with the enormous task of attempting to reconstruct Polhill's character.⁷⁷ In 2009 I had the opportunity to interview Polhill's grandson, Victor Funnell (at that time Emeritus Professor of Chinese Politics), before he passed away, and while he had fond memories of his grandfather's generosity, and his last words, he was not able to recall any significant details of his pentecostal years. Funnell's article 'Cecil Polhill-Turner and Tibet', however, is an invaluable source of information regarding Polhill's activity in Tibet before and after he was involved in Pentecostalism. Polhill's great-grandson, Julian Polhill, has been extremely generous in permitting access to the records in Howbury Hall, but his recollections of his great-grandfather are restricted to “family stories.”

required), but it is only partially complete. I have a much more complete set of *Confidence* periodicals in a private collection, but I believe these are identical to a CD-ROM version of the periodicals available to purchase from the Revival Library. <http://shop.revival-library.org>.

76 The one existing copy of *Fragments of Flames* and George B. Studd's Diary are available from the FPHC. A digitised set of *Flames of Fire* 1911-1917 can be purchased on CD-ROM from the Revival Library <http://shop.revival-library.org>.

77 The two main exceptions being with Pastor J. Masih who is the current minister at the Bedford AGBI, and with the late archivist extraordinaire Des Cartwright.

The retired Colonel, Donald Underwood, personally knew Donald Gee and has provided some support in writing for the hypotheses that Gee resented Polhill for his support of WWI.⁷⁸ The late archivist extraordinaire of Elim, Desmond Cartwright, provided many helpful details regarding Polhill's disagreement with Smith Wigglesworth in 1920, but that is beyond the remit of this thesis.⁷⁹

1.5 Naming Women and Local Christians

Regretfully it has not always been possible to determine the first names of some women. The primary sources commonly omitted the first name, or initials, of women preferring to refer to them as 'Miss' or 'Mrs' so and so. In some instances it is simpler to indicate that someone's wife was present rather than go to great lengths to determine their identity particularly where she may not have had any obviously prominent role. Where possible, however, I have tried to provide a first name. A similar problem is encountered when attempting to identify local Christians in the mission field. Hasty reports written by new, linguistically inexperienced, missionaries were apt to render names phonetically because they (and their readers) lacked the necessary transliteration methods to fully understand Chinese, Tibetan or tribal names. This poses a major difficulty because phonetic spellings can be quite personal and therefore difficult to decode. Some Mandarin names have been transliterated, but in many instances I have been forced to provide the phonetic rendering given by the missionary. In such instances quotation marks are used.

78 D. Underwood to the Author 1 July 2012.

79 J. Robinson provides some information about this in *Divine Healing: The Years of Expansion, 1906-1930: Theological Variation in the Transatlantic World* (Eugene: Pickwick, 2014), 139-140.

1.6 Chinese and Tibetan Place Names

There is considerable variation in transliterations of Qing dynasty place names in nineteenth century missionary literature. This reflects the difficulties faced by early linguists attempting to transliterate Chinese characters into a romanised form. Robert Morrison's system was the preeminent system up until Thomas F. Wade modified it in 1867. H. A. Giles, in turn, modified this again in 1912, resulting in the so-called Wade-Giles system. After the communist victory of 1949, the Chinese devised a new system, Hanyu Pinyin, which was eventually standardised internationally in 1979 and remains the most common romanisation to date.⁸⁰ In many instances the spellings of older systems are very similar to contemporary spellings with only minor differences (e.g. Kansu or Kan-su has become Gansu and Si-ch'uan or Sichwan has become Sichuan), but there are many less obvious transliterations that may require reference to a Wade-Giles to Pinyin conversion chart (Pachow has become Bazhou, Shen-si has become Shaanxi and Shan-si has become Shanxi) and drastic differences for which a conversion chart will be of no use e.g. Ping-yang has become Linfen and Shuting or Shu-ting has become Dazhou.⁸¹ Within literature of the period in question variations of spelling are common.

A further layer of difficulty is added by Polhill's activity on the Tibetan border. While there is one standard Tibetan script, there are numerous Tibetan dialects that are not only unintelligible to Mandarin speakers but also mutually unintelligible to each

80 B. Ao, 'History and Prospect of Chinese Romanization' paper presented at the San Francisco Transliteration Task Force Meeting, 28 June 1997. Freely available online at: <http://www.white-clouds.com/iclc/cliej/cl4ao.htm> (last accessed November 2014).

81 Pinyin to Wade-Giles conversion chart is available on the University of Chicago library website East Asian Collection website under 'Libraries & Collections', 'Other Collections', 'East Asian Collection' and 'Find East Asian Material' <http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/easia/py-wd.html> (last accessed July 2015). I have refrained from using pinyin tones (such as á, ò, ě etc.), as these will have no significance to anyone unfamiliar with Mandarin.

other.⁸² Some places along the Sino-Tibetan border have both Chinese and Tibetan names. For example, for three years Polhill worked at a town on the Sichuan-Tibetan border known at that time as Dachienlu, Tatslienlu or Tachienlu; in contemporary Chinese it is now called Kangding, but in Tibetan it is called Dartsedo. Additionally thousands of Tibetan buddhist monasteries were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution, and some of the smaller towns and villages remain obscure or have since been subsumed within larger areas.⁸³ These effects coupled with name changes and or poor descriptions in the primary sources can make some places Polhill visited very difficult to locate precisely. It has not been possible to determine a contemporary equivalent for all the places, but where possible contemporary spellings of Chinese place names are used in the body of this text with former spellings and or Tibetan alternatives given in the footnotes.

1.7 Parameters

With such an unprecedented amount of high quality primary sources, I could not possibly do justice to Polhill's life by attempting to cover all of it in eighty thousand words. There are two further reasons to restrict the remit of this thesis particularly up to 1914. Firstly, for reasons that are unknown, there are no detailed financial records left by Polhill beyond the end of 1914. Secondly, after the outbreak of WWI the dynamics of Pentecostalism radically changed. There were really two phases of early British Pentecostalism. The first phase was 1908-1914, from the first Sunderland conference to the out break of WWI (and the last Sunderland conference), and the second phase 1914-1925, from the outbreak of WWI to the resignation of Cecil Polhill from the PMU after it merged with the AGBI. This thesis concentrates on

82 P. Denwood, *Tibetan*, (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1999), 21-45.

83 This is well documented. Information provided by the *Tibet Support Group*, and the *Australian Tibet Council* on the Tibet Awareness Site, 'Tibet Fact Sheet', 'Religion', available at <http://tibet.dharmakara.net/TibetFacts4.html> (last visited April 2013).

phase one.

1.8 Grammar, Punctuation and Other Formatting Rules

There is considerable variation in the literature when it comes to the capitalisation of words like ‘Pentecostal’ or ‘Evangelical’.⁸⁴ Unless the word is a proper noun, i.e. Pentecostal or Pentecostalism, Evangelical or Evangelicalism, I have opted not to capitalise it. For example, I will not capitalise these words when they behave like adjectives, “the pentecostal movement,” or, “an evangelical missionary.”⁸⁵ For other formatting and punctuation rules I have followed the guidelines stipulated by K. Turabian.⁸⁶

84 D. Silliman has written a fascinating piece charting the use of capitalisation, or non-capitalisation, of these words over time, ‘To capitalize, or not’ 16 August 2012 on ‘Daniel Silliman blog’, danielsilliman.blogspot.de/2012/08/to-capitalize-or-not.html (last accessed July 2015).

85 The same goes for the “holiness movement” which I have elected not to capitalise.

86 K. Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Research Papers, Theses, and Dissertations* 7th Ed. (London: University of Chicago Press, 2007). With regard to citations, I provide a more or less full citation for the first instance that a source is used. For each subsequent citation of a book, journal or thesis, I will usually only provide the author’s name (followed by a page number) unless I have cited more than one work by the same author in which case a shortened title will also be provided. In the case of quotation marks and punctuation, I have adopted Turabian’s recommendation that full stops or commas almost always fall within the quotation marks (whether it existed in the original quotation or not). There are exceptions when using “special terms in certain fields [such as] theology” in which case single quotation marks are used, and in such cases commas and full stops fall outside the single quotation marks. Turabian, 305-307. It is hoped the reader will permit there is some subjectivity in the designation of “special terms of theology.”

CHAPTER 2 THE RELUCTANT MISSIONARY: POLHILL'S EARLY LIFE, CONVERSION AND COMMITMENT TO THE MISSION FIELD

2.1 Ancestry

2.1.1 Of Puritan Ancestry and Mediaeval Estate

One of Cecil Polhill's notable characteristics was his unbending moral stringency: he was probably a teetotaler, he never remarried after his wife's death and he liked obedience.¹ It may come as no surprise, therefore, that he was the descendent of Edward Polhill (1622-1694), a noted puritan divine.² Edward's books expounded Calvinism, defended puritan Nonconformism (after “the great ejection”) and addressed the nature of christian suffering.³ The latter two topics at least would have resonated with Cecil Polhill, but there does not appear to be any evidence that he ever explicitly referenced his venerable ancestor. Perhaps other squires would have chosen to boast of the prestige of their own lineage, but Polhill was never entirely comfortable with elitism. He preferred to cultivate a common touch. This may explain why he promoted the more populist puritan author, and local Bedfordshire hero, John Bunyan (1628-1688). He would treat pentecostal visitors to a soul-searching tour of Bunyan sights including his birthplace, church and a marshy brook alleged to have inspired the “Slough of Despond.”⁴ Polhill could never deny however that he was

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- 1 Polhill made several payments to temperance societies, for example: *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), 170 (Beds. United Temperance Council), 220 (I.T. Rae National Temperance League) and 234 (Annette Rowland Hill Temperance Hospital) in Usher ed. *PCO*. According to a family story there was only one bottle of alcohol in Howbury Hall when Cecil lived there. This was called “Postman’s port,” and it was allegedly used to calm the nerves of Postmen who had been terrorised by Polhill’s dog.
 - 2 See the 'Polhill Family History Page' under 'Polhill Family Tree' at www.polhill.info (last accessed October 2014).
 - 3 E. Polhill, *The Divine Will considered and its Eternal Decrees and holy Execution of them* (foreword by John Owen) (London, 1673); *A Discourse of Schism* (London, 1694) and *Armatura Dei, or a Preparation for Suffering in an Evil Day, showing how Christians are to bear Sufferings* (London, 1682) respectively.
 - 4 A. Boddy wrote of his tour in “Near Bunyan's Town (Bedford)” in *Confidence* Vol.1 No.10 (October 1908), 6-7; At least two additional Pentecostals, T. B. Barratt and F. Bartleman, took the

quite literally “to the manor born,” so he employed a strategy, perhaps inspired by Luke 16.9, of using his temporal position and wealth to promote his spiritual aims.⁵ This wealth was symbolised by, although ironically not derived from, his family's ancestral manor at Howbury Hall in Renhold, Bedfordshire. Howbury has probably had more early pentecostal luminaries under its roof than any other country manor in the UK. A manor in some form has existed in Renhold since at least 1265.⁶ On that date it was bequeathed to Ela Beauchamp, one of the three co-heirs of John de Beauchamp, the last feudal Baron of Bedford. Ela's daughter married John de Horbury or Hoobury after whom the manor seems to have been subsequently named.⁷ In 1781, Nathaniel Polhill (1723-1782), a merchant banker, tobacco merchant and brewery owner purchased the manor from Richard Becher, and it has remained within the Polhill family ever since.⁸

2.1.2 A Political and Theatrical Heritage

Nathaniel Polhill had evidently strayed from his strict puritan roots, but his election as the Wilkite MP for Southwark (1774-1782) marked the beginning of four generations of political and civic office holders. His son, John Polhill (1757-1828), was High Sheriff of Bedfordshire and Deputy-Lieutenant of Bedford. His son, Frederick Polhill (1798-1848), was Conservative MP for Bedford (1830-1832; 1835-1847) and a

tour, but there is likely to have been others. *Confidence* Vol.2 No.8 (August 1909), 188 (Barratt) Vol.3 No.8 (August 1910), 185.

5 Gee remarked that Polhill was, “...a strategist in all aspects of missionary work....” Gee, *These Men*, 74.

6 W. Page ed., *A History of the County of Bedford* Vol.3 (1912), 214-218 freely available online at <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=42417> (last accessed October 2014).

7 Ibid. The name “Howbury” is a corruption of “Hoobury Manor.” John de Hoobury or Horbury was probably from Horbury in Wakefield, *horu* is Old English for “dirty” thus “stronghold on dirty land.”

8 Deed of Purchase (1781) between Nathaniel Polhill and the trustees of Richard Becher amongst *Howbury Estate Muniments* (D.D.PO. 56) at the *BLA*.

Justice of the Peace.⁹ Frederick was also, for a time, the lessee of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane and afterwards the Covent Garden Theatre (the Royal Opera House). It was during his time as leaseholder of the Theatre Royal that the establishment of The Garrick Club, which exists to this day as a prestigious private member's club, was proposed in the theatre.¹⁰ His son and Cecil's father, Frederick Charles Polhill (1826-1881), was also a Conservative MP for Bedford (1874-1880), High Sheriff, Justice of the Peace and Deputy-Lieutenant of Bedford.¹¹

2.1.2.1 Puritanism Rediscovered

Cecil does not seem to have been completely untouched by his family's theatrical heritage. Evidence for this comes from a photo in the family collection. The sepia image is ostensibly that of an old man with a bald crown, yet with extravagantly bushy white side burns. The “old man” is in a seated position, holding a newspaper, but there is something unnatural about the figure. The face, which is raised to the camera, does not appear to quite fit the baldhead and pure white side burns. An explanation may be found on the reverse of the photo where it is written “Cecil 1876” leading to the conclusion that it is a sixteen-year-old Cecil Polhill in make up and costume! This gives some context to one of Polhill's post-conversion remarks on arrival in Shanghai, in 1885. A special meeting had been arranged for the Cambridge Seven at the Lyceum Theatre where the following is recorded, “Mr Cecil Polhill-Turner then addressed the meeting. He spoke of the joy of serving Christ. He could

9 D. R. Fisher ed., 'History of Parliament Online' s.vv. 'Polhill, Frederick (1798-1848)' freely available online at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/polhill-frederick-1798-1848> (last accessed October 2014).

10 F. Sheppard ed. 'The Theatre Royal: Management', *Survey of London Vol.35: The Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, and the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden* (1970) freely available at: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=100227> (last accessed October 2014) cf. 'The Garrick Club' official website www.garrickclub.co.uk (last accessed October 2014).

11 s.vv. 'Frederick Polhill-Turner' freely available at: <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/people/mr-frederick-polhill-turner/> (last accessed October 2014).

look up to Him constantly. He found no room for the world. He said he had played on boards like this (the theatre). He had tried everything that the world called pleasure, but nothing the world could offer could give the peace and joy like the one now enjoyed.”¹² Polhill had, perhaps unwittingly, rediscovered his puritan heritage by regarding the theatre and acting as part of his old unregenerate life.

2.1.2.2 Pragmatic, Mission-Orientated, Political Interests

Polhill does not appear to have been very interested in domestic British politics. He was, however, interested in political events that affected the mission field. In his writings he provided cutting edge, almost real-time, political commentary on events that affected the Tibetan border. Unlike his father, grandfather and great-great-grandfather, Cecil Polhill was no electioneer, but instead his political interests were largely pragmatic and mission-orientated. Amongst the thousands of transactions in Polhill's financial records, however, there are a very small number of nominal payments that betray his political allegiances in the UK i.e. three subscription payments to the Conservative and Unionist Club in 1906, 1909 and 1910.¹³ These payments total a mere £6.6s.0d across six years of financial records. Even allowing for relative value adjustments, when compared with the vast sums Polhill expended on other causes, these political payments represent a very low priority to Polhill.

12 J. Ferguson, *The China Inland Mission Reports of Meetings Held in Shanghai and Colombo* (Colombo: Ceylon Observer Press, 1885), 15, *SOAS*.

13 *Cash Book 1904-1910* (Expenditure), 1 June 1906, 17 November 1909 and 13 June 1910 respectively, *PCO*.

Figures 2 & 3



Howbury Hall, Renhold c.1885



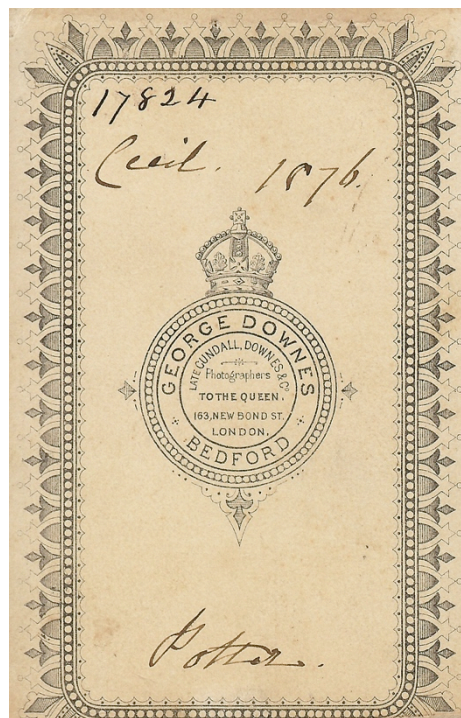
The three Polhill brothers c. 1870 (L-R): Arthur, Fiennes and Cecil

Sources: photographs from the Polhill Collection and the Polhill Collection Online respectively

Figures 4 & 5



“Cecil 1876” (front)



“Cecil 1876” (rear)

Source: photograph from the Polhill Collection Online

2.2 Birth, Parentage and Surname

He was born Cecil Henry Polhill-Turner on 23 February 1860, in Renhold, Bedfordshire to retired Captain, and future Conservative MP, Frederick Charles Polhill-Turner (1826-1881) and Emily Frances née Barron (c.1827-1913).¹⁴ Emily was the granddaughter of the wealthy aristocrat Sir Gregory Page-Turner, 3rd Baronet, of Ambrosden, so when Frederick married Emily in 1852 he adopted the additional surname of “Turner” as was the custom when marrying into a wealthy family.¹⁵ A so called double-barrelled surname can still be a peculiar marker of class in British society today, but even at the turn of the last century Cecil Polhill seemed to fight against the confines of his inherited social class, and he elected to remove the Turner part by deed poll in 1902.¹⁶ His brother Arthur explained this change in a missionary appeal addressed to Old Etonians, “My brother [Cecil] who has been out here [in China] for many years is now at home and would be happy to give information or correspond with anyone who has the welfare of the Chinese and Tibetans at heart – our old name of 'Polhill-Turner' we have shortened to suit the times to 'Polhill'.”¹⁷ In the majority of instances, apart from pre-1902 citations, Polhill alone is used in this thesis when referring to Cecil Polhill.

2.2.1 Childhood

Polhill's childhood was by his own account privileged and happy, “...we delighted in

14 Venn, s.vv. 'Polhill-Turner, Cecil' cf. *1861 Census* s.vv. 'Cecil H. Colhill Turner' [sic].

15 D. Lundy, 'The Peerage', #119636 s.vv. '1st Baronet of Glenanna, and Barroncourt, co. Waterford (Henry Winston).' freely available online at www.thepeerage.com (last accessed October 2014) cf. Burke, s.vv. 'Polhill of Howbury'. The name change was stipulated in the last will of Frances, Lady Page-Turner (d.1828), Emily's grandmother.

16 Conservative politicians fighting for election in 2009 were allegedly urged to drop their double-barreled surnames to better identify with ordinary people. 'Tory candidates asked to drop double-barreled names' *The Telegraph* 29 November 2009 cf. 'Britain's young elite: A double-barreled surname helps you get ahead' *The Independent* 30 March 2015.

17 A. Polhill, 'Proposal for an Eton Mission to the East' (c.1904), *PCO*.

country sports and amusements; hunting, shooting, bicycling, tennis and especially cricket, and had every facility for gratifying our tastes, we were about as happy as any youngsters could be apart from Christ.”¹⁸ There is no evidence that his parents were remotely Evangelical, but as a conservative politician his father naturally exemplified a certain concern for traditional religion. Nonconformism grew in strength in the UK, during the nineteenth century, and so too did the corresponding demands for equal burial rights, hitherto a monopoly for anglican ministers. When the question of burial rights was raised in the House of Commons, in 1876, Frederick Polhill-Turner seemed alarmed, “...the gallant Member for Bedford (Polhill-Turner), sees in imagination a vista of 30 or 40 Mormon widows following their husbands to the grave.”¹⁹ Like many amongst the gentry, Frederick was also lay rector and patron of the church on his estate, All Saints Renhold, where the family had permanently reserved pews, but this was no indication of Evangelicalism.²⁰ In spite of Frederick's apparent religious conservatism, his union with Emily Frances Barron is perhaps a mark of the growing religious toleration of the age. Emily had been born in Paris to an Irish roman catholic family. Emily's uncle, Polhill's great uncle, Rt. Rev. Edward Barron (1803-1854) was the catholic Bishop of Constantia, Morocco.²¹ Frederick and Emily's marriage came just one year after parliament re-enfranchised the nation's Catholics.²²

18 *Memoirs*, 8, *PCO*.

19 Moegan, Osborne, 'Burial Services in Parish Churchyards - Resolution' Hansard, Commons Sitting of 3rd March 1876 Vol 227, 1296-1398. At: http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1876/mar/03/burial-services-in-parish-churchyards#S3V0227P0_18760303_HOC_22 (last visited 19th April 2012).

20 Nominally reserved to this day.

21 Her father was Sir Henry Winston Barron, 1st Baronet of Glennana and Barroncourt, co. Waterford. Lundy, 'The Peerage', s.vv. 'Sir Henry Winston Barron, 1st Bt' and 'Rt. Rev. Edward Barron' #119636 and #266926 respectively. Freely available online at www.thepeerage.com (last accessed October 2014). See also, *1871 England Census* s.vv. 'Emily F. Turner' available at www.ancestry.co.uk (last accessed October 2014).

22 W. Gibson, *Church, State and Society, 1760-1850*. (New York: St.Martin's Press Inc, 1994), 169 cf. H. Mann, *Census of Great Britain, 1851* (London: Spottiswoode, 1854), 110. <http://www.archive.org/stream/censusofgreatbri00gearich> (last visited October 2014).

2.2.2 Socio-Religious Context

Cecil Polhill was born, therefore, in the wake of seismic socio-religious changes in the UK. These are illustrated by the Acts of Parliament Frederick encountered as an MP which came as a result of the growing religious diversity in the country. The groundbreaking *1851 Religious Census* was a stark demonstration of these changes. Of a population of just under eighteen million the census revealed that just over five million were Anglicans, but an almost equal number, four-and-a-half million were Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists and Presbyterians.²³ Virtually half of the church-going population gave no support to the Established Church. Horace Mann (1823-1917) was the civil servant responsible for the census, and he explained one of the main reasons why the Established Church was losing its appeal, “One chief cause of the dislike which the labouring population entertain for religious services is thought to be the maintenance of those distinctions by which they are separated as a class from the class above them. Working men, it is contended, cannot enter our religious structures without having...some memento of inferiority.”²⁴ The system of pew rent was sufficient to turn the poor away. Nonconformists, by contrast, were credited with innovations such as using public halls with “no particular sanctity,” to which, “working men will much more readily resort,” and for holding special services intended “wholly for the working class.”²⁵ The population was more and more drawn towards evangelically-oriented denominations.

23 More than half of all Nonconformists were Methodists. Mann, 110.

24 Mann, 94.

25 Mann, 85 and 94.

2.2.3 Encountering an Evangelical Conversion

Evangelical from the Greek *euangelion* (meaning “good news, gospel”)²⁶ has been in use as an adjective since the Late Middle Ages.²⁷ Edward Polhill (1622-1694) was once lauded by an admirer, “Everything of Polhill is evangelical and valuable”, but in the seventeenth century to be Evangelical was to be Reformed.²⁸ As a description of a Christian who gave “exclusive pride of place to a small number of leading principles,” it has its roots, in Britain, in the methodist revivals of the 1730s.²⁹ Bebbington's evangelical quadrilateral is a useful general definition to preface any discussion with recurrent evangelical themes. He identified four basic qualities that broadly encapsulate the kind of evangelical beliefs that concerned Christians in the period under discussion in this thesis: conversionism, activism, biblicism and crucicentrism.³⁰ Evangelicalism was an enormously important religious influence on Polhill. His first encounter with Evangelicalism came from his sister, and future CMS missionary, Alice Polhill (1856-1931), when he was about ten years old.³¹ According to Polhill's memoirs:

When I was about ten years of age my eldest sister, to our own and everybody's astonishment, suddenly took it into her head to “give up the world” as people said...through quietly reading the New Testament, and through the influence of the Holy Spirit, she had been brought to see her sin and need, and to trust in her Saviour, and surrender herself to Him, with the result that dancing and hunting soon became distasteful to her. My sister faithfully spoke to us boys, but the wonder soon passed off, and things went

26 W. E. Vine, *Vine's Complete Expository Dictionary of Old and New Testament Words* (Bath: Thomas Nelson Inc, 1996) s, vv. ‘*euangelion*.’

27 D. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*. (London: Routledge, 2000), 1. cf. A. McGrath, *Christianity's Dangerous Idea: The Protestant Revolution a history from the sixteenth century to the twenty-first*. (London: SPCK, 2007), 107.

28 D. Kistler ed. *The Works of Edward Polhill* (Grand Rapids: Soli Deo Gloria Publications, 1998).

29 Bebbington, 1.

30 Ibid, 2-3.

31 She married Rev. James 'Jim' Challis (1865-1923) and served as a CMS missionary in India. Her husband was Principal of St John's College, Agra 1893-1900, and Principal of Jai Narayans College 1900-1904. Venn, s.vv. 'Challis, James Marsh'. I address Alice's conversion very briefly in my MA thesis, but it lacks detail and it does not have the context of Bebbington's evangelical quadrilateral. Usher, ‘*Prepared for Pentecost...*’, 3.

on as usual with us.³²

Alice's conversion has enough of the right elements to leave little doubt that it was an evangelical conversion, especially given her own subsequent evangelistic efforts.

Polhill gives no denominational information here, but instead he gives prominence to the role of the Holy Spirit in conviction of sin (cf. John 16.8 and 2 Corinthians 7:8-11). It is important to note, however, that when Polhill interprets the Holy Spirit's influence on Alice, he is doing so retrospectively.

2.2.4 Pop: The Eton Society

The distractions of life at Eton, the most prestigious school in the country (and probably the Empire), soon pushed Alice to the back of Polhill's mind, "To say that we were happy at Eton is to say the very least. Football, cricket, and beagles [hunting] were keenly enjoyed, and time sped quickly by."³³ He enjoyed sporting distinction at the college, and in 1877 he was elected to join the Eton Society or "Pop" as it is known colloquially.³⁴ Members of Pop, ostensibly a debating society, assumed a list of enviable privileges such as being permitted to choose the style of their own waistcoats (over the standard-issue black waistcoats), authority to punish other boys and permission to walk where other boys were forbidden. In spite of this elitism within elitism the debates of the group were to a greater or lesser extent quite serious and minuted carefully. The "house" met to debate current affairs, history, belief and

³² *Memoirs*, 8, *PCO*.

³³ *Memoirs*, 9, *PCO*.

³⁴ *Eton Society 'Pop' Journal*, 1877, Vol.67, 257. Available at the Eton College Archive, Eton, UK. According to a privately produced handbook for the two-hundredth anniversary of Pop, in 2011, the Eton Society was started by Charles Fox Townshend in 1811 in "Mrs Hatton's sock-shop or popina...." Pop still exists, although no longer a debating society. Its members now resemble prefects. E. Cracknell (Eton College Archivist) to author, 22 October 2014.

other subjects in a parliamentary style.³⁵ What is clear from their records is that the teenagers of Pop had an impressive ability to critically engage with a subject, and while the tone of the records could be somewhat self-congratulatory,³⁶ the members could at times, Polhill included, demonstrate a very admirable grasp of their subject matter.³⁷ Eton was the training ground of the Empire. It had for more than four centuries been perfecting the art of creating high achievers. One of Polhill's fellow members at Pop was C. T. Studd (1860-1931), and it is perhaps no coincidence that both men went on to establish their own missionary organisations. Polhill had been subject to the same ethos, and preparation to lead, from a college that has to date (2015) produced nineteen British prime ministers.³⁸ It would of course be wrong to argue that Eton was the most important variable in Polhill's life, but it would be hasty to disregard it as unimportant. Old Etonians were not expected to leave Eton and lead mediocre lives.³⁹ He went up to Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1879, but he did not get a BA. His future lay as an officer in the British Army, and so after “three trainings” with the Bedfordshire Militia he was gazetted into the 2nd Dragoon Guards, the Queen's Bays (a cavalry regiment), as a Lieutenant in his early twenties.⁴⁰ His happiness at this time was only overshadowed by the death of his father of whom he

35 Subjects included: “Is the government justified in the adjournment for the Derby?,” “Is the character of Napoleon I to be admired?” and perhaps more flippantly “The relative merits of the French and German character.” *Eton Society 'Pop' Journal 1877* Vol.67, 250, 263 and 278 respectively.

36 e.g. “Mr Polhill-Turner rising to answer entranced the house with the following remarkable piece of oratory...,” “[Mr Studd]...electrified the house...,” and, “Mr Thompson appealed to the house with passionate eloquence...” *Eton Society 'Pop' Journal 1877* Vol.67, 295, 316 and 315 respectively.

37 See for example Polhill's comments on the subject “Whether the occupation of Cyprus was beneficial” in the *Eton Society 'Pop' Journal 1877* Vol.67, 293-295.

38 For the Eton ethos see T. Card, *Eton Renewed: A History of Eton College from 1860 to the Present Day* (London: John Murray, 1994), 26 and 293 cf. P. Moss 'Why has Eton produced so many prime ministers?' BBC News article online at http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/election_2010/8622933.stm (last accessed October 2014).

39 Ibid.

40 He would have been between twenty and twenty-two. The record at Cambridge has him entering in 1879, leaving in 1880 and becoming a Lieutenant in the same year, but Polhill states in his memoirs that he was at Cambridge for two years before joining the army. Venn, s.vv. ‘Polhill-Turner (post Polhill), Cecil Henry’. cf. *Memoirs*, 9.

affectionately wrote, “[He was] our life joy...the kindest and most loving of parents.”⁴¹ Life was otherwise a “pleasant one” for Polhill in the Army, and he was “very fond of his profession.”⁴² It remained this way until his younger brother, Arthur, experienced an evangelical conversion in 1882 at the University of Cambridge.

2.3 Evangelicalism at Cambridge

The University of Cambridge had at this time a significant minority of very active Evangelicals.⁴³ In 1882, the Cambridge Inter-collegiate Christian Union invited D. L. Moody (1837-1899) to conduct an evangelistic campaign.⁴⁴ It was an unprecedented step to invite an uneducated, broad accented North American to attempt to evangelise the country's elite.⁴⁵ The first night of the campaign ended in fiasco with some of the undergraduates building a chair pyramid, but many others listened and were touched by Moody's message. Arthur Polhill was destined to be a country parson in the family “living” i.e. the church on the Polhill estate, but his faith was nominal and he too was beginning to be challenged by Moody's exhortations. Of the final night of the campaign, 12 November 1882, “[Arthur] was drawn by the simple text Isaiah 12.2 and decided for Christ that night.”⁴⁶

2.3.1 Evangelical Missionary Organisations

Both Broomhall and Pollock estimate Arthur to be the first of the Cambridge Seven to

41 *Memoirs*, 9, *PCO*.

42 *Ibid*.

43 For example, Handley Moule (1841-1920) and John Barton (1836-1908) amongst the staff, and Kynaston Studd, Stanley Smith, C. T. Studd and others amongst the students.

44 J. Pollock, *A Cambridge Movement* (London: John Murray, 1953), 59.

45 A. Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor and China's Open Century* (hereafter abbreviated to *HTCOC*) Vol.6 (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1988), 332 cf. *Memoirs*, 5, *PCO*.

46 “The writer [Arthur Polhill] was drawn by the simple text Isaiah 12.2. and decided for Christ that night.” *Memoirs*, 6, *PCO* cf. Broomhall, *HTCOC* Vol.6, 33; Pollock, *Cambridge Seven*, 32.

consider becoming a missionary in China, and that this probably came as a result of being given a copy of Hudson Taylor's *China's Spiritual Need and Claims* by fellow student Montague Beauchamp (1860-1939).⁴⁷ Beauchamp himself had not yet decided to join the CIM, but he was the nephew of the evangelical Lord Granville Augustus William Waldegrave Radstock (1833-1913), an early supporter of the CIM, and he had encountered the CIM's founder and Director, Hudson Taylor, many times growing up.⁴⁸ With the growing influence of Evangelicalism at Cambridge came the growth in prominence of the CIM. It had been founded in 1865 by medical missionary J. Hudson Taylor (1832-1905) who had a vision of "a million Chinese souls a month sweeping over into eternal darkness."⁴⁹ He took advantage of treaty rights, such as extraterritoriality for missionaries, imposed on China at the close of the Second Opium War (1856-1860).⁵⁰ China's Qing Empire did not want to buy the British Empire's highly addictive and socially detrimental narcotics, but the trade was too lucrative for the British to resist, so they used their military superiority to force China to capitulate. Missionaries were not unaware of the awkwardness of their position, but they were determined to make the best of the opportunity.⁵¹ Taylor's missionary methods were unique in that he insisted that his missionaries dress like the Chinese;

47 Pollock, *Cambridge Seven*, 37 and A. Broomhall, *HTCOC* Vol.6, 334. *China's Spiritual Needs and Claims* was a pamphlet written by Hudson Taylor over time he expanded it into a book which was published in June 1884. Arthur Polhill probably encountered the pamphlet edition.

48 A. Broomhall, *HTCOC* Vol.6, 341-342.

49 A. Austin. *China's Millions: The China Inland Mission and Late Qing Society* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2007), 181.

50 Austin, 78. Most evangelicals, Taylor included, were opposed the use of opium, and some even attempted to block its sale through parliament. Evangelicals who opposed the sale of opium include the 7th Earl of Shaftesbury (Lord Ashley) and Sir Wilfred Lawson. See Ashley, Lord, 'Suppression of the Opium Trade,' Commons Sitting of 4 April 1843 Series 3 vol 68, 362-469. Hansard: Sitting of 4 April 1843 Series 3 vol 68, 362-469. Hansard: <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1843/apr/04> (last visited July 2014), and Sir W. 'East India (Opium Revenue) Resolution' Commons Sitting of 10 May 1870 Series 3 Vol. 201, 480-524. Hansard: <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1870/may/10/resolution> (last visited July 2014). CIM Secretary, Benjamin Broomhall, established the Anglo-Chinese Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade in 1888. Austin, 14.

51 Beauchamp wrote in his first year in China, 1885, "Are you not surprised that any Chinaman will listen to the Gospel from an Englishman? I am sure I am." B. Broomhall ed. *The Evangelisation of the World: A Missionary Band, A Record and Consecration of Appeal* 3rd ed. (London: Morgan and Scott, 1889), 49. Hereafter abbreviated to *EWMB*.

he was prepared to establish missions outside of large cities, and he recruited single female missionaries which was at that time considered radically progressive.⁵² The CIM grew to become the largest protestant mission in China with enormous support from British and American Evangelicals.⁵³ In *China's Spiritual Need and Claims* Taylor condensed statistics into simple diagrams to illustrate how few missionaries and Christians there were for China's vast population.⁵⁴ By 1883, Taylor had returned to the UK on a recruitment drive for the CIM which roughly coincided with D. L. Moody's evangelistic campaigns.⁵⁵

2.4 Cecil Polhill's Conversion

The various steps between Polhill's conversion and his decision to become a missionary have been written about before, but there are gaps, anachronisms and inconsistencies.⁵⁶ By collating these accounts with new primary sources, it is now possible to reconstruct the stages that Polhill progressed through with a fairly high degree of certainty.

2.4.1 Arthur Polhill's "Wild Scheme," Winter 1882-83

After Arthur's conversion, in November 1882, he returned to Howbury Hall where Cecil was also spending winter's leave from his regiment. As they walked to church together, Arthur announced his intention to forego the family living. According to

52 Austin, 91 cf. W. Cooper, *The Book of Arrangements* [Principles of the CIM] (Gang'ing: Shanghai Mercury, 1890), *SOAS*.

53 R. G. Tiedemann, *Reference Guide to Christian Missionary Societies in China* (Armonk, NY: Sharpe, 2009), 136.

54 Taylor's book version is replete with examples of this method. J. H. Taylor, *China's Spiritual Need and Claim* (London: Hutchings and Crowsley, 1844), 7, 8, 11 and 20 for example. Freely available online at https://archive.org/stream/pts_chinasspiritualn_3720-1090#page/n1/mode/2up (last accessed October 2014).

55 A. Broomhall, *HTCOC* Vol.6, 321.

56 My own MA dissertation has gaps, anachronisms and inconsistencies. Usher, 'Prepared for Pentecost...', 1-12.

Cecil, “I could not see the slightest object in such a wild scheme, and endeavoured to dissuade him.”⁵⁷ However he was challenged by his brother's sincerity, “I cannot now recollect the arguments I used to meet his, but all the time I knew he was right.” Subsequently Arthur “extracted” a promise from his brother to read his bible everyday which Cecil did faithfully, adding a brief prayer each time, albeit begrudgingly.⁵⁸ After this encounter, according to Polhill, “...the Holy Spirit was quietly at work, putting many thoughts into my mind: how would it really do to be a Christian?”⁵⁹ This is yet another instance of Cecil Polhill making room for the operation of the Holy Spirit in the interpretation of his conversion. This is, for example, in contrast to Arthur Polhill's conversion account in which the Holy Spirit is not explicitly mentioned.⁶⁰ For Cecil, the Holy Spirit had not just one potential role in conversion but at least two. In his sister's case he believed the Holy Spirit convicted her of her “sin and need” (John 16.8 and 2 Corinthians 7:8-11) whereas for his own conversion he felt the Holy Spirit's role was that of cerebral inspiration (John 14.26).⁶¹

2.4.2 Moody's London Campaign and Dispensationalism

According to Polhill, throughout the ensuing year, “Twice at my brother's invitation I was at Moody's meetings in London.”⁶² In April 1883, Moody had travelled to the United States for a short stay before returning to the UK, in November of the same year, to launch eight months of meetings in London.⁶³ Moody's role does not appear

⁵⁷ *Memoirs*, 10, *PCO*.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Although he did write of “Spiritual power” at Moody's meetings. *Memoirs*, 6, *PCO*.

⁶¹ *Memoirs*, 8 (Alice) cf. 10 (Cecil) in *PCO*. Lundy, *The Peerage*, s.vv. 'Sir Henry Page-Turner Barron, 2nd Bt.' #266920 www.thepeerage.com (last accessed October 2014).

⁶² *Memoirs*, 10, *PCO*.

⁶³ J. F. Findlay, *Dwight L. Moody: American Evangelist, 1837-1899* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 1969), 356 cf. W. R. Moody, *The Life of Dwight L. Moody* (Ada, MI: Fleming H. Revell, 1900),

to have been as pivotal to Cecil Polhill as it was for his younger brother, but Moody was one of a number of influences on Polhill's early steps towards evangelical Christianity and the mission field. One influence in particular seems likely to have been reinforced by Moody i.e. dispensational premillennial eschatology. This school of thought hung on a literalistic interpretation of Revelation 20.4-10 which describes, in apocalyptic imagery, events leading up to the second coming of Christ. Premillennialism is perhaps best explained by first describing its rival school of thought, postmillennialism. Postmillennialists interpreted Christ's thousand-year reign (described in Revelation 20.4), before His final return and judgement, as being embodied through the benevolent international dominance of Christendom. It was a self-confident perspective, well suited to Arminian self-determinism, optimistic in outlook and placed a high value on the potential for human advancement, but the American Civil War and the squalor of industrialisation eroded such optimistic views of Christendom.⁶⁴ The world did not seem to be getting steadily better but steadily worse. An ex-Church of Ireland clergyman turned Brethren, John Nelson Darby (1800-1882), believed he had found the key to unlocking the meaning of Revelation 20.4-10 in the face of such harsh global realities. He divided all human history into dispensations and posited that the current dispensation, that of the Church or Grace, was about to come to an end before the millennial reign of Christ (hence pre millennial), and that Christ's return was imminent. His ideas were particularly well received in the United States.⁶⁵ Moody was influenced by Darby's ideas and became an outspoken premillennialist. His preaching was suffused with dispensational

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64 R. Balmer, *Blessed Assurance a History of Evangelicalism in America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1999), 48.

65 J. P. Ward, *The Eschatology of John Nelson Darby*. (Phd. Thesis, University of London, 1974), 235.

terminology.⁶⁶ Moody's "any-moment rapture" combined with Taylor's "millions of souls lost a month" provided the enormous sense of urgency for mission that culminated in the drastic abandon that characterised the decisions of Polhill, and the other members of the Cambridge Seven, to leave everything and go to China.⁶⁷

2.4.3 The Inheritance Question, Winter 1883-84

Since first hearing of Arthur Polhill's "wild scheme" to go to China it would take Cecil Polhill another year to have an evangelical conversion experience of his own. The final decision came on his next winter's leave, 1883-84. He spent the time abroad with his uncle, Sir Henry Page-Turner Barron, 2nd Bt. (1824-1900), Minister-Resident to the King of Württemberg, at Stuttgart Germany, where he studied German, went to the opera and enjoyed leisurely outings.⁶⁸ As he was doing all this he "...daily pondered the Scriptures and thought...and prayed..." so that by the end of his holiday Polhill was able to relate the following, "...when at last all goodbyes were said, and I stepped into the railway carriage on my return to Aldershot [the barracks where his regiment was stationed], it was with a mind fully made up. I had yielded to and trusted in Jesus Christ as my Saviour, Lord and Master."⁶⁹

Sir Henry was enormously rich, and both Broomhall and Pollock maintain that Polhill

66 For example, "...we are under a dispensation of grace, a wonderful dispensation," and, "In the evening of this dispensation there is going to be the marriage supper of God's son." D. L. Moody, *Where Art Thou? And Other Addresses* (London: Morgan and Scott, c.1897), 21 and 77 respectively.

67 Moody was influenced by C. H. MacKintosh who was a populariser of Darby's ideas. Ward, 258 cf. Balmer, 51. This type of historicism has a long history. For example, Daniel's vision in Daniel 7, and Montanus and Tertullian taught an early form of dispensationalism. Tertullian *Against Praxeas* 1-2; Joachim of Fiore and John Fletcher also taught a kind of dispensationalism. L. W. Oliverio, *Theological Hermeneutics in the Classical Pentecostal Tradition: A Typological Account* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 23. There are many kinds of dispensationalisms, but in most instances in contemporary literature 'dispensationalism', usually refers to Darby's system.

68 *Memoirs*, 11, PCO cf. D. Lundy, 'The Peerage', #266920 s.vv. 'Sir Henry Page-Turner Barron, 2nd Bt', freely available online at www.thepeerage.com (last accessed October 2014).

69 *Memoirs*, 11, PCO.

knew at this time that he had been named his uncle's heir. They further claim that when Polhill eventually decided to become a missionary, he risked losing his inheritance.⁷⁰ It may never be possible to establish to what extent this is true, but it is worth noting that Polhill had only just decided to become an evangelical Christian by the time he left Germany, and that the thought of overseas mission was not yet a serious one. This would seem to rule out any notion that Polhill wanted to make sure his inheritance was safe before committing himself to mission. There may have been some uncertainty on Polhill's part about his inheritance, but there was already a missionary precedent within the Barron family. Sir Henry's uncle, Rt Rev Edward Barron (1801-1854), was a catholic missionary to the United States and then Africa.⁷¹ This missionary precedent probably mitigated any risk of Polhill losing his inheritance.

2.4.4 The “China Missionary Meeting,” c. April 1884

By the end of winter 1883-84, Polhill was still several steps from fully committing to mission. It would take another of the Cambridge Seven, Stanley Smith (1861-1931), to urge him a step closer. Smith was the bright and evangelistically capable son of a London surgeon. After his decision to join the CIM, in March 1884, his evangelistic gifts were used by the CIM to help make further recruits for the mission.⁷² It was during one of Smith's evangelistic forays that Polhill heard him speak about going to conduct mission in China. In February 1885, on the eve of his departure, Polhill stated, “He was at a China missionary meeting, and from that time he had made up his

70 Sir Henry's estate was valued at probate as £306,473. *Will of Sir Henry Page-Turner Barron, Bart, CMG* (1824-1900), available for a fee at the London Probate Office. Pollock, *The Cambridge...*, 80 cf. Broomhall, *HTCOC* Vol.6, 352.

71 T. F. Meehan, 'Edward Barron' at *Catholic Answers* freely available online at www.catholic.com/encyclopedia/edward-barron.

72 Broomhall, *HTCOC* Vol.6, 338-339 cf. Pollock, *Cambridge Seven*, 57-58.

mind to engage in the Lord's work in China.”⁷³ Hitherto it has not been possible to elaborate on the circumstances to which he is referring since he says nothing about it in the full draft of his memoirs, but in an unedited manuscript version of his memoirs he does describe a meeting that is probably the “China missionary meeting” in question. He described the mission taking place at the Aldershot Barrack's Mission Hall, in the spring of 1884, shortly after his evangelical conversion. Polhill had found a remarkable amount of support for “the great change” in his life at Aldershot, particularly at what was known as “Miss Daniell's Soldier's Home.”⁷⁴ Soldier's Homes were small permanent Christian evangelistic missions for military personnel. The Aldershot mission building was described as having, “of the gentility and refinement one associated with the upper-middle class and the gentry.”⁷⁵ At the height of the Victorian “cult of domesticity” these female-led missions were believed to point wayward soldiers towards Christian virtues.⁷⁶ At Aldershot, Polhill encountered many high profile Evangelicals who were in his words, “...true friends and helpers to the young Christian,” such as: Sir Robert Phayre (prominent speaker and contributor to *The Gospel Magazine*), Hanmer William 'Prebendary' Webb-Peploe (an important promoter of the holiness Keswick conventions) and Colonel John Puget (an early supporter of the CIM).⁷⁷ Polhill relates the following regarding a missionary meeting at Aldershot in his handwritten manuscript:

Stanley Smith who came down and held a mission; and Dr Parry of the China Inland Mission gave an address. One day rather suddenly Miss [Georgiana] Daniell said “Why don't you go to China[?]” I replied “If I saw my way clear to leave the army to do so I would do it at once.” I felt it a great responsibility to be in the army and could not give up my commission unless sure of my

73 M. Broomhall, *EWMB*, 9.

74 *Memoirs*, 11, *PCO*.

75 K. Hendrickson, *Making Saints: Religion and the Public Image of the British Army, 1809-1885*. (London: Associated University Press, 1998), 84.

76 Hendrickson, 82-93 cf. Balmer, 71-93 cf. C. Hartley ed. *Historical Dictionary of British Women* revised edition (Woking: The Gresham Press, 2003), s.vv. 'Daniell, Louisa (?-1871) and Georgiana (1835-1894).'

77 *Memoirs*, 11, *PCO*.

ground...⁷⁸

It is unclear why this did not get into the full draft of Polhill's memoirs. It may be that he was concerned it gave the impression that his decision to become a missionary was too arbitrary. It could be because Smith became too much of a controversial figure. It may simply be that he intended to add this to his memoirs at a later stage. Whatever the case it appears to have been a pivotal moment for Polhill, and his connection with Smith would subsequently lead to Smith's involvement in Pentecostalism and the PMU. By April 1884, ten months before his departure for China, Polhill had seriously begun considering mission to China, but there were several more steps before he would finally commit.

2.4.5 Arthur Polhill and Handley Moule at Cambridge, November 1884

Arthur Polhill had originally intended to go to China with the Church Missionary Society (CMS). The CMS had been invited by the CIM to take part in a recruitment campaign in Cambridge, between 12-17 November 1884, in order to assuage any fears that the CIM might be poaching from other missionary societies. By this time Montague Beauchamp (son of a Baronet), Rev. William Cassels (curate at All Saints' South Lambeth), Dixon Hoste (former Lieutenant of the Royal Artillery), Stanley Smith and the famous cricketer C. T. Studd had all decided to go to China and were present at the meetings as representatives of the CIM.⁷⁹ Arthur Polhill attended as a

78 Polhill, *'Call to China Manuscript'*, PCO cf. Smith to Taylor, 18th Sep 1884: "I find I must run down to Aldershot on the Masters' business today." *CIM Box 11*, SOAS.

79 Broomhall, *HTCOC* Vol.6, 336 (Hoste had been the first to write to Hudson Taylor on the subject, in July 1883, having been influenced by D. L. Moody and his brother William Hoste); 338-339 (Smith, already an outstanding evangelist, decided next in March 1884); 340 (Cassels was third to be accepted, in October 1884, having been influenced by Smith); 341 (Studd was interviewed on 4 November 1884 having been influenced by Smith's decision and by CIM missionary Frank McCarthy); 342 (Beauchamp was the fifth to decide having been influenced by Studd's decision and by Smith) cf. Pollock, *Cambridge Seven*, 45 (Hoste), 57-58 (Smith), 45 (Cassels), 69-71

representative of the CMS. Shortly afterwards, on 1 December, Arthur was present at a further recruitment outreach arranged by the CMS, but this time Cecil also attended. According to Pollock and Broomhall, the brothers spent three days in prayer together. Cecil already knew that Smith had decided to go to China, but by this stage he would have also learned of the decision of the others including a fellow soldier. The impetus to join the CIM would have been very strong by now. It also seems likely that at this time Arthur Polhill began considering a switch of allegiance from the CMS to the CIM. There is another remarkable aspect of the CMS meetings. They were presided over by Handley C. G. Moule (1841-1920), at that time principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge. Moule was subsequently Bishop of Durham (1901-20) when Alexander Boddy was hosting pentecostal conventions in Sunderland in his diocese. Additionally Handley Moule's two brothers were already CMS missionaries in China.⁸⁰ It is, therefore, quite plausible that Polhill's future association with Boddy contributed to the credibility of Boddy's potentially controversial pentecostal activities in Sunderland. By December 1884, Polhill was yet another step closer to finally becoming a missionary. His former Eton friend, C. T. Studd, would bring him to the very cusp of making a decision.

2.4.6 Studd and Smith at Howbury Hall and Meeting Hudson Taylor, January 1885

In 1883, Studd had won the Ashes in Australia as part of the English cricket squad and became a household name, so when he joined the CIM they sent him all over the country on farewell meetings, with Smith and others, to help recruit more missionaries. The Polhill brothers were by this time in close contact with Smith and

(Studd) and 75 (Beauchamp). See, 'A Five Days Mission Relative to Work in Foreign Lands' flyer, *SOAS*.

80 George Evans Moule (1828-19120) and Arthur Evans Moule (1836-1918).

Studd and offered their home, Howbury Hall, as a destination for a farewell meeting “for thirty-five county neighbours,” on 2-3 January 1885.⁸¹ The chronology of what happened next has been somewhat confused. What is certain is that Polhill wrote to Hudson Taylor to ask for an interview on the subject of the CIM, but he got the dates wrong on his letters.⁸² The subsequent meeting he had with Hudson Taylor would appear to be the one he describes in his memoirs, “I called on Dr. Hudson Taylor, the Founder of the China Inland Mission, at Pryland road, London. He quietly said, ‘Let us have some prayer about it’, and we knelt down together and just sought the Lord’s will...Quietly waiting on in prayer that Winter, it seemed clear to my own satisfaction that the Lord would have me go.”⁸³ Pollock has this meeting taking place earlier in 1884, no doubt confused by Polhill's anachronisms, but this is likely to be incorrect.⁸⁴ Polhill wrote to Hudson Taylor for what appears to be the first time, “Dear Sir, if you are disengaged on Thursday next at any time, I should be very much obliged if you would name an hour in which you would give me an interview on the subject of the China Inland Mission.”⁸⁵ He dated this letter 5 January 1884 (leading to Pollock’s confusion), but the CIM secretary has date stamped the letter as received on 6 January 1885. The latter date is almost certainly the correct date since January 1884 was too early for Polhill to be considering mission to China. He had only just experienced his evangelical conversion on his return from Germany, and he had still not heard Stanley Smith at Aldershot.⁸⁶ The second letter Polhill sent to Hudson Taylor confirms the day of the interview, but he has dated it 7 December 1884, almost a year after the first

81 Broomhall, *HTCOC* Vol.6, 355.

82 Broomhall, *HTCOC* Vol.6, 355.

83 *Memoirs*, 12, *PCO*.

84 Pollock, *Cambridge Seven*, 80.

85 C. Polhill-Turner to H. Taylor 5 January 1885, *SOAS*.

86 Which took place ten months previous to February 1885.

letter!⁸⁷ The CIM secretary has again, correctly, date stamped the letter as received on 8 January 1885. It makes much more sense that Polhill would have sent the first letter three days before the second letter rather than eleven months before. It also makes much more sense logically that Polhill would approach Hudson Taylor, in January 1885, directly after Smith and Studd had held meetings at Howbury Hall, on 5 January 1885. There is no evidence that Polhill met Hudson Taylor any earlier than this.⁸⁸ Broomhall probably explains Polhill's anachronisms correctly by observing, "his world had been turned upside down!"⁸⁹ His brother had been the first of the seven to consider becoming a China missionary, and now Polhill became the last of the seven to formally approach Hudson Taylor.

2.4.7 The Evangelistic Gift, c. January 1885

There is one further element recorded in Polhill's memoirs which is of crucial importance. It occurred subsequent to his meeting with Hudson Taylor but before his final decision, he wrote, "I was invited with my sister and brother to speak in a neighbouring village...On this occasion, through God's grace, several found the Lord, including a father restored after seventeen years of backsliding, who then prayed for his wife and boy, who both yielded to God during the meeting."⁹⁰ This alludes to something that is not altogether obvious from a plain reading of the text. Missionaries were expected to be able to preach, evangelise and convert. Polhill was himself a new convert; he did not have a track record of converting others. Some of the other members of the Cambridge Seven, especially Smith and Studd, had more experience and proven track records. It was only after Polhill realised that "through God's grace"

87 C. Polhill-Turner to Hudson Taylor 7 January 1885, *SOAS*.

88 For example, there are no earlier letters from Polhill to Taylor in the CIM collection at SOAS.

89 Broomhall, *HTCOC* Vol.6, 355.

90 *Memoirs*, 12, *PCO*.

he too could evangelise successfully that he felt he could legitimately become a missionary. His brother wrote to Hudson Taylor on 14 January 1885 to inform him that Cecil had sent in his army papers and was, "...like me at your service."⁹¹

2.4.8 The Reluctant Missionary

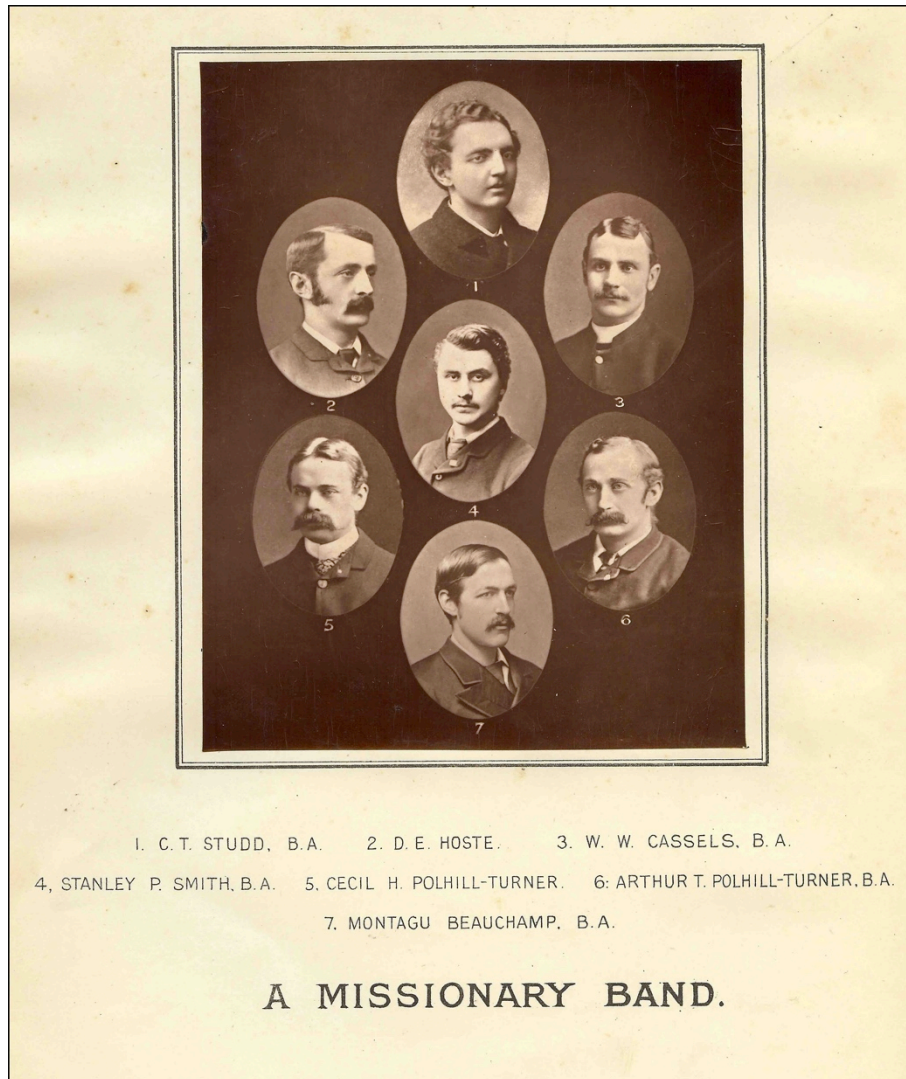
In spite of all this, the Polhill brothers were still not officially attached to the CIM when they departed for China, with the other five members of "the Cambridge Band," on 5 February 1885. According to the minutes of the CIM, "...it was proposed that they [the Polhill brothers] should proceed to China without formal identification with the mission which they could form after a time if on both sides it seemed desirable."⁹² According to Pollock this was, "...a detail which enabled their mother to speak airily of 'my sons travelling in China', thus hiding from titled and landed friends her disgrace at being the mother of missionaries."⁹³ This is probably an oversimplified explanation, and it is not one with which Broomhall concurs. In reality, Polhill was a young, untested, Christian who had made a last-minute spontaneous decision with his twenty-two year-old brother to throw away promising careers for itinerant mission in rural China. There was bound to be some reluctance not only on the part of the Polhill brothers themselves, but also on the part of the CIM. After a euphoric farewell meeting in Exeter Hall, London, Polhill departed for China, with his brother and five companions, on 5 February 1885 where he would spend the next eight years of his life.

91 Arthur Polhill wrote to Hudson Taylor on 14 January 1885 to say that Cecil was "now like myself at your service." A. T. Polhill-Turner to Hudson Taylor, 14 January 1885, *SOAS*.

92 *CIM Minutes of London Council*, 13 January 1885, 125, *SOAS*.

93 Pollock, *Cambridge Seven*, 89.

Figure 6



The Cambridge Seven c.1885

Source: this photo is from my personal copy of Broomhall's *The Evangelisation of the World: A Missionary Band* (1887), inside cover.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter is the fullest, and probably most accurate, account of Polhill's early life and conversion produced to date, and it provides important contextual detail for the rest of this thesis. Polhill was born into a privileged family at a time of great socio-religious change. From a young age he encountered Evangelicalism within his family. His social position, exemplary education and family wealth meant that Polhill was a man for whom there were great expectations. Moody's evangelistic exhortations, his Darbyite "anytime rapture" theology, and the CIM's urgent calls for the exotic overseas mission field, where millions were dying without Christ, were potent influences amongst the enthusiastic young evangelical body at the University of Cambridge. Polhill retained the same influences throughout his missionary career and during his years of involvement with Pentecostalism.

As a result of the heightened spiritual atmosphere at Cambridge, many influential and respected young men made the decision to join the CIM, and these decisions caused a domino effect. The history of how Cecil Polhill came to join the CIM is quite complex and at times the chronology is unclear, but certain events are evident. These can be condensed into nine steps: (1) His brother spoke to him of his decision to become a missionary in the winter of 1882-83; (2) He attended two Moody campaigns in 1883; (3) He travelled to Germany in the winter of 1883-84, and on his return journey he decided to live as an evangelical Christian; (4) He attended a China Missionary Meeting at Aldershot barracks where, amongst others, he heard Stanley Smith speaking about mission circa April 1884; (5) He attended a missionary recruitment rally at Cambridge in November 1884; (6) C. T. Studd and Stanley Smith spoke at Howbury Hall about their decision to become missionaries between 2-3

January 1885; (7) Polhill held an interview with Hudson Taylor on the subject of joining the China Inland Mission circa 5 January 1885; (8) Later in January 1885, Polhill realised he was gifted evangelistically in a local evangelistic meeting in Bedford and (9) On 14 January 1885, Arthur Polhill wrote to Hudson Taylor to announce that he and his brother were at his service.

Very soon after arriving in China, Polhill began to develop an intense interest in Tibet. He dedicated the next fifteen years of his life to either working towards the Tibetan border or promoting mission to Tibet from the UK. In 1900, he was compelled to resign from full-time in-the-field mission work, but he retained a place on the London council of the CIM and continued to promote mission to Tibet with passion and energy. These were Polhill's circumstances when the pentecostal revival occurred, so why did he not simply encourage British Pentecostals to join the CIM? Why did this outstanding anglican member of the CIM become so involved with the Pentecostals that he felt compelled to establish an alternative pentecostal mission? What becomes clear throughout the next chapter and the following chapter is that Polhill did not feel he had the support he needed from the CIM executive for mission to Tibet. It is for this reason that Polhill chose to invest so heavily in the British pentecostal movement because they would form the basis of a new mission force for Tibet.

CHAPTER 3 REACHING OUT TO THE LAND “IN GROSS DARKNESS, WITH HARDLY A GLEAM OF LIGHT” (1885-1900)

3.1 Arrival in China and First Phase on the Tibetan Border (1885-1892), Interregnum (1893-1895) and Second Phase on the Tibetan Border (1895-1900): An Under-Analysed Period of Polhill's Life

Tibet became enormously important to Polhill as a destination for evangelisation, yet the body of research on his life does not satisfactorily reflect this emphasis.¹ Defining Tibet's territory, its people, and its ambiguous political status is difficult and complex. Polhill is frequently described as a missionary to China or to Tibet, yet the reality is that he was somewhere in between.² Indeed treating Tibet as a separate category to China could in itself be seen as politically motivated, but if an academically-integral review of Polhill's mission to the region is to be undertaken then some kind of differentiations need to be made. Furthermore in virtually all studies of Polhill, with few exceptions, the focus has been on his work with the PMU from 1909 onwards. This overlooks key phases in Polhill's life throughout more than twenty years of pre-pentecostal missionary activity. In order to understand the motivations behind Polhill's work with the PMU it is first necessary to understand his extensive missionary experience on the Sino-Tibetan and Indo-Tibetan borders, pre-1909. Hitherto there has been no comprehensive study of Polhill's missionary activity before his involvement with the pentecostal movement.

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- 1 Including chapter 2 of my MA dissertation which has gaps, anachronisms and errors regarding the period 1885-1900. Usher, ‘*Prepared for Pentecost...*’, 13-20. For example, I skip from Hanzhong to Xining, incorrectly identify Xining as Tibet and incorrectly state that Polhill remained in Kalimpong for three years (it was about two). Regarding the encounter with Griffith John, I have added much more contextual information regarding the holiness movement in this thesis.
 - 2 Gee, *These Men*, 74; W. Hollenweger records that Polhill had “formerly been a missionary in Tibet” in *The Pentecostals* (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1972), 185; and similarly describes him in *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc, 2005), 344. Anderson describes Polhill as a missionary to “south-western China.” Anderson, *Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 92.

Hocken briefly mentions Polhill's work on the Sino-Tibetan border up until 1892 but then skips eight years to the Boxer Uprising of 1900, and after this there is no more mention of China or Tibet before Polhill's involvement with the pentecostal movement.³ Kay's study of Polhill and the PMU is almost exclusively focused on the period 1909 onward.⁴ Anderson has rightly differentiated between Polhill's work in China and Tibet in his study of Polhill and the PMU, but this is also focussed on the period post-1909.⁵ Goodwin provides a laudable short summary regarding Polhill's pre-pentecostal missionary activity in his thesis on Polhill and the PMU, but the history is far too condensed (fifteen years in six paragraphs), at times factually erroneous and at other times anachronistically confused.⁶ Polhill's grandson, the late Sinologist, Victor Funnell, published a short article on Polhill's pre-1909 activity in 2002,⁷ but not only was this very short and geared towards a popular audience, it had the opposite deficiency of ignoring his post-1909 activity.⁸ In 2004, Fader published a summary of Polhill's pre-pentecostal years, but again it had the opposite deficiency of only paying lip service to his pentecostal years, so it fails to sufficiently connect the two periods of his life.⁹ In 2009, I hinted at the connection between Polhill's vision of evangelising Tibet, and the work of the PMU but with no elaboration.¹⁰ In the same year Wim van Spengen, a Tibetologist, published an article addressing the work of the

3 Hocken, 118-119.

4 Kay, *The Pentecostal Missionary Union*, 89-104.

5 Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 124-128.

For example, Polhill was not originally based in Shansi (Shanxi) province but in the neighbouring province of Shensi (Shaanxi). According to Goodwin, "Polhill and his wife joined Annie Taylor firstly in Kansu, secondly in Qinghai, then at Darjeeling in North India." Polhill and Eleanor led the mission station in Qinghai (formerly part of Gansu or Kansu) in their own right without Annie Taylor. In the same paragraph Goodwin states that Polhill made contact with the Dalai Lama, but this was more than three decades later, in 1927, after Polhill had resigned from the presidency of the PMU. Goodwin, 'The Pentecostal Missionary Union (PMU)...', 83.

7 Funnell, 238-241.

8 It is less than four (A5) pages in length, and is in the style of a magazine article with no citations.

9 Fader, *Called from Obscurity: The Life and Times of a True Son of Tibet Gergan Dorje Tharchin Vol.2* (Kalimpong, India: Tibet Mirror Press, 2004), 208-217.

10 J. M. Usher, 'The Significance of Cecil H. Polhill for the Development of Early Pentecostalism', *JEPTA*, Vol.29/No.2 (2009), 59-60.

PMU on the Sino-Tibetan border 1912-1924.¹¹ In van Spengen's article there is an abridged summary of Polhill's work on the Sino-Tibetan border before the founding of the PMU, but van Spengen spends most of the article on the period 1912-1924, with only an abridged account of Polhill's pre-1909 activity, so he fails to fully connect Polhill's two periods of missionary endeavour. Furthermore van Spengen has a significant gap in his literature i.e. Polhill's unpublished memoirs (1925). Instead van Spengen has relied upon the writings of Marston, Polhill's sister-in-law, who became his late wife's biographer.¹² A comparison of Polhill's memoirs and Marston's writings reveal that both are required for the fullest account of this period. Furthermore van Spengen did not, nor even Funnell for that matter, have the benefit of the manuscripts that have recently emerged from Polhill's ancestral home.¹³ These manuscripts, along with other primary sources, now make it possible to write a comprehensive and scholarly account of Polhill's pre-1909 Sino-Tibetan and Indo-Tibetan endeavours, and show how they are intrinsically connected to his pentecostal endeavours.

3.2 From London to Shanghai, 5 February-18 March 1885

Less than twenty-four hours after a packed farewell meeting, consisting of several thousand, at Exeter Hall, London, the Cambridge Seven boarded a train at Victoria destined for Dover. From Dover they sailed to Calais, then to Brindisi and onto Alexandria where they took the “desert train” to Suez before boarding another ship to Colombo where they changed again to proceed to Penang, Malaysia.¹⁴ The journey is recorded in Broomhall's *The Evangelisation of the World: A Missionary Band* in

11 Van Spengen, W. 'Early Missionary Activity Along the Sino-Tibetan Border The PMU 1912-1914', *Studies in the History of Eastern Tibet* (2009), 133-176.

12 Polhill's wife's sister and biographer.

13 Nor the CIM records at SOAS it would seem.

14 Broomhall, *HTCOC* Vol.6, 361-364.

which the Cambridge Seven are placed quite literally front and centre prefacing an anthology of articles by a large number of the most eminent Evangelicals and missionary leaders of the period.¹⁵ The book also includes the thoughts and observations of each of the seven as they journeyed to and through China.

3.2.1 A Small “Store” of Grace

Polhill's contributions to *The Evangelisation of the World* are conspicuously laconic. Each of his contributions consisted of just a few paragraphs.¹⁶ This can probably be attributed to his background as an army officer, which placed no value on flowery language, but also because he was in a sense the junior member of the seven i.e. not by age but by being the last of the group to become an evangelical Christian and to decide for mission work.¹⁷ He alluded to this in a meeting at the Wesleyan Chapel, Pettah, during the short change over at Colombo, on 26 February, recorded in the second person by a journalist who was present, “God's grace and love is so very vast that any little bit of light that is thrown upon it is of great use. His store [Polhill's] was a very small one. He had only known the Lord for 11 months, though it was 5 months since the time God's voice began speaking to him....”¹⁸ Polhill had been catapulted

15 B. Broomhall ed. *The Evangelisation of the World: A Missionary Band, A Record and Consecration of Appeal* 2nd Ed (London: Morgan and Scott, 1887). Freely available online at: <https://archive.org/stream/evangelisationof00broo#page/n7/mode/2up> (last accessed October 2014). The “missionary band” refers to the Cambridge Seven whose pictures and stories feature prominently throughout.

16 Of all three of Polhill's contributions journeying to China, and inland to his first station, they total just 1,014 words compared with, for example, just one of Smith's contributions which comes to 2,732 words, just one of Studd's contributions totalling 2,110 words and just one of his brother Arthur's contributions totalling 1,980 words. See Broomhall, *EWMB*, 9, 18 and 28 (for Cecil Polhill's early contributions), 6-8 (for Smith's example), 10-12 (for Studd's example) and 26-28 (for Arthur's example). Only Hoste contributes fewer words than Polhill.

17 Pollock believed both Polhill and Hoste to be shy, and that they found “public speaking a trial” Pollock, *The Cambridge*, 95. It is probably no coincidence that they were both in the army.

18 Ferguson CMG (1842-1913) was the assistant editor, and subsequent proprietor and editor, of the *Ceylon Observer* and a politician. He recorded the meetings held by the Cambridge Seven during their short stay at Colombo before following them to Shanghai to record the meetings held there. J. Ferguson, *The China Inland Mission: Reports of Meetings Held in Shanghai and Colombo* (Colombo: Ceylon Observer Press, 1885), 22, *SOAS*. Polhill's remarks would seem to confirm that

from relative obscurity into the evangelical limelight, so he was understandably quite a hesitant figure. This article demonstrates that he was not only fully aware of his inadequacy, but also prepared to openly and honestly reflect upon it.

3.2.2 First Encounter with a Chinese Christian, “...full of the Word and so bright”

Out of the three articles pertinent to Polhill published by Broomhall in the earliest stages of the mission, the first is a very short speech recorded at the farewell meeting at Exeter Hall and the third is written after arriving in China, but the second provides interesting insight into Polhill’s development at this early stage of his missionary career.¹⁹ He began by describing how, at Penang, Malaysia, he joined Hoste, the only other former officer, on a visit to the local barracks to evangelise and distribute literature. Afterwards Polhill described his first encounter with a Chinese man, a Christian, travelling to Edinburgh to study medicine. Polhill remarked with a mixture of surprise and admiration, “He was full of the Word and so bright.”²⁰ This first impression of the Chinese made a deep impact on Polhill. He could see that Westerners were not necessarily superior to the Chinese which became a recurring principle throughout his life. It was perhaps an underlying sense of vulnerability, of insecurity, at being the least-tested member of the Cambridge Seven that left Polhill open to drawing such conclusions about the Chinese. He was not the powerful and confident Westerner arriving with an overbearing evangelistic zeal, but an uncertain novice trying to maintain an open mind in order to learn as much as possible before reaching China.

he had not seriously begun considering mission to China until late 1884.

19 Broomhall, *EWMB*, 9 (Exeter Hall), 18 (at Penang) and 28 (journeying inland).

20 His formatting. Broomhall, *EWMB*, 18.

3.3 Arrival in China Amidst Political Instability, March 1885

The Cambridge Seven arrived in Shanghai on 18 March 1885 just as the Sino-French War was drawing to a close.²¹ It ended in yet another humiliating defeat for the Chinese. China was beleaguered, having been besieged by Western powers on all sides for decades. There was internal turmoil in the Chinese court, headed by the Empress Dowager Cixi (1835-1908), and a weak government. Additionally China was facing threats from the east being far behind the territorially-ambitious Japanese in the race to modernise. The interior was dangerous for missionaries at this time where the Chinese associated Christianity with the French, but the Cambridge Seven were as yet sheltered from this as they were fêted at a string of meetings in cosmopolitan Shanghai.²² Polhill was still not a particularly confident speaker, and a review of these meetings reveals that he remained very much a background figure.²³ Such was the publicity around the seven, with two of “undisguisedly military bearing” (Polhill and Hoste), that Hudson Taylor grew concerned about arousing misguided suspicion.²⁴ His solution was to split them into two groups. The Polhill brothers and Studd were to be sent up the River Yangtse via Wuhan and the River Han to Hanzhong²⁵ in south Shaanxi for language study. Cassels, Hoste and Smith went by sea to Tianjin via Yantai and then onto Beijing before proceeding to Linfen via Tianyuan in Shanxi for language study. Beauchamp's mother had requested that he stay with Hudson Taylor for a time, so he accompanied the first group for part of the journey before returning and joining the second group proceeding to Shanxi.²⁶ The two groups would therefore settle in neighbouring provinces, Shaanxi and Shanxi,

21 Broomhall, *HTCOC* Vol.6, 369.

22 Broomhall, *EWMB*, 22 cf. Broomhall, *HTCOC* Vol.6, 367-370.

23 Ferguson, 1-16.

24 Broomhall, *HTCOC* Vol.6, 374.

25 Then known as Hanchong or Hanchung.

26 Ferguson, 19 cf. Broomhall, *HTCOC* Vol.6, 374 and *Memoirs*, 21, *PCO*.

albeit in cities separated by hundreds of miles.

3.3.1 Holiness and Proto-Pentecostalism

The three members of the Cambridge Seven destined for Shaanxi began travelling up the River Yangtse on 4 April 1885. Polhill's short contribution to *China's Millions* at this time indicates that he was growing in confidence. He no longer openly reflected on how short a time it had been since he became a Christian, and in its place was a much more enthusiastic rhetoric, "May the Lord raise up bands of men and women to hurry off to all parts of the world, carrying the message of peace and life to those who are 'without Christ and without hope!'" he also realised he had been too timid hitherto, "What would be thought of an ambassador who, on reaching his destination, found himself uncertain about the message he had to deliver, and uncertain of the power at his disposal to back up his representations!["?]"²⁷ Yet he was still a young Christian, and to a greater or lesser extent all of the Cambridge Seven were naive at this early stage in their endeavours. In such a heightened spiritual atmosphere they were vulnerable to fanatical tendencies. Reports reached Hudson Taylor that Stanley Smith and Dixon Hoste were repelling their senior missionary with excessive piety, fasting and praying so much as to endanger their health. The Polhill brothers and Studd were vulnerable to the same tendencies. They made a short stop inland at Wuhan, Hubei, on 16 April where veteran China missionary Dr Griffith John was stationed with a large and thriving church.²⁸ Polhill praised John's focus on the baptism of the Holy Spirit writing, "He held strongly that the prime need of the missionary is that he should have a definite experience of receiving the Holy Ghost for power [his underlining]; and that it should be sought diligently and unceasingly;

27 *China's Millions* (1885), 144, *SOAS*.

28 Then known as 'Hankou' cf. *China's Millions* (1885), 105, *SOAS*; N. Gibbard, *Griffith John, Apostle to Central China* (Bridgend: Bryntirion Press, 1998), 33.

and not once and for all.”²⁹

The themes of the Holy Spirit and power were trademarks of the holiness movement.³⁰ The movement emerged in the late nineteenth century, partly as a response to a perceived lack of christian enthusiasm amongst the growing middle classes of Industrial Britain and North America, and partly as a response to the unsatisfactory notion that life was one long struggle against sin.³¹ It had its source in the Methodist doctrine of entire sanctification or 'second blessing' teaching i.e. a second experience to be had after conversion that enabled the Christian to live entirely without sin, but this 'perfectionism' had since passed through various moderating formulations making it more or less acceptable to a wider range of denominations. It was chiefly popularised beyond Methodism in Britain by Robert and Hannah Pearsall Smith from the United States.³² The Smiths came from a Quaker background and transmitted Quaker terminology and practices into their repackaging of the holiness message. Quakers had long used phrases like the “baptism in the Holy Ghost” to describe conversion, but these were adopted by the holiness movement to designate the point of sanctification.³³ Quietist elements of Quakerism also found their way into the holiness movement. Sanctification, held the Smiths, was to be found in the “rest” of faith, “Its chief characteristics are an entire surrender to the Lord, and a perfect trust in Him, resulting in victory over sin and inward rest of soul.”³⁴ When the Smiths addressed audiences in Oxford and Brighton in 1874 and 1875 the conferences

29 *Memoirs*, 27, *PCO*.

30 Bebbington, 152 and 156.

31 *Ibid*, 151-2.

32 Robert had his experience of sanctification at a camp meeting and Hannah at a small Methodist hall, in 1867. Bebbington, 165.

33 Bebbington, 151 and 156.

34 H. W. Smith, *The Christian Secret of a Happy Life* (London: Fleming H. Revell, 1875), 37, *IA*.

included regular times of meditation and silence.³⁵ Instantaneous sanctification by faith was in contrast to the traditional Reformed ideology of persistent life-long battling against sin, so the holiness message offered relief to beleaguered souls.³⁶ The sanctification-by-faith element of the holiness movement readily resonated with faith missions like the CIM, and the availability of instantaneous power appealed to the urgent disposition of missionaries in the field who would have had little time for gradualist notions of sanctification.

Several members of the Cambridge Seven had been influenced by the holiness movement before departing for China, and Polhill had encountered Prebendary Webb-Peploe, a holiness teacher, at the Aldershot Mission Hall shortly after his conversion.³⁷ The missionaries had therefore been exposed to holiness ideas, but probably not as forcefully as Griffith John posited them. The Polhill brothers and Studd would have regarded it as entirely logical, after leaving John at Wuhan, to begin praying for the pentecostal gift of Mandarin.³⁸ John seems to have previously come very close to making the same connection himself between baptism in the Holy Spirit and divine speech without necessarily expecting *xenolalic* utterances.³⁹ It is

35 Bebbington, 157.

36 D. Bebbington, *Holiness in Nineteenth-Century England* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2000), 62 cf. Pollock, *Cambridge Movement*, 37 and Pollock, *The Keswick Story*, 12.

37 Smith and Studd in particular. See Pollock, *Cambridge Seven*, 49 cf. Pollock, *Keswick Story*, 103; *Memoirs*, 11, *PCO*.

38 G. B. McGee, 'Taking the logic 'a little further' late nineteenth-century references to the gift of tongues in mission-related literature and their influence on early Pentecostalism', *AJPS* Vol.9/No.1 (2006), 105 cf. R. Steer, *J. Hudson Taylor, A Man in Christ*. (Singapore: OMF, 1990), 288. Arthur Polhill corroborates this incident in a letter to his brother in 1906. Arthur Polhill to Cecil Polhill 21 September 1906 in *PCO*.

39 "The blessing he [Griffith John] sought came to him after he had been wrestling with God in prayer. The following day he was going out to preach but had no specific text in mind. God, however, opened his lips and endowed him with exceptional power, such power that he had no doubt as to its divine origin. It was a baptism of the Holy Spirit of God. Griffith John could see the significance of this experience in the context of personal holiness and service, but the work of the Holy Spirit was also related to the Church, locally and worldwide. He believed that the Spirit could come in an exceptional way and reveal that power made known on the day of Pentecost, a power not unknown in Wales, which had experienced so many revivals." Gibbard, 93.

unclear whether or not the three young missionaries were praying for an entire language or merely for divine assistance in learning Mandarin, but they soon discovered, as the early Pentecostals would, that the gift of tongues was not going to be *xenolalic* to any permanently practical extent and wisely returned to their studies.⁴⁰ Hudson Taylor discouraged them from repeating the same experiment, as he wanted them to learn the language from a Chinese teacher and therefore gain wider insight into the culture of China.⁴¹ The experience left a deep impression on Polhill who was clearly determined not to abandon the idea of divine utterance just because he could not obtain an entire language. Polhill learned to moderate his expectations of tongues in 1885 which enabled him to lead British pentecostal missionaries on a more moderate path of ecstatic *glossolalia* rather than any misguided notion of missional *xenolalia*.

3.3.2 Polhill and Xi Liaozi (Pastor Hsi)

Amongst the other veteran missionaries Polhill met at his short stop at Wuhan was the renowned Wesleyan missionary David Hill (1840-1896).⁴² Hill's missionary activity at his former province of Shanxi resulted in the conversion of Xi Liaozi (1836-1896) (later known as Pastor Hsi or Xi Shengmo “overcomer of demons”),⁴³ a struggling Chinese scholar and an opium addict. After his conversion, Xi weaned himself off opium and began helping others break free from the destructive addiction.⁴⁴ He practiced divine healing and exorcism which was in contrast to the methods of many

40 Eleanor wrote to her sister in April 1885, “We are having splendid times, with Mr Studd and the two Mr Polhill-Turners; I had a letter from Mr Taylor yesterday...he wants me and Miss Drake to go up river to Hanchung, along with the party shortly starting, Dr. and Mrs. Wilson and these three gentlemen,” and, “Mr Studd and the two Polhill-Turners are very bright, and take everything so simply and literally, so much so that I think they rather startle others sometimes, but to me they are a great help.” Marston, *With the King*, 22 and 27 respectively.

41 *HTCOC* Vol.6, 375-376.

42 *Memoirs*, 26, *PCO*.

43 *Xi* is merely a transliteration of *Hsi* (from Wade-Giles to Pinyin).

44 Austin, 171-177.

western missionaries, but he was still held in very high regard within the CIM.⁴⁵ Xi himself was based in south Shanxi, hundreds of miles from Hanzhong, but some of the second group (consisting of Beauchamp, Cassels, Hoste and Smith) encountered Xi at Linfen.⁴⁶ Hoste worked especially close with Xi for some ten years. Polhill stressed the equanimity of the relationship between Hoste and Xi, “both mutually helped each other. Pastor Hsi honoured and valued the friendship of Hoste and esteemed his wisdom and self-effacement; acting as he did as adviser and trusted friend rather than as dictating pastor, whilst he himself learned valuable lessons from this Chinese leader who had a strong will coupled with earnest faith and assurance of God's guidance.”⁴⁷ There is no evidence that Polhill himself ever met Xi, but he did write admiringly of him in his memoirs for which he probably relied on secondary sources, “Pastor Hsi gave his whole heart and time to the service of the Saviour...he was instrumental not only in the conversion of large numbers of his countrymen, but also in delivering by the prayer of faith many of the sick and demon possessed as well as slaves to opium.”⁴⁸ This statement confirms that Polhill believed Xi routinely practiced divine gifts. Xi died in 1896 (while Polhill was at the Indo-Tibetan border), but he attained somewhat legendary status after the publication of his biography by Geraldine Taylor, in 1900.⁴⁹ Missionaries of the PMU could be found reading about Pastor Xi in 1912, so Polhill's influence may be detected there.⁵⁰

45 Anderson, *Ends of the Earth*, 34.

46 Austin, 383.

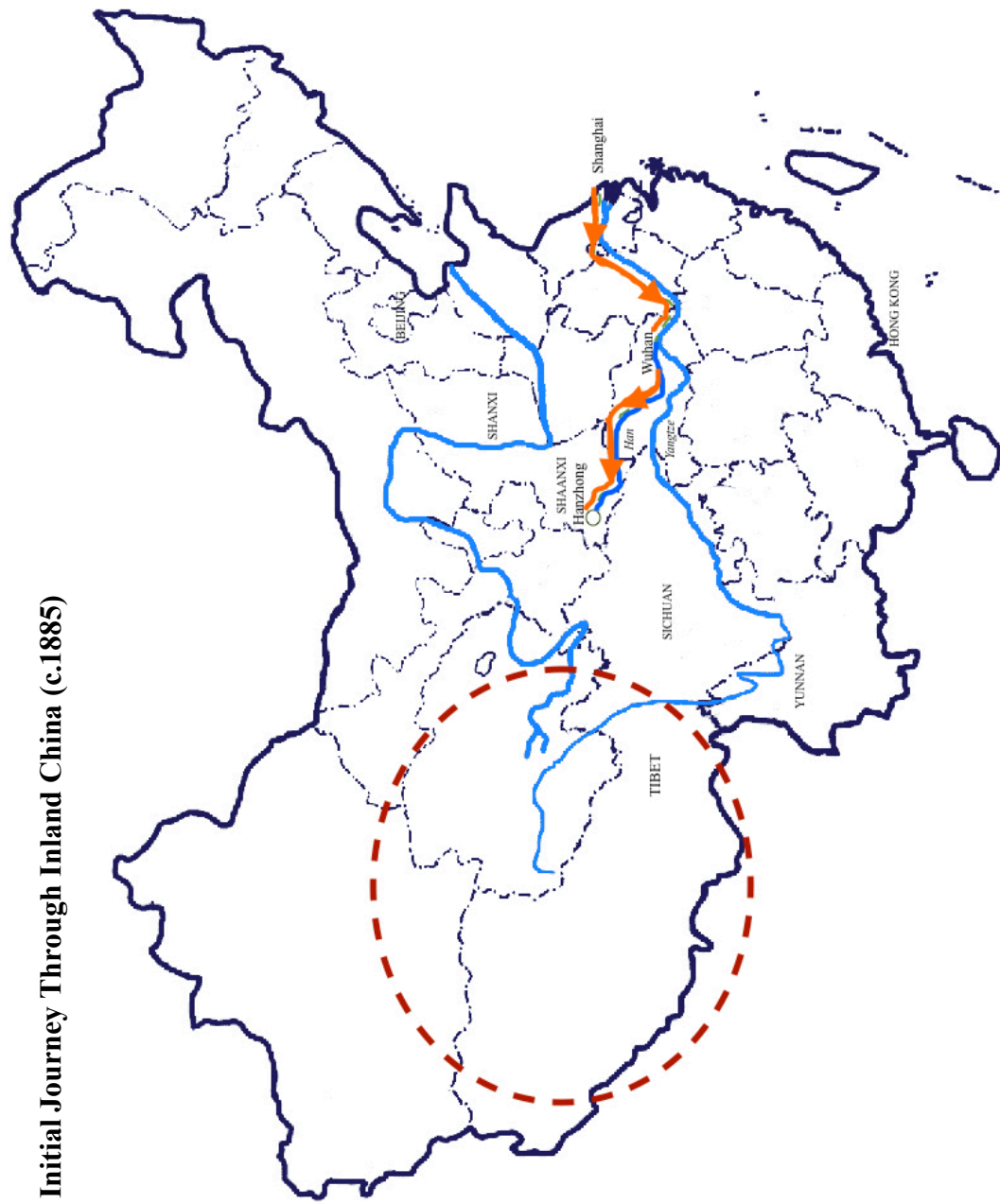
47 *Memoirs*, 23, PCO.

48 Contrary to Austin's implication, *Austin*, 383. If Polhill had met Xi then he would have probably said so in his memoirs, but instead he makes more general references to Xi's legendary status. A close study of Polhill's itinerary 1885-1893 gives no indication that he ever travelled to Shanxi. *Memoirs*, 22, PCO.

49 G. Taylor, *One of China's Scholars: The Early Life and Conversion of Pastor Hsi* (London: Morgan & Scott, 1900). Freely available online at: <https://archive.org/stream/oneofchinasschol00tayluoft> (last accessed November 2014).

50 *Flames of Fire* No.22 (December 1914), 6.

Map 1. Polhill's Initial Journey Through Inland China (c.1885)



The perforated circle roughly indicates the frontier of Tibet in 1885.

Source: www.chinamaps.org (last accessed August 2015).

3.4 First Station - Hanzhong, Shaanxi

After leaving Wuhan, on 23 April 1885, the party took a fork in the Yangtse onto the river Han to continue to Hanzhong in south Shaanxi. Dates given for their arrival at Hanzhong are conflicting, varying between 19 July and 22 August 1885, so the journey from Shanghai had taken between 109-143 days.⁵¹ Hanzhong was at that time a large town with a church of about ninety, supporting Chinese evangelists at ten outlying chapels.⁵² The province had been opened six years earlier by twenty-two year-old George King “the pioneer of Shensi.”⁵³ The Polhills and Studd were welcomed on their arrival by George Easton (the CIM Superintendent of Gansu and Shaanxi provinces) and his wife Caroline G. Easton, and Edward Pearse “the Anhui pioneer” and his wife, L. E. Pearse.⁵⁴ Their first home was with Dr William Wilson and his wife, Caroline S. Wilson, missionaries of some years standing, with whom they settled down to eight months of systematic language study.⁵⁵

3.4.1 First Itineration from Hanzhong and the Principles and Practices of the CIM, February-May 1886

On 23 February 1886 (Polhill's twenty-sixth birthday), he left Hanzhong in the company of his brother, his Chinese teacher and evangelist, “Liang,” and Albert Phelps on his first itineration of neighbouring Sichuan province. In 1886, there were only two CIM stations in Sichuan at the provincial capital, Chengdu, and at Chongqing.⁵⁶ Most of their journey involved walking at a rate of twenty to thirty miles per day, selling scripture portions or tracts and preaching as they went. After

51 According to Arthur Polhill it was 19 July 1885, but Studd writes of arriving in a letter dated 22 August. *Memoirs*, 34, *PCO* cf. *China's Millions* (1886), 13, *SOAS*.

52 Broomhall, *HTCOC* Vol.6, 419.

53 Ibid, 495 s, vv. 'King, George'.

54 Ibid, 490 (s.vv. 'Easton, George F.') and 500 (s.vv. 'Pearse, Edward S.').

55 *Memoirs*, 34-35, *PCO*.

56 Cheng-tu and Chung-king respectively.

itinerating as far as Chengdu, they began retracing their steps back towards their main station via a short stop at Langzhong, Sichuan.⁵⁷ At Langzhong, the brothers would pray together outside the city wall every morning, but the Chinese believed them to be prospecting for precious stones and attempted to stone them.⁵⁸ Such experiences probably added to a heightened sense of primitivism that can only have contributed to the kind of restorationist spirituality that had led them to attempt to speak in tongues. If they were being stoned, just like the Apostle Paul, then surely they should experience the *charismata* like Paul as well.⁵⁹

They returned to Hanzhong, in May 1886, to be met by J. W. Stevenson, the deputy director of China for the CIM. This was almost certainly for the young missionaries to take the exam for the first section of the CIM missionary course which involved, amongst other things, writing out by hand the Principles and Practices (P&Ps) of the CIM.⁶⁰ This signified their commitment to the mission and bound them to the terms of the P&Ps. It would become an enormously important document for British Pentecostals because Polhill would subsequently base the principles of the PMU on these P&Ps. As a young Christian, in 1886, Polhill was introduced to some of the basic tenets of nineteenth-century conservative Evangelicalism through the P&Ps, namely: the inspiration of scripture, trinitarianism, original sin, the atonement, eternal salvation for the redeemed, eternal punishment of the lost and inter-denominationalism (with other evangelical groups).⁶¹

57 Langzhong (subsequently the episcopal seat of Bishop Cassels) was then known as Paoning.

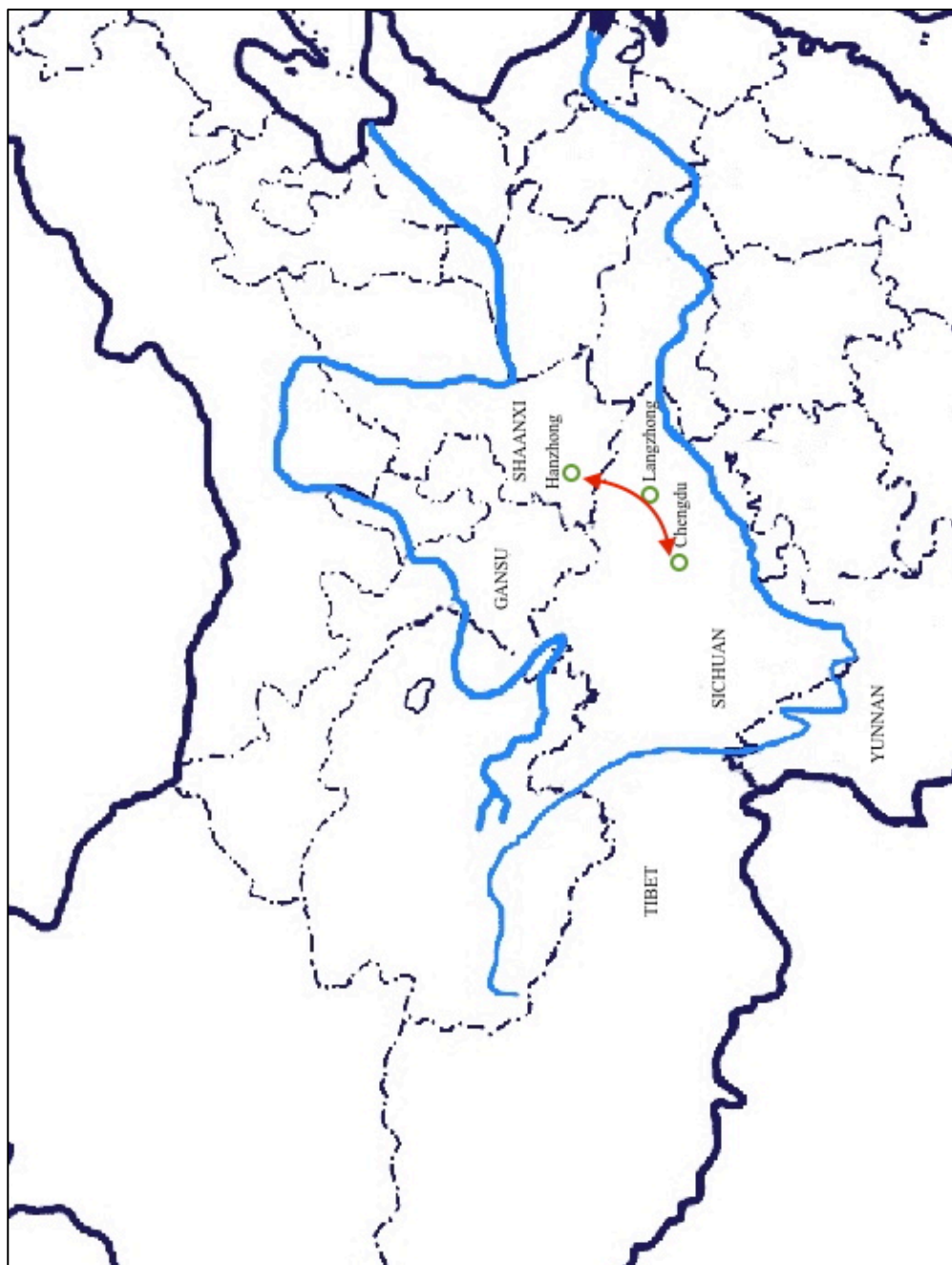
58 *Memoirs*, 39-40, *PCO*.

59 Polhill's comments in Chongqing, June-August 1886, would seem to support this analysis.

60 Polhill's signed copy of the P&Ps, dated 25 May 1886 at 'Hanchong' (Hanzhong), and counter signed by J. W. Stevenson is available at the OMF archive, *SOAS* cf. Austin, 250-254.

61 *Ibid*.

Map 2. Polhill's First Itineration Journey from Hanzhong, February-May 1886



Source: www.chinamaps.org (last accessed August 2015).

3.4.2 Second Itineration from Hanzhong and First Mention of Tibet, June-c.

August 1886

Shortly before departing on his second itineration of Sichuan, Polhill took part in a quarterly conference near Hanzhong. It is in connection with this conference that he first made reference to Tibet within early missionary literature, “Sichuan may hereafter form the main road to Tibet; and while we combine to plead with God for that, we may be working away at the already open fields....”⁶² The theme of Tibet would grow in importance for Polhill from this time onwards. He probably used the opportunity of having a senior member of the mission in Shaanxi, J. W. Stevenson, to discuss his ideas regarding Tibet.

On 7 June 1886, Polhill left Hanzhong with Liang, another Chinese evangelist called “Ho” and Edward Pearse in the hope of opening a station at Langzhong.⁶³ Their progress at finding a suitable property was slow, so while Ho and Liang remained in Langzhong, Polhill and Pearse made use of their spare time by traveling to Chongqing. They discovered on arrival that an anti-foreign riot had taken place, and the missionaries, about thirty, were sheltering in the local Yamen (Town Hall) under the protection of the local Mayor, named by Polhill as “Kwei.”⁶⁴ In the heightened atmosphere of danger, Polhill again hoped for the power and gifts of God’s Holy Spirit to become manifest. He wrote to readers of *China’s Millions* from Chongqing, “Will you pray...that we may be filled with the Spirit, and when necessary the gifts of the Holy Spirit...[?]”⁶⁵ It was one remark of many that illustrated Polhill’s

62 Ibid.

63 *China’s Millions* (1886), 128, *SOAS*.

64 The Yamen was the magistrate’s office, but it was often associated with other Chinese officials. It is roughly equivalent to the British Town Hall. *Memoirs*, 42, *PCO*. According to Polhill, “Kwei was a most intelligent and capable man, possibly not particularly friendly to foreigners, but fair.”

65 *China’s Millions* (1886), 128, available at Yale University Digital Library (hereafter abbreviated to

preoccupation with the Holy Spirit.

3.4.2.1 Preoccupation with the Power and Gifts of the Holy Spirit

As with Griffith John, it was by no means uncommon for missionaries to write or speak of the power, baptism or gifts of the Holy Spirit at this time. The pages of *China's Millions* are strewn with examples: "...and the prayer of faith would bring down upon every worker, and every station, the baptism of the Holy Ghost"; "[we] are of one accord in asking for and expecting God's best gifts and the full anointing of His Holy Spirit.", and, "I feel a great longing for the Holy Ghost power in my own soul."⁶⁶ Polhill was no exception, and if anything he demonstrated a particular preoccupation for the Holy Spirit. Before leaving for his second itineration journey he wrote regarding the quarterly conference in Shaanxi, "We have every reason to look for mighty times of the Holy Ghost...[and]...The fire of the Holy Ghost is taking possession of them [the delegates]."⁶⁷ He wrote of waiting meetings being held before the conference and of the participants being, "abundantly filled [with the Holy Spirit]."⁶⁸ This kind of preoccupation with the power of the Holy Spirit made it easy for Polhill to align himself with the British holiness movement in the interim period between his resignation from full-time missionary work and his encounter with Pentecostalism. His preoccupation with the gifts of the Holy Spirit demonstrate that he was not content with general displays of power in ministry, but he wanted to follow through on the logic of Spirit baptism to the manifestation of specific spiritual gifts (cf. 1 Corinthians 12.8-10 and Romans 12.3-8).

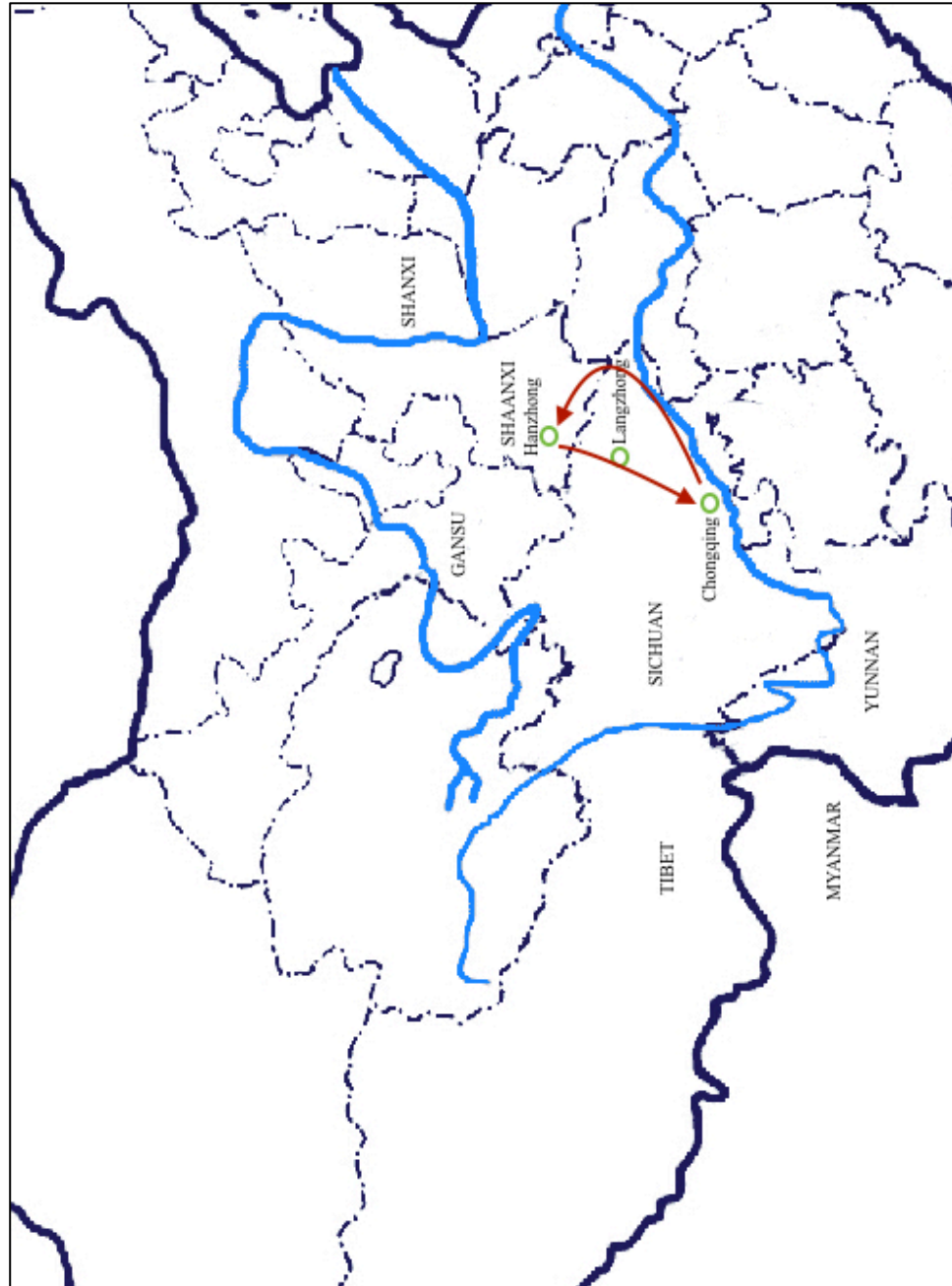
YUDL). Issues of *China's Millions* referred to in this thesis from *YUDL* or from the Internet Archive (*IA*) are North American editions, whereas issues from *SOAS* are British editions.

66 From just one year of *China's Millions* (1886), 2, 13, 25, *SOAS*.

67 *China's Millions* (1886), 158, *SOAS*.

68 *Ibid*.

Map 3. Polhill's Second Itineration Journey from Hanzhong, June-c.August 1886



Source: www.chinamaps.org (last accessed August 2015).

3.5 Independence and Permission to Prospect the Sino-Tibetan Border, c.

November 1886- July 1887

The missionaries were permitted to leave the Yamen under cover of night, but Polhill and Pearse were forced to take a perilous twenty-day detour back to Hanzhong.⁶⁹

Shortly after arriving back at Hanzhong, Polhill was joined by a party from Shanxi including Hudson Taylor, Montague Beuachamp and C. T. Studd. He had little time to recuperate from his ordeal before leaving Hanzhong, circa November 1886, to begin looking for a station at which to settle on a more permanent basis.⁷⁰ His interest lay with the Tibetans, and he probably sought permission to go there from Hudson Taylor at this time, but he spent the early part of 1887 in further language study at Chengdu which would suggest that he was probably not yet proficient enough in Mandarin to be given permission to go to Tibet.⁷¹ He wrote in his memoirs:

Presently and very gradually, there crept into my thoughts, and aspiration, a new desire, an increasing longing, a feeling that besides China proper there was a part of the Chinese Empire in gross darkness, with hardly a gleam of light, close by. I have never given up Chinese work, or the desire to be a Missionary to this great race of people, but alongside of it, there was now the impulse and the longing to preach to Tibetans...The Tibetans dwelt alongside of us in Szechwan. If the way opened and the C.I.M. were willing, I would make a journey and visit a Tibetan district; there was no such district at the time occupied by the C.I.M., but Sining, far off in Kansu, was the centre of Tibetans.⁷²

In May 1887, he had a short stay in charge at Chongqing, the scene of the riot a year earlier, standing in for C. T. Studd who went to meet his brother the future

69 They had been robbed and had to borrow money to complete the journey back to Hanzhong. According to Pearse they were forced to ford a river seventy-two times. *China's Millions* (1887), 20-23, *SOAS*.

70 Polhill recounts their arrival at Hanzhong in *Memoirs*, 44, *PCO*. Their departure from Linfen, Shanxi, had been recorded in early August, 1887, *China's Millions* (1887), 11, and by November 1887 Beauchamp was already writing from Chengdu, Sichuan (having passed through Hanzhong), *China's Millions* (1887), 54, *SOAS*.

71 *Memoirs*, 109, *PCO*, "At Chengtu, under the kind surveillance of Mr Samuel Clark, I settled down again to systematic language study, and had good opportunities of using what I had been able to gain in phrases and simple preaching."

72 *Memoirs*, 108-109, *PCO*.

Pentecostal, G. B. Studd, at Shanghai.⁷³ George Studd would subsequently meet Polhill in Los Angeles, in 1908, and was with Polhill when he had his pivotal pentecostal experience. Polhill did not meet George Studd in 1887, but he wrote highly of him in his memoirs, “Studd met his brother ‘G.B.’ at Shanghai at this time, and the meeting was the means of great spiritual blessing to ‘G.B.’ who from that time forth has lavishly given of his time and strength to the Master's work, mostly in Western America.”⁷⁴ By July 1887, Polhill was finally ready to prospect the north-eastern border of Tibet writing, “On the return of missionaries to Chungking my desire to visit the Tibetans became stronger, and I obtained permission to make a journey North with the object of prospecting that part of the Tibetan territory called Amdo, which lay in Kansu province.”⁷⁵

3.5.1 Defining Tibet and the Sino-Tibetan Border

Any discussion of Tibet has to be prefaced with a brief outline of Tibet's peculiar territorial ambiguities. There are two broad definitions of Tibet that provide a basic introduction to the region.⁷⁶ The first is “ethnographic Tibet” which divides Tibet into four traditional regions: Ü-Tsang (central Tibet) and Ngari (west Tibet) which include the region of Tibet proper or Xizang (as it is recognised today); Amdo which extends north roughly overlapping modern day Qinghai province and parts of south-western Gansu, and finally Kham which extends east into western Sichuan and north Yunnan.⁷⁷ Ethnographic Tibet has a high concentration of Tibetan language and culture and the majority ethnicity is Tibetan or of Tibetan descent. During the late

73 *Memoirs*, 109-110, *PCO* cf. *China's Millions* (1887), 126 (Studd's arrival at Shanghai), 129 (Polhill at Chongqing), *SOAS*.

74 *Memoirs*, 110-111, *PCO*.

75 *Memoirs*, 110, *PCO*.

76 These definitions are provided by Hugh Richardson (1984), British diplomat in Lhasa in the 1930s and 1940s, quoted in Goldstein, xi.

77 K. E. Ryavec, *A Historical Atlas of Tibet* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 12-16.

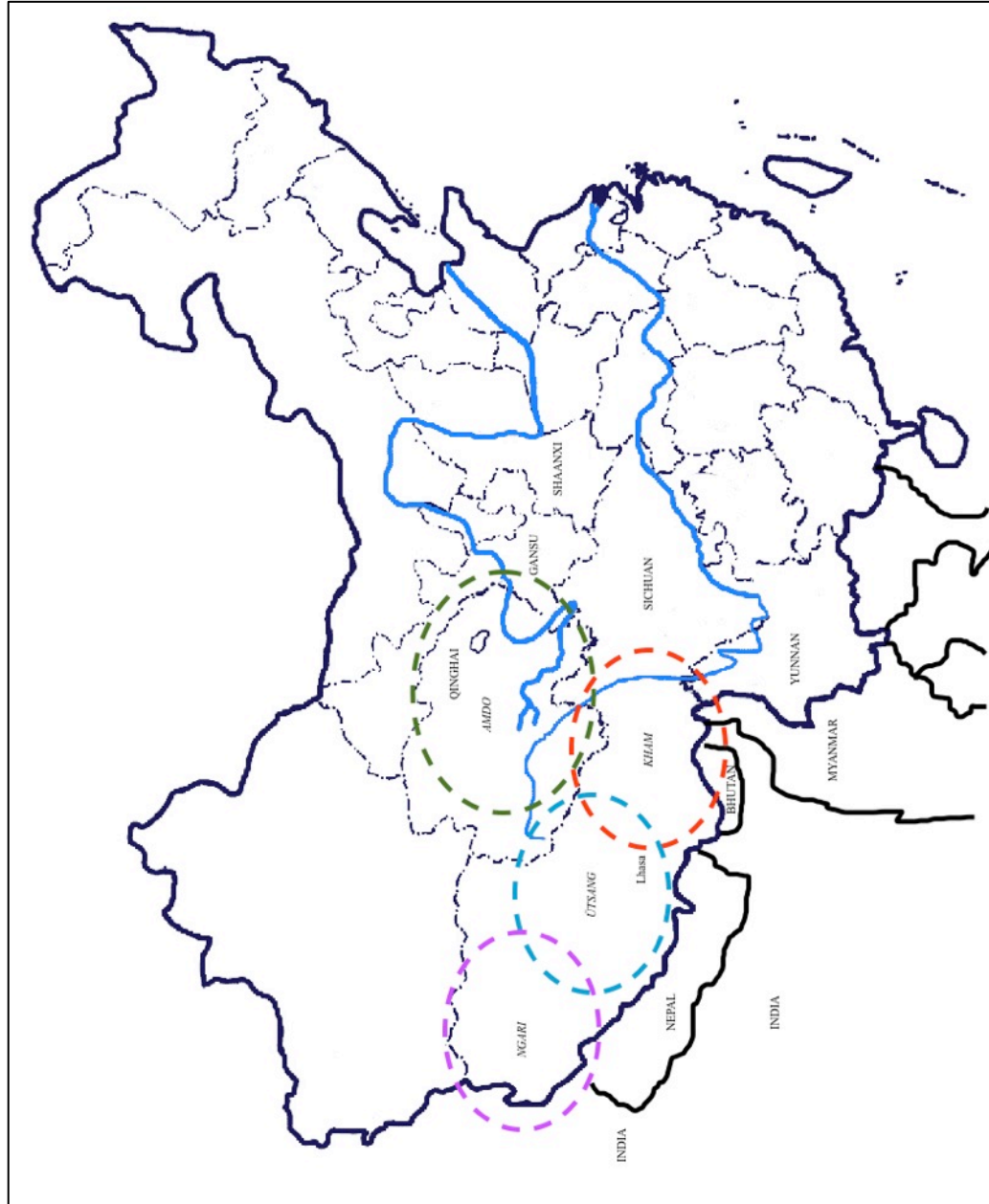
nineteenth century Qinghai (at that time known as Kokonor) was described as a protectorate of China, and Tibetan chieftains still retained much of their traditional authority. The earliest maps of the CIM recognise contemporary Qinghai province as being Tibet (Amdo) since Qinghai was not made into a full province of China until 1929.⁷⁸ The city of Xining, where Polhill and his wife would spend three years (1888-1891), was at that time part of Gansu province, but it is now the provincial capital of Qinghai province. The second definition of Tibet is “political Tibet” which includes Tibet proper (Ü-Tsang and Ngari) over which a Tibetan government has more or less held jurisdiction since the creation of the Tibetan empire in the seventh century. Political Tibet's jurisdiction over ethnographic Tibet has been intermittent throughout history, as it has competed with other empires and kingdoms such as the Mongols, Chinese, Indians, Nepalese and British. The two most significant relationships being those with the Mongols and the Chinese. In light of these ethnographic and political ambiguities the phrases “Sino-Tibetan” or “Indo-Tibetan” border are the most appropriate for the regions in which Polhill operated.⁷⁹ This encompasses activity outside Tibet proper, but within or just outside the traditional regions of Amdo, Kham, Ü-Tsang or Ngari. These border phrases are favoured by contemporary Tibetologists, but they were also in use within CIM literature at the turn of the twentieth century.⁸⁰

78 Under the governorship of the former Muslim warlord Ma Qi (1869-1931). Tuttle and Schaeffer ed. *The Tibetan History Reader* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), xxiii. Hereafter abbreviated to *THR*.

79 For example, see van Spengen. An alternative, albeit less commonly used, word that encapsulates the territorial ambiguities of Tibet is the “marches” of Tibet; marches referring to an ill defined border land.

80 For example, ‘On the Tibetan Borderland’ in *China's Millions* (1900), *SOAS*, 23.

Map 4. Ethnographic Regions of Tibet.



Source: www.chinamaps.org (last accessed August 2015).

The term “border” is in this sense defined quite broadly and is to be distinguished from the border proper, since the phrase can also be used to describe activity deep within Amdo or Kham, yet outside of Tibet proper. In order to place Polhill's mission within its proper historical context a brief history of Tibet is also necessary.

3.5.2 A Brief History of Tibet

Tibet's pre-buddhist religion was a combination of, “...astrological, divinatory, propitiatory, healing exorcistic, funerary, and other rites.”⁸¹ After Buddhism was introduced to Tibet in the first half of the seventh century CE, and partly in response to this challenge, the pre-buddhist rites were systematised into what became known as Bön.⁸² Before Tibet began recording history in 629 CE there had been, according to Tharchin and Woodward, at least thirty-two successive kings until the region was unified into the Kingdom of Tibet in the seventh century CE under King Songtsen Gampo (d. 649 CE).⁸³ The Tibetans surrendered to Ghengis Khan's army in 1207 and became part of the Mongol Empire. Ghengis' grandson, Godan Khan, summoned one of Tibet's most important buddhist teachers to his court, Sakya Pandita (1182-1251), who was a lama of the sakya sect.⁸⁴ The relationship between the Mongols and Tibetan prelates is the origin of the priest-patron, *yon mchod*, relationship that was retained by the Qing Empire.⁸⁵

81 J. I. Cabezón, 'Tibetan Buddhist Society' in M. Juergensmeyer ed. *The Oxford Handbook of Global Religions* (Oxford: OUP, 2011), 91-92; Ryavec, 48.

82 Cabezón, 92. The distinction between Bön and Tibetan Buddhism was not clear to missionaries in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but there are references to “exorcists” which may refers to Bön priests. *Confidence* Vol.7 No.1 (January 1914), 16.

83 F. Kuei Li and W. South Coblin, 'The Linguistic and Historical Setting of the Old Tibetan Inscriptions' in G. Tuttle and K. Schaeffer ed. *THR*, 124-125. cf. G. Tharchin and D. Woodward, 'Tibet' in D. E. Hoke ed. *The Church in Asia* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1975), 648.

84 Alternatively known as Chinggis Khan and Köden Khan respectively.

85 R. A. Stein, 'The Evolution of Monastic Power' in Tuttle and Schaeffer ed. *THR*, 202-203 cf. cf. L. Petech, 'The Establishment of the Yuan-Sa-skyia Partnership' in McKay ed. *The History of Tibet* Vol.II, 339-340. Hereafter abbreviated to *THT*. cf. Cabezón, 92.

In 1372, a charismatic monk from Amdo, Tsongkhapa (1357-1419), travelled to Lhasa where he was shocked by the depravity of the monks in the capital. He established a new sect of Tibetan Buddhism, the Gelukpa, based on celibacy, virtue and academic pursuit as the path to enlightenment.⁸⁶ The Geluk distinguished themselves from existing monks by wearing yellow hats instead of red hats, and it was a yellow hat prelate, Sönam Gyatso (1543-1588), who was first given the title 'Dalai' (meaning “ocean” i.e. Dalai Lama translates as “ocean of wisdom”) by a Mongol ruler, Altan Khan (1507-1582), in 1578.⁸⁷ Subsequent Dalai Lamas claimed to be the reincarnation of Avalokiteśvara (the bodhisattva of infinite compassion), but other sects laid claim to incarnations of their own and the practice has been linked to the “circulation of estates.”⁸⁸ The yellow hats grew to become a large and powerful sect, and this led to fighting with the other sects of Tibetan Buddhism until the yellow hats eventually triumphed by 1641 with the help of an army from the Mongol Khoshut Khanate (1642-1717). The Dalai Lama received authority to rule over all Tibet, but the commander of the Khoshuts, Gushri Khan (1582-1655), remained king.⁸⁹ Power struggles between Tibet's Mongol rulers and regents ruling on behalf of the Dalai Lama (often a minor) frequently threatened the stability of the region. This led, in 1705, to Gushri Khan's grandson, Lhasang Khan, joining with a group of important Tibetan aristocrats and an army from the recently established Qing Dynasty (1644-1912) to solidify political authority in Tibet once more. The Qing Army had to

86 Stein, 204 cf. M. Goldstein, *The Snow Lion and the Dragon: China, Tibet, and the Dalai Lama* (London: University of California Press, 1999), 5-6. Also known as the Gelug.

87 Stein, 205 cf. H. Richardson, 'The Dalai Lamas' in McKay ed. *THT* Vol.II, 555.

88 The Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lozang Gyatso (1617-82), was the first to successfully claim this identification. P. Schweiger, 'History as Myth' in Tuttle and Schaeffer ed. *THR*, 74. M. C. Goldstein, 'The Circulation of Estates in Tibet – Reincarnation, Land and Politics' in Tuttle and Schaeffer ed. *THR*, 477-490. Even the current fourteenth Dalai Lama openly admitted in an interview with the BBC that the institution of the Dalai Lama is “man-made.” BBC News Online article, “Dalai Lama institution 'will cease one day’” <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-30508914> (last accessed December 2014).

89 Stein, 206. Alternatively Gushi Khan.

return to Tibet a second time shortly afterwards when rival Dzungar Mongols deposed Lhabsang Khan. The Qing Army defeated the coup attempt and permanently ended Mongol rule in Tibet creating a loose protectorate of the region under the titular authority of the Dalai Lama, but the Qing court placed officials in Tibet, known as Ambans, who ostensibly held authority equal to or greater than the Dalai Lama. The Ambans were, however, frequently shunned or completely ignored by the Tibetan court. The often-fraught system of Ambans continued in Tibet up until the Chinese revolution of 1911.⁹⁰

3.5.3 A Brief History of Christianity in Tibet

There is evidence from rock carvings of crosses in Western Tibet, and from a letter written by a Nestorian patriarch, that Nestorian Christians had access to Tibet between 728-823CE.⁹¹ Nestorians retained a scattered influence until the end of the Mongolian Yuan dynasty (1279-1368) before falling into obscurity, coinciding with the rise of Islam in Western China.⁹² Antonio de Andrade (1580-1634), a Portuguese Jesuit, was the first missionary to Tibet of the modern period. The Jesuits entered Tibet from the Indian side in 1624, as the Portuguese had already established a mission at Goa. The Tibetan king, Tri Tashi Drakpa De (r.1622-1630), gave the Jesuits permission to build a church in Tsaparang in 1626. In 1630, disgruntled lamas

90 L. Petech, 'The Administration of Tibet During the First Half-Century of the Chinese Protectorate' in G. Tuttle and K. Schaeffer ed. *THR*, 402-403 cf. L. Petech 'Lajang Khan, the last Qosot ruler of Tibet (1705-1717)' in McKay ed. *THT Vol.II*, 584-596.

91 S. van Schaik, 'Christianity in Early Tibet', Early Tibet: Notes, Thoughts and Fragments of Research on the History of Tibet, available at: <http://earlytibet.com/2007/12/02/christianity-in-early-tibet/> (last accessed April, 2013). J. Yacoub, 'From Babylon to Beijing, the expansion of the Nestorian Church in China', Le Monde de Clio, available at http://www.clio.fr/BIBLIOTHEQUE/de_babylone_a_peekin_l_expansion_de_l_eglise_nestorienne_en_chine.asp (last accessed April, 2013).

92 A.McKay ed., *The History of Tibet: The Medieval Period: c.850-1895* (London: Routledge, 2003), 321-325.

deposed the king, and as a result the Jesuit mission was persecuted to extinction.⁹³ From 1707, capuchin friars began evangelising Tibet. They were also granted permission to build a church in 1725, but they were forced out twenty years later because of the suspected disloyalty of Tibetan christian converts.⁹⁴ In 1845 two French catholic priests, Evariste Regis Huc (1813-1860) and Joseph Gabet (1808-1853), travelled from Beijing to Lhasa disguised as lamas. They were subsequently arrested by the Chinese authorities and deported.⁹⁵ In 1846, Pope Gregory XVI gave responsibility for the evangelisation of Tibet to the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris or Société des Missions étrangères de Paris (MEP).⁹⁶ The MEP began evangelising Tibet from 1847, with varying degrees of success, until the communist revolution. The last catholic bishop of Tibet, Pierre-Sylvain Valentin (1880-1962), an MEP, had his official residence at Kangding, Sichuan, until 1962.⁹⁷

Protestant missionary endeavour to Tibet began with the Moravians. They established a series of mission stations along the Indo-Tibetan border from 1854.⁹⁸ The German Moravian, Heinrich August Jaeschke (1817-1883), saw the first Protestant conversions and baptisms amongst the buddhist priesthood.⁹⁹ Jaeschke also became

93 C. Wessels, *Early Jesuits Travellers in Central Asia: 1603-1721* 2nd ed. (Delhi: Subham Offset, 1997), 43. cf. G.H. Anderson ed., *Bibliographical Dictionary of Christian Mission* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1998), s.vv. 'Antonio de Andrade'.

94 D. L. Snellgrove & H. Richardson ed. *A Cultural History of Tibet* (Thailand: Orchard Press, 2004), 221, 223.

95 M. L. Huc, *Travels in Tartary, Thibet, and China* (New York: D&J Sadlier, 1857). Available at: <http://archive.org/details/christianityinch01hucruoft> (last accessed, April 2013). The account of their journey was popularly read, translated into English in 1923, and thought to be one of the inspirations for Hilton's novel *Lost Horizons*.

96 Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris. A. Launay, 'Society of Foreign Missions of Paris', *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912). Available at: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/14079a.htm> (last accessed April, 2013).

97 Catholic Hierarchy, Various, Countries, Diocese of Kangding, available at: <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/diocese/dkang.html> (last accessed, April 2013).

98 J. Bray, 'The Contribution of the Moravian Mission to Tibetan Language and Literature', *LUNGTA* (No 11, 1998), 4-9.

99 According to Tharchin and Woodward, 650, the first convert was a lama called 'Gyaltzen'. Bray also refers to 'Sonam Tobgye' as being an early convert as a result of Jaeschke's work. Bray,

an early Tibetologist dedicating himself to the study of Tibetan and publishing a dictionary highlighting the differences between various Tibetan dialects.¹⁰⁰ He translated the New Testament into Tibetan but left the Old Testament unfinished owing to poor health. A fellow Moravian, Friederich A. Redslob (1838-1891), continued Jaeschke's work on the Old Testament and opened a station at Leh, very close to the border of Tibet proper, in 1885.¹⁰¹ From the direction of China, it was the CIM that began the process of evangelising Tibet. George Easton and George Parker entered Gansu in 1876. CIM missionary James Cameron “the Livingstone of China” began prospecting the Sino-Tibetan border in 1877.¹⁰² In 1885, George Parker and William Laughton travelled to the north-eastern end of Amdo opening a station at Xining, Qinghai, and it was here that Cecil Polhill and his wife, Eleanor, would succeed William and Agnes Laughton in 1888.¹⁰³

3.5.4 Polhill and the Anthropology of Tibet

Polhill freely confessed that he knew little of Tibet’s culture or history before he started working in Xining, in 1888. In 1893 he reflected, “We went up [to Xining] in 1888 without knowledge of anything of their language or of the people.”¹⁰⁴ The CIM course for probationers consisted of six sections, but Polhill was probably only about half way through (probationers were not expected to take section five until the beginning of their third year), and there is nothing in the curriculum that would have

‘Moravian Mission’, 4-9.

100 H. Jaschke, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary: With Special Reference to the Prevailing Dialects* (London: Secretary of State for India Council, 1881), available at: <http://archive.org/stream/aTibetanenglish00jsgoog#page/n4/mode/2up> (last accessed April 2013).

101 Bray, 4-9.

102 Marston, *Closed Land*, 84; Broomhall, *HTCOC*, Vol. 4, 393.

103 Broomhall, *HTCOC*, Vol. 6, 245 cf. *Memoirs*, 118-119, *PCO* cf. Marston, *Closed Land*, 85.

104 C. Polhill-Turner, 'Work Among the Thibetans by Mr Cecil H. Polhill-Turner' *China's Millions* (1893), 106, *SOAS*.

provided any substantial information about Tibet.¹⁰⁵ Probationers were, however, urged to familiarise themselves with eastern religions, and the CIM reading list included three books on these subjects.¹⁰⁶ One of these does include a short chapter on Tibetan Buddhism briefly describing its history, distinctives, theology and hierarchy.¹⁰⁷ Another of the books has scattered references to Tibet and recognises the distinction between Tibetan Buddhism and Chinese Zen Buddhism, but the third book does not address Buddhism at all.¹⁰⁸ It is likely that the CIM would have expected Polhill to acquire some understanding of the region he was intending to evangelise, so the information in the books in the CIM curriculum are probably the very least that he is likely to have eventually become familiar with. This does not rule out the possibility that he might have had access to additional sources.¹⁰⁹

3.5.5 First Prospects of the Sino-Tibetan Border, July 1887- September 1888

Polhill left Chongqing, Sichuan, in July 1887 to begin heading north towards Tibet.¹¹⁰ He stopped briefly at Langzhong,¹¹¹ Sichuan, where his brother and Cassels were stationed before continuing north on 4 August with “Wang.”¹¹² As they travelled they preached and sold portions of scripture.¹¹³ They reached Tianshui,¹¹⁴ Gansu, in

¹⁰⁵ Austin, 250-254.

¹⁰⁶ A list of twelve books on the 1890 curriculum is in Cooper, 23. Austin's earlier copy of the curriculum (1886) has only ten in which Austin only records three out of the ten. All of the books Austin names have remained on the curriculum until 1890 including one that explores Tibetan Buddhism, so it is likely that all ten books from 1886 are those included in the list provided by Cooper.

¹⁰⁷ E. J. Eitel, *Buddhism: Its Historical, Theoretical and Popular Aspects* (Hong Kong: Lane, Crawford & Co. 1884), 45-50, *IA*.

¹⁰⁸ J. Edkins, *Religion in China* (Boston: James R. Osgood and Co., 1878), *IA*. Edkins makes scattered references to Tibetan Buddhism e.g. 7-9, 103, 131 and 151. J. Legge, *The Religions of China*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1880), *IA*. Legge's work is a comparative study of Taoism and Confucianism and as such does not address Tibetan Buddhism.

¹⁰⁹ Huc's *Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China* (1851) seems likely.

¹¹⁰ *Memoirs*, 110, *PCO*.

¹¹¹ Paoning or Pao-ning.

¹¹² *China's Millions* (1887), 146, *SOAS*.

¹¹³ *Memoirs*, 112, *PCO*.

September 1887 where Polhill proposed to Eleanor Agnes Marston who had been stationed there since around February 1887. She had been with Polhill on their initial journey inland, in 1885, and probably spent her initial months in China learning language in Hanzhong, Shaanxi, as Polhill had done. She wrote to her sister at the time of her engagement to Polhill, “When the way opens, we hope to work in Tibet, or on the border....”¹¹⁵ With his engagement settled Polhill proceeded to Lanzhou,¹¹⁶ the provincial capital of Gansu, one of the nearest stations to the Tibetan border at that time. Annie Taylor, a future pioneer of Tibet, had opened a medical dispensary in Lanzhou, so Polhill rented a shop nearby from which to preach. He spent much of his time visiting the almshouses in the city, and during his stay there his “Chinese helper” (possibly Wang) was baptised.¹¹⁷ After several weeks at Lanzhou Polhill progressed north to Xining,¹¹⁸ on the Tibetan border, the mission's most north-westerly station. He spent several months at Xining with William and Agnes Laughton and made his first “real acquaintance with the Tibetans.”¹¹⁹ Tibetans often frequented the city, and the surrounding country was punctuated with buddhist monasteries.¹²⁰ The father of American Tibetology, W. W. Rockhill (1854-1914), passed through Xining at this time disguised as a monk, according to Polhill, “It was my privilege in 1888, to meet Mr W. W. Rockhill, F.R.G.S., Secretary of the U.S. Legation at Peking, who called on us during our residence at Sining, and afterwards at the Monastery of Kumbum....”¹²¹ Rockhill would doubtless become an important source of anthropological information

114 Tsinchau or Tsinchow.

115 Marston, *With the King*, 86 cf. *China's Millions* (1888), 22, *SOAS*.

116 Lanchow.

117 *China's Millions* (1888), 48, 73 and 80-81, *SOAS*.

118 Sining.

119 *Memoirs*, 118, *PCO* cf. *China's Millions* (1888), 73. According to Hogg he arrived at Xining by January 1888.

120 Ryavec, 128-129.

121 *Memoirs*, 118-119, *PCO*.

for Polhill.¹²² After several months at Xining, Polhill travelled to Langzhong, Sichuan, to be married to Eleanor in May 1888.¹²³ They then returned to Xining to relieve the Laughtons and take full responsibility for the station. They had on the journey to Xining met a Mongolian Roman Catholic called “Chi” who had previously accompanied Huc and Gabet on their journey to Lhasa forty years earlier. Chi joined the Polhills to Xining as language teacher, and his nephew, “Ho”, joined as cook. The relationship with Chi is interesting for at least two reasons. The first being Polhill's willingness to work with a Roman Catholic which was highly unusual for Protestant missionaries in China at that time. This is probably explained by a mixture of expediency, since they needed a language teacher, and the fact that there were Catholics in his family. Secondly, it demonstrates that the Polhills knew a bit more about mission history by this stage i.e. the missionary journey of Huc and Gabet and the resulting publication.¹²⁴ They reached Xining, more than seven thousand feet above sea level, in September 1888.¹²⁵

3.6 Three Years at Xining 1888-1891

For the next three years, Polhill and Eleanor tried desperately to find an ideal outpost for evangelising amongst the Tibetans. They encountered a number of difficulties in attempting to do this, not least: hostility from Tibetan Buddhists, suspicion from tribal leaders, bureaucratic obstacles from the Chinese authorities, language barriers, difficult terrain and harsh climate. They worked tirelessly under difficult and

122 Rockhill had already published *Udanavarga: A Collection of Verses from the Buddhist Canon* (London: Trübner & co, 1883), *IA*; and *The Life of the Buddha: And the Early History of His Order* (London: Trübner & co, 1884), *IA*. He would publish numerous works on Tibetology in subsequent years.

123 *Memoirs*, 119, *PCO*.

124 i.e. Huc's *Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China* (1851) cf. *China's Millions* (1889), 50, *YUDL*. <http://findit.library.yale.edu/bookreader/BookReaderDemo/index.html?oid=11238558#page/43/mode/1up> (last accessed November 2015).

125 Marston, *With the King*, 105-106; *Great Closed*, 86-87 cf. *Memoirs*, 119 and 121, *PCO*.

dangerous conditions, but if anything these difficulties seemed to strengthen Polhill's resolve.

3.6.1 First Itineration from Xining (November 1888-April 1889): Locating Boundaries West and North

Xining already had a small congregation for the Polhills to work amongst, and Misses Muir and Kinehan assisted them, but there were no Tibetans in the congregation.¹²⁶ Apart from the bible and the “wordless book” (see below) there are few other resources mentioned that provide any insight into how and what they taught. On one occasion Eleanor spoke of using Handley Moule's commentary on Ephesians as a teaching aid.¹²⁷ Polhill would subsequently send Moule's commentary on 2 Timothy as a gift to George Easton, in 1906, so it can be concluded from this that Moule (an evangelical Anglican with brothers in the mission field) was a favoured author with the Polhills.¹²⁸ Since there were no Tibetans in the church at Xining, the Polhills made short excursions further into the Tibetan territory of Amdo in order to evangelise, learn Tibetan and learn about Tibetan culture. The first of these excursions took place in November 1888, to Kumbum Jampa Ling monastery, at Ta'er (near Huangzhong) a short journey south-west of Xining, during a festival and fair. Here they met an elderly abbot, “Pancheda [Māyang Paṇḍita] such was our friends name or title,” who invited them to come to his nearby Māyang Gön Trashī Chöling monastery.¹²⁹ The abbot agreed to teach them Tibetan, and in exchange they agreed to teach him

¹²⁶ *Memoirs*, 120, *PCO* cf. *China's Millions* (1889), 38, *YUDL*.

¹²⁷ Marston, *With the King*, 112 cf. J. J. S. Perowne ed. *The Epistle to the Ephesians With Introduction and Notes by The Rev. H. C. G. Moule* (Cambridge: CUP, 1891), *IA*.

¹²⁸ Polhill to G. F. Easton 26 January 1906 in *PCO*. Easton also thanks Polhill for another book 'Thoughts for the Sundays of the Year' possibly J. Keeble's *Christian Year: Thoughts in Verse for the Sundays and Holidays Throughout the Year* (1827).

¹²⁹ *Memoirs*, 124-125, *PCO* cf. Marston, *With the King*, 106 and Marston, *Great Closed Land*, 87. My thanks to Dr Matthew King (University of California, Riverside) for providing these transliterations.

English. Before visiting Māyang monastery, the Polhills made further excursions to Doubazhen, Huangyuan and “Hsia-la-ku-t’eo.”¹³⁰ At Doubazhen they had an overnight stay and crowds came to see them, according to Eleanor, “curiosity to see the foreign woman brought them.”¹³¹ Polhill spoke to the men outside while Eleanor was met with a barrage of questions from the curious women, but she had in her own words, “...the opportunity of telling some, at any rate, the Gospel message.”¹³² At Huangyuan word of their arrival had preceded them, and many came to see them: Tibetans, Mongolians, Chinese and Muslims, who according to Eleanor, “...all came for the express purposes of hearing the book.”¹³³ This was the so called “wordless book” which consisted of three large coloured panels to illustrate the gospel message: black for sin, red for Christ's blood, and white representing cleansing from sin.¹³⁴ Muslim listeners easily grasped the concept of sin,¹³⁵ but Polhill would subsequently reflect, “It is most difficult to make a Tibetan understand what sin is.”¹³⁶ This reflects the absence of Original Sin in buddhist theology.¹³⁷ After just a few days at Huangyuan, they journeyed on to Hsia-la-ku-t’eo approximately thirty miles from Huangyuan, escorted by two Chinese soldiers for according Polhill, “...in those days the Mandarin would never let you travel without an escort.”¹³⁸ Hsia-la-ku-t’eo was then, “...a boundary of China proper. Beyond that there are no villages, only black

130 To-pa is probably Doubazhen, Tankar is Tongkor in modern Tibetan or Huangyuan in modern Chinese and Hsia-la-ku-t’eo remains unidentified, but possibly near Hainan on the main road south around Lake Qinghai. G. Dorje ed. *Tibetan handbook: with Bhutan* (Bath:Footprint, 1999), 535-536. cf. van Spengen, 139 cf. Marston, *Closed Land*, 88.

131 Marston, *With the King*, 109, 110. It is uncertain where To-pa is now but probably Doubazhen or just east of Duobazhen.

132 Marston, *With the King*, 110.

133 Ibid, 116, 111.

134 Austin, 4-10.

135 Eleanor: “I was struck by one woman, a Mahommedan, who said sadly, ‘yes I know that the wrath of the God of heaven is on me.’ It was glorious to tell her of the great Fatherly heart yearning over her...Next morning this woman came again, looking much brighter, and bringing with her another.” Marston, *With the King*, 111.

136 He continues however, “But thank God, the Holy Spirit can do this, as I have seen.” *Memoirs*, 129, *PCO*.

137 W. Rahula, *What the Buddha Taught* (London: Oneworld Publications, 1997), 3.

138 Marston, *With the King*, 112; *Memoirs*, 141, *PCO*.

tents, in which the 'black tibetans' live.”¹³⁹ The Chinese authorities forbade them to go any further “without a written pass from the Governor of Kokonor [Qinghai].”¹⁴⁰ Here they were given similar opportunities to speak to Tibetans, Mongolians and Chinese, and had their first encounters with the more nomadic Tibetans described as: “black,” “wild” or even “thievish” Tibetans, “as the Chinese call them.”¹⁴¹ Eleanor further described, “They have long, uncombed hair over their foreheads and down their backs, one sheepskin garment, which they wear (or sometimes don't wear) summer and winter, and a sword slung across their backs.”¹⁴² Having discovered their boundaries west of Xining the Polhill's began to plan a journey north.

3.6.1.1 North of Xining

After a matter of days they retraced their steps to Huangyuan, detouring at a monastery “of some 100 lamas.” Here they left an unidentified book with the head lama and an invitation to visit them in Xining. Afterwards they began making an arduous journey approximately thirty miles north of Xining, to Xinzhuangzhen in modern day Datong Hui Autonomous County.¹⁴³ Eleanor lamented the difficult travelling, “...going the whole day, we arrived at dusk at a place still 50 li [approximately twenty miles] from our destination...the 50 li might have been 100, for although we started soon after dawn, it was nearly dark when we reached the end of our journey.”¹⁴⁴

139 Marston, *With the King*, 112.

140 Van Spengen has this incident taking place at Tankar, but Marston clearly states that it takes place 70 li away (about 33 miles away) in Hsia-la-ku-t'eo. Marston, *With the King*, 112-113. cf. Van Spengen, 138.

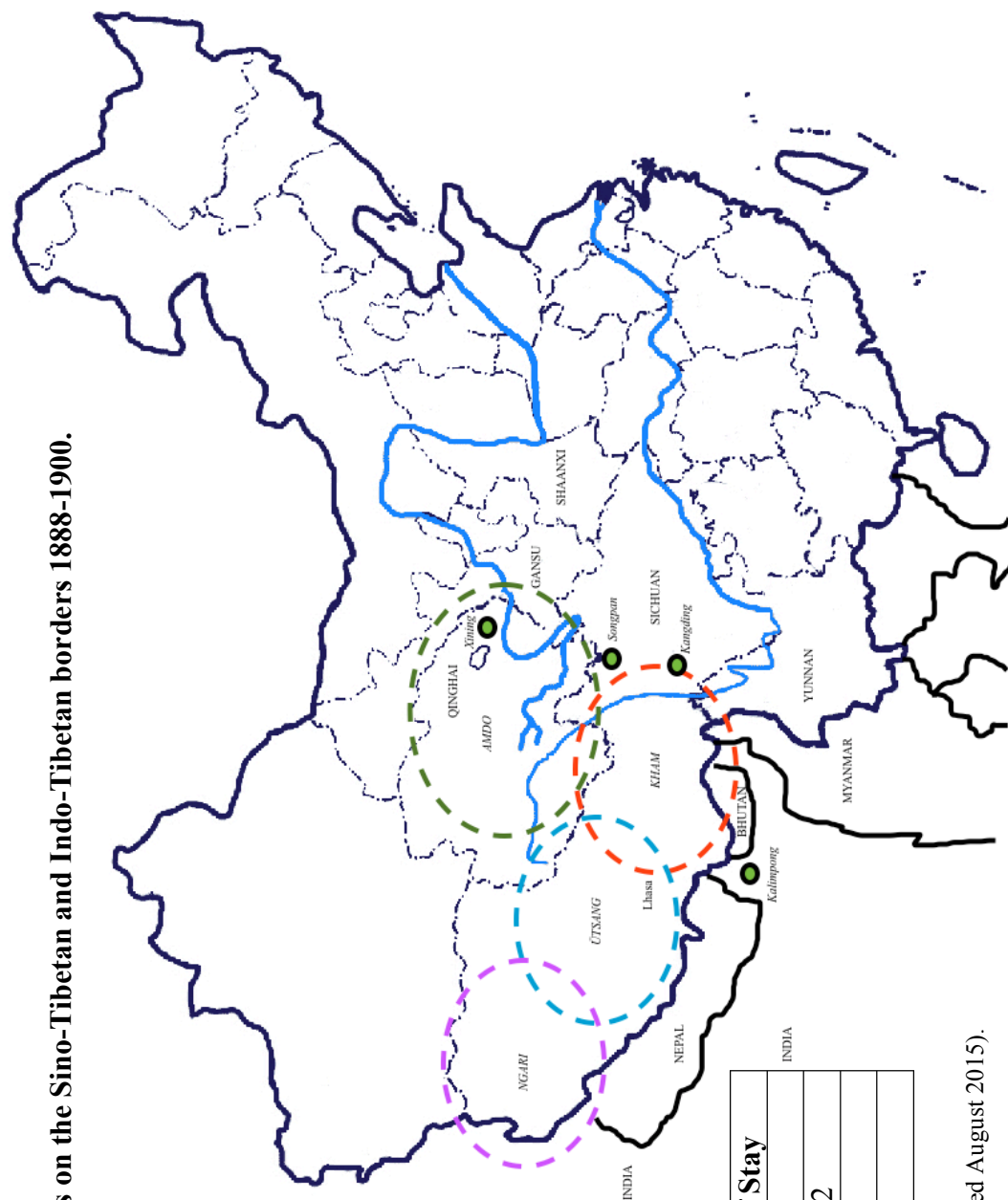
141 Marston, *With the King*, 113.

142 Ibid, 113.

143 Hsin-ch'eng probably refers to Xinzhuangzhen which is about the right distance on the main road north out of Xining.

144 *China's Millions* (1889), 136.

Map 5. Polhill's Stations on the Sino-Tibetan and Indo-Tibetan borders 1888-1900.



Station	Period of Stay
Xining, Qinghai	1888-1891
Songpan, Sichuan	May-July 1892
Kalimpong, India	1895-1897
Kangding, Sichuan	1897-1900

Source: www.chinamaps.org (last accessed August 2015).

On reaching Xinzhuangzhen Eleanor recorded, “The demand for [Christian] books, Arabic and Chinese, was great...”¹⁴⁵ The Hui ethnic group are traditionally Muslim, so a desire for Arabic texts is understandable, as they would have used Arabic for religious purposes.¹⁴⁶ After two days Eleanor returned to Xining while Cecil, who had stayed because of the intense interest of the people, followed a week later.¹⁴⁷ Their path west had been blocked for political reasons, and the path north was difficult terrain and entrenched with Islam. The Polhills were on the borders of a large and unevangelised area, but they found themselves frustratingly restricted to a relatively small section of it.

3.6.2 Second Itineration from Xining and Māyang Paṇḍita of Māyang Gön

Trashī Chöling Monastery (August 1889-c. October/November 1889)

In August 1889, they were finally able to visit Māyang Paṇḍita at Māyang Gön Trashī Chöling monastery.¹⁴⁸ Women were forbidden to enter the precincts of the monastery for reasons of ritual purity, so they had to set up camp just outside. Cecil made daily trips to the lamas while Eleanor remained in the tent.¹⁴⁹ According to Polhill, Paṇḍita “listened most earnestly” as he preached to him about Christ. Eventually the Polhills returned to Xining but Polhill subsequently recorded the following in his memoirs, “I paid a second visit to him later, alone...a living Buddha was staying with the Abbot now, a pupil and a great friend.” Polhill posed an ultimatum to the old lama that he could not be a Christian and worship another human as a god. According to Polhill, “He confessed his courage failed him in the test. He said he saw the direction in which right and duty lay; but the cost he counted to be too high. Like the rich young

145 Marston, *With the King*, 114-116.

146 Van Spengen, ‘The Geo-History of Long-Distance Trade in Tibet 1850-1950’ in *THR*, 498.

147 Marston, *With the King*, 116 cf. *China's Millions* (1889), 134-136, *YUDL*.

148 Marston, *With the King*, 116 and Marston, *Closed Land*, 88-89. cf. *Memoirs*, 126-127, *PCO*.

149 *Memoirs*, 126, *PCO* cf. Marston, *Closed Land*, 90.

ruler he went his way, convinced, but not converted.”¹⁵⁰ Recently a “lightly edited” account of the meeting by one of Paṇḍita's disciples, compiled for a buddhist debate manual, has been translated into English.¹⁵¹ It confirms the truth of Polhill's record in essence even if a great deal of irony and subtlety appears to have been lost in translation. For example, it is recorded in the debate manual that Paṇḍita responded to Polhill in one exchange, “If you can prove your Buddha [Jesus] has exhausted all flaws and has perfected all good qualities and that our Buddha [Gautama] is not like that using correct reason, I will immediately give up the Buddha, Dharma, Lama, this monastery – whatever I have, I will give it all up and follow you and will do whatever you want me to do, and I will write this down in a letter!”¹⁵² It is easy to see how this could be misconstrued. Additionally the buddhist account was by the author's own admission “lightly edited” for polemical purposes i.e. a debate manual, so this raises some concerns about objectivity and the integrity of transmission. Polhill remained at Māyang as a language student for three months.¹⁵³

3.6.3 Third Itineration from Xining (May 1890)

During the winter of 1889/1890, and the spring of 1890, the Polhills remained at Xining.¹⁵⁴ Eleanor gave birth in March, but as soon as she was strong enough they intended to spend summer amongst the Tibetans. They left Xining in May 1890, first stopping at a monastery for a few days, “Ur-ko-lung”, before returning to Huangyuan and its nearby monastery at Tongkhor Gompa where they remained for three

¹⁵⁰ *Memoirs*, 127, *PCO*. Marston records this latter incident as if it happened at the same time as the first visit to Maying-si, Marston, *With the King*, 116-117 and Marston, *Closed Land*, 90.

¹⁵¹ P. Klassen and M. King, 'Suppressing the Mad Elephant: Missionaries, Lamas, and the Mediation of Sacred Historiographies in the Tibetan Borderlands' (unpublished manuscript). My sincere thanks to Dr Matthew King for sharing this.

¹⁵² *Ibid*, 28.

¹⁵³ Marston, *With the King*, 117.

¹⁵⁴ *Memoirs*, 127, *PCO*. Save for an excursion made by Polhill on his own, possibly his second visit to Maying-si. Marston, *With the King*, 120.

months.¹⁵⁵ Here Eleanor remarked upon the almost matriarchal nature of Tibetan women who “seem to do the harder work of the two [sexes].”¹⁵⁶ The Mosuo ethnic group¹⁵⁷ of northwest Yunnan, where the Pentecostals would subsequently find their most fruitful field, are particularly known for this.¹⁵⁸ It was also their first opportunity of entering a “real Tibetan tent.” After some months of staying at Tongkhor Gompa, they were invited to “Mr Tob Tsang's” tent in August 1890 to meet, “a big lama...both in size and reputation,” from Rongwo monastery. Here they attempted to communicate in pigeon Tibetan or in Chinese where Tibetan failed them. According to Eleanor, “Mr Tob Tsang listened vey attentively to the story of the Lord Jesus...the old lama seemed rather uncomfortable.”¹⁵⁹ They were pressed to stay, but they returned to Tongkhor Gompa the same day, and then they left mid-September 1890 to return to Xining.¹⁶⁰ En route they stopped at unnamed villages, preaching to those who would listen, before arriving at Xining at the end of September 1890.¹⁶¹ The meeting with Tob Tsang and the lama from Rongwo monastery illustrated what must have been a recurring problem for the Polhills, that of language. Nowhere do Polhill or Marston indicate what dialect they were attempting to learn. It could have been one of the numerous Mongol, Turkic or Tibeto-Burman Qiang dialects.¹⁶² Without concentrating on one dialect the Polhills would have continued to struggle to communicate effectively. North Amdo was sporadically populated, and the Polhill's

155 Ur-ko-lung is of uncertain location, possibly destroyed. Marston, *With the King*, 121. Van Spengen, citing Gruschke, has identified Huan-yuen-si [Huangyuan] as 'probably' Tongkhor Gompa which would mean Tankar, Tongkhor and Huangyuan are all referring to the same place. They stayed at Mr Hun Chien's house. Van Spengen, *Early Missionary Activity...*, 139; Marston, *With the King*, 125. cf. Marston, *Closed Land*, 90.

156 Marston, *With the King*, 122.

157 Known to themselves as the 'Na'.

158 Lugu Lake Mosuo Cultural Development Association, Matriarchal/Matrilineal, 'Matriarchal/Matrilineal Culture' available at: <http://www.mosuoproject.org/matri.htm> (last accessed March 2013).

159 Marston, *With the King*, 124. cf. Marston, *Great Closed Land*, 90-91.

160 Marston, *With the King*, 126. cf. Marston, *Great Closed Land*, 86.

161 Marston, *With the King*, 126-129.

162 Denwood, 9.

began to feel that there was no concentration of Tibetans large enough in the region to settle there.

3.6.4 Fourth and Final Itineration from Xining (November 1890)

November 1890 saw the Polhills travel in yet another direction to Guide, Hainan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, approximately seventy miles south of Xining just across the Yellow river.¹⁶³ At Guide they found no Tibetans, so in January 1891 they departed to go further south, approximately ten miles, to Wajiacun which was at that time a Sino-Tibetan frontier. Wajiacun was a remote village at the tip of a triangular valley wedged between hills, “[it had a] kind of small fort, inhabited by one or two Chinese soldiers...the rest of the villagers are Tibetan.”¹⁶⁴ Very soon they were met with opposition from the village chief who accused them of prospecting for precious stones.¹⁶⁵ He only agreed to let them stay if the local Chinese official would permit it. Initially the Chinese official of Guide (under whose jurisdiction Wajiacun fell) would not agree to let them stay but according to Marston, “after some discussion it was agreed that they might stay where they were for a few months.”¹⁶⁶ This leave was only granted on condition that they did not go out to the Tibetan nomads in their tents. The Polhills' delight at having a constant stream of curious Tibetan laymen and lamas was mixed with hardship as the village chief continued to lobby for their removal. He ordered the milk seller to stop selling to them, and then their money ran out, so they were reduced to bartering their possessions (such as pen nibs and an empty tin of

163 Kweiteh. Marston, *With the King*, 130. cf. *Memoirs*, 128, *PCO* cf. Van Spengen, 'Early Missionary Activity...', 140.

164 Wa-kia-cheng is probably Wajiacun which is about the right distance south of Gui'de and makes sense linguistically. Marston, *With the King*, 131. Polhill calls it 'Wachia' in *Memoirs*, 128, *PCO*.

165 Marston, *With the King*, 131 cf. Marston, *Great Closed Land*, 91.

166 Marston, *With the King*, 131 cf. *Periodical Accounts Relating To Moravian Mission* Vol.1/No.12 (Second Century), Dec 1892, 647-648. Memorial University of Newfoundland Digital Archives Initiatives: http://collections.mun.ca/cdm/compoundobject/collection/cns__permorv/id/19150/rec/6 (last accessed July 2015), hereafter abbreviated to *MUDAI*.

Cadbury's Cocoa) for food to feed themselves and their baby.¹⁶⁷ Although Marston stated that none were converted to Christianity at Wajiacun, Polhill reported differently in his memoirs. He recorded that one man was particularly interested in their preaching, and that when the local gods were paraded through the village he refused to carry an idol. On the morning before they left Wajiacun the same man invited them for breakfast and told them, "I no longer believe in them [the local deities] nor intend to worship them."¹⁶⁸ After some six months at Wajiacun, they returned to Xining in June 1891.¹⁶⁹ They felt that they had still not found the right place to permanently settle amongst the Tibetans. Eleanor reflected at this time:

Now we are seeking guidance about a more permanent centre for future work. It will probably have to be a village; but a village in the centre of a more populous district, from which other villages can be reached, and as clear as possible from the Chinese authorities...we were in a kind of Land's End, close to the border, but then we were only allowed to remain there on giving a promise not to go beyond it...except for learning the language, it was evidently not the place.¹⁷⁰

Subsequently PMU missionaries Frank Trevitt and Amos Williams would spend time in Guide, in 1913, at a former Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA) station.¹⁷¹ In 1925, Polhill wrote the following regarding Guide, "a Christian church has been formed at Kweite [Guide], composed of Chinese and Tibetans, under the care of the pastor at Xining, Mr Frank Learner [CIM] who recently visited Kweite in company with the two Messrs. Bell of Payenjung."¹⁷²

167 Marston, *With the King*, 131-133.

168 In addition Polhill also records the constant fighting between the Tibetan tribes. *Memoirs*, 130, PCO.

169 Marston, *With the King*, 133.

170 Marston, *With the King*, 137.

171 PMU Minutes Book I, 295.

172 *Memoirs*, 131, PCO cf. Marston, *With the King*, 139.

3.7 Interlude Between Stations (July 1891-May 1892)

In July 1891, they were finally relieved from Xining by Mr and Mrs French Ridley under whom, according to Polhill, the work prospered.¹⁷³ Eleanor was pregnant and stayed at the CIM station at Lanzhou, Gansu, while Polhill searched for a place where a more permanent work could be established.¹⁷⁴ To this end he revisited Kumbum monastery (Labrang), passing through Payenrung,¹⁷⁵ “the chief marketing town for Tibetan and other villages North of the Yellow river,”¹⁷⁶ before arriving at Labrang monastery on the last day of a festival. Here he sold books and preached on the streets. Polhill recorded that disputes between the Muslims, and other Tibetan tribes, were vicious and frequent south of the Yellow river. Qinghai and Gansu had a high concentration of Chinese Muslims who would, shortly after Polhill's stay in Qinghai, erupt in rebellion against the Qing between 1895-96 before being suppressed by loyalist muslim generals.¹⁷⁷ On his return to Lanzhou to collect his family he passed through Lintan, Gansu, where he encountered Annie Taylor for at least the second time.¹⁷⁸ This was a year before her failed attempt to enter Lhasa.¹⁷⁹ After leaving Lintan, Polhill reached Jone where some of the first PMU missionaries would subsequently be based, and from Jone he returned to Lanzhou arriving 30 August 1891.¹⁸⁰ In November 1891, when Eleanor had recovered enough strength from giving birth to their second son, the Polhills departed for Eleanor's former station at

173 *Memoirs*, 131, *PCO* cf. Marston, *With the King*, 137-139.

174 Lanchow in Polhill's *Memoirs*, Lanchow in Marston, *Closed Land*, 93. Marston, *With the King*, 139. *Memoirs*, 131, *PCO*.

175 Probably around Hualong, Qinghai.

176 *Memoirs*, 132, *PCO* cf. Marston, *Great Closed Land*, 93.

177 *Memoirs*, 139, *PCO*; J. N. Lipman, 'Ethnicity and Politics in Republican China: The Ma Family Warlords of Gansu' *Modern China*, Vol.10 No.3 (July 1984), 298.

178 The first confirmed encounter being shortly after his engagement to Eleanor late 1887/early 1888.

179 Taochow. *Memoirs*, 133-134, *PCO*.

180 Choni named after the Tibetan tribe of the same name. Marston, *With the King*, 140. cf. *Memoirs*, 134, *PCO*.

Tianshui, Gansu.¹⁸¹ Polhill left his wife and sons at Tianshui while he continued looking for a more permanent place to work among the Tibetans. He visited Hanzhong, Shaanxi (his first station) for the advice of George Easton (the Superintendent of Gansu and Shaanxi), before visiting his brother Arthur Polhill for a week in Bazhou,¹⁸² Sichuan. Afterwards he began steadily travelling eastward first to Langzhong, Sichuan and two days later to Pingwu,¹⁸³ Sichuan, with fellow Cambridge Seven missionary Montague Beauchamp. From Pingwu he continued to what he believed would be an excellent permanent station at Songpan (see map 5). Songpan was in the north-west of Sichuan province bordering the traditional Tibetan regions of Amdo to the north and Kham to the west and south. He had been joined since Langzhong by a Chinese soldier, a Christian, named “Wang Tsuan Yi.”¹⁸⁴ Polhill was cautiously optimistic about Songpan, “The people in Songpan were friendly, and I met many Tibetans and lamas, and on the whole the place seemed suited for reaching men of a somewhat large district, though the travelling would be rough.”¹⁸⁵

3.8 Three Months at Songpan (May-July 1892)

At Songpan Polhill rented a house from a Muslim, and left Wang there while he returned to collect his family from Tianshui. In March 1892, the whole Polhill family departed Tianshui for the eight-week journey back to Songpan.¹⁸⁶ At one of the Chinese inns en route they taught the owners the Lord's Prayer. Polhill was

181 Marston, *With the King*, 142 cf. Marston, *Great Closed Land*, 94.

182 Pachow

183 Lungan

184 *Memoirs*, 139-140, *PCO*. According to Polhill Wang volunteered for this work without wages, demonstrating genuine Christian conviction. Marston, *Closed Land*, 94. Marston, *With the King*, 139 and 142.

185 *Memoirs*, 141, *PCO*.

186 Marston, *With the King*, 145. cf. *Memoirs*, 146, *PCO*.

subsequently told years later that the inn owners were still reciting the prayer every day before going to work in the fields.¹⁸⁷ After a rocky and precipitous climb they arrived at Songpan, more than nine thousand feet above sea level, on 13 May 1892.¹⁸⁸

3.8.1 The Sacrifice of Lao Chang and Wang Tsuan Yi

Just when the Polhills thought they had found the perfect station to settle for permanent work amongst the Tibetans, Eleanor began experiencing health difficulties, “[her health] completely broke down. She suffered great pain...suffering constant sickness and great depression....”¹⁸⁹ She was pregnant and the altitude of Songpan is very high which probably explains some of these symptoms.¹⁹⁰ The fact that it had not rained in Songpan since their arrival added to their problems. The superstitious agricultural community began suspecting them of causing the drought by witchcraft.¹⁹¹ On 29 July 1892, a mob gathered outside their home and attacked them. Polhill was bound and beaten, and Eleanor was beaten and stripped to the waist while a neighbour protected the children. As the mob were discussing how to kill them, a Chinese military official intervened, “Mayor Ch'eng,” and took them to the safety of the Yamen.¹⁹² At the Yamen their accusers complained to the magistrate, “he [Polhill] tells the people that if they do not all follow his sect rain will not fall; but if they do, it will rain within three days.”¹⁹³ In a strange turn of events, the magistrate took Polhill's two Chinese helpers, Lao Chang and Wang Tsuan Yi, to one side and asked them if they would be whipped (allegedly a thousand times) in place of the Polhills to help

187 *Memoirs*, 146, *PCO*.

188 Marston, *With the King*, 146. cf. Van Spengen, 'Early Missionary Activity...', 141.

189 Marston, *With the King*, 147.

190 She gave birth in January 1893. Marston, *With the King*, 153-154.

191 Marston, *With the King*, 148. cf. *Memoirs*, 147, *PCO*. cf. Marston, *Great Closed Land*, 97.

192 Marston, *With the King*, 148-149. cf. *Closed Land* under 'Notes from the Wide Field' in *Periodical Accounts Relating To Moravian Mission* Vol.1/No.12 (Second Century), Dec 1892, 648, *MUDAI*. cf. 'Missionary News' in *The Chinese Recorder* Vol.23 (1892), 487-488, *SOAS* cf. C. Polhill, 'Suffering for the Gospel', *China's Millions* (1892), 164.

193 Marston, *With the King*, 150; *Memoirs*, 147, *PCO*.

disperse the baying crowds.¹⁹⁴ This they agreed to do, and the Polhills were able to leave Songpan the following day but not without the protection of twenty Chinese soldiers. Both Marston and Polhill maintain that no Tibetans took part in the riot, and both maintain that Chang and Wang subsequently remained in the Church in Tianshui, Gansu and Langzhong, Sichuan respectively. Later editions of *China's Millions* would seem to substantiate this in the case of Wang Tsuan Yi at least.¹⁹⁵

Polhill's account also added the following:

In 1923, a Chinese gentleman, Mr. Li, called at the China Inland Mission...he had come to tell Mr Webster that he had been a spectator of the riot at Sungpan [Songpan] in 1889 [the date given by Polhill here is incorrect and should be 1892], and noticing the whole event and how no reprisals followed, decided that he must be a Christian too...[Mr Li] became Mr Webster's chief and able assistant, until the latter's death.¹⁹⁶

3.8.2 Return to England

Eleanor's health had been weak before the riot, but after the riot she could do very little and the Polhills really had no choice but to return to England to recover. It had, according to *China's Millions* (1892), been the worst treatment of a female European missionary in the history of the CIM hitherto.¹⁹⁷ Out of great malice, however, came one of the noblest acts of altruism humanity is capable of i.e. to endure punishment in place of another cf. John 15.13. In Colombo, Polhill had discovered that the Chinese were in no way intellectually inferior to Westerners, but in Songpan he discovered that they were in no way morally inferior.

¹⁹⁴ *Memoirs*, 148-149, *PCO* cf. Marston, *With the King*, 150-152 cf. *China's Millions* (1892), 164. The figure is quoted by Wang in his testimony given in Appendix I of this thesis.

¹⁹⁵ Wang Tsuan Yi appears to have worked alongside Bishop Cassels in Langzhong (formerly Paoning), Sichuan. *China's Millions* (1895), 78, *YUDL*. He was baptised in Langzhong on 26 September 1892 and gave his testimony (see Appendix I of this thesis). J. E. Cumming, *A New Thing: Incidents of Missionary Life in China* (London: S. W. Partridge & Co., 1895), 316-320, *IA* cf. *China's Millions* (1898), 5, *YUDL*.

¹⁹⁶ *Memoirs*, 150, *PCO*.

¹⁹⁷ "But we have not in our mission experience known of women being so treated before" was the statement prefacing Polhill's account of the riot in *China's Millions* (1892), 163, *YUDL*.

3.9 Recovery in England (1893-1895): Bravado and Disillusionment

The Polhills arrived in England with their young family to recover on 29 December 1892. The contrast in the way Cecil and Eleanor responded to the trauma of the incident in Songpan is noteworthy. Polhill had undoubtedly been affected, but he maintained a level of bravado, *The Times* reported, “Mr Cecil Polhill-Turner, who with his wife was the object of a riot at Sungpan, said that they were all the better for it, and the work did not suffer.”¹⁹⁸ Eleanor by contrast, who had suffered so shockingly, could barely disguise her disillusionment with the evangelical missionary movement:

To some who return from the Mission field it is given to tell a great deal about God's working in the world...Others come with another, and, to some extent, a different narrative...Dear friends who may be thinking of missionary work, whatever others may say, my own strong feeling is, that I would urge no one to go. I would not appeal to any man or woman to go out as a missionary. All I would say to you is, 'the field is the world.' All nations are to be taught. If we are servants, we may not pick and choose our task. We must each one be very, very sure that we are acting under the Master's orders in the place that He has appointed.¹⁹⁹

At this time, Polhill had no inheritance to fall back on, so initially Eleanor resided with her brother in London, and afterwards she and Polhill moved “from place to place visiting friends....”²⁰⁰ In spite of her maltreatment in Songpan just six months earlier, Eleanor gave birth to a healthy girl, Kathleen Louise, in January 1893.²⁰¹ Kathleen subsequently became Pentecostal having been “two years an opposer,” and afterwards became a missionary in China with the CMS.²⁰²

198 *The Times* 1 June 1893.

199 As quoted in Marston, *With the King*, 155-157.

200 Marston, *With the King*, 153-154.

201 Ibid.

202 *Confidence* Vol.6 No.6 (June 1913), 117.

3.10 CIM Anniversary Meeting London (May 1893)

On 30 May 1893, Polhill gave an address on “Work Among the Thibetans” at the twenty-seventh anniversary meeting of the CIM, held at the Mildmay Conference Hall, London.²⁰³ Being back in England probably provided him with the time and resources to research Tibet more carefully. He had, for example, developed a detailed knowledge of Moravian mission on the Indian border. It would appear, however, that there was already some connection between the Polhills and the Moravians judging by reports of the Polhills' activity in a Moravian mission periodical.²⁰⁴ What remains certain is that his desire to evangelise and focus on Tibet and the Tibetans was in no way diminished. He spoke of other missionaries settling in Songpan “until our return,” and he ended his address with the following appeal, “I would ask your prayers for needy THIBET, and for Sung-p'an. Will you remember THIBET, because it is governed by the Emperor of China, and I thank God that the China Inland Mission aims at reaching the whole of the Chinese empire, not merely the eighteen provinces. Pray for THIBET...and the aboriginal tribes inhabiting SI-CH'UEN and YUN-NAN, all of them needing the Gospel, but for the most part untouched.”²⁰⁵ The south-west province of Yunnan, bordering Tibet, would subsequently become the most active field of the PMU.

203 *China's Millions* (1893), 106, *SOAS*. The Mildmay Conference, which took place between June-July annually, was an expression of the holiness milieu in the UK in the second half of the nineteenth century. Bebbington notes that while Mildmay taught no distinctive method of consecration its role as a precursor to the more distinctive message of Keswick (see next chapter) was crucial: it pioneered annual convention going, it was the pietistic wing of Anglican Evangelicalism and many of the Mildmay personnel contributed to the wider holiness movement in the country. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 159-161.

204 *Periodical Accounts Relating To Moravian Mission* Vol.1/No.12 (Second Century), Dec 1892, 647-648, *MUDAI*.

205 His formatting. *China's Millions* (1893), 107, *SOAS*.

3.11 Polhill and Tibetology (1894)

By 1894, Polhill had evidently been pursuing an in-depth study of Tibet. The tone of his two and a half page article in *China's Millions* (1894) was markedly different from previous contributions. He packs the article with condensed information regarding Tibet's: topography, demographics, history, politics, sociology, religion, linguistics and lifestyle.²⁰⁶ He appears to have had a research colleague in the form of his sister-in-law, a prolific author, Annie Westland Marston.²⁰⁷ She released *The Great Closed Land* a lengthier treatment of Tibet's history, mission history and anthropology aimed at evangelical readers. According to one reviewer of Marston's book, "Miss Marston has had exceptional facilities in writing this book on Thibet, owing to the presence in this country of her brother-in-law, Mr. Cecil Polhill-Turner, who has lived and worked amongst Thibetans on the Eastern border."²⁰⁸ Tibetology was still in its infancy, and Polhill and Marston had neither the resources, nor the incentive, to give more than a patchy, general, and at times biased account of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism, but Polhill's writing certainly took a more systematic, factual and academic turn at this time.²⁰⁹ With the combined insight of experience and research Polhill was able to identify three key difficulties facing mission to Tibet.²¹⁰ The first obstacle was what he termed the "Political and ecclesiastical exclusiveness" of Tibet. This clearly referred to Tibet's semi-autonomous government and the dominance of Tibetan buddhist prelates within government. Powerful Tibetan Buddhists were understandably unwilling to risk their own dominance by permitting the free reign of

206 *China's Millions* (1894), 75-77, YUDL.

207 See for example: A. W. Marston, *A Short method of Prayer, and Spiritual Torrents by Madam Guyon translated from French* (London: Sampson, Marston, Low & Searle, 1875) *The Children of India, Written for the Children of England* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1883); *The Children of China, Written for the Children of England* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1884); *Joined to the Lord: Thoughts on the Song of Solomon* (London: Marshall Bros, 1891) amongst many others.

208 *China's Millions* (1894), 80, YUDL.

209 He had also, according to *China's Millions* (1895), "specially prepared" a wall map of Tibet "the most complete missionary map of Thibet extant." *China's Millions* (1895), 12, YUDL.

210 *China's Millions* (1894), 76, YUDL.

evangelising missionaries. Secondly, there were Tibet's multiple physical or geographical barriers. Here he could only speak authoritatively of the north-eastern and eastern sections of Amdo and Kham, but one of the chief features of Tibet in general was its extremely high altitude and hostile mountainous terrain. Polhill and the Pentecostals would soon learn that north Yunnan, on the south-eastern end of Kham, had a milder climate that could more easily be sustained by missionaries for longer periods of time. Thirdly, Polhill identified the "lawlessness and uncivilised state" of parts of Tibet. Before large sections of Tibet were completely suppressed by the Chinese there were frequent conflicts between tribes and uprisings against the Chinese.²¹¹ Tibet had swathes of sparsely populated territory leaving any traveller vulnerable to attack by robbers.²¹² Journeying through Tibet at this time was frequently life threatening. These three factors identified by Polhill were really just the core issues, but there were additional difficulties, and they made Tibet an exceedingly difficult destination for mission.²¹³ Polhill was particularly concerned that there were so few missionaries being dedicated to the region. Including himself and his wife (who were still in England), he counted just four missionaries dedicated to Tibet on the Sichuan-Tibetan border.²¹⁴ It is this concern that would lead Polhill to organise the Pentecostals for mission in 1909.

3.12 Deputation Work in the Midlands (October 1894)

For all Polhill's research and study the activist impulse of his Evangelicalism was very strong, and he never seemed to be entirely comfortable unless he was involved practically in some way. Activism of this nature was encouraged within the CIM, and

²¹¹ Especially amongst the Muslim population. Lipman, 285-316.

²¹² As Polhill discovered earlier in 1892. See *Memoirs*, 146, *PCO*, for his account of navigating a notoriously dangerous forest path.

²¹³ Such as the bureaucratic barriers imposed by the Chinese.

²¹⁴ *China's Millions* (1894), 77, *YUDL*.

this emphasis was later imported into the PMU. In October 1894, he was part of a small team of three dispatched to the Midlands to conduct “Deputation Work” for the CIM. This appears to have involved arranging meetings to raise awareness of the mission's activities. He held nine meetings in Birmingham including a meeting at the YMCA, chaired by the Quaker philanthropist George Cadbury (1839-1922), and another in the “school room” of Rev. F. S. Webster who was a regular speaker at Keswick conventions. These were followed by “the first CIM meeting ever held in Stafford” with further meetings in Wolverhampton and Coventry. Polhill reverted to military symbolism in his description of the meetings, “The speakers – Mr Marcus Wood, Miss Jones, and myself – three cyphers, we trust; the unit, GOD.”²¹⁵ The meetings not only demonstrated that Polhill was a pragmatist, but that he was comfortable mixing with Baptists, Quakers and other denominations in the pursuit of a common evangelistic goal.²¹⁶ His ability to network across societal lines would become an important quality in his leadership of the PMU.²¹⁷ Interdenominationalism was important for evangelical mission, so Polhill acquired an in-depth knowledge of other missionary societies working on the Tibetan border.

3.13 Other Tibet Missions

He knew the Moravians were working successfully on the Indo-Tibetan border and the Scandinavian Alliance and International Missionary Alliance had missionaries in, or soon to be stationed in, Darjeeling (near the Indo-Tibetan border). In addition, he noted, there were two missionaries from the International Missionary Alliance studying Tibetan in Beijing in preparation for work on the Sino-Tibetan border. This

²¹⁵ His formatting. *China's Millions* (1894), 172, YUDL.

²¹⁶ Two short notices in *China's Millions* (1895) indicate that Polhill continued deputation work, with Marcus Wood and Montague Beauchamp, for a short time in 1894 on the south coast. *China's Millions* (1895), 7 and 13, YUDL.

²¹⁷ *China's Millions* (1894), 77, YUDL.

probably referred to William W. Simpson and or William Christie and or David Ekvall who would subsequently partner with the PMU when the first PMU missionaries arrived on the Gansu-Tibetan border, in 1911.²¹⁸ The International Missionary Alliance had been founded by North American holiness minister Albert Benjamin 'A. B.' Simpson in 1887 as a nondenominational missionary organisation to spread his four-fold message of Jesus as: saviour, sanctifier, healer and coming king. In 1897, it merged with the Christian Alliance and was renamed the Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA). Although never confessedly Pentecostal, A. B. Simpson was open minded about the gifts of the Holy Spirit including tongues, and Pentecostals such as Aimee Semple MacPherson (1890-1944) and George Jeffreys (1889-1962) subsequently adopted his quadrilateral.²¹⁹ In addition to the missions mentioned above, Polhill probably attended the departure meeting of Annie Royle Taylor, earlier in 1894, with a band of missionaries dedicated to evangelising Tibet on the Indo-Tibetan border.²²⁰ He may not have foreseen at this time that he would soon be called upon by Hudson Taylor to go to India and gather many of these missionaries under his own leadership.

218 G. McGee, 'All for Jesus: The Revival Legacy of A. B. Simpson' *Enrichment Journal*, Spring (1999) unpaginated web article freely available online at: http://enrichmentjournal.ag.org/199902/082_all_for_jesus.cfm (last accessed November 2014) cf. Bray, 'Sacred Words and Earthly Powers: Christian Missionary Engagement with Tibet' unpaginated web article freely available under 'Christian Missionary | Tibet' under 'Dalai Lama and Tibet' at Tibetan Buddhism in the West available at: http://info-buddhism.com/Christian_Missionary_Engagement_with_Tibet-John_Bray.html#ftnt34 (last accessed November 2014).

219 s.vv. 'Simpson, Albert Benjamin', s.vv. 'Simpson, William Wallace', s.vv. 'Christian and Missionary Alliance' and s.vv. 'Jeffreys, George' in *IDPCM* cf. Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 125. A. B. Simpson *The Fourfold Gospel* (Harrisburg: Christian Publications Inc, 1890) freely available online at: <https://www.cmalliance.org/resources/archives/downloads/simpson/the-fourfold-gospel.pdf> (last accessed November 2014). The full title of the Elim denomination founded by Jeffreys in 1915 is known as the 'Elim Foursquare Gospel Alliance' search charity number 251549 on the Charity Commission database at www.charitycommission.gov.uk/find-charities/. Dayton calls the quadrilateral the "four fundamental teachings" of Pentecostalism. Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 1987), 21.

220 He wrote, "...the departure of Miss Annie Taylor and her fourteen associates in the Thibetan Pioneer Mission will be fresh in the minds of many." *China's Millions* (1894), 76 cf. 46 (an account of the farewell meeting), *SOAS*. It is difficult to be precise about the date because it is not given. I would estimate around April 1894.

3.13.1 Polhill and Annie R. Taylor

Shortly before the Polhills left China in 1892, CIM missionary Hannah 'Annie' Royle Taylor (1855-1922) embarked on her own Tibetan expedition. Taylor (no relation to Hudson Taylor) joined the CIM in 1884, and according to one of her biographers, "From a child that mysterious land [Tibet] had exercised a strange fascination over her mind."²²¹ She visited Kumbum Jampa Ling monastery near Xining in July 1887, more than a year before Polhill. In 1888, she rested from missionary work due to ill health before restarting in North India at Ghoom, Darjeeling, then in Sikkim, near the Tibetan border by March 1890. At Tumlong, Sikkim, she encountered a young Tibetan man, Pontso, a runaway from Lhasa. Pontso converted and became her main guide and companion. By March 1891, she felt called to return to China as a means of entering Tibet and ultimately Lhasa.²²² Polhill encountered Taylor briefly at Lintan, Gansu-Tibetan border, around August 1891, after he left Xining to search for a new permanent station, "At the time of my visit I found Miss Annie Taylor living in the chief inn, having recently arrived from Tsincheo to work amongst the Tibetans."²²³ The crucial difference between Taylor and Polhill appears to have been one of method. Taylor was what could be termed a missionary-adventurer. She seemed to have a taste for danger and wanted to personally risk taking the gospel message to Lhasa herself. Polhill, by contrast, was more inclined to be what could be termed a missionary-settler. He believed in settling somewhere on the outskirts of Tibet proper, making Tibetan converts and then equipping them to evangelise their own people in Tibet proper.²²⁴ Polhill was a missionary-settler relative to Annie Taylor, but possibly

221 W. Carey, *Adventures in Tibet: Including the Diary of Miss Annie Taylor's Remarkable Journey* (Boston and Chicago: United Society of Christian Endeavor, 1901), 149.

222 Carey, 150, 163-164.

223 Carey, 164. cf. *Memoirs*, 133, *PCO*. Taochow Old City appears to be part of Lintan county, Gansu, but this is a tentative identification.

224 *HTCOC*, Vol.7, 163.

not as much as he could have been compared to other missionaries dedicated to Tibet. In *Practical Points Concerning Missionary Work*, published for PMU missionaries in 1916, Polhill wrote, “[You] should not be indefinitely prolonged. You should look forward to being able to evacuate [an evangelised city] in a few years. And work towards this. Let the people know it...At times there will come over you a longing to ‘settle down’; don’t encourage it for an instant...Your unswerving motto is ‘Go forward’ ‘New territory – where Christ has not been named.’”²²⁵ This slight flaw in Polhill's missionary strategy was probably influenced by his eschatology. There was simply no time to really settle if the *Parousia* was imminent. Compare this to, for example, the patient, settled work of CIM missionary James O. Fraser (1886-1938) who resolutely focused on just one tribe of Tibetans, the Lisu, for nearly thirty years with lasting results.²²⁶ Polhill was never able to settle anywhere on the Tibetan border for more than three years. Taylor's adventurism was more questionable still. One of her own former missionaries, Evan MacKenzie, wrote to Polhill, “She is nothing unless picturesque romantic and seeking to play to the gallery, so to speak!”²²⁷ Taylor’s Tibetan Pioneer Mission would, however, shortly form the basis of Polhill's Tibet Mission Band which in turn became a kind of prototype of the PMU.

3.13.2 Annie R. Taylor's Tibet Pioneer Mission (1894-95)

Taylor, Pontso, and two muslim merchant guides set off from Lintan for Lhasa on 2 September 1892.²²⁸ She was subsequently abandoned by the guides, robbed of her

225 Polhill, *Practical Points Concerning Missionary Work* Reprinted from *Suggestions to P.M.U Workers* (London: Maranatha, 1916), 1-3 printed in Appendix of Kay, *The Four-Fold*, 70.

226 James O. Fraser who settled amongst the Lisu, learned their dialect and translated the bible into Lisu. W. L. McConnell, ‘J. O. Fraser and Church Growth Among the Lisu of Southwest China’ (M.C.S thesis, Regent College, Vancouver, 1987).

227 His emphasis. E. MacKenzie to C. Polhill 14 February 1906, *PCO*.

228 *Memoirs*, 134, *PCO*. Alternatively Luqū about ninety miles west of Lintan cf. *HTCOC*, Vol.7, 162.

tent and belongings, and arrested on charges of trespassing three days from Lhasa.²²⁹ She was detained for more than two weeks before being instructed to return to China.²³⁰ She managed to reach Kangding, Sichuan, in April 1893 after seven months of arduous travelling, or according to Carey, “more dead than alive.”²³¹ Not to be deterred within a year, after a short rest in England, Taylor had recruited fourteen missionaries to return to India with her, in 1894, as the “Tibet Pioneer Mission.”²³² According to the minutes of the CIM, she was “anxious” that the TPM retain its association with the CIM but Hudson Taylor was concerned about her plans, “The Council agreed with Mr Taylor that while fully in sympathy with Miss Taylor it would not be wise for the mission to be made responsible for work in Thibet.”²³³ News of the TPM was still reported on in *China's Millions*, and the relationship between the two missions was described as “a close bond.”²³⁴ Within months of the TPM reaching India, all but one of the missionaries had rejected Annie Taylor's leadership, according to Carey, “It was unhappy but inevitable. There were incompatible elements in their mutual relations which ought to have been foreseen...some regrettable circumstances notwithstanding, it would be very unjust, I think, to blame them for the act of withdrawal.”²³⁵ According to Fader, Taylor received a direct order from British political authorities in India not to enter Tibet.²³⁶ Fader further alleges that she concealed this order from her missionaries and

229 Carey, 141.

230 Carey, 141. cf. *Memoirs*, 134, *PCO*.

231 *Memoirs*, 134, *PCO* cf. Carey, 142.

232 Carey, 143. The fourteen were: Edward Amundsen, H. Arnott, Tom Craig, A. Jensen, J. Johansen, Mr and Mrs Evan MacKenzie, James Moyes, James Neave, T. J. Orr, G. Shireff, William Soutter, Theodore Sorensen and H. M. Stumbles. *China's Millions* (1894), 47, *YUDL*.

233 Meeting of the London Home Council of the CIM held on 5 Sep, 1893. *CIM Minutes of the London Home Council, 1887-1895*, 142, *SOAS*.

234 *China's Millions* (1894), 46, *SOAS*.

235 Carey, 143-144.

236 Fader, *Vol.II*, 211.

proceeded to lead them into Tibet proper under “false pretences.”²³⁷ The break down in trust between Taylor and her missionaries occurred when they were subsequently removed from Tibet by the British authorities.²³⁸ The fact that she was a woman in an age of almost ubiquitous patriarchy probably did not help.²³⁹ With her mission in disarray, Annie Taylor took pre-emptive action and called for the help of someone she knew shared her passion for Tibet. She called for the help of Cecil Polhill.

3.14 Polhill's Tibetan Mission Band (1895-96)

In 1895, a notice was placed in *China's Millions*, “Miss Annie R. Taylor, notwithstanding her remarkable energy and endurance, has found the burden of leading the Mission too heavy for her, and has requested the friends in England to invite Mr Cecil Polhill-Turner (whose great interest in Tibet and whose labours on the Chinese border, were he and his wife suffered on behalf of the Gospel, are known to many) to undertake this responsibility [of leading the mission].”²⁴⁰ The article continued, “Mr Polhill-Turner...has kindly consented, with the concurrence of the China Inland Mission, to proceed without delay to Sikkim, and for a time to render all the assistance he can to the young Mission, thus setting free Miss Taylor for the more direct work of pioneering, a work which lies so near her heart and for which she is so especially suited.”²⁴¹ Polhill corroborates in his memoirs that he was asked, in

237 Ibid.

238 Ibid, 212.

239 I. Livne 'The Many Purposes of Missionary Work: Annie Royle Taylor as Missionary, Travel Writer, Collector and Empire Builder' in H. Nielssen, Okkenhaug and Hestad-Skeie ed. *Protestant Missions and Local Encounters in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 59.

240 *China's Millions* (1895), 6, YUDL. Polhill's work was well known particularly because of his connection to Hudson Taylor e.g. he is mentioned in an address by Sir George Williams (1821-1905), the founder of the YMCA, at an anniversary of the CIM in 1896. *China's Millions* (1896), 89, YUDL. In addition to numerous article in national newspapers like *The Times*.

241 *China's Millions* (1895), 6, YUDL.

January 1895, by Hudson Taylor to go to North India and regroup the mission.²⁴² He arrived in Kolkata (Calcutta) on 23 January 1895 “after a safe and pleasant journey” and proceeded directly to Kalimpong, West Bengal (then part of Sikkim), “a quiet little country village...frequented by Thibetans,” and just thirty miles from the border of Tibet proper where the remnants of the TPM were engaged in language study.²⁴³ He spent ten months there teaching and learning Tibetan. It was during this time that he wrote his language textbook *The Colloquial Language of Tibet*.²⁴⁴ The chosen dialect of the textbook, “the Lhasa idiom,” was determined by the availability of teachers. In this instance, a young Lama from Sera Monastery near Lhasa, called “Yeshe,” who was according to Polhill, “very sharp,” and, “remarkably sharp.”²⁴⁵ In addition, Polhill gave credit to a number of others who had helped compose the book.²⁴⁶ He credited “Kazi Dou Sam Dup” who was a government interpreter and “Mr Phuntshog” [alt. Pents'og] who was a buddhist convert to Christianity and also a translator. Polhill also credited David MacDonald for assistance in revision. MacDonald was the son of a Scottish tea-planter father and Sikkimese mother. He had been raised a Buddhist, but was converted to Christianity shortly before 1896 owing in part to the ministry of Scandinavian Alliance Missionary Frederik Franson (1852-1908).²⁴⁷ The former Buddhists risked much in helping Polhill and the missionaries.

²⁴² *Memoirs*, 151, *PCO* cf. Funnell, 238

²⁴³ *China's Millions* (1895), 36 and 144, *YUDL*.

²⁴⁴ The full title being *The Colloquial Language of Tibet or The Occurrences of Daily Life Indoors and Out Described According to the Lhasa Idiom in a Series of Exercises, Including Grammatical and Other Notes* published in Ghoom, India in 1896.

²⁴⁵ *China's Millions* (1895), 144, *YUDL*. Yeshe subsequently died of Tuberculosis. *Memoirs*, 151, *PCO* cf. Marston, *With the King*, 171.

²⁴⁶ In addition to those mentioned above: “Mr Frederickson,” probably refers to Scandinavian Alliance Missionary, John F. Frederickson, who assisted with printing; the work of the Moravian missionary, Heinrich Jaschke, and Anglican missionary Graham Sandberg, had assisted with grammar. Two of Polhill's own missionaries, Evan MacKenzie and William Soutter, were credited as having assisted in composing the book. In addition he credits L. A. Waddell for his work on Buddhism, and finally linguists and translators Howard Swan and Victor Betis for permission to use the Gouin system.

²⁴⁷ MacDonald's expertise with Tibetan languages, Buddhism, customs and his local knowledge made him an essential asset not only to evangelical missions, but also to British military intelligence.

They were denounced by leading lamas and sent letters that threatened violence against them.²⁴⁸ On 21 October 1895, Polhill returned briefly to England to collect Eleanor and his children.²⁴⁹ The Polhill family set sail for India together on 4 January 1896 where they were due to meet Hudson Taylor.²⁵⁰

3.14.1 The China Inland Mission Tibetan Band

According to Hudson Taylor, “[Polhill had] been in correspondence with us for some time wishing that the Tibetan Mission Band should become associated with the China Inland Mission, and work amongst the Tibetans in China proper until Tibet itself could be opened to the Gospel.”²⁵¹ To this end, Taylor travelled to India in 1896 to meet the Polhills and discuss the details of the affiliation.²⁵² In March 1896, Polhill and Taylor entered into a bilateral agreement for the Tibetan Mission Band to be officially affiliated with the CIM.²⁵³ Six of the single male members of the TMB would proceed to China without delay.²⁵⁴ One of these was the Norwegian Edward Amundsen (1873-1928) who would later, because of his connection to Polhill, play an important role in helping Pentecostals to establish a mission in Yunnan.²⁵⁵ The Polhills and two additional members of the TMB were to follow to China shortly

MacDonald subsequently became one of the few evangelical missionaries, along with Annie Taylor, to accompany the Younghusband Expedition to Lhasa in 1903-04 where he handed out Tibetan gospels and evangelised amongst high-ranking lamas. He later became the British Trade Agent in Yatong where Annie Taylor had established a rudimentary medical mission. H. Louis Fader, *Called from Obscurity: The Life and Times of a True Son of Tibet Gergan Dorje Tharchin Vol. I* (Kalimpong, India: Tibet Mirror Press, 2002), 198-201; *Vol. 2*, 53 cf. *China's Millions* (1896), 22, YUDL.

248 Fader, *Vol. II*, 219-220 cf. *China's Millions* (1896), 134, YUDL cf. Marston, *With the King*, 175.

249 *China's Millions* (1895), 180, YUDL.

250 Ibid, 17.

251 *China's Millions* (1896), 75, YUDL.

252 Ibid, 35 and 64.

253 Marston, *With the King*, 171-172.

254 Edward Amundsen, Johan Johanson, James Moyes, James Neave, Theodore Sorensen and William Souttar. *Memoirs*, 151, PCO.

255 Amundsen had since become a member of the British and Foreign Bible Society, but he provided logistical support to PMU missionaries arriving in Yunnan and taught them languages. Fader *Vol. I*, 204-205 cf. e.g. *Flames of Fire* No.5 (April 1912), 4-5.

afterwards.²⁵⁶ A copy of the agreement between Polhill and Taylor exists as part of both the Polhill Collection and the CIM Shanghai council minutes.²⁵⁷ A number of points are noteworthy:

- The objective of the TMB is described as, “the evangelisation of the whole of Tibet,” and Polhill believed this was more likely to be achieved by approaching Tibet on the Chinese side.
- The CIM were to be in “full sympathy with their objectives.”
- The TMB's affiliation with the CIM was conditional upon their dedication to work on the Sino-Tibetan border.
- The members of the TMB had to accept the Principles and Practices of the CIM.
- Members of the TMB were only required to pass four out of six exams of the CIM Chinese language course in order to dedicate the rest of their time to learning Tibetan.
- William Sharp (a member of the London council of the CIM and former secretary of the TPM) was designated, in effect, the home secretary of the TMB.

What emerges from the agreement, which was officially ratified by the CIM China council, is that Polhill appears to have been anxious to keep his missionaries focused on Tibet.²⁵⁸ This probably reflects the impression that the Polhills had of not receiving enough support from the CIM prior to the Songpan riot of 1892. Eleanor had protested in 1891, “Mr Taylor thinks we are too unsettled to ask for helpers yet; the question is whether in such pioneering work as ours we can ever be settled.”²⁵⁹ In 1893, she wrote from England, “In that city [Xining]...one solitary witness for God, and in answer to his ever-increasingly earnest appeal for fellow-workers comes always the same answer, ‘No one to spare for Sining’.”²⁶⁰ By insisting that the CIM recognised the TMB's separate objectives, Polhill was protecting his missionaries from being instructed to go elsewhere in China by the hierarchy of the CIM. This

256 *China's Millions* (1896), 64 and 75-76, YUDL.

257 C. Polhill and H. Taylor, 'Memorandum of Agreement Between the China Inland Mission and the Tibetan Band' (c.1896), PCO. The full memorandum is in Appendix II of this thesis.

258 *Minutes of the Shanghai Council of the CIM* 11 April 1896, 269, 272-274, SOAS.

259 Marston, *With the King*, 143.

260 Marston, *With the King*, 161.

arrangement would have appeared entirely providential to both parties. The CIM did not have to send any of its own missionaries (apart from the Polhills) to the uncertain field of the Tibetan border because the TMB was not composed of CIM missionaries in the first place. From Polhill's perspective, he was getting a windfall of Tibet devotees with the institutional backing and support of the CIM.

There is another reason why Polhill was right to differentiate between the objectives of the CIM and the objectives of the TMB. Tibet had its own unique history, language, religion and culture which required a different approach to that of China proper. Polhill established an autonomous wing of the CIM for an autonomous region of China. This would give him several years of crucial experience of leading a missionary organisation, albeit a semi-autonomous one, which would equip him for his subsequent leadership of the PMU. In effect the PMU would become the successor of the TMB.

3.14.1.1 Tibet and Eschatology

Before relocating to China, the Polhills remained in India for ten months in a last-ditch hope that the Indo-Tibetan border might open.²⁶¹ The justification for this probably came from the recent announcement by the thirteenth Dalai Lama, Thubten Gyatso (1876-1933), that the authority of the Chinese Emperor would no longer be recognised in Tibet.²⁶² The Chinese authorities posted along the Tibetan border had been one of the chief obstacles to missionaries, so it was hoped that Tibetan independence would result in freedom of movement to evangelise. At this time an editorial statement was released in *China's Millions* that demonstrated the connection

²⁶¹ *China's Millions* (1896), 64, *YUDL*. Hudson Taylor provides this information in a letter dated 10 March 1896 cf. Marston, *With the King*, 173.

²⁶² *China's Millions* (1895), 144, *YUDL*.

that existed in missionaries' minds between evangelising remote lands like Tibet and the *Parousia*:

The times are growing more and more unsettled, and the Lord's people are turned more than ever to the hope and expectation of His appearing. The day of widespread blessing in the barren heathen fields and the deliverance of Tibet and other countries totally without the Gospel must be quickly drawing near if a people is to be prepared for Him. For all those whom the Lord has led to the borders of Tibet, and whom He keeps waiting there in faith and patience for the fulness of His own time, we earnestly ask prayer.²⁶³

Evangelising Tibet was imbued with a greater urgency than that reserved for saving souls alone. The opening of Tibet was especially urgent because it was so remote and regarded as a region “totally without the gospel,” so a deterministic reading of Matthew 24.14 meant that successfully evangelising Tibet was viewed as a harbinger of the sure and certain immanence of the second coming. Polhill hinted at this motive as a young missionary travelling inland, in 1885, “Brothers and sisters, pray for us as we for you at home; that we may be one, and that so the return of our beloved Saviour may be hastened. O LORD JESUS, come quickly.”²⁶⁴ A letter published in his periodical in 1914 would seem to confirm that he believed there was a connection between Matthew 24.14 and mission to Tibet, “The evangelization of all nations is a sure sign of the end being near and it is a fact that Tibet and a few more small states are the last countries to be brought under the liberty of the gospel,” and regarding Matthew 24.14, “Some underline the words ‘for a witness’ and see in the translation and the circulation of Scripture and the testimony of missionaries along the borders sufficient ground to believe in the fulfilment of the first part of this verse...Tibet refuses to accept the witness and the next thing is to wait for the Lord's coming.”²⁶⁵

The eschatological significance of Tibet partly explains why Polhill was so

263 *China's Millions* (1896), 22, YUDL.

264 B. Broomhall, 189.

265 *Flames of Fire* No.18 (July 1914), 3-4.

determined to evangelise the region.

3.15 Return to the Sino-Tibetan Border (1897-1900)

Having spent almost two years in North India, Polhill set sail for China with his family in January 1897.²⁶⁶ On arrival he left Eleanor and the children at Yantai, Shandong (at the Chefoo School for missionary children), while he travelled inland to reopen Songpan and find new premises at Kangding, in western Sichuan, on the eastern edge of the traditional Tibetan region of Kham (see map 5).²⁶⁷ Kangding had been visited before, and a catholic mission had been there for fifty years, but Polhill opened it as a new permanent station for the CIM.²⁶⁸ It was a busy centre for Sino-Tibetan trade, being the main route from Lhasa to west Sichuan, with no less than forty-eight inns for each of the different Tibetan tribes, and according to Polhill most of the town was inhabited by Tibetans.²⁶⁹ Polhill had with him a young Tibetan helper, “Yichang,” meaning “little priest” who according to Polhill was a Christian “and a good one,” but he was later severely beaten by a buddhist monk for assisting the missionaries.²⁷⁰ TMB missionaries William Soutter and Edward Amundsen soon joined him at Kangding in March 1898.²⁷¹ According to Polhill's memoirs, “Many Tibetans, Chinese, Tribesmen and Mohammedans came to see us in our new premises, and heard the Gospel, and took away books; and the sick were attended

266 Marston, *With the King*, 175. Evan MacKenzie and his wife had planned to accompany them but according to Carey they remained in Kalimpong working for the “Scotch mission” (almost certainly the Church of Scotland Guild Mission). Carey, 144.

267 *Memoirs*, 151, *PCO*. Kangding was variously known as Dachienlu, Tatsienlu or Tachienlu in nineteenth century Chinese, or Dartsedo in Tibetan.

268 *China's Millions* (1898), 18-19, *IA*.

269 *Memoirs*, 152-154, *PCO*.

270 *Memoirs*, 154, *PCO* cf. *China's Millions* (1898), 18-19, *IA*. In Polhill's memoirs the boy is called Yichang, but in *China's Millions* he is called In-ching. Circumstantially and linguistically there is good reason to believe it is the same young man. He was also probably the Ying-ch'ung written about, and pictured, in an article by Eleanor in *China's Millions* (1902), 96, *SOAS*.

271 Theodore Sorensen (who had been at Songpan), James Moyes and an Australian missionary Thomas Radford arrived later. *Memoirs*, 156, *PCO*. James Neave was left at Songpan and Johansen probably joined Neave at Songpan, *China's Millions* (1897), 140 and 162, *SOAS*.

to.”²⁷² They itinerated deep into western Kham, first reaching Litang before continuing west to Batang, which lay on the border proper between Sichuan and Tibet.²⁷³ They worked amongst the “Wushi,”²⁷⁴ “Baorong,”²⁷⁵ Mili and “Yungning” tribes.²⁷⁶ These tribes would have their own dialects, but some of the traders probably understood Mandarin, and those who had been to Lhasa knew the Lhasa dialect (the dialect with which the missionaries were most familiar). Polhill observed, “Conversing with them, we felt ourselves quite amongst the Tibetans again, but the talk of those who have not been to Lhasa was very difficult to understand.”²⁷⁷

The existence of an autonomous wing of the CIM dedicated to Tibet made good sense in theory, but in practice a number of confusing scenarios emerged. There was the case of the prospective missionary who wanted to join the TMB, but only wanted to work in association with the CIM. The CIM authorities seemed reluctant to allow missionaries to join Polhill under these terms. William Cooper, assistant deputy China director, wrote to Polhill in 1897 about the candidate in question:

At her request I have already written to Mr Sharp regarding her desire to join the Tibetan Mission Band, as she seemed to prefer to join that Mission and work in association with the C.I.M. There is nothing in the Constitution of our

²⁷² *Memoirs*, 155-156, *PCO*. Soon after the Polhills arrived in November they nursed the independent Canadian medical missionary, Dr. Susan Carson Rijnhart, at the conclusion of her painful retreat from Tibet proper. S. Rijnhart, *With the Tibetans in Tent and Temple* 3rd ed. (Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1901), available online without pagination at: <http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/rijnhart/tibetans/tibetans.html#XIX> (last visited April 2013).

²⁷³ *Memoirs*, 158, *PCO*. They were not welcomed at Batang, as they approached the monastery the monks shut the gates. Hoping to secure a station at Batang, Soutter later made a second attempt only to succumb to illness and perish en route. They inscribed a stone and placed it by the road to mark his resting place.

²⁷⁴ Probably the Wuxi “five rivers” an alternative name for the Miao people who lived near five rivers.

²⁷⁵ Alternatively the Bouyei also known as the Burao.

²⁷⁶ The Yungning were probably Miao living near the Yungning river. *Memoirs*, 159, *PCO* cf. W. Jitong, 'Toponymic Culture of China's Ethnic Minorities' Languages', Submitted to the Eighth United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names, Berlin, 7 June 2002, p2. Available online at the United Nations Statistics Division website <https://unstats.un.org> under 'Geospatial Information' and 'United Nations Group of Experts' and then 'Conferences'.

²⁷⁷ He actually wrote this from Songpan a little further north, but he would have faced similar circumstances in Kangding. *China's Millions* (1898), 18, *IA*.

Mission to prevent her being a full member thereof and still working on the Tibetan border, as yourself and Mrs Turner have been doing...Let us keep this matter before the Lord, and He will make it clear, in His own time, what He would have our sister do.²⁷⁸

In addition, the terms of the original agreement between Polhill and Taylor had not been fully communicated to all the senior members of the CIM, so that John W.

Stevenson, the deputy China director, wrote to Polhill:

We are quite prepared to carry [out] Mr. Taylor's promise, and put no hinderance in the way of any one who feels called to Tibetan work. With regard to your reference to Certificates for your fellow workers. As you know, we require from C.I.M. workers five years' residence in China, and the completion of the Six sections of the Course of Study, before the Senior Certificate is granted. I am not aware that any concession was made, in this respect, to the members of the Tibetan Band;²⁷⁹

The original agreement had stipulated that TMB missionaries were only required to take four out of six sections of the CIM course, in order that they could spend more of their time learning Tibetan. An additional consideration was how much the TMB was being supported financially to justify its status as a separate mission. Receipts for donations to the Tibetan work were not nearly sufficient to sustain the mission without significant input from the CIM general fund.²⁸⁰ It was agreed, therefore, by the London home council of the CIM that the TMB should cease to exist as a separate entity and that it would merge with the CIM in December 1898.²⁸¹ An announcement was made in *China's Millions* (1899), "the China Inland Mission having, with the consent of Mr Polhill-Turner and all the Band, taken over the work and responsibility

278 W. Cooper to C. Polhill 22 March 1897, *PCO*.

279 J. W. Stevenson to C. Polhill 24 June 1899, *PCO*. Intriguingly this was after the TMB had been merged back into the CIM, so it would appear as if Polhill was still determined to retain some of the rights he had negotiated with Hudson Taylor in the 1896 agreement.

280 Based on information provided by Annie Taylor that she would require £700 per year for sixteen adults, equalling about £43 per adult per year. Polhill had at least eight adults to support in Kangding, but when an average is taken of receipts for Tibetan work in a sample year (1902) they amount to just £108, or enough to support two missionaries per year. See W. Tucker to C. Polhill, 16 January, 6 June and 18 July 1902, *PCO*.

281 Meeting of 6 December 1898. *Minutes of the London Council of the China Inland Mission 1898-1901*, 47-48, *SOAS*.

of guiding and administering the affairs of the [Tibetan] Mission.”²⁸² This might have appeared to be a set back for the status of Tibet mission, but Polhill had successfully ensured that Tibet became part of the remit of the CIM. In July 1899, he was appointed CIM superintendent for Tibet.²⁸³

3.15.1 Military Intelligence and the Boxer Uprising

During Polhill's stay at Kangding he described a visit from three British Army officers: General Davies, Major Manifold and Captain Ryder who were mapping parts of Yunnan.²⁸⁴ Manifold had been at Eton with Polhill, so he speaks airily of the encounter as one between two old school friends, but the episode illustrates the fine line that existed between the military occupation of China and missionary work.

Polhill was not unaware about the potential for confusion that this caused:

The province is full of rumours about Russia, France and England...An occupation by England is talked of, and not altogether objected to; the English are thought to be fair. A double desire, not clearly defined by themselves, seems prevalent in many minds: first, towards the English to help them in their difficulties and sorrows, and deliver them from the greed of officials; second, towards Christianity and a purer, better life.²⁸⁵

While there is no doubt much that is true in Polhill's observations, it was clearly a very one-sided and optimistic view. The Chinese Empire had been repeatedly humiliated at the hands of foreign powers for decades and there was barely restrained anger simmering in many quarters. Missionaries had brought famine relief, modern medical techniques, technology, modern education and powerful religion, but there was not enough distance between the heralds of salvation, like Polhill, and the heralds of oppression like Major Manifold. The less discerning made no distinction except

282 W. Sharp, 'Transfer of the Tibetan Band', *China's Millions* (1899), 51, *SOAS*.

283 J. W. Stevenson to C. Polhill 28 July 1899, *PCO*.

284 *Memoirs*, 158, *PCO*.

285 *China's Millions* (1898), 134, *LA*.

that the missionaries were a softer target.

The reasons for the emergence of the violently anti-Christian and anti-foreign movement in China known as the Boxer Rebellion of 1899-1901 are multiple.²⁸⁶ Decades of humiliation at the hands of the foreign powers undergirded the uprising, but a severe drought in Shanxi added to fear and discontent. False rumours began to spread of wells being poisoned and of the Christians supernaturally holding back the rain clouds. The dominance of certain Chinese catholic communities, some with two centuries of history, made them visible targets. In addition, the Christians were accused of heterodoxy and resented for their exemption from paying idol taxes.²⁸⁷ Chinese paramilitary groups began setting up altars at town boxing grounds (hence “Boxer Rebellion”) or main temples where crowds would gather to watch them enacting spiritual possession by characters from popular operas such as the Monkey King (Sun Wukong) or the God of War (Guangong). They recruited young men and taught them trance-like immunity rituals.²⁸⁸ There is debate as to whether the Boxers were state-initiated or subsequently given imperial sanction when their numbers and strength grew, but on 21 June 1900 the Dowager Empress openly backed the Boxers by issuing an unequivocal edict to “kill all foreigners.”²⁸⁹ Some of the provincial governors were unwilling and changed the wording to “protect all foreigners.”²⁹⁰ Of Sichuan, Polhill wrote, “The Viceroy had had a meeting with the Treasurer, and the Chief Justice; one had voted ‘kill’ two ‘spare’, and we amongst the few hundred Missionaries in the Province owed our escape to a majority of one vote.”²⁹¹

286 An array of scholarship has emerged as a result. It is summarised in Austin, 395-420.

287 Austin, 403-404.

288 Austin, 397.

289 Austin, 410 cf. *Memoirs*, 160, *PCO*.

290 Ibid.

291 *Memoirs*, 160, *PCO*.

3.16 Second Return to England (1900)

According to Polhill, “[we] did not feel prepared to give up the work inland,” but they eventually capitulated to the increasingly urgent calls from the British Consul to flee to the coast, “with a stunned, and crushed feeling of all lost.”²⁹² It was only as they fled that they learned of the genocide of missionaries and Chinese Christians mainly in Shanxi.²⁹³ It would prove to be the end of his full-time, in-the-field, missionary career, but it was the beginning of a new chapter of Polhill's life as a prodigious patron of mission, domestic and international, and gentleman revivalist.

3.17 Conclusion

The body of research on Polhill has not fully recognised the significance of connecting the pre-pentecostal phase of his life with the pentecostal phase of his life. The tendency within traditional pentecostal historiographical models to assume anything pre-pentecostal is probably irrelevant is partly to blame for this, but the complex and shifting geopolitical nature of Tibet, and lack of access to primary sources are additional contributing factors. This chapter has brought together and critically engaged with more relevant primary and secondary sources than has ever been possible hitherto. The result has been to shed unprecedented light on the character, motivations, theological influences and experiences Polhill had before he became a Pentecostal.

His character development from a laconic, uncertain novice missionary to a more bombastic, radical position is significant. Taken together with the pressure on an Old

²⁹² *Memoirs*, 159, *PCO* cf. *China's Millions* (1901), 113, *SOAS*.

²⁹³ *Memoirs*, 161, *PCO* cf. Austin, 409-415.

Etonian to excel, Polhill quickly realised that the mission field in China was no place for timidity. It was dangerous, and he faced life or death situations, so he gravitated in an over-compensatory fashion towards much more radical, near fanatical, expressions of Christianity. He was not alone in these tendencies, as other members of the Cambridge Seven gave into the same temptations, and it had its benefits. By exploring the limits of biblical experience, such as praying for the pentecostal gift of Mandarin, Polhill learned to curtail his expectations. He learned that language tuition in context was much more valuable, and he brought these sensible moderating influences to the fledgling British pentecostal mission.

This moderating effect was supported by Polhill's adoption of the P&Ps of the CIM. These standard, conservative, evangelical doctrines became Polhill's basic theological reference points. He subsequently used these as the core theological tenets of the PMU, and the two main denominational branches of the PMU (Elim and AGBI) subsequently followed much of the same basic outline. He was moderate, but paradoxically he was also moderately radical.²⁹⁴ He never lost interest in the Holy Spirit, and encounters with missionaries like Griffith John and indirect encounters with Pastor Hsi encouraged his interest, so that he was never just content with general displays of power in ministry. Polhill sought to witness and experience specific examples of biblical *charismata*. These tendencies gave rise to his subsequent interest in revivalism and by extension Pentecostalism.

Polhill's interest in exploring the extremes of biblical experience went hand in hand with his desire to explore the extremes of mission, and that meant mission to the

294 Moderate to the early Pentecostals but radical to conservative Evangelicals.

mysterious “closed land” of the Tibetans. All of his experiences on the Gansu-Tibetan and Sichuan-Tibetan border are important because they demonstrate how determined Polhill was to evangelise the Tibetan people. He would not have suffered such hardships if he had not been gripped by a passion for Tibet. Even after a near-deadly riot in 1892, he did not give up. He used his time in recuperation to take a more scholarly approach to the region and petition for prayer. Such was his passion that he was even prepared to relocate to an unfamiliar country, India, to form the TMB. What is significant about the subsequent agreement between the TMB and the CIM is that Polhill was clearly ill at ease with the alliance because he seemed to fear his missionaries being diverted away from Tibet. He seemed to doubt that the CIM were fully committed to the region.

During 1900-1908, Polhill became typically irrepressible in his promotion of mission to Tibet, but unstable political developments, between 1904-1908, meant that the CIM subsequently became not merely obstructive but openly hostile to mission to the region. This is of crucial and paramount importance for the development of early Pentecostalism because without a steady supply of missionaries from the CIM, Polhill had no hope of achieving his goal of evangelising Tibet. This explains why he began to invest so heavily in the pentecostal movement because they would form the basis of a new evangelistic effort to the region. The TMB had failed partly because it was financially unsustainable, but Polhill was about to inherit enough money to ensure that this was no longer a concern. All he needed was a new source of missionaries and a new organisation that was sympathetic to his aims of evangelising Tibet.

CHAPTER 4 “FOR CHINA AND TIBET, AND FOR WORLDWIDE REVIVAL,” PRAYER AND ACTIVISM DURING POLHILL’S INTERMEDIARY YEARS (1900-1907)

4.1 Home Life: Health or Wealth?

Whether he knew it or not at the time, the Boxer Rebellion marked the end of Polhill's full-time, in-the-field, missionary career. The Boxers murdered approximately 190 missionaries but many thousands of Chinese Christians before laying siege to the foreign legations at Beijing. After a tense fifty-five day stand off the Eight Nations Alliance was able to break through and defeat the joint Boxers-Imperial Army. The relief force subsequently engaged in unbridled looting.¹ Like most missionaries, Polhill, Eleanor, and their five children returned home, as missionary work had been brought to a complete standstill.² They arrived in England in November 1900 after a six-week journey from Shanghai.³ Their return roughly coincided with the death of Polhill's uncle, Sir Henry Page Turner Barron, 2nd Bt., on 12 September 1900.⁴ Sir Henry had been an extremely wealthy man who left Polhill a very substantial amount of land, property, stocks, shares and deposits.⁵ In addition to having a young family, Eleanor's health remained very fragile. The weakness of their three-year-old son

1 E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire: 1875-1914* (London: Abacus, 2010), 281 cf. Austin, 417.

2 Cecil Charles was born in 1890, Arthur Henry was born in 1891, Kathleen Louisa was born in 1893, Kenneth was born in 1897 and Eleanor Mary “Ellie” was born in 1899. In 1903 they had another daughter, Cecily Eileen.

3 Marston states that they left Shanghai in October 1900, yet they arrived in England after a six week journey in October 1900 which is of course impossible. Marston, *With the King*, 188. Polhill's account is characteristically sparse on dates, *Memoirs*, 159-161, *PCO*. A six-week journey would put his arrival in England in November 1900.

4 Sir Henry Page-Turner Barron, CMG, 2nd Baronet of Glenanna and Waterford died on 12 September 1900. *Will of Sir Henry Page-Turner Barron, Bart, CMG* (1824-1900), available for a fee at the London Probate Office.

5 Sir Henry's estate was valued at probate as £306,473. The relative value today is considerably higher, ranging from £29,000,000 to £257,000,000 depending on economic indicators, or an average relative value of £157,000,000. See www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare/relativevalue.php. Polhill was one of two heirs. Sir Henry's first cousin once removed, Edward Alphonse Winston Barron-Newall, received his Irish estate while Polhill received his English estate. The estates were to be divided as equally as possible. See *Will of Sir Henry Page-Turner Barron, Bart, CMG*, 3 (line 2 and 15), 9 (line 3-8).

Kenneth's health was equally serious.⁶ Within three years Kenneth had died and six months later Eleanor also passed away. This would have been a painful time for Polhill, but the premature loss of loved ones was an all-too-frequent occurrence for missionaries, so their return to the mission field would have been *noblesse oblige*.⁷ He did not return for anything other than short-term trips, so what the issues were that led to his state of semi-retirement require further investigation.

Annie Marston, Polhill's sister-in-law, wrote, “the interests of the children made it desirable that they should stay in England, and also because medical men were agreed as to the unfitness of either Mr or Mrs Polhill for returning to their former life in China.”⁸ In addition, the first generation pentecostal historian, Donald Gee, wrote, “[their return was] owing to duty to his family and the large estate,” and elsewhere, “Upon entering into the inheritance of the family estate in Bedfordshire he was compelled by his responsibilities to spend his time between China and England.”⁹ Marston emphasised Polhill's family and health while Gee tended to emphasise Polhill's estate, but both authors are open to accusations of bias. On the one hand, a large inheritance would not have been considered a noble reason for abandoning missionary work. C. T. Studd gave away much of his cash inheritance, and Montague Beauchamp turned down an offer of a share of his older brother's inheritance.¹⁰

Marston would naturally wish to protect her family's reputation as self-sacrificing

6 Kenneth's illness had delayed their departure from China. *Memoirs*, 159, *PCO*.

7 Just take the Cambridge Seven for example: Stanley Smith lost a son in 1902 and his first wife Sophie. Arthur Polhill lost his wife, Alice, in 1907, and William Cassels lost a daughter in 1894. Cecil Polhill and Eleanor had also lost a two-month-old baby boy, Eric, in 1894. Marston, *With the King*, 154.

8 Marston, *With the King*, 188.

9 Gee, *Pentecostal Movement*, 52; and *These Men*, 73.

10 N. Grubb, *C. T. Studd – Famous Cricketer and Pioneer* 14th Impression (London: Lutterworth Press, 1946), 66; and Pollock, 'The Cambridge Seven', 109 cf. Austin, 208. Montague's older brother, Sir Reginald William Proctor-Beauchamp, succeeded to the Baronetcy in 1861. Upon his death in 1912 it passed to his brother Lt-Col. Sir Horace George Proctor-Beauchamp, and upon his death in 1915 it passed to Montague.

missionaries, so she would have been unwilling to imply that their return was anything to do with an inheritance. Gee on the other hand probably had less concern to protect Polhill's reputation. His writings cast a number of “uncharacteristically acerbic” aspersions about Polhill, so he had no qualms in stating that Polhill stayed because of his estate.¹¹ Both Marston and Gee's selective data represent two opposite ends of a scale of opinion on Polhill. A review of the primary sources indicate that the reality of what happened was, generally speaking, probably somewhere between the two extremes of Marston and Gee.

The poor health of Kenneth and Eleanor was evidently a factor that prevented Polhill's immediate return to China, as both were so ill that they subsequently died, but there is no evidence outside of Marston that Polhill himself was particularly ill. It would seem, therefore, to be his estate holding him back, but this had not prevented Studd and Beauchamp from returning to the field. There are however a number of significant differences between Polhill, Studd and Beauchamp. Studd's inheritance was a cash lump sum whereas Polhill's inheritance, worth considerably more than Studd's, was tied up in land, property and the stock market.¹² It was not just a simple case of giving the money away, as Studd had been able to do. Studd also had an older brother based in England, Kynaston, to look after his family's estate.¹³ Montague Beauchamp's oldest brother was first in line to his father's baronetcy, and a second older brother in line before Montague, so this left him free to concentrate on the mission field. By contrast Polhill's only older brother had died in 1899.¹⁴ His only

11 Taylor, 377.

12 Polhill received roughly half of Sir Henry's £306,473 estate. His surviving accounts indicate that his net average income was about £11,500 per year.

13 Sir John Edward Kynaston Studd, 1st Baronet OBE (1858-1944) served as Lord Mayor of London.

14 Not in 1903 as it is incorrectly stated in *Burke's Landed Gentry*, s.vv. 'Polhill of Howbury Hall' cf. He actually died on 24 December 1899 see 'Administration of Frederick Edward Fiennes Polhill-

younger brother was also a missionary in China. The estate Polhill inherited was legally bound to pass onto his eldest son who was just ten years old in 1900.¹⁵ He had a serious dilemma: the responsibility of a huge estate with no one else to look after it apart from him. Additionally it would seem the estate had been left to Polhill in quite unsatisfactory circumstances as far as an Evangelical was concerned. His older brother, Fiennes, had been leasing Howbury Hall to a breeder of racing horses.¹⁶ This would have been very embarrassing to a Victorian Evangelical like Polhill. For him, conversion to Christianity had meant “racing and card playing had to be abandoned,” so he would have been highly uncomfortable with his childhood home being used to breed racing horses.¹⁷ These are the kinds of variables that would have contributed to Polhill’s decision to stay in England.

He was able to move back into Howbury Hall in 1903 probably because the tenant's lease had expired. Regardless of the constraints of a large estate and restoring the dignity of his ancestral home, the decision to stay in the UK does not appear to have come easily to Polhill. His brother Arthur wrote from China in September 1903, “waiting to hear your plans re: Howbury, [indistinguishable name] thinks you will go there. It will certainly tend to locate the family once more for the coming generation.”¹⁸ His missionary brother-in-law wrote from India in November 1903,

Turner' London Probate Department, Royal Courts of Justice, London.

15 The estate succeeded in order of seniority in tail male.

16 Robert Peck was using Howbury from at least 1891 up until his death in 1899. *1891 England Census* 'Peck, Robert' (c.1845-1899); *Kelly's Directory – Bedfordshire* (1898) under 'Description and Travel', available to view online at <http://www.genuki.org.uk/big/eng/BDF/Renhold/> (last viewed July 2013). Peck won the Derby in 1898 with 'Jeddah'. In 1901 Howbury Hall was being leased by James Edward Platt who was from a Lancashire manufacturing family. *1901 England Census* 'Platt, James Edward' (born c.1857, Oldham Lanes); J. Walton, *A Social History of Lancashire* (Manchester:MUP, 1987), 227.

17 *Memoirs*, 11, *PCO*. His sister Alice wrote there had been “many sad memories of the past” at Howbury. A. Challis to C. Polhill, 4 January 1904, *PCO*. His sister-in-law wrote, “Renhold must be altered...they are hearing the true gospel now.” Alice Polhill to C. Polhill, 2 April 1904, *PCO*.

18 Arthur Polhill to C. Polhill, 28 September 1903, *PCO*.

“So you are really at Howbury. I sympathise with you in your wish for Tibet – but quite feel you have done right – all seemed clearly laid before you and we pray that you may be guided in each step of the new condition of things – no small responsibility.”¹⁹ This indicates that Polhill was very anxious about leaving the Sino-Tibetan border and agonised over the decision to stay. He had, for a short time at least, successfully lobbied to have Tibet placed on the agenda of the CIM, so he probably quite rightly concluded that the best chance of supporting mission to Tibet was to fund and promote it from the UK.

4.2 The Tibet Lecture Circuit

Polhill's papers provide ample evidence that after 1900 he assumed the role of promoting and funding mission to Tibet. On 26 January 1903, Edmond Warre (1837-1920), headmaster at Eton, wrote to Polhill, “I think the boys would like very much to have a lecture on Thibet.”²⁰ An earlier letter from William Key of Kensal Rise, London, informed Polhill that a lecture he had given in London was received very well, “Those who were present were delighted with the lecture.”²¹ Key apologised for having a substandard “magic lantern” (an early overhead projector) and afterwards thanked Polhill for promising to send him a collection of “Tibetan curios.”²² Additional letters in the collection indicate that Polhill travelled around the country using magic lantern slides and Tibetan curios to stir up interest in mission to Tibet. In July 1902, Fred Coffey thanked Polhill that the curios arrived in time for his meeting.²³ In November 1903, E. B Stirling wrote to Polhill to request the curios and

19 J. Challis to Polhill, 3 November 1903, *PCO*.

20 E. Warre to C. Polhill, 26 January 1903, *PCO*. Warre was also honorary chaplain to Queen Victoria, King Edward VII and King George V.

21 W. Key to C. Polhill, 7 February 1902, *PCO*.

22 W. Key to C. Polhill 8 July 1902, *PCO*.

23 F. Coffey to C. Polhill, 4 July 1902, *PCO*.

“Mr Ridley's Lama dress.”²⁴ If Polhill could not be present himself at a Tibet presentation then he was evidently prepared to send his collection for others to use in his stead.

4.3 The Tibet Prayer Union

It is also clear from Polhill's correspondence that he was part of a loose network whose central interest was mission to Tibet. In 1890, while he and Eleanor were still stationed Xining, Qinghai, Eleanor had written to a Moravian periodical, “we have started a Tibet Prayer Union a minor feature of this union is a request to those who are privately willing to be known to one another as intercessors for Tibet.”²⁵ A Moravian minister, Rev. B. La Trobe, was named as the secretary. The Polhills had actually started their own chapter of what was an existing Moravian initiative.²⁶ Members of the Tibet Prayer Union committed to (1) Pray for the success and extension of Tibet mission; (2) Read what was published about Tibet for prayer, and (3) To “plead for the opening of the door into Chinese Tibet.”²⁷ Frequent mention is made, in Polhill's correspondence, of the “PMs” (Prayer Meetings) or the “T.P.U” (Tibet Prayer Union).²⁸ E. B. Stirling wrote to Polhill in November 1903, “I'm sorry the T.P.U does not increase but unless one has really energetic local helpers it is difficult to keep in touch with the members.”²⁹ Stirling appears to have been the editorial secretary of the

24 E. B. Stirling to C. Polhill 24 November 1903, *PCO*. Polhill left a handwritten list of these curios, *PC*.

25 *Periodical Accounts Relating To Moravian Mission* Vol I/No2 (Second Century), June 1890, 62-63, *MUDAI*.

26 Fader, *Vol. I*, 106.

27 *Periodical Accounts Relating To Moravian Mission* Vol II/No.18 (Second Century), June 1894, 293-295, *MUDAI*. cf. B. La Trobe, Secretary of the TPU (as of 1895) and Secretary of the Moravian Missionary Society, writing in the preface of Marston, *Great Closed Land*, ix.

28 D. Williams wrote “Our P.M is in a very languid state,” D. Williams to C. Polhill, 5 October 1902, *PCO*; See also O. Horwood to C. Polhill, 24 December 1902, *PCO*.

29 E. B. Stirling to C. Polhill, 24 November 1903, *PCO*.

TPU in charge of producing their periodical *At the Threshold*.³⁰ At some uncertain date, Polhill is known to have visited “Mount Clare” which was, for a time, the training home of the holiness-evangelistic organisation led by J. G. Govan known as the Faith Mission in Rothesay, Scotland.³¹ The earliest letter from E. B. Stirling, 29 August 1902, came from this address which probably indicates that Polhill met her there at some point before 1899 (the earliest date Stirling is named as editorial secretary of the TPU). She gave Polhill frequent reports on the state of the TPU; asked for content from him on at least three occasions and received his financial assistance.³² Stirling wrote in May 1905, “I am glad to have a letter this morning from Mrs Christie Christian Alliance. They are settling at Choni near Tao-cheo [Jone near Lintan, Gansu] where they have secured a suitable house. I wonder if you know it?”³³ The first PMU missionaries would go to the CMA in Gansu to learn Tibetan in 1911, and Mrs Christie would subsequently become a Pentecostal.³⁴ Stirling’s letter to Polhill clearly demonstrates that he knew the station existed as early as 1905, and he was almost certainly responsible, therefore, for subsequently arranging the transference of PMU missionaries to that station.

30 *China's Millions* (1899), 51, *SOAS* cf. J. Dennis, H. Beach and C. Fahs ed. *World Atlas of Christian Missions* (New York: Student Volunteer Movement, 1911), 46, *IA*. I am not aware of any still-existing copies of *At the Threshold*.

31 Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 178. According to Bebbington the Faith Mission had been inspired by the Salvation Army. J. A. McMillan (Archivist, Bute Museum, Scotland) email to the Author, 23 April 2013; J. B. Maclean, *Faith Triumphant: a review of the work of the Faith Mission 1886-1936* (Edinburgh: Faith Mission Room, 1936), 128. The Faith Mission Home eventually became the Faith Mission Bible College which still operates in Edinburgh, see their 'History' section, under 'About FMBC' at www.fmbc.ac/about-fmbc/history (last accessed June 2013).

32 E. B. Stirling to C. Polhill, 29 August 1902, 21 August 1903 and 24 November 1903, *PCO*; For example, £10 on 14 June 1904 for “purchase of furniture for mission home” and £2 for the *Threshold*; £10 on 17 August 1905 for the mission home, £10 on 1 June 1908 for the “Home of Rest” and £2 for the “Tibetan Prayer Union Circular,” *Cash Book 1904-1910* (Expenditure), 16, 66, 160 respectively, *PCO*.

33 E. B. Stirling to C. Polhill, 24 May 1905, *PCO*.

34 *Confidence* Vol.5 No.12 (Dec 1912), 286

4.4 The Keswick Convention 1902

Tibet remained at the top of Polhill's agenda when he travelled to the earliest Keswick convention he is known to have attended, in July 1902. He was recorded in the missionary meeting as follows, "He asked them to pray that Tibet, 'the closed land', might soon open its doors wide to the Gospel...the people of Tibet itself...were asking 'When are the missionaries coming back?'" and had expressed their desire to erect with their own money places where the missionaries might preach the Gospel to them. So that there was now some gleam of hope as to missionary work in Tibet."³⁵ The annual convention in the Lake District town of Keswick was one of the most influential strands of the British holiness movement. One of the two co-founders of the Keswick convention, the Quaker Robert Wilson, had been inspired to start the meetings by attending the Oxford conference of holiness proponents Robert and Hannah Pearsall Smith, in 1874.³⁶ The other co-founder, Anglican vicar T. D. Harford-Battersby, had previously hosted Mildmay leader William Pennefather at his church in the Lake District.³⁷ Keswick taught a distinctive path to Holiness that repudiated the hard line, mechanical, eradicationist views of methodist-inspired holiness teaching, yet avoided the stubbornly gradualist, always-reaching-never-attaining, attitude of the traditional reformed perspective.³⁸ Keswick was still mostly Reformed, being largely attended by well-to-do Anglicans, but its middle-way

35 *The Keswick Week* (1902) (London: Marshall Brothers), 209-210, *PC*.

36 Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 157. The one that had been proposed by Stevenson Arthur Blackwood (1832-1893) whom Polhill had encountered at Aldershot Barracks. *Memoirs*, 11, *PCO*.

37 Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 160, and *Holiness*, 75.

38 D. William Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel: The Significance of Eschatology in the Development of Pentecostal Thought*, (Sheffield: SUP, 1996), 67-69. Bebbington uses the terms "mechanical" to describe the Methodist view of sanctification and "organic" to describe the Keswick approach i.e. the difference between an enlightenment mentality and a romantic mentality. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 172. Evan Hopkins, "the chief intellectual formulator of the Keswick tradition," never denied that sanctification was a life-long process, but at the same time he believed that Christians could attain and maintain the higher life. The process and the attainment were two sides of the same coin. According to Hopkins, "We should clearly recognise the distinction, for instance, between three things: sanctification as a process, as an act or attitude of consecration, and as a gift." E. Hopkins, *The Law of Liberty in the Spiritual Life* (1884), 109-110, *IA*.

solution was to teach that sin could be continually overcome or suppressed, by resting in faith, enabling the Christian to live the “higher life.”³⁹ There is no evidence, apart from his attendance at Keswick, that Polhill was particularly concerned about sanctification at this time. He attended Keswick as a missionary representative, but the convention also had a distinctly revivalist ethos that probably attracted Polhill.

4.4.1 Holiness and Revivalism

Holiness and revivalism have had a close relationship almost from the outset of holiness theology breaking free from its methodist confines. Charles Finney (1792-1875), a Presbyterian and leading revivalist, claimed to have had an experience of sanctification in 1836.⁴⁰ Moreover holiness teaching was beginning to spread in the UK at the same time as the 1859-60 revival through the writings of W. E. Boardman (1810-1886), and through the writing and teaching of Pheobe Palmer (1807-1874).⁴¹ Missionaries, like Polhill, would have found the revivalist elements at Keswick highly commendable in light of the urgency to convert the world ahead of the imminent *Parousia*. The holiness emphasis on revival and the missionary emphasis on urgent conversions created a virtuous, mutually-reinforcing, cycle.

4.4.2 Holiness, Revival and Dispensationalism

The evangelical missionary movement had already connected the idea of revival with

39 Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 169-170, 172-173, *Holiness*, 73, 81-83, 88. Hopkins wrote, “What is your attitude to faith? As to justification, you are no longer seeking, but resting; you are no longer anxiously praying about that, but you can thankfully praise Him. That need has been met. And can He not meet your need as to sanctification?...To be in an attitude of trust is to be receptive, and being receptive we find that we lack nothing; for Christ is our sanctification.” Hopkins, 109-110, *IA*.

40 Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 164.

41 *Ibid*.

the imminent *Parousia*.⁴² The contribution of the holiness movement was to connect the hope of revival with an outpouring or “dispensation” of the Holy Spirit. This can probably be explained by the influence of John Fletcher (1729-1785). Fletcher was a proponent of entire sanctification and, as a contemporary of John Wesley, a prominent systematiser of methodist theology. Fletcher divided history (*ordo temporum*) and christian spiritual states (*ordu salutis*) into trinitarian dispensations: the dispensation of the Father (up to the incarnation), the dispensation of the Son (up to the Day of Pentecost) and the dispensation of the Holy Spirit (up to the present).⁴³ He wrote, “Under the dispensation of the Father, believers constantly experience the fear of God...Under the economy of the Son, love begins to gain ascendancy over fear. But under the dispensation of the Holy Spirit, ‘perfect love casteth out fear’,” and he subsequently asserted, “The dispensation of the Holy Spirit is now in force....”⁴⁴ Darby's dispensations, by contrast, provided the missionary movement with a sense of urgency, but by a shared vocabulary it was conflated with Fletcher's dispensations from the holiness movement to accommodate a role for the Holy Spirit. When Moody preached about dispensations he had Darby's system in mind, but in the same period, holiness missionaries could be found talking in Fletcherite terms, for example, “I knew that the time in which we now live is called ‘the dispensation of the Holy Ghost’,” and, “Should not the normal course amongst the heathen, in this dispensation of the Holy Ghost, be to see multitudes moved and converted, and not merely units?”⁴⁵ These ideas became potent influences on Polhill and the pentecostal movement. For example, he was forced to defend pentecostal practices in 1911 from

42 *China's Millions* (1896), 22, YUDL.

43 J. R. Frazier, *True Christianity: The Doctrine of Dispensations in the Thought of John William Fletcher (1729-1785)* (Eugene: Pickwick, 2014), xiii. Fletcher's dispensations are notably similar to the dispensations of Joachim of Fiore. Oliverio, 23.

44 J. Gilpen trans. *The Portrait of St. Paul by John William de la Flechere, vicar of Madeley Vol.III* (New York: Waugh and T. Mason, 1833), 171 and 181 respectively.

45 B. Broomhall ed., *EWMB*, 38 and 195 respectively.

those who believed that, according to Fletcher, the Holy Spirit had already been poured out, “The writer is aware that the argument is often used; the direction “tarry” [Luke 24.49 KJV] was only to the first Apostolic group, and now we are living in the *dispensation* of the Holy Ghost, there is no further need to ‘tarry’ or to ‘ask’. In answer it will suffice only again to ask the brother who makes use of this argument, ‘Are you living today in the *power* of this dynamic enduement?’”⁴⁶ Evidence of Darbyite dispensationalism in Polhill’s writing is quite clearly implied in the themes of one of his pentecostal London conferences in 1911. The subject of the conference was the “Second Advent” with a special focus on the book of Daniel, the “times of the Gentiles” and “the Church of Christ.”⁴⁷ Polhill placed these themes in the context of the more Fletcherite dispensational category of the “present Outpouring of the Holy Spirit,” and then imbued this with eschatological significance, “the accompanying reiterated voice of reminder to the near return of the Lord...”⁴⁸ In 1902, however, a revival of sufficient magnitude had not yet occurred, so Polhill’s focus was to speed its manifestation. This almost certainly included joining an initiative, that had been started at Keswick in 1902, to form circles of prayer for revival.

4.4.3 Cambridge Meetings and a Circle of Prayer for Worldwide Revival

The Methodist minister of Deptford Central Hall, Gregory Mantle (1853-1925), spoke about how to bring about revival at Keswick in 1902, “We are longing for a great movement of the Spirit of God in this land...Will you let me make a practical suggestion? Will you let me suggest that, in our homes, we form prayer circles to this end?”⁴⁹ The call was taken up by the end of the convention by Albert Head, C. G.

46 His formatting. *Flames of Fire* No.10 (February 1913), 2.

47 *Confidence*, Vol.4 No.5 (May 1911), 108 cf. Wakefield, 178-181.

48 *Confidence*, Vol.4 No.5 (May 1911), 108.

49 *The Keswick Week* (1902), 188.

Moore, F. Paynter and A. T. Pierson who began the initiative of encouraging others to establish “a circle of prayer for world-wide revival.” According to their announcement, “The design of the Circle is to band together in the simplest possible way those who are willing to pray daily for a fulfilment of the Divine word: ‘I WILL POUR OUT OF MY SPIRIT UPON ALL FLESH’.”⁵⁰ Within a matter of months, Polhill appears to have established a prayer circle for revival at Cambridge. This was quite a logical choice of location for Polhill’s circle, as he had been on deputation work for the CIM at Cambridge between at least 1902-1904. In September 1902 Stanley Smith wrote, “All your letter was interesting, telling of blessing at Cambridge and the interest stirred up amongst the men there, especially about Sichuan,” and in November 1902 he wrote again, “...of the blessing, you two dear brothers have been at Cambridge.”⁵¹

4.4.4 Polhill's Prayer Meeting for Revival at Cambridge

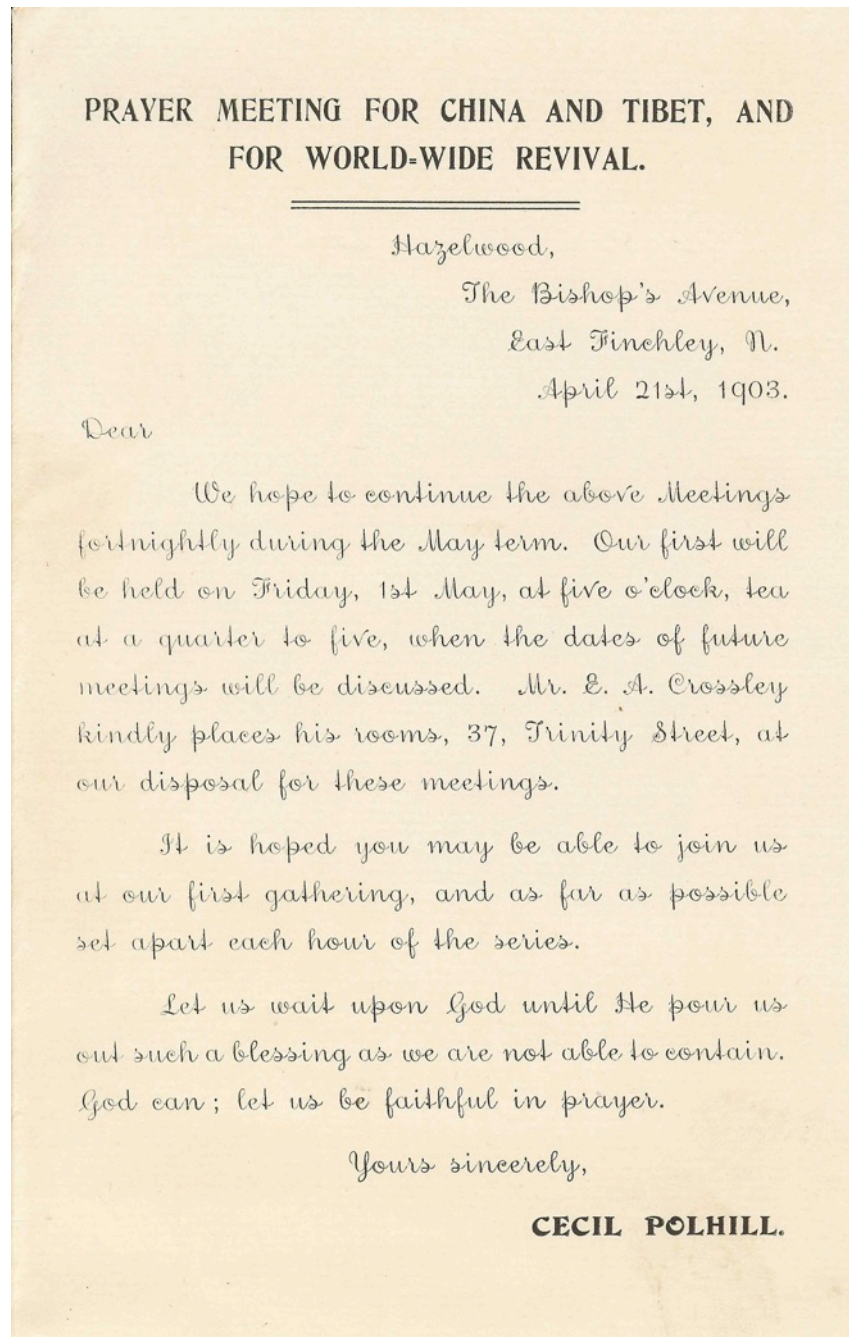
There is also evidence that, in addition to CIM deputation work, Polhill himself was leading meetings at Cambridge. His brother Arthur wrote in September 1903, “I got a letter from Wedgewood of Clare [College] saying your meetings had been encouraging last term and saying they hope to get up a mass missionary meeting next term.”⁵² The earliest hard evidence for Polhill's prayer circle comes from April 1903.

50 Their formatting Ibid, 214. The Hon. Secretaries of the circles were: Albert Head, Rev. C. G. Moore, Rev. F. Paynter, Rev. A. T. Pierson.

51 S. P. Smith to C. Polhill, 19 September 1902; and 4 November 1902, *PCO*. He had probably been active in Cambridge as early as July 1902. President of CICCUCircular July 1902, *PCO*. Bishop Taylor Smith (Chaplain-General to H.M Forces) was booked to preach to the Freshmen, and F. B. Meyer was booked to conduct a mission “among University Men” between 25-29 October 1902. See also, H. Frost to C. Polhill, 3 March 1903, *PCO*.

52 Arthur Polhill to C. Polhill, 21 September 1903, *PCO*.

**Figure 7. Invitation to Polhill's Prayer Meeting for China, Tibet and Worldwide
Revival (April 1903)**



Source: from the Polhill Collection Online.

It is an invitation, amongst Polhill's papers, to a "Prayer Meeting for China and Tibet, and for World-Wide Revival."⁵³ It was clearly part of the Keswick circle of prayer for worldwide revival as the invite continues, "Let us wait upon God until He pour us out such a blessing as we are not able to contain." Compare this sentiment with the motto of the Keswick circles "I will pour."⁵⁴ The invitation is dated 21 April 1903 but the opening sentence states, "we hope to continue the above meetings," implying they had started at an earlier date. Intriguingly while Polhill himself signs the invitation, the meetings were scheduled to be held in the rooms of the Cambridge undergraduate Erskine Alick Crossley (born 1880).⁵⁵ He was the son of the late "nineteenth-century saint" Francis "Frank" William Crossley (1839-1897), who had been a wealthy Manchester-based business owner and independent minister, in the wesleyan-holiness tradition, of the once well-known Star Hall, Ancoat.⁵⁶ This would indicate, assuming Erskine Crossley was like his father, that Polhill was just as comfortable moving amongst adherents of the wesleyan-holiness tradition as he was amongst adherents of the Keswick-holiness tradition. Polhill was probably less concerned about the finer theological points of sanctification and more concerned about revival in Tibet, China and the world. That is not to say that Polhill had no firm theological convictions. When it came to some of the fundamentals of Evangelicalism he remained conservative, as can be seen from his time on the CIM home council.

53 21 April 1903 Invitation to Prayer Meeting, *PCO*.

54 *The Keswick Week* (1902), 214.

55 J. L. Dawson, *ACAD – A Cambridge Alumni Database* – s.vv. 'Crossley, Erskine Alick' <http://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/> (last accessed December 2014) cf. the family tree in J. R. Harris ed. *The Life of Francis William Crossley* (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1900), 8, *IA*.

56 Crossley had been taught about sanctification by Salvation Army founder William Booth. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 178. cf. the preface in Harris' book which refers to Crossley as a 'nineteenth century saint'.

4.5 CIM Home Council and Stanley Smith Controversy

Polhill was elected to a place on the CIM London home council in February 1903, but he was already being treated by the director-in-waiting, Dixon Hoste, as a respected missionary veteran and trusted friend.⁵⁷ After spending time with him in 1902, Hoste wrote to Polhill, “It has been a privilege and pleasure to meet and confer with you again at this time...Should you at anytime feel led to write to me any words of counsel or warning in connection with the work, I shall be truly grateful and endeavour to profit by them.”⁵⁸ In addition, Polhill received regular reports on the status of mission on the Tibetan border and a steady stream of “candidate schedules” (CIM application forms).⁵⁹ Polhill joined the CIM council at a sensitive time. The controversial views of Stanley P. Smith had caused upset amongst the various international home councils, particularly the North American home council. The subject of the controversy was eternal conscious punishment (ECP) i.e. whether or not those who died without Christ (or without ever having heard of Christ) would consciously suffer for eternity. By the 1890s, Smith had reached the conclusion that he did not believe in ECP, and he made no attempt to hide his convictions.⁶⁰ This secured his censure from the mission and for a time Smith remained subdued, but ultimately he could not restrain himself from preaching universalism, and he became the subject of heated debate before being forced to resign.⁶¹

57 T. Howard to Polhill, 15 February 1903, *PCO*. *China's Millions* (1903), inside cover, *SOAS*.

58 D. Hoste to C. Polhill, 22 October 1902, *PCO*.

59 See *PCO* and search 'Candidate Schedule'.

60 Austin, 385-386 cf. S. P. Smith Circular 3 November 1892, *PCO*.

61 See for example, 'Resolutions of the North American Council' 23 March 1903; 'Draft Response to North American Council' c.March 1903; D. Hoste to C. Polhill, 30 April 1902; J. Hudson Taylor to T. Howard, 21 November 1902, *PCO*. His resignation was attested to in December 1902 by CIM missionary John Stooke. J. Stooke to C. Polhill, 10 December 1902, *PCO*.

4.5.1 Polhill and Stanley Smith

Writing to Polhill in October 1902, Smith gave away something of the context of his position, “I feel I have got a splendid gospel for China. Their ancestors have not all gone to an endless hell. No!”⁶² This probably indicates that part of Smith's motivation for rejecting ECP was to offer a response to the practice of *jìngzǔ* i.e. regular rituals of Chinese ancestor veneration. To Smith the appeal of Christianity to the Chinese, with dutiful confucian respect for their ancestors, would be lessened if it meant believing those who had not been lucky enough to encounter protestant missionaries were all suffering ECP. Smith remained staunchly universalist, but Polhill does not appear to have been tempted to adopt his position. He cautioned Smith that he was interpreting scripture “in a totally different way” from the way he should.⁶³ There is no evidence to suggest that Polhill remained anything other than conservatively Evangelical on the subject of ECP, yet remarkably he refused to allow the issue to come between his friendship with Smith. They exchanged a number of warm letters after Smith's resignation from the CIM, and Polhill would later send PMU missionaries to Smith for language training.⁶⁴ As a result, Smith became influenced by pentecostal spirituality.⁶⁵ The Smith controversy had been a crucial test for Polhill because it entrenched his own doctrinal position as conservatively Evangelical which subsequently became the standard for acceptance to the PMU.⁶⁶ Had Polhill courted controversy by siding with Smith then it is unlikely that Pentecostalism would have found the acceptance, albeit limited acceptance, that it did amongst the ranks of

62 His emphasis. S. P. Smith to C. Polhill, 19 September 1902, *PCO*.

63 Smith quotes Polhill in S. P. Smith to C. Polhill, 11 March 1904, *PCO*.

64 For example, S. P. Smith to C. Polhill 24 January 1904, 11 March 1904 and 2 March 1905, *PCO*.

65 *Confidence* Vol.4 No.2 (Feb 1911), 44 and No.3 (March 1911), 69.

66 cf. Cooper, 10-11 and *The Principles and Practices of the PMU*. The soundness of faith section from the P&Ps of the CIM was copied almost verbatim by Polhill for the P&Ps of the PMU.

Evangelicals in its infancy. Polhill's membership of the CIM home council is important for another reason. There is evidence that mission to Tibet was being side-lined within the CIM at this time.

4.6 No Tibet in the CIM

By 1903, the CIM was well on its way to recovering from the devastation of the Boxer Uprising. They published a seminal “General Survey of the Field” including a roundup of what the mission had achieved hitherto, what it hoped to achieve in future and province-by-province summaries with contributions from the various provincial superintendents.⁶⁷ Polhill had been made superintendent of Tibet in July 1899, but any mention of Tibet whatsoever had been completely excluded from the survey. The station that Polhill had opened as leader of the TMB, at Kangding, had instead been included as part of Sichuan, China. Strictly speaking this was accurate, but excluding Tibet entirely was not in the spirit of the Polhill-Taylor agreement of 1896. Tibet's omission can only have come as a great disappointment to Polhill, the TPU and anyone else who cared about mission to Tibet. Polhill's superintendency had to all intents and purposes been annulled. In light of this, his appointment to the London home council in 1903 seems almost conciliatory. It is even possible that part of the reason Polhill did not return to the Tibetan border, after 1900, was because he sensed the upper hierarchy of the CIM were against mission to Tibet. The CIM was probably influenced by official British foreign policy which was to discourage mission to Tibet at this time.⁶⁸ Tibet was regarded as a buffer zone between the two competing spheres of influence of the Russian Empire and British India. When this was threatened, at the turn of the nineteenth century, the British moved to consolidate political power in

⁶⁷ *China's Millions* (1903), 91-111, *SOAS*.

⁶⁸ J. Bray, 'Christian Missions and the Politics of Tibet' in A. McKay ed. *THT* Vol.II, 489-500.

Tibet between 1903 and 1904, and evangelical mission to the region suffered another disappointing setback.

4.6.1 The Tibet Expedition 1903-04

In January 1904, Polhill wrote a glowing report for *China's Millions* entitled “The Tibetan Outlook.”⁶⁹ He had good reasons to be optimistic. The station at Kangding had finally reopened with the return of two of the original TMB, Sorenson and Moyes, and a third new missionary.⁷⁰ Polhill wrote that they had found the attitude of the people “changed considerably,” and, “Merchants, teachers and others began to attend the services...amongst the believers too are a few Tibetans...the new Tibetan King...is very friendly with our missionaries...he lent his Summer Palace to them for the holidays.”⁷¹ The eyes of the world were turned to Tibet at this time.⁷² A long running Indo-Tibetan border dispute was used as justification by the British Empire for what became known as the Tibet (or Younghusband) Expedition of 1903-04.⁷³ The original intention was to hold “negotiations” just inside Tibetan territory, but it turned into a full-scale invasion of Lhasa.⁷⁴ It is now widely acknowledged that the border dispute was a pretence. The real reason for the expedition was fear of Russian influence in Tibetan affairs owing to clandestine communication between Tsar Nicholas II and the thirteenth Dalai Lama, Thubten Gyatso (1876-1933), through an

69 C. Polhill, *China's Millions* (1904), 17, *SOAS*.

70 J. H. Edgar.

71 C. Polhill, *China's Millions* (1904), 17, *SOAS*.

72 P. Mehra, 'In the Eyes of Its Beholders: The Younghusband Expedition (1903-04) and Contemporary Media', *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 39, No.3 (Jul, 2005), p725-739. See also the account by the special correspondent for *The Times* who accompanied the expedition. P. Landon, *The Opening of Tibet* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1905), online at: <http://archive.org/details/openingoftibetac00landrich> (last accessed July, 2013), and the personal account of Colonel Younghusband, one of the two leaders of the expedition, F. Younghusband, *India and Tibet* (London: John Murray, 1910), available online at: <http://archive.org/details/indiaandtibet025061mbp> (last accessed July, 2013). See also, Bray, 'Christian Missions...', 489-500.

73 After the name of its commander Col. Francis Younghusband (1863-1942).

74 This initial mission was dispatched to Khamba Jong. Younghusband, 86.

obscure Siberian buddhist monk.⁷⁵

Amongst Polhill's papers there are several newspaper clippings related to the expedition some of which mention the Russian factor explicitly.⁷⁶ In the "The Tibetan Outlook," however, Polhill avoids any mention Russia, referring instead to the border dispute, "...justification for this action of the British may be found in the attitude of the Tibetans during the past twelve years or so," but he continued, "...in all probability there will be no bloodshed."⁷⁷ He had written a similar article, probably published privately for members of the TPU, two months earlier entitled *Tidings from Tibet* (subsequently retained as the subtitle of his pentecostal periodical). In this he wrote about the expedition, "With the advent of 1903 the clouds seem to have begun to roll back and the dawn of fresh hope and the answer to many long delayed prayers ushered into Time would fail to discuss the right or wrong of the present expedition."⁷⁸ This awkwardly worded statement seems to indicate that he regarded the expedition as an answer to prayer, and that since it was God's will there was no point in debating its ethical justification.

4.6.1.1 Evangelicals and the Tibet Expedition

To the British Empire, officially, the expedition had nothing to do with religion, but

75 Agvan Dorjiev (1853-1938). J. Powers, *History as Propaganda* (Oxford:OUP, 2004), 81. H. Hundley, 'Tibet's part in the great game (Agvan Dorjiev)', *History Today* Vol.43 (Oct, 1993), 45-50. A. McKay, *Tibet and The British Raj* (Richmond, UK: Curzon Press, 1997), 12. See also, Younghusband, 84, 96 and 154.

76 Such as the headline, 'Tibetans Will Appeal to Russia' in a clipping from an unidentified newspaper, dated 21 January 1904; another two clippings from *The Times* dated 28 January 1904, seeks to dispel, 'alarmist rumours' of Russian agents in Lhasa; and finally an extensive article entitled 'The Advance Into Tibet, Attitude of Russia', consisting of a summary of papers presented to parliament on the subject, in *The Standard*, dated 8 February 1904.

77 C. Polhill writing in *China's Millions* (1904), 17, *SOAS*; E. MacKenzie to Polhill, 28 January 1904, *PCO*. MacKenzie, of the Scottish Guild Mission in Kalimpong, echoed this view writing, "...the Tibetans will not stand up to our troops for long and then things should speedily come right."

78 C. Polhill, *Tidings from Tibet* manuscript, c. December 1903, *PCO*.

evangelical missionaries had wittingly or unwittingly found themselves amongst the ranks of the expedition. The former leader of the TPM, Annie Taylor, joined the expedition as a voluntary nurse.⁷⁹ In addition David MacDonald, the convert from Tibetan Buddhism who had previously helped Polhill with his language textbook, accompanied the expedition as an interpreter.⁸⁰ Furthermore one of the officers Polhill had met in Sichuan in 1899, Captain Ryder, had joined the expedition as a survey officer.⁸¹ Given that he had hoped there would be no bloodshed, Polhill would have taken no pleasure in the news of what many interpreted in Britain as a massacre of Tibetans.⁸² There was, however, little doubt that he was a patriot, and it was not in his nature to criticise an expedition of the British Empire. He was too close to the Establishment having been an officer himself, from a family of officers and politicians, and having been to Eton where he would have associated with many of the country's future leaders.

4.6.1.2 The Effects of the Tibet Expedition

The immediate effect of the expedition on Christian mission was negative. The town of Kalimpong (where Polhill had trained the TMB) was situated near the disputed border in Sikkim. A leading missionary, Evan MacKenzie (also formerly of the TMB), complained to Polhill in 1903 that all the “coolies” had disappeared to work for the expedition leaving no one to evangelise.⁸³ The last hope for christian missionaries was a treaty that would force the Tibetan authorities, like similar treaties

79 Landon, 479.

80 Fader, *Vol. I*, 199.

81 *Memoirs*, 158, *PCO* cf. Landon, 457 and Younghusband, 156-7, 183.

82 Mehra, 731. Annie Taylor, who accompanied as a volunteer nurse, struck a defensive note in *The Morning Post*, “I hear that there is a rumour in England that Colonel F. E. Younghusband's Mission to Thibet is a ‘blood thirsty’ expedition. This is anything but the truth, for the uttermost consideration is shown to the people, and down this valley they are reaping a harvest of rupees, and not bullets as reported.” Tibet Newspaper Clippings, 1903-1904, *PCO*.

83 Evan MacKenzie Circular Oct-Dec 1903, *PCO*.

in Korea, Japan and China, to explicitly or implicitly permit extraterritoriality for christian missionaries.⁸⁴ Polhill wrote, “One cannot but see that, in the past, such means have been used by God to accomplish His purposes and to remove barriers to the progress of His Gospel,” but by the time the expedition reached Lhasa (August 1904) the Dalai Lama had fled to Mongolia which eliminated the chances of a treaty carrying any widespread authority.⁸⁵ The might of the British Empire turned against a tiny religious hermit state did not make for a popular “war,” and the expedition has since been rated, “...the most pointless of British India's military adventures.”⁸⁶ There was no establishment of a permanent consul in Lhasa, and no clause permitting extraterritoriality to missionaries in the resulting treaty.⁸⁷ The British authorities subsequently discouraged mission to Tibet for fear of destabilising the region and for the missionaries' own safety, so the expedition achieved little in the way of help for mission and probably worsened the missionaries' chances of evangelising Tibet.⁸⁸ This partly explains why the executive of the CIM were so very reticent to support any mission to Tibet, and as a result Polhill had to bide his time and occupy himself with domestic activity.

84 The Convention of Kanagawa 1854, between America and Japan, did not include a clause regarding missionaries but did establish a permanent consul in Japan; The Treaty of Tientsin 1860 included a clause granting extraterritoriality to missionaries. The Chemulpo Treaty of 1882 included a clause granting American missionaries the right to preach.

85 Polhill writing in *China's Millions* (1904), 17 cf. Younghusband, 267-268 and E. Sperling, 'The Chinese Venture in K'am, 1904-1911, and the role of Chao Erh-Feng' in A. McKay ed. *THT* Vol.III, 72.

86 Mehra, 728

87 Convention Between Great Britain and Thibet (1904) available at the Tibet Justice Center, under 'legal' and 'Great Britain/UK' <http://www.tibetjustice.org/materials/treaties/treaties10.html> (last accessed December 2014).

88 Bray, '*Christian Mission...*', 491.

Figure 8. Cecil and Eleanor Polhill with their Children in 1904



Top left: Cecil Charles (b.1890); Top right: Arthur Henry (b.1891); Left centre: Kathleen Louisa (b.1893); Right centre: Kenneth (b.1897); Bottom left: Eleanor Mary (b.1899) and Bottom right: Cecily Eileen (b.1903).

Source: from my personal copy of Marston's *With the King* (1905), 205.

4.7 Domestic Activity from 1904

On 21 January 1904, Arthur Polhill wrote to his brother, “Hallelujah again for your last letter! I read it to Parsons and Beauchamp & they are delighted to hear of the Cambridge Revival.”⁸⁹ This probably referred to the Cambridge mission of Keswick-regular Hanmer William ‘Prebendary’ Webb-Peploe (1837-1923). His mission at Cambridge during the autumn term of 1903 drew comparisons with the Moody mission of 1882.⁹⁰ Pollock outlined why he believed Peploe's mission was more successful than others, “What was fresh was the spirit of prayer and expectancy. The Daily Prayer Meetings were better attended than for years, and in the week previous to the Mission groups were meeting in nearly every college each night.”⁹¹ Polhill was very much a part of this having held meetings and prayer meeting in Cambridge since 1902. Throughout 1904, however, news of Cambridge faded from Polhill's letters as family matters, such as the illnesses of his son and wife, increasingly occupied his time.⁹² Polhill began using his time closer to home to conduct mission in Bedford. In June 1904, Arthur wrote, “so pleased to get two letters from you last mail – telling of...mission in Bedford.”⁹³ By the end of 1904, Polhill was funding a dedicated “missioner”, George Kendall, at the Costin Street Mission Hall (CSMH) in Bedford.⁹⁴ This mission would subsequently become the primary, pre-denominational, pentecostal church in Bedford. Kendall ministered from the CSMH between 1902-

89 Arthur Polhill to C. Polhill, 21 January 1904, *PCO*.

90 Pollock, *Cambridge Movement*, 150.

91 Ibid.

92 For example, Arthur Polhill to C. Polhill, 30 January 1904, *PCO*.

93 Arthur Polhill to C. Polhill, 20 June 1904, *PCO*.

94 Missioner George Kendall. Usher, ‘*The Patron...*’, 45-47. He first appears in Polhill's financial records on 14 November 1904. *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), 28, *PCO*. When I wrote about Kendall in 2012, I knew very little about him. This section of the thesis builds considerably on our understanding of Kendall and the pre-pentecostal activity CSMH.

1910.⁹⁵ Polhill bought the hall in 1906, and this control meant that he was able to ensure the ministry transitioned from what appears to have been an independent holiness mission to Pentecostalism.⁹⁶ The CSMH became the most stable centre of early Pentecostalism in Bedford.

4.7.1 Background and Context of the Costin Street Mission Hall

The CSMH was built in 1892 as the Bedford United Mission Hall.⁹⁷ It was occasionally referred to as the “Victoria Hall,” but in most instances from the turn of the century it was known as the Costin Street Mission Hall.⁹⁸ The CSMH was built as a Nonconformist centre for evangelising those who were lower on the social scale.⁹⁹ Everything about Polhill's natural circumstances, as a part of the educated elite, from an historic landed family of politically conservative Anglicans (or Anglo-Catholics), should have predisposed him to more exclusive manifestations of Christianity. His years with the CIM, however, had made him thoroughly Evangelical. His priority was saving souls rather than denominational allegiance, so he appears to have “pleased himself ecclesiastically,” and this is why he funded George Kendall's ministry at the CSMH.¹⁰⁰

95 The disappearance of Kendall from Polhill's records roughly coincides with the appearance of J. Techner and J. Phillips (two Pentecostals) being sponsored by Polhill for work at the hall. Usher, *'The Patron...'*, 46-47.

96 For £1215 on 19 December 1906 (and an earlier deposit of £135), *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), 116 (deposit) 122 (main purchase), *PCO*.

97 Building plan 'BORBP2561', available from the Bedfordshire and Luton Archive, Bedford.

98 For example, “The People's Mission” of George Kendall was advertised at “Victoria Hall,” Costin Street' in January 1905. *Bedfordshire Times & Independent* 6 January 1905, 8. Ordinance survey maps clearly show the presence of just one hall on Costin Street. The name is of uncertain origin, but it probably had something to do with the fact that it was built during Queen Victoria's reign.

99 For example, adverts in the local newspaper for the Anglican Church of St Paul included lengthy orders of service replete with Latin. *Bedfordshire Times and Independent* 4 January 1890, 5.

100 A phrase used to describe another evangelical landowner, Lord Radstock, by Austin, 213.

4.7.1.1 The Costin Street Mission Hall's Revival Heritage

Before George Kendall settled at CSMH the mission had made local news in Bedford because of the work of former Salvation Army Officer Frank Penfold (1862-1942), in 1901.¹⁰¹ The *Bedfordshire Times and Independent* reported on his work in “Mission Work in the Villages” on 7 June 1901:

Mr Frank Penfold, who, after conducting services at the Costin Street Mission Hall for some months, has been holding services in numbers of the villages...The meetings were brought to a successful termination with a large gathering in the Town Hall, on Monday evening... 'Gospel Songs of Grace and Glory' were used but the first selection announced was evidently unknown, so the Chairman invited the congregation to choose their own. The first verse of this was finishing when Mr F. Penfold and a number of others who had been holding an open-air meeting on the Market Hill arrived at the door, singing a different tune...Mr Penfold's party carried the day, and he mounted the platform still singing...The Chairman (Mr Willet) asked all present, amidst fervent 'Amens', to forget the world outside and let the Lord dwell with them...Miss [Chatham] read the 23rd Psalm, freely interspersed with helpful explanatory notes. She said the missionaries were more appreciated in the villages. Thereupon, from the audience came a voice saying, 'we are not so proud in the villages as they are in the town'.¹⁰²

There appears to have been a range of independent evangelical and holiness ministers involved in Penfold's campaign at the CSMH: Miss L. Chatham (Secretary of the Pentecostal League of Prayer, Colchester),¹⁰³ “Mr Campbell” (President of the Christian Pioneer Movement, Chicago), Rev. Washington Blackhurst who emphasised, “...the world is approaching a revival of religious sentiment of which the

¹⁰¹ Penfold was born to George and Catherine who lived in modest circumstances. *1871 Census*, s.vv. 'Penfold, George' and 'Penfold, Catherine'. George's occupation is listed as “Ag. Lab.” Which presumably stands for “agricultural labourer.” F. Penfold, *Frank Penfold – His Life Story* (London: Morgan & Scott, 1910), 20. By the age of nineteen (1881) he held the post of “footman” to Rev John G. Gregory, Incumbent of Emmanuel Church, Norfolk Terrace, Hove. *1881 Census*, s.vv. 'Penfold, Frank'. Details of the church and Gregory can be found here: <http://octaviuswinslow.org/emmanuel-church-brightonhove/> (last accessed November 2013). The church was demolished in 1965. After joining the SA, Penfold appears to have been a particularly successful evangelist. See *The War Cry* 5 February 1889, 5, and 8 October 1892, 13. Kindly provided by R. Macdonald (Archivist for the Salvation Army) email to Author, 22 November 2013.

¹⁰² *Bedfordshire Times and Independent* 7 June 1901, 6.

¹⁰³ Miss Chatham appears in R. Harris (ed) *Tongues of Fire* Vol.6/No.61, 8. Available by subscription at newspapers.com (last accessed Aug, 2013).

great Quaker and Wesleyan Methodist movements were types,” and Mr and Mrs Kendall amongst others.¹⁰⁴ The Pentecostal League of Prayer (PLP) was a wesleyan-holiness organisation founded in 1891 by Reader Harris, KC (1847-1909) “to spread Scriptural Holiness by unsectarian methods.”¹⁰⁵ Costin Street appeared in the PLP's official periodical *Tongues of Fire*, and Chatham's attendance at the Penfold mission indicates that the PLP were involved at the CSMH.¹⁰⁶ The earliest mention of George Kendall, and his wife Emma, in Bedford comes not from Polhill's financial records but in association with the Penfold meetings.¹⁰⁷ The meetings had many of the same spontaneous elements that would subsequently characterise pentecostal meetings: unrehearsed singing, impromptu teaching and verbal participation from the congregation, so it is no surprise that Polhill felt drawn to the work at the CSMH.

4.7.1.2 George J. Kendall and The Costin Street Mission Hall

George James Kendall (born circa 1866) was also a former Salvation Army officer, and like Penfold he appears to have left the SA around 1900 to pursue independent evangelism.¹⁰⁸ It is perhaps no coincidence that Penfold and Kendall left the SA at approximately the same time.¹⁰⁹ The Kendalls probably came to Bedford with Penfold

104 *Bedfordshire Times and Independent* 7 June 1901, 6. Also, D. P. Anderson, Mr Hopkins, Mr D. T. Lumsden (London), Mr D. Neil (Shetland Isles), Mr F. Fry (Rochester), Miss E. Digby (of Colchester), Miss Mastin (of Bedford), Mr S. Young and Miss K. Young (Hove).

105 Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 173 and 178.

106 There is evidence that the Pentecostal League of Prayer was using Costin Street as early as 1898, as it appears in *Tongues of Fire* under the heading “Prayer is asked [for],” 10.

107 *Bedfordshire Times and Independent* 7 June 1901, 6.

108 *1881 England Census*, s.vv. 'Kendall, Samuel'. Kendall was from Devonport, Devon. He was accepted into a Salvation Army Training Home on 20 December 1883 and dispatched to Brighton Corps as a Lieutenant in March 1884. By 1900 he was Staff-Captain at Exeter where he appears to have left the SA. 'Officers Despatched' G. Ewens (ed) *The War Cry* No.302 (2 April 1884), 4, and 'Marriages' in J. Carleton (ed) *The War Cry* No.551 (26 February, 1887), 8. Three years later he was Captain at Hastings Corps where he married Emma Cowell (sometimes known as Emily), see 'Marriages'. In 1892, he was promoted to Ensign and made Senior Secretary to the South and Mid-Wales Division, A. Nicol (ed) *The War Cry*, No.830 (18 June 1892), 9. R. Macdonald to Author, 30 August 2013.

109 It may be that Kendall and Penfold's departures from the SA came as a result of the interfamily dispute within the SA leadership A. M. Nicol, *General Booth and the Salvation Army* (London:

specifically for the purposes of his mission at the CSMH and then assumed leadership of the mission after Penfold's departure. Kendall began organising regular Sunday services at CSMH from October 1901. In addition to Sunday meetings, Kendall conducted midweek bible studies and engaged in evangelistic initiatives such as “[Musical] Concerts for the People,” with the, “the Ragged Songsters.”¹¹⁰ Kendall's populist agenda is further emphasised by the name he gave his mission at Costin Street “the People's Mission.”¹¹¹

Polhill did not officially move back into Howbury Hall until October 1903, but he had been the landlord since his brother's death in 1899, and the earliest hard evidence for his post-1900 activity in Bedford comes from 1901.¹¹² By the end of 1904, Polhill was regularly supporting Kendall financially.¹¹³ The two men shared a considerable amount of correspondence which appears to indicate a close relationship.¹¹⁴ The CSMH grew in popularity over the years, so that Kendall was able to write in July 1905, “It has been decided to renovate and enlarge the sitting accommodation of our

Herbert and Daniel, c.1911), 236. Ballington Booth seceded from the SA to create the Volunteers of America. He took most of the North American officers with him. Nicol 234-250.

110 “Concerts for the People – A series of Saturday night concerts for the people has been started at Costin Street Mission Hall...It is proposed to continue them for the benefit of working people...There is no charge for admission. The mission has lately been reorganised under the direction of very able missionaries in Mr and Mrs G. Kendall. On Sundays Mr Kendall conducts services, morning, afternoon, and evening.” *Bedfordshire Times & Independent*, 11 October 1901, 6.

111 The name of the mission as it appeared on Kendall's headed paper in virtually all of his correspondence to Polhill.

112 Eleanor Polhill described the move in Marston, *With the King*, 201. It probably came as the lease of James Edward Platt came to an end, but Polhill built a semi-detached house on Water End, just outside the road to Howbury Hall, bearing the initials 'C.H.P-T' and the date 'A.D.1901' i.e. built by Cecil Henry Polhill-Turner in 1901.

113 *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), 28, *PCO*.

114 For example, Kendall and his wife, Emma, wrote on 22 December 1904 (shortly before Polhill's wife, Eleanor, passed away), “You are being constantly remembered at the throne of Grace; not only at our prayer meetings but at our home circle and special prayer was offered this morning...May God's loving arm uphold and strengthen you and bless your suffering wife....” George and Emma Kendall to C. Polhill, 22 December 1904, *PCO*. After Eleanor passed away, Kendall arranged a memorial service at the CSMH. G. Kendall to C. Polhill, 30 January 1905, *PCO*.

hall. During the...Sunday evening we are unable to find room for the people....”¹¹⁵

Polhill eventually bought the whole building in 1906 for £1350.¹¹⁶

Other churches in Bedford benefited from Polhill's patronage, but this was an unprecedented sum.¹¹⁷ Polhill probably did this for at least two reasons. Firstly, was the revival heritage at CSMH and George Kendall's *modus operandi*. He was unpretentious, populist and pragmatic and these were sentiments that could easily resonate with Polhill's experience of being a missionary in obscure Chinese, Tibetan and Indian villages. There was no time for contemplative Christianity or elaborate Latin liturgies when people were constantly dying without Christ. This called for innovative schemes to bring the masses in like visiting revivalists and “concerts for the people,” and the gospel message had to be uncomplicated enough for the poor and uneducated to understand as quickly as possible, “forget the world outside and let the Lord dwell [with you].”¹¹⁸ The second reason Polhill invested so heavily in the CSMH is probably more circumstantial. The CSMH just happened to be geographically close to his country manor. He could no longer be a full-time missionary on the Tibetan border, so he was clearly determined to invest in mission wherever he could, and that meant promoting the most innovative and effective churches in his immediate vicinity. In spite of Polhill's social position he seemed to show favouritism for Nonconformity. This open mindedness was what made Polhill

115 G. Kendall to C. Polhill, 4 July 1905, *PCO*.

116 G. Kendall to C. Polhill, £1215 on 19 December 1906 (and an earlier deposit of £135), *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), 116 (deposit) 122 (main purchase), *PCO*. He paid the deposit to Mr William Willet who is probably the same Mr Willet named as Chair at Frank Penfold's meeting in the 1901 newspaper article. *Bedfordshire Times and Independent* 7 June 1901, 6.

117 For example, Rev. C. E. Meadows for Organist's salary Renhold (Anglican); Bishop E. R. Hassé was minister of Bedford St Luke Moravian church (then known as St Peter's), 1894-1906; and W. J. Sears Baptist Church Fund, Willesden. *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), 6 (25 March 1904), 80 (9 December 1905) and 126 (8 January 1907) respectively, *PCO*. With thanks to Lorraine Parsons (archivist for the Moravians) for the information about Bishop Hassé in an email to the Author, 23 May 2013.

118 *Bedfordshire Times and Independent* 7 June 1901, 6.

so comfortable associating with the pentecostal movement. At the same time as Polhill began patronising Kendall, in late 1904, the Welsh revival was sweeping through Wales. Polhill was increasingly interested in revival movements, and the events in Wales had a particularly deep impact on his life.¹¹⁹

4.8 The Welsh Revival of 1904

A mixture of complex international, national and local influences converged to instigate what would become known as the Welsh revival of 1904.¹²⁰ A former miner, Evan Roberts (1878-1951), was a key personality in the phenomenon.¹²¹ Roberts had an intense spiritual experience at Blaenannerch, in 1904, which was one in a series of experiences that eventually culminated in his resignation from training for formal ministry to take up itinerant evangelism.¹²² The meetings that Roberts led all over Wales saw many tens of thousands converted and frequent ecstatic occurrences very similar to, or arguably identical to, those that occurred at the emergence of the pentecostal movement.¹²³ The revival's influence did not stop at British shores. News travelled to India where the Indian christian social reformer Pandita Ramabai (1858-

119 I also address the Welsh revival briefly in my 2012 article on Polhill, but this thesis provides more detail, more context and a crucial new finding regarding Polhill's post-Wales ecstaticism. Usher, *'Patron of the Pentecostals...'*, 44-45.

120 For example, Moody conducted meetings in Wales in 1875 and Reuben Torrey and Charles Alexander held meetings in Cardiff in 1904. The work of Welshmen John Pugh and Seth and Frank Joshua were also important contributions. These are just the explicitly evangelistic precursors. E. Evans, *The Welsh Revival of 1904* paperback edition (Foxton: Burlington Press, 1974) 17-27.

121 He had been in preparatory school in 1904 ahead of training for the Calvinistic Methodist Church, in Newcastle Emlyn, when he heard of a series of revival meetings being conducted by Seth Joshua. Evans 49-62; cf. D. Phillips, *Evan Roberts* (Weston Rhyn: Qunita Press, 2004), 85. This version is available online at: http://quintapress.macmate.me/PDF_Books/Phillips_Evan_Roberts.pdf (last accessed November 2013)

122 Evans, 68-71. He calculated that his savings of £200 would support an evangelistic band of ten workers for more than half a year.

123 Phillips has attempted to enumerate the converts, 455-463. Anderson, *Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 36. Roberts often used a very simple four point exhortation: (1) Confess openly and fully to God any sin not confessed to him before; (2) Remove anything doubtful in our lives; (3) Give prompt obedience to the influences of the Holy Spirit in the heart; and (4) Confess Christ openly and publicly before the world. Modified slightly but almost verbatim from Phillips, 195.

1922) was encouraged by reports of the events in Wales. Shortly afterwards Ramabai began prayer circles at her orphanage in Kedgaon, near Pune, which resulted in ecstatic manifestations identical to those which would occur at the Azusa Street mission in 1906.¹²⁴ One of the two earliest missionaries of the PMU would subsequently work at Ramabai's orphanage.¹²⁵ According to Polhill, "At the time of the Welsh Revival, the Lord gave me just one of His 'touches'...The Indian Revival was followed with great interest and thankfulness."¹²⁶ Other important pentecostal pioneers influenced by the Welsh revival include: Frank Bartleman, T. B. Barratt and Alexander Boddy.¹²⁷ Polhill was aware of the revival at least as early as January 1905, as he sent £10 as a donation to Roberts with an offer of a "weeks' rest" at his country estate.¹²⁸ Roberts' secretary, Rev. D. Mardy Davies, replied from Pontcymmer, Wales, with thanks for the donation on 2 February 1905, but he declined the invitation.¹²⁹ There is no evidence that Polhill personally travelled to Wales in 1905, but there is good evidence that he attended the Keswick 1905 "revival convention."¹³⁰

124 Anderson, *To the Ends of the Earth*, 27. cf. N. McNicol, *Pandita Ramabai* (London: Student Christian Movement, 1926), 116.

125 Lucy James.

126 Polhill, *A China Missionary's Witness* (1908), Donald Gee Archive, Mattersey Hall, Doncaster.

127 News of the Welsh Revival was spread around Los Angeles particularly through the first-hand accounts of the English baptist minister F. B. Meyer; also through the pamphleting of Frank Bartleman and through the testimonies of the English Baptist, based in Los Angeles, Joseph Smale. Welch, 135- 142 cf. Evans, 150; Boddy visited Wales after an unsuccessful attempt to get Roberts to visit his parish, Wakefield, 76-77. Handley Moule, Bishop of Durham, had recommended that all his clergy to visit the revival.

128 *Cash Book 1904-1910*, 46, *PCO*. The offer has to be inferred from the response below.

129 D. M. Davies to C. Polhill, 2 February 1905, *PC*. Davies had been recruited by Roberts to deal with the large amount of correspondence he began receiving. Phillips, 260.

130 Firstly, he is known to have attended at least twice in the recent past, 1902 and 1904. *The Keswick Week* (1902), 207 and (1904), 203. Secondly, in 1905, he made several Keswick-related donations. For example: "Perks, Miss E. Keswick Mission Substitution Fund Winchester Soldier's Home" (1 May 1905); "Budd, J. T. Keswick Mission Substitutes Fund" (2 May 1905); "Paske, Mrs A. Donation towards Mr Kendall's visit Keswick" (3 July 1905) and "Contribution towards C. F. tea at Keswick" (15 July 1905). *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), 56, 62 and 64 respectively, *PCO*. Thirdly, in August 1905, shortly after the Keswick week (22-30 July), Polhill was staying at Elie on the east coast of Scotland, so he probably attended Keswick before continuing north to holiday in the weeks after the convention. *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), 66, *PCO*. Finally, his two friends and Cambridge Seven colleagues, Bishop Cassels and Montague Beauchamp, who

4.8.1 Keswick “Revival Convention” Controversy (1905)

The so-called “revival convention” came not only in the midst of the Welsh revival, but also in the middle of a popular national evangelistic campaign by Reuben A. Torrey (1856-1928) and Charles M. Alexander (1867-1920) the successors of D. L. Moody and Ira Sankey.¹³¹ Polhill personally donated £50 to the Torrey-Alexander campaign later in 1905.¹³² Roberts himself did not attend Keswick in 1905, but a delegation of three hundred Welsh representatives attended for what would turn out to be one of the best attended years in the convention's history. The subsequent controversy split commentators into two groups: those who were disappointed that Keswick did not fully embrace the revival, and those who felt that Keswick was right to reject “false fire,” or a purely manufactured human revival.¹³³ The conventions annual publication illustrated these differing responses, “Increasing growth in fervour and intensity marked the progress of the [Keswick] Convention [1905] which, ere it closed, had become *Pentecostal* [original italics] in the experience of large numbers who were present.”¹³⁴ There were, however, signs of reservation:

...the [Keswick] meeting broke into waves of voice. But it was mainly from those who were plainly used to such opportunities of expression, and it was felt as a distinct guidance for the rest of the week, how to lead the very evident readiness of expression into deeper channels. “We long for the Fire, and in our eagerness for it, may there be no touch of false fire.” - was the heart cry of

were on furlough attended Keswick in 1905. *The Keswick Week* (1905), 209-211 cf. M. Beauchamp to C. Polhill, 9 July 1904 and W. Cassels to C. Polhill, 9 February 1905, *PCO*.

131 “The Convention of 1905 will ever be memorable as the Revival Convention...” J. R. in the “Conclusion” section of *The Keswick Week 1905* (London: Marshall Brothers, 1905), 219 cf. Phillips, 16.

132 Usher, *The Patron...*, 44-45.

133 Pollock, writing sixty years later, was conservative in his estimation of the Welsh influence at Keswick and quite critical, “To Hopkins [one of the Keswick trustees] and others the cries and songs had a professional touch: the Welsh, not the Holy Spirit, were turning Keswick revivalist.” Pollock, *Keswick Story*, 124.

134 I.B. in the preface to *The Keswick Week 1905*. Interestingly it is at the intersection of Holiness and revival that Dayton, Anderson and Faupel locate the beginning of the pentecostalisation of language within the holiness movement. They trace this to a revival in Northeast USA during 1857-58. Anderson, *Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 27; Faupel, 74 and Dayton, 11.

those responsible.¹³⁵

Ecstatic manifestations occurred at Keswick 1905 to the extent that some felt it was out of control, so Keswick speaker A. T. Pierson (1837-1911) accompanied by two or three Welsh leaders quelled some of the rowdier meetings.¹³⁶ Notions of propriety prevented the Keswick convention from moving beyond reflective Holiness, and these same notions would subsequently lead the Keswick leadership to distance themselves from the fledgling pentecostal movement.¹³⁷ The controversy at Keswick 1905 was really a disagreement over the nature of revival and the role reserved for human agency.

4.8.1.1 Revival and Revivalism

There was a reluctant party at Keswick suspicious of anything that seemed manufactured.¹³⁸ Strict Calvinism clearly influenced this party who left little or no room for human agency. For them a revival had to be, “an event which was...the direct unpredictable work of God.”¹³⁹ Revivalism, by contrast, allowed room for human agency in stirring revival. The classic summary of revivalist views can be found in *Lectures on Revivals of Religion* (1835) by the North American Presbyterian and holiness adherent Charles Finney.¹⁴⁰ Finney outlined what measures people could

135 S.M.N in the Introduction to *The Keswick Week 1905*.

136 The fact that Pierson was joined by two or three Welsh leaders is significant cf. D. L. Robert, *Occupy Until I Come* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2003), 61. Exactly what kind of ecstatic manifestations occurred is not entirely clear. Some have inferred (such as Roberts) that tongues were spoken, but there is no consistent evidence of this, and others (such as Cartwright) state that the Welsh were merely praying fervently in their own language which was misunderstood as tongues. Robert, 262. Pierson was also critical of the ecstatic occurrences at the Mukti orphanage in India. Anderson, *Ends of the Earth*, 103.

137 The Keswick periodical, *The Life of Faith*, published the notoriously anti-pentecostal Berlin Declaration (1909). According to Worsfold citing “*Life of Faith* 10 Nov 1909.” J. Worsfold, *The Origin of the Apostolic Church* (Wellington: Julian Literature Trust, 1991), 37.

138 S.M.N in the Introduction to *The Keswick Week 1905* cf. Pollock, ‘*The Keswick Story*’, 119-128.

139 J. Kent, *Holding the Fort: Studies in Victorian Revivalism* (London: Epworth, 1978).

140 C. Finney, *Lectures of Revivals of Religion* (originally published in 1835); for the free online edition: (Albany: Books for the Ages, 1997):

take to help promote revivals, how to conduct meetings and other methods employing human means.¹⁴¹ Polhill would have almost certainly felt disappointed that the revival did not catch on at the Keswick convention of 1905, and there is evidence amongst his papers that he was a committed revivalist.

4.8.1.2 Polhill and Revivalism

In 1906, CIM missionary J. C. Hall wrote to Polhill from China thanking him for a copy of his late wife's biography. He also wrote, "It dawns upon me that I have also to thank you for the kind gift of the *Revival Sermons in Outline* as the writing in it is exactly the same as in *With the King* [Eleanor Polhill's biography]." ¹⁴² Assuming Hall was correct, we can infer a great deal about Polhill's stance on revivalism from this book. Its full title is *Revival Sermons in Outline: With Thoughts, Themes and Plans: By Eminent Pastors and Evangelists* edited by Rev. Dr. Christopher Perren (1902), and it is divided into two sections: the first section deals with what can be termed revival theory and explores the relationship between divine and human agency, giving practical advice regarding the preparation and execution of revival meetings. The second section is a series of sermon outlines provided by "eminent pastors and evangelists" including: George Whitfield, D. L. Moody, Charles Spurgeon, Reuben Torrey and Charles Finney. ¹⁴³ Chapter two of part one opens with a thought that sums up the position of the revivalist, "Many years ago there were persons who believed a revival was a miracle, hence human agency was as powerless to produce one as to produce tempest or sunshine. Few Christians of the present day will accept this

http://www.bivosmallchurch.net/books/lectures_on_revival.pdf.

141 There are of course dangers in the extremes of both understandings of the nature of revival. Strict Calvinists risked being seen as unemotional, unenthusiastic and spiritually dead whereas revivalists risked reducing religious phenomena to formulas which required little or no divine agency.

142 J. C. Hall to C. Polhill, 14 June 1906, *PCO*.

143 C. Perren ed. *Revival Sermons in Outline* (Toronto: Fleming, 1902) available online: http://archive.org/stream/MN41795ucmf_3#page/n3/mode/2up (last accessed December 2013).

theory; for the history of revivals demonstrates that spiritual results as a rule are according to the right use of appropriate means.”¹⁴⁴ The theory section of Perren's book also contains a chapter from Finney, “Revivals – How to Promote Them,” which has been taken verbatim from Finney's own 1835 book on revivalism.¹⁴⁵ If Polhill did indeed send this book then it would be safe to assume he was not only largely in agreement with the views it contained but also willing to promote them by sending the book to others. It would help explain why he readily funded evangelistic endeavours so extensively including early Pentecostalism. Polhill's interest in revivals went beyond reading reports and offering financial assistance. He had, since 1885, been interested in charismatic experiences, so he personally travelled to Wales, in 1906, to witness the revival for himself.

4.8.2 Polhill's Visit to Wales and Subsequent Ecstasism (1906)

A postcard amongst Polhill's papers indicates that he was staying at the Station Hotel, Cym Y Glo, Gwynedd, Caernarvonshire, North Wales, at the same time as Evan Roberts was conducting his Caernarvonshire mission between 6 December-14 January 1906.¹⁴⁶ In addition, there are at least two post-January 1906 letters found amongst Polhill's papers that indicate he had written to others about his experiences in Wales. On 26 February 1906, E. A. Botham wrote from China of meetings being conducted in Zhili province similar to those witnessed by Polhill in Wales, “News had lately reached them of a great movement in Ts'ang cheo (in this province). It had broken out amongst the native Christians quite spontaneously and the whole church was revived. They were having just such meetings as you have been seeing in

¹⁴⁴ J. Gordon in Perren ed., 17.

¹⁴⁵ C. Finney in Perren ed., 47-50 cf. Finney, *Revival Sermons*, 251-256.

¹⁴⁶ Alternatively spelled Caernarfonshire or Caernarvonshire. Usher, ‘*The Patron...*’, 44.

Wales.”¹⁴⁷ The second letter is from his brother, Arthur, in Sichuan, who wrote in April 1906, “So I have not yet got your letter telling of your visit to Wales.”¹⁴⁸

Exactly where Polhill heard Roberts in Caernarvonshire is unclear, but his time there was a formative experience for him. Shortly after returning from Wales, Polhill had a hitherto unprecedented ecstatic experience. He subsequently wrote about the experience to his brother, and a great deal about it can be inferred in Arthur's reply:

I never said very much in reply to your letter in the Spring - Containing the account of your uncontrollable laughter in prayer meeting; I waited to hear of further developments - A letter yesterday from sister Alice in Australia on the subject - saying she felt uneasy upon your behalf fearing that your zeal possibly led you perhaps beyond the line - & the fact that it turned many people against your method suggest reconsidering the position - I'm told the results amongst the unconverted have not been large & now it forms a split amongst the Lord's own people. We read in the Epistle to the Corinthians of the gift of tongues & its dangers - & confusions. From observation I have noticed how the most earnest Christians are tempted to go into excess - as Harry Marston joining the Agapemony [sic] - & we remember our own youthful experiences on the Han River!¹⁴⁹ Now over 21 years ago! & we know that the devil comes also as an angel of light to tempt us....I have had two sad cases of religious earnestness leading to mental trouble...These tragedies were all enacted under the impression of being filled with the Spirit.¹⁵⁰

Arthur merely refers to a “prayer meeting,” but this is likely to be referring to either Cambridge or Bedford. Significantly Polhill's cash book records a payment on 26 February 1906 which may refer to the prayer meeting in question, “C. T. Anderson - Hire of room for prayer mtg (Bromham Rd)” in Bedford.¹⁵¹ It is possible that Polhill spoke in tongues which would make this one of the earliest recorded instances of the

147 Also known as Chili. It no longer exists as a separate province being merged into Beijing and Hebei in the 1920s. E. A. Botham (probably E. A. Barclay Botham) to C. Polhill, 25 February 1906, *PCO*.

148 Arthur Polhill to C. Polhill, 12 April 1906, *PCO*.

149 This would seem to confirm Roger Steer's anecdote about C. T. Studd and the Polhill brothers setting aside their Chinese grammar books, and praying for the Pentecostal gift of Mandarin in 1885. Steer, 288; cf. McGee, *Taking the logic...*, 105.

150 A. Polhill to C. Polhill, 21 September [1906], *PCO*. Although the letter is undated it is almost certainly 1906 for two main reasons: (1) Arthur makes reference to their going out to China “over 21 years ago” – they departed for China in February 1885: (2) There are no letters in the Polhill Collection from Arthur dating any later than November 1906. This would mean Polhill had written to his brother in Spring 1906 shortly after his trip to Wales.

151 *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), 88, *PCO*.

twentieth century, in the British Isles, but Arthur may just have been using Paul's teaching on tongues as a standard for all ecstatic manifestations. The account of uncontrollable laughter bears a striking resemblance to Polhill's subsequent experience of uncontrollable laughter in Los Angeles in 1908, "...[I] was twice filled with holy laughter and sent to the floor. Then the Lord spoke through me in a new tongue, making use of body and hands in gesture, for about a minute."¹⁵² The difference between Polhill's post-Wales experience, in 1906, and his Los Angeles experience, in 1908, is that he stated categorically in the latter instance that he spoke in tongues, but there was still significant continuity between the two experiences. Polhill was clearly familiar with ecstatic outbursts long before he visited Los Angeles. Arthur's reference to the agapemone community, a pseudo-christian sex cult, serves to illustrate the kind of extreme over reaction conservative Evangelicals could have towards any sort of unusual spiritual expressions, and especially those claimed to be led by the Holy Spirit.¹⁵³ Aspersions like these may also help explain why Polhill chose to remain single after the death of his wife i.e. by remaining chaste he demonstrated his moral calibre. Throughout this period of revival activity Polhill never forgot about Tibet, and he began to consider revisiting the region.

4.9 The Decline of Mission on the Sino-Tibetan Border

The British Expedition to Tibet 1903-04 did not result in the opening of the region to the gospel. Within two years the British had drawn up another treaty returning Tibet

¹⁵² Polhill, *A China Missionary's Witness*, PCO.

¹⁵³ Agapemone, or the Abode of Love, was an archetypal psuedo-christian sex cult. It was started by Henry James Prince (1811-1899), a defrocked clergyman, who convinced his followers that he was the embodiment of the Holy Ghost and the son of God thus extorting money from them to build a large and lavish walled community in Spaxton. He subsequently engaged in polygamy and shocking sexual abuses. Prince's successor, John Hugh Smyth-Piggot, declared himself Jesus Christ reincarnate. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 170 cf. Utopia Britannica, British Utopian Experiments 1325- 1945, 'The Abode of Love' available at: <http://www.utopia-britannica.org.uk/pages/abode%20of%20love.htm> (last accessed December 2013).

to the Chinese Empire.¹⁵⁴ Even by March 1905, six months after the expedition had left Lhasa, there was no great opening. A former member of the TMB, Edward Amundsen, wrote to Polhill from Yunnan in 1905, “Letter from Miss Fredrickson just to hand mentions that Mr V[...] had spoken with Mr [John] Claud White [the British Political Officer for Sikkim] about missionaries being allowed to enter Tibet. He had of course said there was no prospect.”¹⁵⁵ British officials would not give their consent to missionaries wishing to enter Tibet because it was still internally unstable. For example, CIM missionary Emma I. Upcraft wrote to Polhill in April 1905, “A recent Daily news tells of the murder of the Chinese Ambassador by Tibetans near Batang. Another had been killed at the same place not long before.”¹⁵⁶ This referred to a riot that erupted at Batang, Sichuan, in March 1905 over plans by the Chinese to restrict the powers of the lamas and to begin developing parts of Sichuan still ruled by local chieftains under the *tusi* system.¹⁵⁷ The “Chinese Ambassador” who was murdered probably referred to Feng Chuan, the assistant Amban, who was killed as he tried to escape Batang along with two Catholic priests and many Chinese soldiers.¹⁵⁸ In spite of these difficulties, Polhill remained committed to the idea of evangelising the region. From at least June 1906 he began to consider revisiting the Sino-Tibetan border himself. The motivation for this decision seems to be the general decline of the Tibetan work. For example, his colleague on the London home council, Joseph Vale, summarised the state of affairs in March 1906:

Re Tibet ...if you could go yourself and see once and for all what you think

154 Convention Between Great Britain and China Respecting Tibet (1906) in 'Legal Materials on Tibet', Tibet Justice Center online: <http://www.tibetjustice.org/materials/treaties/treaties11.html> (last accessed December 2013).

155 Claud had been part of the Tibet Expedition. E. Amundsen to C. Polhill 21 March 1905, *PC*.

156 E. I. Upcraft to C. Polhill, 27 April 1905, *PCO*.

157 A political system whereby traditional chieftains of ethnic minorities were permitted to retain their traditional authority under the Chinese Emperor. M. Goldstein, 'Change, Conflict and Continuity Among a Community of Nomadic Pastoralists' in R. Barnett and S. Aknir ed. *Resistance and Reform in Tibet* (London: C. Hurst & Co., 1994), 80.

158 Sperling, 72 and 73.

about it it might be more satisfactory. I rather think that the thing is about dead anyway. Mr Edgar is pronounced by the Doctors as unfit for Tibet (heart disease) Mr Hoste (so I gathered) will not hear of Mr Muir or Mr Couters leaving the Chinese work and Mr Moyes has left the mission. This only leaves Sorensen who is fully occupied with Chinese work – the door of Tibet I should gather too is more firmly shut than ever.¹⁵⁹

While Hudson Taylor had been CIM director he had proactively supported Polhill and his passion for evangelising the region, but with the death of Hudson Taylor in June 1905 the patience and goodwill in the CIM for mission to Tibet seemed to dissipate.¹⁶⁰

4.9.1 Short-Term Return to the Sino-Tibetan Border (1907)

In 1907, Polhill was finally compelled to travel to China after hearing the news of the death of his sister-in-law, but by this time the new CIM director, Dixon Hoste, was beginning to make his disapproval of mission to Tibet unequivocal.¹⁶¹ Hoste addressed the Shanghai council on 28 January 1907 as follows:

...on the subject of extending the work on the Thibetan border which had been proposed by Mr Cecil Polhill, Mr Hoste mentioned that he had written to Mr Polhill and, also, to Mr Sloan, asking them not to proceed with this proposal, as in the judgment of Mr Stevenson and himself, the facts as relating to the general situation on the Thibetan frontier did not justify a forward movement at present. Mr Hoste had expressed the hope that Mr Polhill should, if possible, come out to China, and visit the region in question with a view to, in consultation with Mr Stevenson and himself, forming a more mature judgment on the whole subject.¹⁶²

Worse was yet to come as Hoste and his deputy director, John Stevenson, went on to write an article in *China's Millions* bluntly discouraging anyone from attempting mission to Tibet. They decried the country's remoteness, its political instability, the small “semi-barbarous tribes,” the many dialects spoken and Chinese bureaucratic

159 J. Vale to C. Polhill, 29 March 1906, *PCO*.

160 Hudson Taylor died in China on 2 June 1905. Austin, 458.

161 Marcus Wood to C. Polhill, 12 January 1907, *PCO*.

162 *Minutes of the Shanghai Council of the CIM*, 28 January 1907, 379-381, *SOAS*.

obstructions.¹⁶³ Polhill, who almost certainly disagreed with Hoste and Stevenson, was being publicly undermined, but he had also learned by this stage that the pentecostal revival was well underway in Los Angeles.¹⁶⁴ He departed England, with Walter B. Sloan (the secretary of the CIM), for China on 9 February 1907 and arrived at Shanghai on 25 March.¹⁶⁵ He sat on council meetings in Shanghai, in April, and attended the China Centenary Missionary Conference.¹⁶⁶ Mission to Tibet, from within the CIM, was now a remote possibility, so Polhill turned his attention to the revival in Los Angeles.

4.10 The Rise of *Xenolalia* (Missionary Tongues)

There are numerous ways in which the emergence of the revival in Los Angeles can be interpreted and explained, but one of the most important influences was that of *xenolalia* (missionary tongues). During one of Polhill's most difficult experiences, as a missionary in China, he had expressed a desire for the gifts of the Holy Spirit.¹⁶⁷ In the same way, as the missionary movement progressed more slowly than expected, there emerged a growing desire amongst Evangelicals for tangible signs of the supernatural. Many concluded, as Polhill had done in 1885, that the gift of *xenolalia* would be made available to help galvanise the missionary movement.¹⁶⁸ In 1895, Walter S. Black, a Canadian baptist minister, along with his wife, Frances, and seventeen-year-old M. Jennie Glassey believed they had received such *xenolalia* in

¹⁶³ *China's Million* (1907), 57, *SOAS*.

¹⁶⁴ Polhill wrote, "Just before leaving on a year's re-visit to China [in 1907]...news of the movement in Los Angeles reached England." Polhill, *A China Missionary's Witness*, 1.

¹⁶⁵ See *China's Millions* (1907), 40, *SOAS*, for their departure, and *Minutes of the Shanghai Council of the CIM* 15 April, 1907, 392 for their arrival date, *SOAS*.

¹⁶⁶ *Minutes of the Shanghai Council of the CIM*: 15 April 1907, 388; 16 April 1907, 391, and 17 April 1907, 394, *SOAS*.

¹⁶⁷ As he sheltered with missionaries in the Chongqing Yamen after a riot in 1886. *China's Millions* (1886), 128, *SOAS*.

¹⁶⁸ McGee, *Shortcut*, 118 cf. Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 40.

the form of several African dialects.¹⁶⁹ They travelled to Africa to practice their new languages, and on their return enthralled audiences with stories of their *xenolalic* experiences. One of their correspondents was Frank W. Sanford (1862-1948) who was leader of the Shiloh community and the Holy Ghost and Us Bible School in Durham, Maine.¹⁷⁰ Sanford published the news in his periodical believing the experience of the Blacks and Glassey to be the evidence of God pouring out his Spirit for the evangelisation of the world.¹⁷¹ This was read by an independent healing evangelist, Charles F. Parham (1873-1929), who later visited Sanford's school where he heard tongues for the first time.¹⁷² Parham decided to start his own school, and by December 1900 he and his students became convinced that God had given them the gift of *xenolalia* to evangelise the world.¹⁷³ Parham was an adherent of the growing trend for third blessing theology in the holiness movement.¹⁷⁴ He believed there was a further, third, experience after conversion and sanctification. This third experience was identified as the baptism in the Holy Spirit, and Parham taught that speaking in tongues was the indispensable sign that a believer had attained this baptism.¹⁷⁵

4.10.1 William Seymour and the Azusa Street Revival

One of Parham's students, African-American William Seymour (1870-1922), began leading a prayer group in a friend's home on Bonnie Brae Street in Los Angeles early in 1906.¹⁷⁶ Ecstatic manifestations followed, and by April 1906 the group had negotiated a lease on a vacant methodist-episcopal church hall situated at 312 Azusa

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, 119.

¹⁷⁰ McGee, '*Taking the Logic...*', 116. Goff, 57.

¹⁷¹ Goff, 67-68.

¹⁷² Ibid, 59-61.

¹⁷³ Ibid, 66-67.

¹⁷⁴ Faupel, 209 cf. Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 40.

¹⁷⁵ Anderson, *Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 34.

¹⁷⁶ Robeck, 64.

Street.¹⁷⁷ They launched their own periodical, *The Apostolic Faith*, and in its first issue published the headline “Pentecost Has Come.”¹⁷⁸ For some years the ground had been prepared for the revival at Azusa Street, as a “spirit of expectancy” had gripped the evangelical world for a seismic event of this nature.¹⁷⁹ Through a chain of events, the Azusa Street mission revival became a catalyst for pentecostal revival all over Western Europe.¹⁸⁰ The CIM may well have stopped supporting Polhill's plans for Tibet, but he was about to have a pentecostal experience, in Los Angeles, that would revitalise and change the direction of his life. On the 10 December 1907, Polhill left China for England via Los Angeles to witness the pentecostal revival for himself.¹⁸¹

4.11 Conclusion

The years between 1900-1907 are probably the most poorly understood years of Polhill's life. A review of existing research reveals something of a “black hole” for this period, yet what transpired in these years became crucially significant for his trajectory in subsequent years. Polhill's correspondence demonstrates that he wrestled with the question of returning to Tibet, but his options were extremely limited. He was forced to do what he could to promote mission from the UK. He became probably one the country's foremost promoters of mission to Tibet during these years, and his support for the *Beyond the Threshold* periodical anticipated the support he would subsequently provide to the *Confidence* pentecostal periodical.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid, 70.

¹⁷⁸ A title evidently inspired by Parham's defunct periodical of the same name. Goff, 59. W. Seymour and C. Lum ed. *The Apostolic Faith* Vol.1 No.1, 1. Available on CD-ROM from the Revival Library: <http://revival-library.org/shop/index.php/pentecostal-revival/product/93-apostolic-faith-azusa-street-papers> (last accessed August 2015).

¹⁷⁹ Usher, *The Patron...*, 45.

¹⁸⁰ Mainly through T. B. Barratt. Anderson rightly refers to Barratt as the “pioneer” of Pentecostalism in Europe. Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 29.

¹⁸¹ *Minutes of the Shanghai Council of the CIM*, 29 January 1908, 427, *SOAS*.

At Keswick, in 1902, Polhill showed the first signs of real interest in revival by establishing a “prayer circle” for revival in China, Tibet and the world. Polhill had, by this time, begun to connect the outpouring of the Spirit with revival which would become a key premise for his involvement in Pentecostalism. There is no evidence, however, that Polhill had any particular loyalty to the Keswickian path to Holiness. He attended the conference as a missionary and spoke in the missionary meeting about Tibet. If anything, there is probably more evidence that he was inclined to Wesleyan-holiness. He would subsequently reveal John Wesley and John Fletcher as two key spiritual influences on his life (see below).

A key finding from these years is that, by 1906, Polhill was probably a committed revivalist i.e. he believed methods could be applied to stir revival. This appears to be supported by Polhill’s subsequent identification of Finney as one of his key spiritual influences. He did this by placing Finney in a spiritual chain starting with biblical figures: Abraham, Moses, Bezaleel and Aholiab, Samson, Samuel, David, Solomon, Paul and Peter, but then jumps to more contemporary influences:

John and Charles Wesley at a prolonged waiting meeting in Fetter Lane received power – the one to revolutionize and organise the religious life of Britain and to claim the world as his parish; the other to fill the land with holy song.

Finney, after long waiting, filled, as it were, with liquid fire, spoke forth with words that burned and melted and transfigured.

[John] Fletcher of Madeley earned the title for the intensity of his holiness of the 'seraphic'.

Dwight L. Moody, helped by other's prayers, too, obtained Heaven's degree of Prince of Evangelists. Who will follow in this train? Can the fire fall on you?¹⁸²

Minor anachronism aside, Polhill revealed in this article where his theological

182 *Flames of Fire* No.20 (October 1914), 2.

allegiances lay.¹⁸³ In terms of Holiness it clearly lay with Fletcher's wesleyan-holiness spirituality. In terms of revival, taken together with the book Polhill promoted, it almost certainly lay with Finney and the revivalists.

In light of Polhill's interest in revivalism, his patronage of the Costin Street Mission Hall makes a great deal of sense. The history of CSMH is significant because it shows that Polhill was interested in the same kind of revival-orientated, outward-looking, churches that would characterise pentecostal churches as far back as 1904. It further demonstrates his affiliation with wesleyan-holiness groups (both Penfold and Kendall were formerly of the Salvation Army) and showed that Polhill took a special and personal interest in missions for common, working people.¹⁸⁴ What becomes clear when reviewing this period of Polhill's life is that his interest in revival movements became intense. He was not just interested in the methodology of revival in a detached academic sense, but he was also intensely interested in experiencing revival. To this end, he personally travelled to Wales to hear Evan Roberts and shortly afterwards had an ecstatic experience.

What is crucial about these years, however, is the sharp change in attitude in the CIM towards mission in Tibet. The CIM had gone from making Polhill superintendent of Tibet in 1899 to making absolutely no mention of the region in their "General Survey of the Field" in 1903. The Tibet Expedition of 1903-04 made the likelihood of mission to Tibet even more remote. The CIM subsequently began to openly discourage mission to the region. This explains why such a well-established CIM missionary like Polhill made the transition from basic conservative Evangelicalism to

183 Chronologically speaking Fletcher should come before Finney.

184 William and Catherine Booth established the Salvation Army in 1865, having been influenced by Pheobe Palmer. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 164.

a more radical Pentecostalism. An explosively vibrant movement, brimming with enthusiasm for mission, and willing to attempt the most difficult fields with little or no preparation was exactly what he needed. In the pentecostal movement, Polhill would find his new source of Tibet missionaries, and in return he would bring organisation, finances and a measure of respect to early British Pentecostalism.

CHAPTER 5 FLAMES OF FIRE: POLHILL’S FIRST THREE YEARS OF PENTECOSTAL ACTIVISM (1908-1910)

5.1 Part One 1908: A Year of Catalytic Pentecostal Activity

Polhill arrived at San Francisco, California, on 6 January 1908 before continuing on to Los Angeles.¹ By corroborating his personal testimony, his earliest periodical, the diary of George B. Studd, his financial records, shipping records and other primary sources it is possible to reconstruct his movements during those crucial early months of 1908 with more accuracy than has ever been possible hitherto.

5.1.1 Los Angeles and Chicago

In a personal testimony written in 1908, Polhill recorded his response to Pentecostalism as he encountered it at Los Angeles. His first impressions were very positive, and he drew parallels with his initial conversion experience:

How can one describe one's early impressions? What is it [that] makes a sinner realise the ‘rightness’ of conversion and of the Gospel of Jesus Christ? Some existing sense or scent in the spirit within brought into operation by the Spirit of God, is it not so? In the same way the rightness of this [pentecostal] movement as a whole commended itself to my spiritual instincts (though not of course everything that was done).²

What is clear from this short excerpt is that Polhill broadly endorsed the movement, but he was also aware of its excesses. The day after his arrival in Los Angeles he was surprised to learn that his old Eton friend, George Brown “G. B.” Studd (1859-1945), was interested in the movement, “I did not know until I reached America

1 Aboard the SS Nippon Maru. *Minutes of the Shanghai Council of the CIM*, 29 January 1908, 427, *SOAS* cf. California, Passenger and Crew Lists, 1882-1957 10 December 1907 and 6 January 1908 s.vv. 'Polhill, Cecil'. Available at www.ancestry.co.uk (last accessed August 2015).

2 Polhill, *China Missionary*, 2.

that...George Studd was interested in this movement.”³ George Studd was the younger brother of C. T. Studd, and he would have been at Eton at the same time as Polhill.⁴ Shortly after qualifying as a barrister in 1886, Studd fell ill and spent some time recuperating in Australia. On his return journey in 1887, he visited his older brother, C. T. Studd, in Shanghai. Amongst the christian missionaries, George had a conversion experience of his own, and his sole aim became, “...the telling of the love of the Lord Jesus.”⁵ Studd relocated to the United States where he helped build the Peniel “face of God” Hall, a holiness mission in Los Angeles.⁶ He subsequently became Pentecostal and was very much involved at the Azusa Street mission before accepting the oneness-pentecostal heterodoxy which probably explains his subsequent obscurity outside of oneness circles.

5.1.1.1 Polhill's Definitive Pentecostal Experience (3 February 1908)

According to Studd's diary, he met Polhill at Peniel Hall on 7 January 1908.⁷ They travelled together to a house meeting at Long Beach on 11 January, and they attended the Azusa Street mission between 19 January - 2 February. It was during this time that Polhill made his now well-known donation of £1500 (the exchange rate in 1908 was £1 to \$5)⁸ to clear the mortgage on the Azusa Street mission building.⁹ Polhill's

3 Ibid; Studd was not aware that Polhill was in Los Angeles until he showed up at Peniel Hall on 7 January 1908. G. Studd, *Diary 1908, FPHC*. Venn, s, vv. 'Studd, George Brown.'

4 Compared to his better-known older brother there is scant research into George Studd's life. The *IDPCM* has two citations under his entry one of which is the biography of his older brother, s.vv. 'Studd, George B.'

5 M. Beauchamp, *Days of Blessing in Inland China 2nd ed.* (Morgan & Scott: London, c.1888), appendix. The first edition does not contain G. B. Studd's testimony in the appendix.

6 L. Wilson, in *IDPCM*, s, vv. 'Studd, George B.'; F. Bartleman, *How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles* (Los Angeles c.1925), 5-8. Available online at 'Christian Classics Ethereal Library' www.ccel.org (last accessed April 2014).

7 Studd, *Diary*, 7 January 1908, *FPHC*.

8 L. Officer, 'Dollar-Pound Exchange Rate From 1791', *Measuring Worth*, 2014, www.measuringworth.com/exchangepond/ (last accessed April 2014).

9 *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), (1 February 1908) 148, *PCO* cf. Studd, *Diary 1908*, 2 February 1908, *FPHC*; Usher, 'Patron of the Pentecostals...', 48.

pentecostal experience came after a month of quietly waiting upon God and fasting.¹⁰

He did not receive his 'baptism' at the Azusa Street mission, but in the home of a "simple, earnest, believing" couple known simply as Mr and Mrs Riggs.¹¹ Studd recorded this in his diary on 1 February 1908, "Spent the day at Rigg's. Cecil got his baptism."¹² Reading Polhill's account of this time it is clear that his pentecostal experience did not come easily. It was a struggle, and he believed it required him to be, "...stripped of everything: power to pray, to talk, to testify...and all ability to think."¹³ He described the outward manifestation of his baptism as follows:

On Monday, February 3rd, 1908, He [God] satisfied the longing soul and filled the hungry soul with goodness.....Acting on a few simple instructions given in the Spirit, combined with words of promise, I yielded my mouth, and gave my voice; in doing so, was twice filled with laughter and sent to the floor. Then the Lord spoke through me in a new tongue, making use of body and hands in gesture, for about a minute.¹⁴

Polhill had already experienced holy laughter as early as Spring 1906, shortly after his visit to Wales, and he experienced it again, in Los Angeles, shortly before this definitive pentecostal experience. This may indicate that, for Polhill, holy laughter had the effect of making him feel less inhibited. Holy laughter appears to have been a relatively common feature leading to a pentecostal experience. British Pentecostals Alexander A. Boddy and Catherine Price had also experienced the same phenomenon before speaking in tongues.¹⁵

10 Studd, *Diary*, 7 January 1908, *FPHC* cf. Polhill, *China Missionary*, 3.

11 Probably Fred Riggs mentioned later in Studd's diary (entry for 2 June 1908). Apparently no relation to Ralph Meredith Riggs (1895-1971). I had incorrectly implied that Polhill had his pentecostal experience at the Azusa Street mission in my 2012 article. Usher, 'Patron of the Pentecostals...', 48. This thesis has added much more detail and original findings.

12 Studd, *Diary*, 3 February 1908, *FPHC*. Intriguingly Studd himself had not yet had a pentecostal experience of his own by this time. His came more than two years later and was reported in *Confidence* Vol.4 No.5 (May 1911), 116.

13 Polhill, *China Missionary*, 3, 4, 5. He believed the devil was trying to persuade him to give up waiting for the baptism.

14 Polhill, *China Missionary*, 6.

15 For Price see Hudson, 57. For Boddy see Wakefield, 82.

5.1.1.2 Polhill and Xenolalia

Polhill regarded his baptism in the Holy Spirit as an empowering, but there is no evidence that he believed his experience of tongues to be an actual foreign language. If he had done so he would have presumably attempted to identify the language or to interpret it, but the record does not bear witness to him attempting to do any of these. He was proficient in Mandarin and Tibetan, so this probably prevented him from mistaking any of his utterances for an actual foreign language. For Polhill, the most important results of the pentecostal experience were increased piety, enthusiasm and power. In the earliest, and only, extant version of his first pentecostal periodical, dated October 1908, *Fragments of Flame: Sidelights on the Present Spiritual Awakening* (later changed to *Flames of Fire: With Which is Incorporated Tidings from Tibet and Other Lands* of which several numbers exist),¹⁶ Polhill began by writing, “It is now generally conceded by all thoughtful Christians...that the Pentecostal Movement...has brought untold blessing to thousands of saintly hearts, deepened the spiritual life of large numbers of Church members, and given a stimulus to Missionary interests beyond that of the former revival.”¹⁷ The deepening of spiritual life and stimulus to missionary interest remained Polhill's primary emphasis throughout his pentecostal ministry. For the same issue of *Fragments of Flame* he wrote another article entitled “Is the Speaking in Tongues doing any Good?” in which he emphasised that the

¹⁶ The name change perhaps reflects the trajectory of pentecostal fervour in his own life i.e. from fragments of flame to fully blown flames of fire.

¹⁷ Polhill ed., *Fragments of Flame* No. 2 (October, 1908), 1. It is possible to likely that this was not Polhill's original writing, but someone writing in *The Way of Faith* since he has added a reference at the end of the article. Polhill had a propensity for republishing sections of other periodicals (which may explain his title “fragments” of flame i.e. fragments of other pentecostal periodicals), but this can sometimes make it difficult to detect where it is Polhill himself writing or an excerpt from a periodical. In this one issue of *Fragments* alone (a mere four pages long) he republishes sections from the Christian and Missionary Alliance annual report, *Trust*, *The Way of Faith*, *The Bridegroom Messenger* (Pentecostal periodical edited by G. B. Cashwell) and *The Apostolic Faith* (The Azusa Street mission periodical edited by William Seymour and Clara Lum). It can at least be asserted, in the instance of the above quote, that Polhill concurred with this summary of the effects of the pentecostal baptism even if it was not an original interpretation.

baptism in the Holy Spirit (and speaking in tongues) resulted in: more success in evangelism, miraculous healing and revival.¹⁸ These were the primary by-products of spiritual empowering, but he never claimed that any of these were put into effect by a miraculous foreign language. *Xenolalia* did not hold a significant place of importance in Polhill's conception of Pentecostalism. His years in the CIM had taught him that, for an overseas missionary, *xenolalia* was probably not even desirable if it did not also come with a wider understanding of the culture in which the language is spoken.¹⁹

5.1.1.3 The Relationship Between Sanctification and Pentecostal Experiences

Polhill's description of the process that led to his pentecostal experience, particularly his reference to “being stripped of everything,” is reminiscent of language used by the holiness movement to describe the process of sanctification.²⁰ The holiness movement emphasised sanctification by faith, so all human effort had to be suppressed to enter into ‘full surrender’.²¹ Early Pentecostals were generally in agreement that sanctification was needed before a pentecostal experience, but they usually differed from the holiness movement in that they would not refer to sanctification as a ‘baptism in the Holy Spirit’.²² Polhill did not deny the Spirit's role in regeneration and sanctification, but he distinguished between these former experiences and the baptism of the Holy Spirit which came subsequent to sanctification and was primarily for

18 *Fragments of Flame* No. 2 (October, 1908), 2-3.

19 Steer, 288.

20 Creech, 419.

21 Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 156.-158, (“the surrender of the will”) 171.

22 See *Confidence* Vol.1 No.1 (January 1909), 5-6, for the pentecostal consensus on the necessity of sanctification before a pentecostal baptism. According to Boddy, sanctification had been incorrectly “labelled” as a baptism in the Spirit. A. A. Boddy, *Pentecost for England (and Other Lands) With Signs Following “Speaking with Tongues” and Other Articles*, 9-10. *The Works of Alexander A. A. Boddy 1854-1930* CD ROM available from Revival Library www.revival-library.org/shop.htm (last accessed December 2014).

power. This would designate Polhill as a ‘third blessing’ adherent.²³ He wrote in 1911:

What is the Baptism of the Holy Ghost and Fire? We hold it to be a different experience, or a further one, to that when a soul receives the Holy Spirit as indweller on conversion or at sanctification...whichever of these it is, we hold the ‘Baptism’ is distinct...be you sure you have received that overpowering, overwhelming, empowering, enveloping, mysterious, divine, unquestionable, endowment of the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, so that not only your love, and all the Graces of the Spirit given you on conversion are quickened, developed, nourished, strengthened, gloriously fertilized; not only this but that over and above this you have received ‘power’ for testimony, for service such as you were an utter stranger to before....²⁴

Polhill was careful not to deny that all Christians received the indwelling of the Holy Spirit at conversion and sanctification. This was no “crude Pentecostal view that conversion is a matter of receiving Christ and Spirit-baptism of receiving the Spirit.”²⁵ For Polhill, the baptism of the Holy Spirit was a question of spiritual degree not a stage of the *ordo salutis*.²⁶ Polhill seemed to imply a difference between ‘indwelling’ and ‘baptism’ much as F. B. Meyer had done at Keswick in 1904, and indeed like some contemporary theologians.²⁷

23 Anderson, *Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 27.

24 *Flames of Fire* No.1 (October 1911), 2.

25 As Dunn put it in reference to some of the more idiosyncratic pentecostal interpretations of Romans 8.9. J. Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit: A Reexamination of the New Testament on the Gift of the Spirit* (Westminster: John Knox Press, 1977), 148. cf. W. P. Atkinson, *Baptism in the Spirit: Luke-Acts and the Dunn Debate* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 2012), 1-25, 105; G. Kane, ‘George Jeffreys, the Spirit of Christ, and Early Pentecostal Thinking on Spirit Reception’ *Pneuma* Vol.37 No.1 (2015), 63-81.

26 He would have agreed with fellow Anglican-Pentecostal, Boddy, that Pentecostalism was not a work of grace. A. A. Boddy, *Pentecost for England (and Other Lands) With Signs Following “Speaking with Tongues” and Other Articles*, 9-10. *The Works of Alexander A. A. Boddy 1854-1930* CD ROM available from Revival Library www.revival-library.org/shop.htm (last accessed December 2014).

27 Meyer spoke on “What is the difference between baptism and filling?” in *The Keswick Week* (1904), 162. Perhaps it is no surprise that Polhill made a “thank offering” to Meyer shortly after Keswick that year. Usher, ‘*Patron of the Pentecostals...*’, 42-43. More contemporaneously, F. Bruner has distinguished between ‘receiving’ the Spirit and ‘fully receiving’ the Spirit, and argued that all Christians are to some degree ‘indwelt’ by the Spirit. F. Bruner, *A Theology of the Holy Spirit: The Pentecostal Experience and the New Testament Witness* (Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 1997), 72, 96-97.

Polhill elaborated on this further by drawing a distinction between the reception of the Holy Spirit described in John 20.22 which was for sanctification and by itself “not sufficient,” and the baptisms described in Acts on the day of Pentecost and afterwards:

We hold that there is a *difference* between the experiences of Acts ii, viii, x and xix, and that of John xx, 22, and that it is essential to discern between these things that differ; the former bevy of chapters describing *the baptism* in the Holy Ghost, the latter *holiness* in the Holy Ghost; the former *power* and *fire*, the latter beauty of life, likeness to the Lord; the former divine *energy*; the latter quiet restful victory. We believe it is possible to be truly *sanctified* as were the apostles in John xx, 22, and yet without the divine ‘afflatus’ or filling, to quietly and consistently *shine* for Jesus and yet to be lacking in the essential *endowment*, which qualifies for a *service* and *ministry* of fire, power and effectiveness. We maintain that the great doctrinal mistake of the present day is the failure to discern this *difference*; the two are absolutely *distinct*.²⁸

This was Polhill’s effort to theologically reconcile his earlier experiences of the Spirit (identified as sanctification) with his new and overwhelming pentecostal experience of the Spirit. His solution was to distinguish the objectives of the Spirit in sanctification from the Spirit’s objectives at Pentecost. His later, more mature, writings would reiterate, with approval, Griffith John’s position that Spirit baptism was not a one-time event but something that had to be sought repeatedly.²⁹ In doing so he had moved away from strict linear two or three-stage notions of the Spirit’s operation to a more holistic-orientated understanding of how the Spirit works in the life of a Christian.

5.1.1.4 Meeting Carrie Judd Montgomery (February 1908)

Polhill left Los Angeles on 5 February 1908, two days after receiving his 'baptism'.³⁰

28 *Flames of Fire* No.7 (Oct 1912), 2-3.

29 *Memoirs*, 27, PCO.

30 Studd, *Diary 1908*, entry for 5 February, FPHC.

He likened his departure to entering the wilderness to be tempted.³¹ According to Studd, “Cecil left by Salt Lake for Chicago. What a blessed month God has given us together.”³² It was probably at this time that he encountered the divine healer Carrie Judd Montgomery (1858-1946) who had a pentecostal experience in Chicago shortly after Polhill's visit.³³ Montgomery had experienced divine healing herself through the ministry of the African-American divine healer Sarah Mix.³⁴ Montgomery began publishing a periodical in 1881, *Triumphs of Faith*, and she established a healing home in Oakland, California, in 1893.³⁵ She too had taken an interest in the pentecostal revival, approximately three hundred miles south of Oakland, and personally visited the Azusa Street mission in January 1907 although she had no pentecostal experience at that time.³⁶ In *Fragments of Flame* (October 1908) Polhill wrote:

Two prominent leaders have recently sought and obtained the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, with the accompanying evidence of the speaking in tongues. One – Mrs Carrie Judd Montgomery...She did not like the noise of the public meeting, so sought it quietly in a friend's house, Mrs. Simons, of Chicago. The Editor visited this Godly woman and heard from her own lips how God had been entreated of, and given the priceless gift to her, she being so cut off from public meetings, her presence being needed at home in the care of an aged mother³⁷

An entry in Polhill's financial records places him in Chicago no later than 13 February

31 Polhill, *China Missionary's Witness*, 6.

32 Ibid.

33 Miskov, 146. It is possible that Polhill visited Montgomery while he was in Los Angeles, but he seems to have spent most of his time with Studd who kept a relatively detailed diary of the people and places they visited together. Studd does not mention any visit to or from Montgomery. Studd, *Diary 1908*, 7 January-5 February, *FPHC*.

34 Robinson, 123. Often incorrectly referred to as “Elizabeth Mix.” M. S. Stephens has traced this persistent error to a 1983 thesis by Paul Chappell. *Who Healeth All Thy Diseases: Health, Healing, and Holiness in the Church of God Reformation Movement* (Plymouth, UK:Scarecrow Press, 2008), 114.

35 Polhill subscribed to *Triumphs of Faith* on 24 August 1910. See Polhill, *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), 122. For an in depth study of Montgomery's life see J. Miskov, ‘Life on Wings: The Forgotten Life and Theology of Carrie Judd Montgomery (1858-1946)’ (published PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, UK, 2011).

36 Miskov, 144.

37 *Fragments of Flame* (October 1908), unpaginated, *FPHC*.

1908, and shipping records show that he arrived back in Liverpool on 7 March 1908, but according to *Confidence* Montgomery did not speak in tongues until June 1908.³⁸ A reading of Montgomery's testimony reveals, however, that she had a powerful spiritual experience before June 1908 that, until her pentecostal experience, she had always referred to as a baptism in the Holy Spirit:

At the time of my miraculous healing, when a young girl, I was first made conscious of the Holy Spirit's work in revealing Jesus in and to me. At this time a power to testify came into my soul...This experience I have always referred to as the baptism of the Holy Ghost until a few months ago, when I began to watch what God was doing in pouring out His Pentecostal fullness upon some of His little ones.³⁹

This probably explains why Polhill was still able to write with integrity that she had told him that she had received “the priceless gift” earlier in 1908. He had evidently spliced this encounter with later reports of her pentecostal experience.⁴⁰ Montgomery was, like Polhill, from a privileged background and well educated. She seems to have had an affirming effect on him, and he lauds her as a “prominent leader.”⁴¹

5.1.2 Return to England (March 1908)

Polhill arrived by ship at Liverpool on 7 March 1908.⁴² The pentecostal movement in England had already been gathering momentum for quite some time before Polhill's return from the United States under the aegis of the Anglican vicar of All Saints Church, Monkwearmouth, Sunderland, Alexander A. Boddy (1854-1930). Boddy, like Polhill, had visited the Welsh revival (more than a year ahead of Polhill), and this

38 Miskov, 147.

39 *Confidence* Vol.1 No.8 (November 1908), 3. cf. Miskov, 328.

40 Having read about it in *Confidence* in August. *Confidence* Vol.1 No.5 (August 1908), 14.

41 *Fragments of Flame* (October 1908), unpaginated. The other “prominent leader” being Archdeacon Robert Phair of the Canadian Episcopal Church.

42 *Incoming Passenger Lists, 1878-1960*, list from New York to Liverpool, 7 March 1908. Available at www.ancestry.co.uk.

had moved him profoundly.⁴³ Boddy was aware of the revival in Los Angeles, but he had not, at that time, been able to visit himself. Instead he had attended pentecostal meetings being conducted in Oslo by an English-born Norwegian methodist episcopal minister, Thomas Ball Barratt (1862-1940), in March 1907.⁴⁴ Barratt had a pentecostal experience, in 1906, while on a fundraising trip in the United States.⁴⁵ He visited Monkwearmouth in August 1907 whereupon the first series of pentecostal meetings were held at Boddy's church, and several visitors experienced a pentecostal baptism with tongues.⁴⁶ Boddy himself experienced tongues in December 1907 after Barratt had departed Monkwearmouth.⁴⁷ He became a figurehead for the early British pentecostal movement, and his annual conferences during the feast of Pentecost (also known as Whitsuntide in the UK and Ireland) became one of the most important gatherings for British Pentecostals in the earliest years of the movement.⁴⁸ There are many pentecostal conferences that took place all over the country referred to throughout this thesis, so the term “Sunderland conference” will be reserved for the annual meeting held during the feast of Pentecost at Boddy's church in Sunderland.

5.1.2.1 Alexander Boddy and the First Sunderland Conference (June 1908)

There is no evidence that Polhill had personally met Boddy before he arrived back from the United States in 1908. Both had attended Keswick conventions but probably not in the same years.⁴⁹ Boddy wrote in *Confidence* in 1910 about the first Sunderland Conference, “This was the first time that the Writer met the future President of the

43 Wakefield, 76.

44 Wakefield, 84.

45 “Pastor T. B. Barratt's Personal Testimony” in M. W. Moorhead ed. *Cloud of Witnesses* No.4 (March 1908), 19, *FPHC*. Barratt's testimony is actually abridged from a tract written by Boddy.

46 Such as Smith Wigglesworth. Wakefield, 94.

47 Ibid, 89.

48 Gee, *These Men*, 20.

49 Polhill was there verifiably in 1902, 1904 and probably in 1905, but the only verified occurrences of Boddy being there are in 1876 (when Polhill was only sixteen-years old), 1907 (when Polhill was in China) and 1908 (after the first Sunderland conference).

Pentecostal Missionary Union, Mr Cecil Polhill.”⁵⁰ The relationship between Polhill and Boddy became central to the development of British Pentecostalism, so how Polhill came to learn of his shared pentecostal interests with Boddy is worth further consideration. The best hypothesis to date was put forward by Douglas Quay, a former pastor at the Bedford AGBI, who wrote an article about Polhill for *Redemption Tidings* in 1985.⁵¹ Quay was probably acquainted with Polhill's grandson, Anthony Polhill (1921-2008), who was at that time residing at the Polhill ancestral estate.⁵² Quay wrote that in 1907 reports in the “national press” of a religious revival at Sunderland brought Polhill into contact with Boddy. This is not impossible, but it is unlikely.⁵³ It would have to be shown that Polhill had access to the right newspapers while he was in China since he had left the country in February 1907 before Boddy had even travelled to Norway.⁵⁴ A much likelier hypothesis is that Polhill learned about Boddy from a religious publication. Boddy had letters published in the Azusa Street mission periodical, *The Apostolic Faith*, as early as March 1907 (before the Centennial Missionary Conference in Shanghai), and by May 1907 *The Apostolic Faith* had published an article by him entitled “Pentecost for England” in which he talked of his experiences in Norway and his conviction that Pentecostalism was beginning to spread to England.⁵⁵ Additionally Boddy wrote for Max Wood Moorhead's pentecostal periodical *Cloud of Witnesses*, in September 1907, about witnessing tongues in Norway.⁵⁶ It is known that G. B. Studd subscribed to Moorhead's periodical and owned a copy of the September 1907 edition, so if Polhill

50 *Confidence* Vol.3 No.8 (August 1910), 197.

51 D. Quay in *Redemption Tidings*, (2 May 1985), 8-9.

52 There is a manuscript of the article at Howbury Hall, and the article contains a rare photo of Polhill which hangs on the wall at Howbury Hall.

53 This error may have arisen because Polhill probably learned of the Azusa Street revival in the national press, “Just before leaving on a year’s revisit to China in the early part of last year [1907], news of the movement in Los Angeles reached England.” Polhill, *China Missionary’s Witness*, 1.

54 Wakefield, 81.

55 *Apostolic Faith*, Vol.1 No.6 (February-March 1907), 7 and Vol.1 No.8 (May 1907), 7.

56 M. W. Moorhead ed. *Cloud of Witnesses* No. 2 (September 1907), 52-54, *FPHC*.

did not learn about Boddy before reaching Los Angeles then it seems highly likely that Studd would have said something about him.⁵⁷ This probably explains why Polhill also started to subscribe to *Cloud of Witnesses*, in April 1908, less than a month after his return from Los Angeles.⁵⁸ In the same month, April 1908, Boddy launched the first⁵⁹ British pentecostal periodical, *Confidence*, which with Polhill's consistent financial assistance became the predominant pentecostal periodical enabling scattered Pentecostals to network effectively for years.⁶⁰

The seminal pentecostal event of 1908 was undoubtedly the Sunderland conference held between 6-11 June. The main conference topics for discussion included the chief pentecostal preoccupations of the time: tongues as a sign of Pentecost, the second coming and divine healing.⁶¹ The tone of the conference was not one of solemn theological discussion, but it was a jubilant atmosphere as men and women gathered together from around the world on the basis of an exciting new shared experience, “The radiant, happy faces cheered up everyone. There was infectious joy – the joy of the Lord; even at times there was good-natured, hearty laughter.”⁶² There was also of course extensive use of the *charismata*, “Probably all the Nine Gifts have been in evidence during the Conference,” but there were also notes of caution to avoid extravagant “fleshly” manifestations and to avoid exaggerated accounts of healing.⁶³ Eschatologically speaking, the early Pentecostals were largely premillennial dispensationalists with one additional feature i.e. the “restoration” of the gifts of the

57 The archival copy of *Cloud of Witnesses* No. 2 (September 1907) at the Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center belonged to G. B. Studd as he stamped it with his name and address.

58 *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), 1 April 1908, 150, *PCO*. At the cost of £1.

59 It would only be the first periodical if Polhill didn't publish the first issue of *Fragments of Flame*, of which no copies exist, before April 1908. The second copy of *Fragments of Flame*, and only surviving copy, was published in October 1908.

60 Usher, ‘*The Patron...*’, 51-52.

61 *Confidence* Vol.1 No.1 (April 1908), inside cover.

62 *Confidence* Vol.1 No.3 (June 1908), 4.

63 *Ibid*, 5 and 15.

Spirit were held to be a sign of the immanent *Parousia*, “It is possible that some into whose hands this copy of ‘Confidence’ may come, have not heard of that which God is doing in many parts of the World in preparation for the speedy return of the Lord Jesus.”⁶⁴ Apart from Boddy's retrospective reference to encountering Polhill for the first time at the first Sunderland conference there is very little record of him in the earliest issues of *Confidence*.

5.1.2.2 Polhill at the First Sunderland Conference

The subject of foreign mission was conspicuous by its absence from the first conference agenda, and while there were some missionaries recorded as present at the first conference Polhill is not named among them.⁶⁵ His financial records, however, have a record of the following payment on 12 June 1908, “breakfast for the unemployed - £2.”⁶⁶ This refers to a pre-conference act of social amelioration organised by Boddy. On Thursday 4 June 1908, as visitors began arriving at All Saints, three hundred unemployed men were fed in the church.⁶⁷ In the June 1908 issue of *Confidence*, Boddy listed the donations given for the “Gospel Teas for Needy Ones in Sunderland” and Polhill's donation of £2 corresponds to the initials “C. P. (Bedford).”⁶⁸ A total of £5 had been donated overall. In addition, on the same day, Polhill donated £10 towards the expenses of printing *Confidence*.⁶⁹ In both instances Polhill's donations were double that of the next biggest donation.⁷⁰ It is clear,

64 The subject of discussion on one of the evening sessions was “The Restoration of the Gifts.” Ibid, 3.

65 That is, he was not named at the time. *Confidence* Vol.1 No.3 (June 1908), Miss Stewart was a China missionary, and Elizabeth Sisson talked about missionaries she knew in China, 19. Polhill, *Cash Book 1911-1914* (expenditure), 62 (“Mid Rly Co. Carriage Gospel Car to Ldn”), *BLA*.

66 *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), (12 June) 162, *PCO*.

67 *Confidence* Vol.1. No.3 (June 1908), 5.

68 Ibid, 2.

69 *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), (12 June) 162, *PCO*.

70 The biggest donations for *Confidence* were £5 and the biggest for the “Gospel Teas” were £1. *Confidence* Vol.1 No.3 (June 1908), 2.

however, that Polhill was not idle in other ways at the first Sunderland conference. Events that took place immediately after the conference demonstrate that he had been busy networking, planning and making arrangements for a series of pentecostal missions.

5.1.2.3 The First Pentecostal Mission, Bedford (June-July 1908)

Immediately after the first Sunderland conference Polhill arranged for some of the delegates to come to Bedford for an open-air mission between June-July 1908.⁷¹

Confidence lists the following participants in the Bedford mission: a Welshman “Bro. Tomlinson,”⁷² “Bro. Evans” also of Wales,⁷³ and the Dutch Pentecostal Gerrit Polman (1868-1932) and his wife Wilhelmina.⁷⁴ Polman was the primary Dutch pentecostal pioneer of the period, “a fiercely bearded, but genial giant, who reminds one forcibly of the pictures of that great reformer, John Huss.”⁷⁵ A former Salvationist and Dowieite he became a Pentecostal after learning of the revival in Los Angeles.⁷⁶ Polhill appears to have held Polman in quite high regard judging by the time they spent together and the number of donations he made to his ministry.⁷⁷ The list of evangelists provided by Boddy in *Confidence* is actually only a partial list, as Polhill's

71 By August Polhill was in Scotland. *Fragments of Flame* (October 1908), unpaginated.

72 Ibid.

73 Ibid. Possibly David Evans, also of Port Talbot, who had also been to the first Sunderland conference, but Polhill's records also show a donation to 'Rev. J. Evans, Living at Llangwyllog' 29 July 1908, *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), 174, *PCO* cf. *Confidence* Vol.1 No.3 (June 1908), 18.

74 They are all mentioned in the first post conference issue of *Confidence* Vol.1 No.3 (June 1908), 5-8, and then specifically in connection with the Bedford work in *Confidence* Vol.1 No.5 (August 1908). Polman had his railway expenses covered on 12 June 1908, and he was paid as an evangelist on 14 July 1908, and then his wife's travel expenses were covered on 15 July 1908. *Cash Book 1904-1910*, 162 and 172 respectively, *PCO*. Polman stayed with Polhill in Bedford for four weeks. *Confidence* Vol.1 No.5 (August 1908), 18.

75 As described by a journalist writing in the *Cambria Daily Leader* and quoted in *Confidence* Vol.2 No.9 (September 1909), 213.

76 C. Van Der Laan, *Sectarian Against His Will: Gerrit Roelof Polman and the Birth of Pentecostalism in the Netherlands* (London: Scarecrow Press, Inc. 1991), 94.

77 Polhill made at least nine donations between June 1908-June 1910 (including one to his wife), but he would also donate/lend Polman almost £3000 between 1911-1914.

periodical added further details such as “friends from America” probably in reference to Harry M. Turney and family who were in England at this time and received a “salary” from Polhill.⁷⁸ He had met Turney, a pentecostal missionary, in Los Angeles in January 1908 and had donated a considerable sum of money to him then.⁷⁹ Polhill's periodical also mentions Mr and Mrs Snellgrove and Mr Berry.⁸⁰ Even more details are provided by Polhill's financial records such as initials: W. J. Tomlinson,⁸¹ E. E. Berry,⁸² and W. Snelgrove.⁸³ Little is known of Tomlinson and even less of Evans, but a letter from Tomlinson was published in *The Apostolic Faith* between October 1907 and January 1908; he also attended the first Sunderland conference, and he was subsequently hired by Polhill for a short time as the leader of a pentecostal assembly at 6 Lime Street, Bedford.⁸⁴ Evans may refer to David Evans who had attended the first Sunderland conference.⁸⁵ Berry is almost certainly Ernest Edward Berry, a Cambridge graduate and evangelical Anglican, who had been working with Polhill since approximately 1902 as an evangelist amongst “rough boys” in Cambridge.⁸⁶

78 For lodging and board, rail fare and salary, on 7 July 1908 and a doctor's bill on the same day. *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), 170, *PCO*.

79 *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), 146 and 148, *PCO*.

80 *Fragments of Flame* (October 1908) unpaginated but a record of these meetings appears on the last page.

81 Tomlinson 'Railway fares' on 27 June 1908 and 'Salary and Board Evangelist' on 15 October 1908. *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), 166 and 182 respectively, *PCO*.

82 E. E. Berry “Salary and Board Evangelist” on 15 October 1908 (the same day as Tomlinson). *Ibid.* October was obviously much later than these meetings took place, but Berry had been doing evangelism with Polhill for years, under his patronage, so it seems almost certainly that it was E. E. Berry involved in the post-Sunderland conference mission in Bedford.

83 W. Snelgrove appears later in Polhill's financial records, on 23 December 1908, alongside E. E. Berry, so it is probably the same person. *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), 186, *PCO*. It is unclear whether the correct spelling is “Snellgrove” or “Snelgrove”.

84 Tomlinson had written to *The Apostolic Faith* between October 1907-January 1908. *The Apostolic Faith* Vol.1, No.2 (October to January 1908), 1.

85 Or Rev. J. Evans who received a donation from Polhill for his “living” in Wales in July 1908. *Confidence* Vol.1 No.3 (June 1908) 18, and *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), “Rev. J. Evans, Living at Llangwyllog” 29 July 1908, p174.

86 He applied to the CIM in 1906 with Polhill as one of his referees, a copy of the application is amongst Polhill's papers. At the time of his application, Berry was a twenty-four-year-old, Cambridge-educated, Anglican who affiliated freely with Nonconformists. All of the referees spoke highly of him. Polhill described him as “a keen soul winner” an “orthodox evangelical” and instrumental in “the real conversion and sanctification of many a lad at Cambridge.” Berry had evidently worked with Polhill in his Cambridge missions alluded to in so much of Polhill's correspondence, stating further that Berry had a, “genuine soul saving work amongst rough boys in

The identity of the Snelgroves (or Snellgroves) is unclear, but they were probably local Christian workers in Bedford. Polhill had a novel approach to attracting attention to this evangelistic band by using a “Pentecostal motor car.” This is probably one of the earliest, if not *the* earliest, example of a car being used for evangelistic purposes (certainly for pentecostal purposes) in this way in Britain.⁸⁷ The idea of a “gospel car” (as it is termed in Polhill’s financial records) was subsequently used by the well-known pentecostal leader Aimee Semple MacPherson (1890-1944).⁸⁸

5.1.2.3.1 Pentecost for Evangelism

The mission in Bedford was a natural outworking of Polhill's pentecostal theology which is made explicit, by Boddy, when he wrote of the meetings, “he [Polhill] believes 'Pentecost' is a call to and an inducement for *Evangelistic Work*.”⁸⁹ This placed Polhill's view of Pentecostalism squarely within the evangelical tradition and reflects the emphasis placed on evangelism within the CIM. The CIM *Book of Arrangements* instructed missionaries, “...preaching is to be your life's work.”⁹⁰ Polhill subsequently embedded the same emphasis into the PMU, “...let others educate, doctor, do philanthropy you concentrate on the evangelistic gift.”⁹¹

5.1.2.4 Second Pentecostal Mission, St Andrews (August 1908)

The pentecostal motorcar was more than just a gimmick. It gave Polhill the freedom

Cambridge.” Candidate Schedule 'Ernest Edward Berry', July 1906, *PCO*.

87 *Confidence*, Vol.1 No.5 (August 1908), 13.

88 MacPherson (previously Aimee Semple) was invited by Polhill to speak in London, in 1910, when she and her first husband, Robert, were en route to China (where Robert died). E. W. Blumhofer, *Aimee Semple McPherson: Everybody's Sister* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 88.

89 His formatting. *Confidence* Vol.1 No.5 (August 1908), 13.

90 Cooper, 30, *SOAS*.

91 Polhill, *Practical Points Concerning Missionary Work Reprinted from Suggestions to P.M.U Workers* (London: Maranatha, 1916), 3. Donald Gee Centre, Mattersey Hall, Doncaster.

and ability to travel around quickly, and to engage in pentecostal work with the speed and flexibility to match his energy and fervour. Fresh from completing his first pentecostal open-air mission in Bedford he drove to St Andrews via Sunderland, in August 1908, to arrange and hold a pentecostal mission there.⁹² According to Boddy, he was helped in this endeavour by Miss [Elizabeth] Sisson, Mrs [Christina] Beruldsen and Norman Finney.⁹³ Sisson was a North American holiness evangelist, divine healer and writer previously associated with Carrie Judd Montgomery and the Bethshan Healing Home in London.⁹⁴ She had become Pentecostal in the early days of the movement's inception in the United States. In 1908, she was in Britain on an "evangelistic tour" and had attended the first Sunderland conference.⁹⁵ It is not clear how she came to be associated with Polhill's pentecostal mission in St Andrews, but in addition to a shared interest in divine healing she was also interested in mission to China.⁹⁶ Christina Beruldsen was the Scottish-Norwegian wife of a Norwegian ship Chandler, Ellef Beruldsen, based in Edinburgh.⁹⁷ The Beruldsens had been Baptists, but having heard of Barratt's meetings at Sunderland they became interested in the pentecostal movement. She served as an interpreter to Barratt's Norwegian colleagues at the first Sunderland conference. She would subsequently become a prominent Pentecostal, and the assembly she planted in Leith was later taken over by her husband and Donald Gee.⁹⁸ Boddy merely refers to Norman Finney as, "one of our

92 Visiting Alexander Boddy on the way. Ibid.

93 *Confidence*, Vol.1 No.5 (August 1908), 13.

94 s.vv. 'Sisson, Elizabeth' *IDPCM*. cf. Robinson, 166. cf. E. Sisson, *Foregleams of Glory* (Chicago: The Evangel Publishing House, 1912), 113-116, 1A.

95 She had previously been a worker at the Bethshan Healing Home in London.

96 Sisson comments on healing in China at the first Sunderland conference. *Confidence* Vol.1 No.3 (June 1908), 19.

97 Gee, *These Men*, 17-19 cf. D. Chapman, *Searching the Source of the River: Forgotten Women of the British Pentecostal Revival 1907-1914* (London: Push Publishing, 2007), 98. Gee has misspelled Ellef's name as 'Eilif'. Chapman has adopted Gee's misspelling but acknowledges the alternative spelling. All official sources, such as census records, marriage certificates etc. use 'Ellef'.

98 Chapman, 86 cf. Christina's testimony in *Confidence* Vol1/No1 (April 1908), 11; Christina was one of the few female signatories (and the only Beruldsen) of the Pentecostal London Declaration

faithful young men from Sunderland.”⁹⁹ Polhill's own periodical corroborates these participants but names an additional individual, William Andrew, who is described as “assisting.”¹⁰⁰ His financial records provide further detail including a donation to George Graham Brown, a Tibet border missionary, of the CIM in connection with St Andrews in August.¹⁰¹ Polhill had made several donations to Brown over the years, so this appears to be another example of Polhill utilising an existing evangelical network, as he had done in Bedford, to engage in pentecostal-inspired evangelism.

5.1.2.4.1 Pentecost for All

A pattern begins to emerge when comparing the accounts of these missions provided by Polhill and Boddy in their respective periodicals. When Boddy listed participants in *Confidence*, he appears to have only listed those who were verifiably Pentecostal. Polhill by contrast, writing in *Flames of Fire*, was less concerned to make distinctions. He included those with no obvious pentecostal credentials. This probably reflects Polhill's wider range of contacts from the evangelical tradition, but it also reveals something about Polhill's attitude. Polhill expected and wanted the pentecostal experience to be for all, not just for a select few. He didn't want Pentecostalism for Pentecostals alone, but also for those who would not necessarily wish to adopt such a narrow label. Pentecostal exclusivity was a notion that Polhill rightly sought to avoid. His vision of Pentecostalism was as a reinvigorated, denominationally unaffiliated, charismatic Evangelicalism.¹⁰² In spite of the extra assistance at St Andrews the

in 1909, *Confidence* Vol2/No12 (December 1909), 287. Gee, 18-19.

99 *Confidence*, Vol.1 No.5 (August 1908), 13.

100 *Fragments of Flame* (October 1908) unpaginated. A record of these meetings appears on the last page.

101 *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), £42.10s on 31 August “George Graham Brown Expenses at St Andrews,” 180, *PCO* cf. *Memoirs*, 113, *PCO*.

102 *Flames of Fire* No.1 (Oct 1911), 2. That is not to say that Boddy did not want this too even if he tended to restrict his comments to other Pentecostals in *Confidence*.

mission does not seem to have been one of the successful ones. Polhill wrote despondently, “St Andrews is as hard and cold, with few exceptions, as its grey stone houses...[but]...the Lord has been touching a few hearts in the open air.”¹⁰³ By October 1908, Polhill had returned to England to strengthen the bond with one of his key contacts and encourage pentecostal assemblies around the country. He and Boddy spent several days together on a remarkable pentecostal car tour around Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire and London.

5.1.3 A Pentecostal Car Tour with Rev. Alexander A. Boddy (October 1908)

Boddy wrote about the tour in a lengthy, three-page, article for the October issue of *Confidence*.¹⁰⁴ It began with a John Bunyan pilgrimage to significant spots associated with Bunyan's life in Bedford and his old home and church in Elstow. After a night at Howbury Hall, they drove to St Albans, “surprising a dear Brother in the Lord before breakfast,” before moving onto Beaconsfield, Hedgerley, and Burnham Beeches in Buckinghamshire. Afterwards they travelled east to Ealing, London, visiting “Miss [Mary] Sturdee's sick chamber.” Sturdee was a holiness author and member of the Pentecostal League of Prayer before learning of the Azusa Street mission revival and having a pentecostal experience of her own, “[on] the banks of the Hudson River.”¹⁰⁵ She knew Boddy from at least 1901 having held a Pentecostal League of Prayer Mission at Boddy's church in that year, and she attended the first Sunderland conference with her colleague, Miss M. Schofield, with whom she had been to the United States and with whom she co-authored a book mainly consisting of articles

103 Polhill, *Fragments of Flame* (October 1908), unpaginated. There is a record of these meetings on the last page.

104 *Confidence* Vol.1 No.7 (October 1908), 6-10.

105 *Confidence* Vol.1 No.3 (June 1908), 15.

from *Tongues of Fire* in 1899.¹⁰⁶ It would appear that she was very ill, hence the reference to her sick chamber, and she did in fact die a short time later on 17 December 1908.¹⁰⁷ Afterwards Polhill drove Boddy to White City and Islington where they stopped at the home of “Mrs Max Reich” and spoke to Minnie Abrams who was evidently staying with the Reichs.¹⁰⁸ Max Reich was a Jewish Christian and leader of the Bethshan Healing home in London, founded by the North American holiness teacher W. E. Boardman. Reich had travelled to Sunderland for Barratt's meetings in 1907.¹⁰⁹ Minnie Florence Abrams (1859-1912) was a North American missionary associated with Pandita Ramabai and the Mukti mission, near Pune in India.¹¹⁰ Abrams wrote to Boddy in August 1908 to say that she would be visiting England in September with Ramabai's daughter, Manoramabai, in order that Manoramabai might “meet her mother's old friends” and to look for new supporters.¹¹¹

On Thursday 8 October, they drove to the CIM headquarters in Newington Green, London, where they met Stanley Smith on furlough amongst others. Smith had by this time been forced to resign from the CIM for being a universalist, but he continued in China as an independent missionary, and he evidently maintained friendly relationships within the British CIM and with Polhill in particular.¹¹² Their Bunyan

106 M. Sturdee & M. Schofield, *God's Purpose: Or Look from the Top* (1899).

107 'In Memoriam' *Confidence* Vol.2 No.1 (January 1909), 16.

108 At that time hosting the Franco-British Exhibition. This was a large public fair celebrating the Entente Cordiale signed between the UK and France in 1904. According to Boddy there were, “...portions of scripture being given to the crowds that surged through the vast enclosure.”

109 He is mentioned in the following newspaper article from the period ‘Speaking in Tongues, Interview with Pastor Barrett[sic], What is the Language?’ in the *Sunderland Daily Echo*, Friday October 4, 1907.

110 G. McGee, 'Baptism of the Holy Ghost and Fire! The Revival Legacy of Minnie F. Abrams.' *Enrichment Journal* (Summer, 1998), unpaginated.

111 *Confidence* Vol.1 No.6 (September 1908), 15. Shipping records indicate that she left Liverpool on 27 February 1909 arriving at New York on 5 March. New York, Passenger lists, 1820-1957, s.vv 'Abrams, Minnie' on 27 February 1909. Manoramabai returned to India.

112 *Confidence* Vol.1 No.7 (October 1908), 8.

pilgrimage continued in London with a visit to his grave in Bunhill Fields Burial Ground before continuing (via various famous London postcodes) to, “a Dear African Brother...[for a] time of fellowship and prayer.” This was almost certainly the Ghanaian Thomas Brem Wilson who had paid for the first issues of *Confidence* to be printed and led arguably the first independent pentecostal church in the country in Bethel Hall, Camberwell.¹¹³ Afterwards Polhill and Boddy drove to Wimbledon and Croydon in South London “visiting several Pentecostal friends” before heading back to North London where they left the pentecostal motor car for a train from St Pancras. They arrived in Bedford just in time for the evening service at the young pentecostal assembly Polhill had established on Lime Street under the care of the Welsh evangelist, W. J. Tomlinson, shortly after the first pentecostal mission in 1908.¹¹⁴ According to Boddy, “Brother Tomlinson...is working here under Mr Polhill, and is seeking to be a blessing both in the open-air and in the waiting meetings.”¹¹⁵ The car tour taken by Polhill and Boddy was significant for several reasons:

- (1) It strengthened inter-pentecostal cohesion by encouraging young pentecostal assemblies.
- (2) It helped establish the position of Boddy and Polhill as *de facto* leaders of the early movement in Britain.
- (3) It strengthened the cooperation and friendship within that key partnership of Polhill and Boddy themselves.

113 My thanks to Dr David Killingray, Professor Emeritus of History, for this information and for sharing his unpublished manuscript about Wilson. I believe it has now been accepted for publication in the *Journal of Religion in Africa* under the title ‘An African Pentecostal pioneer in Peckham: Thomas Brem Wilson (1867-1929), and Pentecostal origins in south London.’ See *Confidence* Vol.1 No.2 (May 1908), 19 and Vol.1 No.6 (September 1908), 13.

114 It seems unusual that Polhill did not use the CSMH at this stage, and this could indicate some resistance from George Kendall. If Kendall rejected Pentecostalism then this would explain why he seems to disappear suddenly from the CSMH, in 1910, replaced by two Pentecostals: James Techner and John Phillips.

115 *Confidence* Vol.1 No.7 (October 1908), 9.

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Figure 10. Howbury Hall with Car



Howbury Hall with what is probably (or what became) the “Pentecostal Gospel Car” c.1904.

Source: from the Polhill Collection.

5.1.3.1 Pentecostal-Holiness Networks

Both Polhill and Boddy had a network of affiliations with the holiness movement in its various expressions. One layer of this network was the Keswick convention. There were few from Keswick, aside from Boddy and Polhill, who openly embraced the pentecostal movement.¹¹⁶ More significant perhaps was a second layer of networks from wesleyan-holiness groups. For Boddy, this came through his association with the Pentecostal League of Prayer, for Polhill it came through his association with the Costin Street Mission Hall (a venue used by members of the Pentecostal League of Prayer) and Erskine Crossley at Cambridge. In addition, both Polhill and Boddy had connections to the Faith Mission based in Scotland.¹¹⁷ There was a far greater transition to Pentecostalism from wesleyan-holiness groups than there was from Keswick. This can probably be explained by the sociological nature of the two groups. Keswick was moderate, middle class and largely Anglican, so there was perhaps a much stronger sense of institutional conservatism that kept them from too readily embracing innovation. In addition, the revival convention of 1905 had divided Keswick, and this had clearly made the organisers wary of revival movements. By contrast, wesleyan-holiness movements were largely Nonconformist and much more denominationally diverse. Groups like the Pentecostal League of Prayer and the Faith Mission were interdenominational-umbrella organisations that encouraged members to remain in their existing denominations. These groups did not have the same kind of in-built institutional conservatism, so their members could respond to change more easily.

¹¹⁶ E. W. Moore and Gregory Mantle were not described as “in” the pentecostal movement.

¹¹⁷ Gee, *Pentecostal Movement*, 34; Maclean, 128.

5.1.3.2 Bunyan as an Inspirational Figure for Early Pentecostals

Throughout their pentecostal car journey there were frequent pauses to reflect on the life of John Bunyan. It would be easy to disregard the significance of their Bunyan pilgrimage as nothing more than coincidental, evangelical-friendly, sightseeing, but there are two outstanding themes in Bunyan's life that were pertinent to Polhill and Boddy. The first theme is courageous nonconformity in the sense that just as Bunyan was compelled to live in a way that was unpopular with the Establishment in obedience to what he believed was God's leading, so too Polhill and Boddy felt they were called to live as Pentecostals in spite of disapproval from many of their peers. The second theme is rejection. In Bunyan's case this meant imprisonment, and while this would be an unlikely result for Polhill and Boddy it would have been plain to them at this time that living openly as Pentecostals would result in a kind of social rejection from some of their more conservative evangelical colleagues. This was already beginning to happen amongst those involved in the Keswick convention (which Polhill stopped attending from 1909), the tension was further increased by a large German evangelical group proscribing Pentecostalism in the Berlin Declaration of 1909, and further still by the CIM's anti-pentecostal stance in 1914 and 1915.¹¹⁸ There would have been a sense, in October 1908, that as Polhill and Boddy visited the sights of Bunyan, who had resolved himself to suffer so much rejection, that they too were resolving themselves to suffer rejection for their pentecostal convictions.¹¹⁹ Barratt would subsequently make this connection explicit on his Bunyan tour in Bedford, in July 1909:

It's the old story repeated: Persecuting the truth and its supporters where it is preached in the demonstration of the Spirit. Then the coming generation

¹¹⁸ Simpson, 65 and Usher, '*Prepared for Pentecost*', 42-46.

¹¹⁹ It is not difficult to find examples of this sentiment from Boddy, see for example his comments in *Confidence* Vol.2 No.1 (January 1909), 17. "[Boddy] was glad to meet one who had suffered much for Pentecostal truths."

suppose they are so much better, and build monuments to the honour of the persecuted ones. They are at a distance from those who set the world upside down. They cannot bother them. But the men and woman preaching the same old truths of salvation by the same spirit to-day, are being persecuted by these same monument builders.¹²⁰

Polhill's energy for pentecostal initiatives had not been exhausted by the car tour.

After this formative period closed, Polhill's tireless pentecostal activity continued in the final quarter of 1908 with a series of pentecostal meetings in London.

5.1.4 Third Pentecostal Mission, London (October-December 1908)

Between mid-October and early December 1908, Polhill arranged three kinds of meetings in London: a mission based at Ecclestone Hall, Pimlico; “drawing room” meetings at Gloucester Place, Marylebone, and prayer meetings for business men in the Cannon Street Hotel inside “the square mile.”¹²¹ The evangelical aristocrat Lord Granville Augustus William Waldegrave Radstock (1833-1913), who was one of the original supporters of the CIM, owned Ecclestone Hall. It was used as a nondenominational preaching and conference centre until 1928 when it became the headquarters of the Scripture Gift Mission.¹²²

5.1.4.1 The Ecclestone Hall Mission

Polhill was unpretentious when it came to associating with people from different, less privileged, social backgrounds, but all of his London meetings were in relatively prestigious areas far beyond the budgets of most people at that time.

¹²⁰ His italics, *Confidence* Vol.2 No.8 (August 1909), 188.

¹²¹ *Confidence* Vol.1 No.6 (September 1908), 13. cf. Vol.1 No.9 (December 1908), 7.

¹²² Email correspondence J. Williams (SGM Archivist) to author, 14 May 2014.

**Figure 11. Eccleston Hall, Eccleston Street,
Victoria, London mid-twentieth century.**



Site of Polhill's third pentecostal mission of 1908. The hall was the headquarters of the Scripture Gift Mission (now known as SGM LifeWords) until it was destroyed by a gas explosion in 1956.

Source: photograph used by kind permission of the SGM LifeWords archive.

He paid Thomas Hogben £30.19s for the hire of Ecclestone Hall and for the Cannon Street Hotel meetings he paid a further £15.15s.¹²³ These figures do not include salaries or expenses for evangelists nor any other expenses incurred.¹²⁴ The average salary in the UK in 1908 was £70 per year.¹²⁵ There is very little record of the mission at Ecclestone Hall except for a short article in *Confidence*, in 1909, indicating that Alexander Niblock had presided and Boddy and Smith Wigglesworth had attended.¹²⁶ Thomas Hogben, of the “One by One Band,” was also a well-known evangelist, so he could also have been involved in the mission in an evangelistic capacity.¹²⁷ Alexander Moncor Niblock (1876-1951) had been training as a medical missionary and was a London-based evangelist before becoming Pentecostal after travelling to Sunderland shortly before the first Sunderland conference.¹²⁸ His missionary background is the most probable explanation for his subsequent appointment as first principal of the Pentecostal Missionary Union college in 1909. Smith Wigglesworth (1859-1947) was a former plumber who had become the leader of the Bowland Street Mission, in Bradford. He already believed he was baptised in the Holy Spirit before the pentecostal movement emerged, but he searched for a deeper spiritual experience still. This search brought him to Sunderland in October 1907 where he became Pentecostal.¹²⁹ There is no indication that Polhill ever hired Ecclestone Hall again after

123 *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), on 14 and 15 December 1908, 184, *PCO*.

124 For example, “T. Price Printing for Ecclestone Hall,” and “Morgan & Scott Hymn Books” on the same day, 4 December 1908. *Cash Book 1904-1910*, 184, *PCO*.

125 G. Thompson et al, *Olympic Britain: Social and economic change since the 1908 and 1948 London Games* (House of Commons Library, 2012), 43. Available online at:

<http://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/research/olympic-britain/> (last accessed March 2014).

126 *Confidence* Vol.2 No.1 (January 1909), 17.

127 T. Hogben, *My Witness*, (London: One by One Band, 1909). Available online at:

<https://books.logos.com/books/5917#content=/books/5917> (last accessed April 2014).

128 *1901 Census for England and Wales* s.vv. 'Niblock, Alexander M.' available on ancestry.com (last accessed April 2014). His occupation is given as 'Missionary Student' cf. M. Blain, *The Blain Biographical Directory of Anglican Clergy in the South Pacific*, s.vv. 'Niblock, Alexander Moncor' available online at http://anglicanhistory.org/nz/blain_directory/directory.pdf (last accessed December 2014) cf. *Confidence* Vol.1 No.1 (April 1908), 13.

129 Wakefield, 94.

this event although he maintained a lengthy affiliation with Niblock and Wigglesworth.

5.1.4.2 Regular “Drawing Room” Meetings

His drawing room meetings at 9 Gloucester Place were strategically located near Baker Street underground station and clearly designed to impress. By average standards, the cost of Gloucester Place was enormous. To rent the property for just two months it cost £84.4s.6d.¹³⁰ According to Boddy, the meetings at Gloucester Place had been a success, “a rallying time for many of the workers and leaders in and around London.”¹³¹ Initially it had been advertised that Polman and Victor Wilson, a Scottish Pentecostal, would be present for meetings on Friday afternoons, but in subsequent months further dates were added and additional pentecostal luminaries attended such as Wigglesworth and Niblock.¹³² Wilson had been a Baptist based in Edinburgh before becoming a Pentecostal after hearing Boddy speak at a Faith Mission conference in Edinburgh, in January 1908.¹³³

5.1.4.3 Midday Meetings for Business Men

The third type of London meeting Polhill held during the final months of 1908 were “midday meetings for Business Men” at the Cannon Street Hotel. Cannon Street was in “the City,” the historic business centre within London, so this was a logical choice of location for this type of meeting.¹³⁴ It was also strategically located above Cannon Street station. The hotel was a popular location for high profile public meetings.

According to Boddy, Polhill was assisted at these meetings by Niblock and “Mr

130 *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), 15 October 1908, 182, *PCO*

131 *Confidence* Vol.1 No.8 (November 1908), 10.

132 *Confidence* Vol.1 No.9 (December 1908), 7.

133 Gee, *Pentecostal Movement*, 34.

134 *Confidence* Vol.1 No.9 (December 1908), 7.

Tilley” (probably Alfred E. Tilley).¹³⁵ One of the features of these meetings was “earnest prayer for revival.”¹³⁶ These meetings anticipated in many ways the work of the Full Gospel Business Men’s Fellowship and demonstrate how far ahead of his time Polhill was.¹³⁷ Given Polhill's limited contact with future Pentecostals before 1908, he networked with remarkable rapidity, and the potential impact of his resources would have been very quickly apparent.

5.1.5 Polhill and Pentecostal Egalitarianism

In the midst of all the London activity Polhill found time to travel to Bournemouth on 5 November, taking Polman with him, to be the keynote speaker at the opening of Emmanuel Mission Hall built by William Oliver Hutchinson (1864-1928).¹³⁸ It was the first purpose-built pentecostal hall in the country, and Polhill had contributed more than a quarter of the cost.¹³⁹ Hutchinson was an evangelist who had formerly been in the British Army. He encountered Pentecostalism after visiting the first Sunderland conference in 1908.¹⁴⁰ He subsequently became a founding member of the Apostolic Faith Church.¹⁴¹ In his keynote, Polhill affirmed his conviction that God was doing a wonderful new thing across the world and that this work could spread throughout Bournemouth. He encouraged the listeners that the baptism of the Holy Ghost was egalitarian, and he used an analogy from Hudson Taylor to emphasise this

135 As indicated by Polhill's financial records. *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), 26 December 1908, “Alfred E. Tilley Teas (£3) and Salary (£12),” 186, *PCO*. Tea in this instance probably refers to meals rather than drinking tea.

136 *Confidence* Vol.1 No.9 (December 1908), 7.

137 A charismatic organisation for “business men to come together...to share their faith in Christ” started by Demos Shakarian, in the United States, in 1951. *IDPCM* s.vv. ‘Full Gospel Business Men’s Fellowship International’.

138 *Confidence* Vol.1 No.8 (November 1908), 23-24.

139 The price of the hall was £382 and Polhill had donated £100 of this. Worsfold, 35. *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), on 17 August 1908 “W. Hutchinson Donation to Build Hall £100”, 178, *PCO*.

140 Worsfold, 34. cf. *Confidence* Vol.1 No.8 (November 1908), 24.

141 The history of the denomination, which took a slightly different path to that of Elim and the AGBI, is somewhat complicated but valiantly tackled by Worsfold.

point, “If you put a big tank or a little jug under the falls of Niagara they would soon both be full and overflowing, and the overflow from the little jug would be precisely the same as the overflow from the big tank...He will fill us and overflow us, and others will be blessed by the overflow.”¹⁴² It was an impressively progressive position for an Eton-educated land owner.

Within just six months of the first Sunderland conference, Polhill had held pentecostal missions all over the country, he had planted a pentecostal congregation in Bedford and funded numerous pentecostal leaders and initiatives including the first purpose-built pentecostal church. He claimed during this time that about fifty people had “received their Pentecost.”¹⁴³ The optimistic outlook was, however, tainted by opposition to the movement. Polhill reflected on this during his keynote at Bournemouth, “But there was a sad side to the picture as well. God says He will clothe His enemies with shame. It is a terrible thing to be standing in the way of God, and it will be a sad case for those who are opposing the work of the Holy Spirit in these last days.”¹⁴⁴ Opposition was particularly felt in Germany where Polhill and Boddy travelled in December 1908 as the two British representatives of the Hamburg Pentecostal Conference, 8-11 December 1908.¹⁴⁵ Here Polhill began to seriously turn his attention to utilising Pentecostals for mission to Tibet.

5.1.6 The Hamburg Pentecostal Conference (8-11 December 1908)

Germany was a significant place for Polhill. The uncle from whom he had inherited most of his wealth had lived and worked in Germany as a diplomat, and it was on a

142 *Confidence* Vol.1 No.8 (November 1908), 23-24.

143 *Confidence* Vol.2 No.1 (January 1909), 7.

144 *Ibid*, 24.

145 *Confidence* Vol.1 No.9 (December 1908), 24.

return visit to his uncle in Germany, in 1883, that Polhill had made the decision to live wholly as an evangelical Christian.¹⁴⁶ Opposition to Pentecostalism in Germany had arisen earlier and with more vigour than any opposition British Pentecostals would face. Boddy observed in 1912, “There has been much more open opposition in the religious press, and by pamphlets, to the Pentecostal Blessing in Germany than in England.”¹⁴⁷ This had not been entirely unwarranted as a pentecostal revival campaign in Kassel in July 1907, led by Heinrich Dallmeyer (1870-1925), descended into riotous notoriety.¹⁴⁸ An organised group of German Evangelicals, known as the *Gemeinschaftsbewegung* “Fellowship Movement,” had initially been favourably disposed towards Pentecostalism, but they quickly became suspicious of certain elements of the movement. They were particularly concerned about the prominent role allowed to women within Pentecostalism. In order to control the movement's spread the *Gemeinschaftsbewegung* resolved, at the Barmen Conference of December 1907, to hold a one-year moratorium on anything related to Pentecostalism.¹⁴⁹ The Hamburg pentecostal conference of 1908 was planned to coincide with the end of this period of silence. Fifty pentecostal leaders from all over Europe, including the primary German leader Jonathan Paul (1853-1931),¹⁵⁰ gathered to discuss the pentecostal movement in light of scripture; in light of history; the connection between sanctification and Pentecostalism; tongues as a sign and prophetic messages amongst other topics, but the validity of their pentecostal experiences in general was never in any doubt.¹⁵¹ The conference's concern was how to progress the pentecostal

146 Usher, 'Patron of the Pentecostals...', 41; Polhill, *Two Etonians*, 11.

147 *Confidence* Vol.5 No.2 (February 1912), 43.

148 C. Simpson, 'Pentecostalism in Germanic Countries' in W. Kay and A. Dyer ed. *European Pentecostalism*, 62.

149 Simpson, 61, 63.

150 Paul had encountered Pentecostalism by attending Barratt's meetings in Norway in 1907, but Emil Meyer (1869-1950) and Emil Humburg (1874-1969) were also prominent German leaders.

Simpson, 61, 63.

151 *Confidence* Vol.2 No.1 (January 1909), 3-11, 15-16 and Vol.2 No.2 (February 1909), 32-36, 37-

movement carefully, considerately and rightly by reference to scripture.

5.1.6.1 Pentecost for Foreign Mission

The subject of establishing a pentecostal missionary organisation was not officially on the agenda of the Hamburg conference, but on Wednesday 9 December, during an open session, Polhill “was moved to speak at length” on the subject of foreign mission.¹⁵² He argued that revival could only be maintained if certain elements were cultivated: Holiness, bible study and in particular mission, and that it was because the Welsh revival lacked the drive for mission that it had stagnated. He insisted that the pentecostal revival “must” go worldwide, and that the Holy Spirit was a gift for service and especially for missionary service. He acknowledged the prejudices Pentecostals faced but argued that successful evangelism would break prejudices down. He expressed a concern that western missionaries had become too rational, and that this negatively affected Chinese teachers and evangelists who would lose their supernatural gifts of healing because of the unbelief of Westerners, yet he maintained that the missionary enterprise must be level-headed, practical and business-like, and emphasised the need for professionally trained missionaries:

In the matter of Foreign Missions, we Pentecostal people ought to be thoroughly business-like and practical.

1st Give ourselves unreservedly to God.

2nd Let us get our young people around us and train them in the Bible, how to be holy and then

3rd Send them out.

Jesus is coming, Hallelujah. He is with us to-day. Let us stir up the Gift that is in us.¹⁵³

The impact of Polhill's unscheduled address was enormous. The British pentecostal

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152 *Confidence* Vol.1 No.9 (December 1908), 2 (of supplement). Notes on his address appear in the next issue, *Confidence* Vol.2 No.1 (January 1909), 15-16.

153 Ibid.

movement, under Polhill's influence, was about to be infused with renewed purpose and recast as a missionary movement.

5.2 Part Two 1909: Equipping Pentecostals for Mission at Home and Abroad

On 9 January 1909, the Pentecostal Missionary Union (PMU) for Great Britain and Ireland was established.¹⁵⁴ Polhill's role and influence during this first crucial year of the union has never been fully analysed in light of his extensive past experiences on the Tibetan border. Polhill pushed himself to the fore of the pentecostal movement and insisted on a foreign mission focus, so that he could continue his programme of evangelising Tibet. The pentecostal movement accepted Polhill's missionary imperative, and as a result Polhill became more involved in organising pentecostal activity domestically. In addition to his role in the PMU, he carried out energetic pentecostal activism all over the country. Bedford and London in particular became Polhill's special pentecostal spheres of influence.

5.2.1 The Formation of the Pentecostal Missionary Union (January 1909)

The executive council of the PMU was listed in *Confidence* as follows: Polhill's name appears first as treasurer followed by Boddy as the editorial secretary; T. H. Mundell, a solicitor from London, is next followed by Victor Wilson secretary for Scotland then Andrew Bell, the compiler of the *Songs of Victory* hymn book; Andrew Murdoch and Harry Small.¹⁵⁵ According to Gee, Mundell had become Pentecostal as a result of his association with a holiness mission, led by H. Inchcombe in Croydon, that had made the transition to Pentecostalism.¹⁵⁶ It is also worth noting that Mundell's offices,

¹⁵⁴ *Confidence* Vol.2 No.1 (January 1909), 13.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ Gee, *Pentecostal Movement*, 55. cf. "You would probably hear that Mr Mundell, Croydon, had got

at Godlimen Street in central London, were just a short distance from Polhill's Cannon Street meetings. Murdoch, Bell and Wilson had all become Pentecostal as a result of Alexander and Mary Boddy speaking at a Faith Mission conference in Edinburgh, in January 1908.¹⁵⁷ Harry Small was mentioned in *Confidence* as early as October 1908 as the leader of a “real band of intercessors” in East Wemyss, Fife.¹⁵⁸ In addition to the executive council, a general council was established consisting of one representative of each pentecostal centre in the country. Plans for a missionary college were also announced and readers were invited to make donations and send applications.¹⁵⁹ The qualifications required to join the PMU were to be baptised in the Holy Spirit “with signs and gifts,” and to be biblically literate with an accurate knowledge of salvation and sanctification.¹⁶⁰ A comparison of the PMU application form with the application form of the CIM demonstrates that they are identical in most respects, but there are some notable differences. The PMU application form required additional information about the applicants' views and experiences of the *charismata*, and PMU applicants were also required to expand briefly on each point of the PMU's fundamental truths (see table 3 in the following chapter) in their own words.¹⁶¹ It is perfectly evident, however, that Polhill modelled the PMU application form on the application form of the CIM. In 1909, Polhill still held a place on the

his Pentecost, and that the Lord is working there.” *Confidence* Vol.1 No.8 (November 1908), 13.
¹⁵⁷ Gee, *Pentecostal Movement*, 34-36.

¹⁵⁸ *Confidence*, Vol.1 No.7 (October 1908), 16. Small was actually English, born in London as the son of an Army Surgeon, but his family were from Fife. *1891 England Census* s.vv. 'Small, David Henry' (b.1866) he married Alice Jeanetta 'Netta' Green in 1893 in Croyden, *England and Wales, FreeBMD Marriage Index, 1837-1915*, s.vv. 'Small, Henry David'. Both were Polhill's visitors for the 1911 Census. *Census of England and Wales, 1911*, s.vv. 'Small, Harry', address 'The Cottage, Renhold, Beds.' All records available on www.ancestry.com (last accessed May 2014).

¹⁵⁹ These were then known as training “homes,” but they are the ancestors of modern-day pentecostal colleges, so I have elected to refer to them as colleges.

¹⁶⁰ The PMU application form did however ask applicants more pointedly, “When were you baptized with the Holy Ghost, with the accompanying sign of speaking in tongues (Acts i, 8), and have you experienced any of the other signs? (Mark xvi, 17).” Q.24 (a) Candidates's Schedule for the Pentecostal Missionary Union, *PC*. My thanks to David Emmett for sharing this.

¹⁶¹ The CIM application form merely required applicants to assent to the CIM's fundamental trusts. At least this was the case in 1906. See M. Wood to C. Polhill 18 July 1906, *PCO*.

CIM London council, so his establishment of the PMU must be seen against the wider context of his continued struggle to divert missionaries to the Sino-Tibetan and Indo-Tibetan borders.

5.2.1.1 The CIM and Tibet

Polhill informed the CIM of his plans to send PMU missionaries to the Tibetan border less than two months after the PMU had been established:

Mr Hoste informed the Council that he had received letters both from Mr. Howard and Mr. Sloan upon Mr. Polhill's proposal to bring out a party of workers connected with the Pentecostal Movement and plant them on the Tibetan border next Autumn, and Mr. Sloan had promised to write informing him of the results of interviews which he and Mr. Head had been deputed by the London Council to have with Mr. Polhill upon this subject.¹⁶²

The crucial observation to make here is that this was eight months before Polhill had even been elected first president of the PMU, so this supports the case that Polhill's intention from the very outset had been to divert PMU missionaries to the Tibetan border. Polhill had no prospect of gaining any new missionaries from the CIM while Tibet's political position remained so tenuous, and the CIM actively discouraged missionaries from going to the region.¹⁶³ Upbeat reports from Tibet-border missionaries continued to appear in *China's Millions*, but the editorials were always less optimistic. There is at least one instance of an editorial openly contradicting an optimistic report coming from the Tibetan border in *China's Millions* by providing readers with "the real situation."¹⁶⁴ In light of this official line, Polhill's decision to

162 *Minutes of the Shanghai Council* March 1909, 492. Polhill was elected president of the PMU in October 1909. *PMU Minute Book 1*, 13, *PCRA-DGC*.

163 "...the difficulties are immense and the openings for reaching any considerable number of people extremely limited...Tibet is at present far from open, and the British Consular authorities are stricter than they have every been." *China's Millions* (1910), 56, *SOAS*.

164 This April 1907 editorial explicitly contradicts an article published earlier that year, cf. the November 1907 editorial which is equally pessimistic about mission to Tibet. *China's Millions* (1907), 57 and 172 respectively, *SOAS*. The December 1909 editorial also cautions readers as to the remoteness of Tibet, "Mr J. R. Muir [and Mrs Muir] have resided at Batang for more than a

seize the initiative and establish his own para-missionary organisation while he was still a member of the CIM council was very provocative, but he had little choice. He had been in the unprecedented and slightly embarrassing position of being a superintendent (of Tibet since 1899) but without having any missionaries or territory to superintend.¹⁶⁵

5.2.1.1.1 A Pentecostal Solution to Tibet

There is no reason to believe that Polhill did not hold deep convictions about the nature and purpose of Pentecostalism, but it is also clear that the possibility of sending pentecostal missionaries to Tibet was an ideal solution to the long-standing problem of the CIM's reluctance to support him. The pentecostal missionaries would be entirely under his jurisdiction and in no way impeded or answerable to the CIM. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that Polhill was prepared to financially support the pentecostal movement when its emergence, his involvement, and the establishment of its missionary wing would have seemed to him so utterly providential. His control of the PMU was, however, not total, and his determination to evangelise Tibet not completely all-consuming. He was prepared to consider evangelising other areas which explains why one of the first two PMU missionaries was permitted to work in South India while the other travelled to the Indo-Tibetan border.

5.2.1.2 The First Missionaries: Kathleen Miller and Lucy James

Within a month of the PMU's establishment, Miss Lucy James and Miss Kathleen Miller were recruited and sent out to India. One of the main purposes of the PMU was

year...They are eighteen days' journey from the nearest station and post office, and in this isolated spot have passed through a time of trying sickness. With only a limited area of land suitable for cultivation...food is both scarce and expensive...," *China's Millions* (1909), 190, *SOAS*.

165 J. W. Stevenson to C. Polhill 28 July 1899, *PCO*.

the need to properly train pentecostal missionaries in an organised and level-headed manner, so the speed with which James and Miller were sent to India is surprising. There are however several key factors that make their cases exceptional. The first is that Miller was already a trained missionary who could speak two Indian dialects and had, according to *Confidence*, “previous Indian experience.”¹⁶⁶ James was from Bedford and a member of the Pentecostal League of Prayer, so Polhill probably already knew her.¹⁶⁷ Additionally James and possibly Miller were likely recruited as part of the British promotional campaign conducted by Pandita Ramabai's daughter, Manoramabai, and Minnie Abrams.¹⁶⁸ This may have involved Eccleston Hall, where Polhill had sponsored a mission in 1908, since Lord Radstock seems to have had some involvement in Manoramabai's tour.¹⁶⁹ James' destination was the Mukti Orphanage near Pune, managed by Ramabai, and both James and Miller accompanied Manoramabai on her return to India.¹⁷⁰ Miller subsequently wrote of her excitement enroute, “I feel it a great privilege to be [sailing to India] with Manoramabai.”¹⁷¹ There may be one further contributing factor. James and Miller were first stationed with the Christian and Missionary Alliance missionary Maude Orlebar (1844-1910).¹⁷² According to Anderson, Orlebar became Pentecostal after meeting Alfred and Lillian Garr, from the Azusa Street mission, in India in 1907.¹⁷³ Orlebar was, like

166 *Confidence* Vol.2 No.2 (February 1909). 38. Gee clarified this by stating that she was previously a missionary in India. Gee, *Pentecostal Movement*, 51.

167 *Confidence* Vol.2 No.2 (February, 1909). 38.

168 *Confidence* Vol.1 No.6 (September 1908), 15. According to McGee, Manoramabai and Abrams left India in 1908 for a promotional tour around the US. McGee, *'Baptism of the Holy Ghost'*, unpaginated. This could have been prior to or after their tour of the UK. Shipping records show that Abrams left Liverpool on 27 February 1909 on board the *Lusitania* and arrived at New York on 5 March 1909. Manoramabai returned to India with the missionaries she had recruited, see *Confidence* Vol.2 No.3 (March, 1909). 75.

169 *Confidence* Vol.2 No.2 (February, 1909). 50.

170 *Ibid.*

171 *Confidence* Vol.2 No.3 (March, 1909). 75.

172 Often misspelled as “Maud.” *Confidence* Vol.2 No.3 (March, 1909). 70.

173 Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 89.

Polhill, from a land-owning family based in Bedfordshire, at Hinwick Hall.¹⁷⁴ Polhill and Orlebar almost certainly knew of each other. As early as 1905, Polhill had made a donation to Maude Orlebar's cousin, Reverend Augustus Orlebar (1824-1912), who had been adopted by Maude's father.¹⁷⁵ Given that Polhill and Orlebar were from the same area and the families knew each other he probably felt it was safe to send the missionaries to her without going through PMU training.

5.2.1.2.1 The First Pentecostals Amongst the Tibetans

Orlebar was clearly aware of Polhill's emphasis on Tibet, and she appears to have attempted to encourage him to broaden his horizons in *Confidence* in March 1909:

Could it not be that India and poor Bombay may be brought to the notice of your Missionary Council and Candidates[?] I would so gladly receive and help those who would give themselves to the Lord for this work, though I would not step in to lessen the number who would go to Thibet and China, but the Lord can call some to India who are not called to China and Thibet. Will you not ask the Lord whether Bombay may have help?¹⁷⁶

Miller subsequently worked for a time with Orlebar in Darjeeling, near the Indo-Tibetan border, in the same region Polhill had worked with the TMB between 1895-1896.¹⁷⁷ She made a point of reporting her evangelistic work amongst Tibetans in

174 Her father was William Augustus Orlebar (1794-1873) who inherited a fortune from his godfather John Bagwell. He used part of his inheritance to purchase Hinwick Hall (not to be confused with Hinwick House another Bedford-based former Orlebar property) in 1834 where his daughter, Maude, was living ten years later. *1871 Census of England and Wales* s.vv. 'Orlebar, Maude' b. 1844 (available at www.ancestry.com) cf. Page, 80-87. Hinwick Hall was subsequently a college for students with learning difficulties until it closed in 2014 (allegedly owing to government cuts) and the property went back on the market. It is a little over fifteen miles from the Polhill ancestral estate. The Bedfordshire and Luton Archive holds seven letters from Maude, amongst other family items, in their Orlebar Archive at <http://tinyurl.com/orlebar>. The John Bagwell mentioned above is probably "John Bagwill" an enormously wealthy stock broker who died in 1828. See W. Rubinstein, *Who Were the Rich? Vol.1 1809-1839* (London: The Social Affairs Unit, 2009) s.vv. 'Bagwill, John', 292.

175 G. Vowles, *The Reverend Augustus Orlebar: 'Squarson', sportsman and 'Father of the Village' Vicar of Willington 1858-1912* (Willington: Gostwick Press, 2010) cf. *Cash Book 1904-1910*, 54, PCO.

176 *Confidence* Vol.2 No.3 (March, 1909), 73.

177 *Confidence* Vol.2 No.6 (June, 1909), 138.

Confidence, “On Sunday, Miss Orlebar and Mr Schoonmaker went with the Tibetan missionaries preaching in the bazaar here, and two Tibetan men, raw heathen were convicted of sin and prayed for mercy, and the missionary-in-charge, who translated for them, had the joy of leading them to Jesus, and they were truly saved.”¹⁷⁸ This was clearly written with Polhill in mind. Just as Polhill took advantage of his pre-existing evangelical networks in Britain in 1908, he also took advantage of them on the mission field by making Maude Orlebar *de facto* superintendent of India. In February 1909, he used all the influence he could muster to arrange a meeting between influential church figures and Pentecostals.

5.2.2 The Mass Walkout of the Ecumenical Prayer Meeting for “the deplorable need of London” (February 1909)

Polhill paused all of his previous pentecostal initiatives in London for the month of January 1909, but he had placed a notice in *Confidence* stating his intention to recommence meetings at 51 Montague Street, near Marble Arch, from 3 February, by which time he would revert to his strategy of holding multiple meetings in different styles all over the city.¹⁷⁹ The midday meetings at Cannon Street Hotel recommenced Tuesday-Friday, in addition there were afternoon meetings at “Portman Rooms” in the West End on Wednesdays and Fridays, and evening meetings at Grovedale Hall, Highgate on Wednesdays and Fridays.¹⁸⁰ His Ecumenical prayer meeting for revival was held on 9 February at the suitably prestigious location of the Cannon Street

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ *Confidence* Vol.2 No.1 (January 1909), 7 and 17. While there were no meetings in London during January there is evidence from Polhill's financial records of revival meetings in Bedford. A payment on 24 December 1908 for “Bill Posting for Revival Meetings in Bedford,” and “T. B. Othen Hire of Town Hall for meetings” on 7 January 1909. It does not say it is the Bedford Town Hall, but Othen was Polhill's estate manager, so this could indicate that it was somewhere in Bedford. *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), 186 and 188 respectively, *PCO*.

¹⁸⁰ *Confidence* Vol.2 No.2 (February 1909), 38.

Hotel.¹⁸¹ He invited several church figures of standing. There were two bishops, one Anglican, the Bishop of Southwark, Edward Stuart Talbot (1844-1934)¹⁸² and the other Moravian, Bishop Evelyn R. Hasse (1855-1918).¹⁸³ There were two senior Keswick figures, the first was Albert Head (who was also a member of the CIM London home council) and Rev. Edward W. Moore,¹⁸⁴ and there was an evangelical peer of the realm, Lord Arthur Kinnaird (1847-1923), amongst others.¹⁸⁵ Polhill had invited the attendees on the premise of praying for the “deplorable need of London,” but it is clear that he had an ulterior motive to promote Pentecostalism because he had also invited Dutch Pentecostal Gerrit Polman and Alexander Boddy. Towards the end of the meeting Polman and Boddy stood and talked about the baptism of the Holy Spirit with tongues. Boddy wrote afterwards, “We were sorry that many had to leave before the close of the meeting, so that only about one third were present during the last two addresses.”¹⁸⁶ This implies that there was a mass walkout just before, during and after Boddy spoke, and before Polman had even had a chance to speak. This passive aggressive display of disapproval was the British equivalent to the organised opposition Pentecostals were met with in Germany, and there is no evidence that Polhill was ever able to arrange a meeting like this again during his years of involvement with the pentecostal movement.¹⁸⁷ The mass walkout was undoubtedly a painful insult to Polhill, Boddy and Polman, but it did nothing to diminish their

¹⁸¹ Ibid, 47.

¹⁸² Talbot was from the High Church tradition. See ‘A brief history of the Diocese’ under ‘Who We Are’, The Diocese of Southward website www.southwark.anglican.org (last accessed May 2014).

¹⁸³ It is clear from Polhill's financial records that he had known Hasse for years. In addition, Hasse had lived in Bedford where there was an historic Moravian congregation. See, *1901 England Census*, s.vv. ‘Hasse, Evelyn R.’ (born c.1856 in Ireland) available at www.ancestry.com, and *Cash Book 1904-1914* (expenditure) e.g. ‘Rev. Hasse birthday gift fund’ on 18 May 1905, 58, *PCO*.

¹⁸⁴ Pollock, *Keswick Movement*, e.g. 122 (for Albert Head) and 66-68 (for Moore).

¹⁸⁵ Venn, s, vv. ‘Kinnaird, Arthur Fitzgerald’ at venn.lib.cam.ac.uk (last accessed May 2014). Kinnaird chaired the Reuben Torrey and Charles Alexander evangelistic meetings in the Albert Hall in 1905. S. Begg, ‘The Great London Mission: The Opening at the Albert Hall’, *The Illustrated London News*, (11 February 1905), 191, *PC*.

¹⁸⁶ *Confidence* Vol.2 No.2 (February 1909), 47-49.

¹⁸⁷ An anti-Pentecostal declaration made in Germany in September 1909. Simpson, 65.

enthusiasm for the new movement.

5.2.3 Restructuring the London Meetings

Such was Polhill's seemingly endless reserves of energy, ambition and faith in the new movement that Monday became the only day of the week, for much of 1909, that he was not sponsoring a pentecostal meeting of some kind in London.¹⁸⁸ In March, he discontinued all London meetings that had been taking place at previous locations and consolidated the weekday meetings at Sion College on Victoria Embankment.¹⁸⁹ Sion College was by that time no longer a college in the conventional sense, although it had a library, but an anglican clergyman's club.¹⁹⁰ The admittance policy was clearly not strict, as Polhill was able to hire the hall for pentecostal meetings throughout his time in the pentecostal movement. According to Gee, the Sion College meetings even continued long after Polhill's retirement from pentecostal activism.¹⁹¹ The Sion College meetings were highly popular and drew, according to Polhill, 150-200 people on Friday afternoons and evenings.¹⁹² Initially the meetings were for those who wanted to be Christians or encounter a pentecostal experience, "seeking salvation, sanctification, the baptism of the Holy Spirit and divine healing," but by July 1909 the Wednesday evening meetings were reserved for those who were already Pentecostals.¹⁹³ March also marked the beginning of monthly London conferences to

¹⁸⁸ This is likely to have been the case between May-October 1909, as per meetings advertised in *Confidence* Vol.2 No.4, No.7, No.9 and No.10, (1909), 84, 154, 216 and 227 respectively.

¹⁸⁹ *Confidence* Vol.2. No.3 (March 1909), 60.

¹⁹⁰ 'Background,' Sion College official website www.sioncollege.org (last accessed May 2014).

¹⁹¹ Writing in 1941, "...he [Polhill] commenced the well-known Pentecostal Meetings in Sion College on the Thames Embankment near Blackfriars that have continued to this day." Later editions renamed *Wind and Fire* (1966) add, "...that still continue in Bloomsbury Chapel." Gee, *Pentecostal Movement*, 53-54 cf. Gee, *Wind and Fire* available online at 'Pentecostal', 'Revival Catalogue' at Revival Library www.revival-library.org (last accessed May 2014). Sion College was purchased by Rogge Global Partners PLC, a hedge fund, in 1996 and renamed Sion Hall.

¹⁹² *Confidence* Vol.2 No.4 (April 1909), 84. Possibly helped by the fact that a meal was provided for those who stayed from the Friday afternoon meeting for Friday evening meeting.

¹⁹³ *Confidence* Vol.2 No.7 (July 1909), 154.

which Polhill invited Pentecostals from all over Europe.¹⁹⁴ Polhill's role as patron and coordinator of the London meetings was an open secret as reports of the meetings in *Confidence* were occasionally introduced as “Mr Polhill's Meetings.”¹⁹⁵

5.2.3.1 An Ecclesiological Turning Point: Pentecostal Church Meetings

In April 1909, Polhill initiated pentecostal meetings at yet another London location. He engaged the Praed Street chapel, near Paddington station, for Saturdays and Sundays.¹⁹⁶ This was a highly significant step for Polhill, as he had progressed from sponsoring auxiliary weekday meetings to planting what was essentially a pentecostal church. There is no evidence that Polhill actively encouraged others to leave their existing churches, but he was by no means averse to providing pentecostal alternatives. His allegiance to the established church appears to have been relatively weak. He even lauds the Praed Street Chapel as the former church of Dr John Clifford (1836-1923), an outspoken advocate for social equality for Nonconformists.¹⁹⁷ Polhill was as comfortable amongst Church of England Bishops as he was with radical Nonconformists. That is not to say that Polhill had no theological convictions. He was a committed Evangelical, as can be seen from the Cardiff Easter conference of 1909.

194 The first three being scheduled to begin on 26 March, 30 April and 28 May 1909. No secret was made of the May conference being in effect a pre-Sunderland conference, and so Polhill invited Barratt, and Pastors Paul and Voget from Germany. *Confidence* Vol.2 No.3 (March 1909), 60.

195 Ibid cf. *Confidence* Vol.2 No.9 (September 1909), 216.

196 *Confidence* Vol.2 No.4 (April 1909), 84.

197 Ibid. cf. Chisholm, Hugh ed. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 11th edition (Cambridge: CUP, 1911) s.vv. 'Clifford, John'.

Figures 13 & 14. Sion College Past and Present



Inside the hall of Sion College.



Sion College today (on the left) was acquired by Rogge Global Partners PLC (a hedge fund), in 1996, and renamed Sion Hall.

Source: photographs used by kind permission of the Rogge Global Partners PLC archive.

5.2.4 The Cardiff Pentecostal Conference (1909): *Sola Scriptura*

In April 1909, Polhill chaired a pentecostal Easter conference in Cardiff.¹⁹⁸ According to Boddy, “Mr Polhill spoke with power on the need of a teachable spirit and mutual forbearance in this work. That all might bear with one another and learn from one another.”¹⁹⁹ On the afternoon of the 13 April Polhill, Niblock and T. M. Jeffreys held a question and answer session regarding the pentecostal movement. Questions included: “Is it right to use hymn books in the assembly? Do we need to keep within the teaching of the Word of God? Can we say that anyone is not baptised in the Spirit, if he has not received the Tongues etc.?” According to Jeffreys they answered, “referring in every instance to the teaching of Scripture, and holding up the Word of God as the only guide in all questions of doctrine and of Church government.”²⁰⁰ The thirst for leadership and guidelines in the movement was clear from the Easter conference, and it was partly for these reasons that Polhill established a PMU college.

5.2.5 The PMU College for Men

On Wednesday 14 April, the Cardiff conference held a missionary session which, according to Jeffreys, was “an unqualified success.” Polhill made an “interesting but earnest” appeal for missionaries resulting in a dozen volunteers for the PMU.²⁰¹ Plans were put in motion to provide suitable candidates with some training “and other necessary equipment” before sending them into the field. According to *Confidence*, Polhill was “largely responsible for” initiating the college scheme.²⁰² These plans were confirmed in June 1909 at the PMU executive meeting in Sunderland, and by August 1909, Niblock had volunteered to have nine students admitted to what had

198 *Confidence* Vol.2 No.4 (April 1909), supplement page 1.

199 Ibid, 88.

200 Ibid.

201 Ibid, supplement page 2.

202 *Confidence* Vol.2 No.6 (June 1909), 130.

been his healing home at 7 Howley Place, Paddington.²⁰³ The origins of the nine men were given as: two Scotsmen, three Welshman, three Londoners and one Persian but no names were given in August. In October 1909, however, the students sent a greeting to the delegates of a German pentecostal conference and signed the greeting with each of their names adding their origins in brackets:²⁰⁴

Edwin Dennis (England)
 Amos Williams (Wales)
 Frank Trevitt (England)
 Charles W. Harvey (Wales)
 Cecil Kirk (England)
 Arie Kok (Holland)
 John McGillivray (Scotland)
 John Beruldsen (Norway)
 Ayooob Hakim (Persia)
 Percy Bristow (England)
 Hans N. Thüesen (Denmark)

This indicates that between August-October 1909 there were fluctuations in the numbers of students. John Beruldsen was probably the second Scotsman since he was the son of Christina Beruldsen, an Edinburgh-based pentecostal pioneer, but the third Welshman mentioned in August appears to have departed the college. That is if the earlier report was accurate which is by no means a certainty, as at least one report in *Confidence* provided only an estimate of student numbers.²⁰⁵ Amos Williams and Charles W. Harvey were probably amongst the dozen who volunteered at the Easter conference in Cardiff in April 1909.²⁰⁶ According to Anderson, Frank Trevitt was a mechanic from Birmingham.²⁰⁷ He experienced miraculous healing on a visit to

203 *Confidence* Vol.2 No.6 (June 1909), 129-130 (plans approved); *Confidence* Vol.2 No.8 (August 1909), 183 (nine men at the college); *Confidence* Vol.2 No.9 (September 1909), 206 (College identified as Pastor Niblock's healing home) cf. *Confidence* Vol.2 No.2 (February 1909), 50 (opening of Niblock's healing home at Howley Place), 50; *PMU Minute Book 1*, 37 (Niblock states here that he had proposed this arrangement), PCR-DGC.

204 *Confidence* Vol.2 No.10 (October 1909), 227.

205 "...about ten students have got to work under Pastor Niblock." *Confidence* Vol.2 No.9 (September 1909), 206.

206 *Confidence* Vol.2 No.4 (April 1909), supplement page 2.

207 Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 126. There is a 1901 census record for a Frank Trevitt (born c.1882 in Handsworth to William K. and Prudence Trevitt) that lists his occupation as a "Jeweler/Gold." If

Bournemouth, in 1909, at a pentecostal conference at Emmanuel Hall.²⁰⁸ Arie Kok had been part of Polman's congregation in Amsterdam. He joined the college around August 1909 for a period of some months with the intention of afterwards proceeding to China.²⁰⁹ Percy Bristow was a former labourer from a single-parent family based in Plumstead, South East London.²¹⁰ Ayoob (Job) Hakim had come to the UK hoping to gain admission to “the College of a Jewish Missionary Society” (almost certainly the London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews), but he was rejected on account of having poor eyesight. The fact that Ayoob was neither wealthy nor British may have also contributed to his rejection. He met Polhill in the London meetings at Cannon Street and Gloucester Place where he experienced divine healing. Afterwards he obtained a certificate from a doctor and attempted to reapply for the Jewish missionary society only to be rejected again on the basis that he claimed to have experienced divine healing.²¹¹ He was then admitted to the PMU college. He would not be the last student of the PMU to have first been rejected by another missionary society for claiming to have experienced a divine *charisma*.

5.2.5.1 A Healing Home and a College

Locating the college in Niblock's healing home may be significant. It is possible the home became a refuge for some prospective missionaries who were deemed unfit for other societies, but they were admitted to the PMU on the assumption that they would

this is the same Trevitt it may be that he had tried one or two occupations before becoming a missionary. *1901 Census for England and Wales*, s.vv. ‘Trevitt, Frank’ available at www.ancestry.co.uk (last accessed August 2015).

208 *Confidence* Vol.2 No.4 (April 1909), 86-87.

209 According to Polman writing from the Swansea conference which took place 10-12 August 1909. *Confidence* Vol.2 No.9 (September 1909), 208.

210 His mother, Annie, had been widowed since at least 1891. See *1891 England Census* s.vv. ‘Bristow, Percy’ (b. abt 1879 in Plumstead). *1901 England Census* s.vv. ‘Bristow, Percy’ (b abt 1879 in Plumstead). His brother, Robert, was one of the signatories of the London Declaration of November 1909. *Confidence* Vol.2 No.12 (December 1909), back page.

211 *Confidence* Vol.3 No.3 (March 1910), 65.

be miraculously healed. In the cases of Trevitt and Hakim they had experienced divine healing in a pentecostal context before entering the home, but Thüesen was known to have poor health and Dennis was described as having a “physical defect.”²¹² Thüesen did not heal, and he was asked to remain in Denmark after Christmas 1909.²¹³ The training period for the PMU was originally set at two years, but most of the male students did not stay that long.²¹⁴ With the college established, Polhill continued his domestic pentecostal evangelism with a verve.

5.2.6 Barratt and Polhill's Bedford Mission (July 1909)

Between 10-21 July 1909, Barratt held a ten-day mission in Bedford. According to Barratt, “Brothers Polhill, Leonard, Andrew and I are working in perfect harmony...Brother and Sister [Albert and Mabel] Weaver are also here taking part.”²¹⁵ Brother Leonard refers to Charles Leonard who subsequently became a pentecostal missionary in Palestine and Egypt.²¹⁶ Polhill paid for his travel costs to Jerusalem on 4 September 1909 amongst other donations.²¹⁷ According to Martin, Mabel Weaver (1857-1936) was a member of the CMA along with her husband Albert (1865-1941). Between 1904-05 she built a church on her father's huge estate in Springfield, Massachusetts, to which Charles Leonard came as the first pastor. Martin argues that it is likely, as oral tradition alleges, that Mabel Weaver had become Pentecostal as a

²¹² *PMU Minute Book 1*, 21, *PCRA-DGC*.

²¹³ Niblock advised the PMU council in November 1909 that unless Thüesen healed he should remain at home after the Christmas period and “...follow his calling,” *PMU Minute Book 1*, 21, *PCRA-DGC*. There is no evidence he returned to the home in 1910. When Hakim returned to Iran, in February 1910, it was with much good will and financial gifts, but he was not departing as a missionary of the PMU and had “no definite employment to go to” which might indicate that his poor eyesight had returned. *Confidence* Vol.3 No.3 (March 1910), 65.

²¹⁴ *Confidence* Vol.2 No.6 (June 1909), 130.

²¹⁵ *Confidence* Vol.2 No.8 (August 1909), 188.

²¹⁶ Leonard was subsequently in Swansea with Polhill (see below). According to Anderson, Leonard was formerly with the Christian and Missionary Alliance, *Spreading Fires*, 64, 153. See also, E. Newberg, *The Pentecostal Mission in Palestine, 1906-1948* (Ann Arbor: Proquest, 2011), 14.

²¹⁷ *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), 204, *PCO*.

result of visiting the Azusa Street mission.²¹⁸ Brother Andrew may refer to William Andrew, of Swansea, who appears a number of times in Polhill's financial records, and who was part of Polhill's first pentecostal mission in St Andrews in 1908.²¹⁹ An early, if not *the* earliest, mention of John Phillips in pentecostal literature also occurs in connection with this campaign. Phillips subsequently co-pastored the Costin Street Mission Hall, after George Kendall's departure, with James Tetchner a former Salvation Army officer from Sunderland.²²⁰ All four of John Phillips' children, three sons and one daughter, became ministers in the Elim pentecostal denomination.²²¹ After the Bedford campaign, Polhill and Barratt drove to Wimbledon.

5.2.6.1 Wimbledon and E. W. Moore

The ecumenical prayer meeting in London, in February 1909, had not been completely fruitless. One of the Keswick speakers in attendance, Rev. Edward William Moore, had retained a friendly interest in the pentecostal movement. Moore was also Incumbent at Emmanuel Church, Wimbledon, and after the Bedford campaign, in July 1909, Barratt and Polhill drove to Wimbledon to answer questions about Pentecostalism at a meeting of Christian leaders chaired by Moore.²²² According to Barratt, "The most loving and fraternal spirit prevailed throughout, and there can be no doubt, judging from the prayers that followed, that some were of the

218 B. Martin, "Mabel Atwater Weaver" in "Azusa Participants" on 312 Azusa Street at www.azusastreet.org (last accessed May 2014).

219 *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), e.g. 20 Oct 1909, 23 Dec 1909, 19 March 1910, *PCO*. They were also present together at the opening of Harry and Margaret Cantel's mission hall in January 1910, *Confidence* Vol.3 No. 2 (February 1910), 34.

220 Usher, '*Patron of the Pentecostals...*', 46.

221 D. Cartwright, 'From the Backstreets of Brixton to the Royal Albert Hall', under 'Pensketches', www.smithwigglesworth.com (last accessed May 2014); N. Hudson, 'A Schism And Its Aftermath. An historical analysis of denominational description in the Elim Pentecostal Church, 1939-1940' (Unpublished PhD thesis, King's College London, 1999), 138. John Phillips' daughter, Dorothy 'Dollie' Phillips, became an Elim missionary. C. Cartwright, *Defining Moments: 100 Years of the Elim Pentecostal Church* (Malvern: Elim Pentecostal Church, 2014), 37.

222 *Census of England and Wales, 1911*. s.vv. 'Moore, Edward William'. Available at www.ancestry.co.uk (last accessed August 2015).

opinion that the old recognised Christian leaders of England had made a *very sad mistake* in denouncing this whole movement as of the devil, instead of attempting to co-operate with its leaders.”²²³ Although Moore never became an outspoken Pentecostal he remained close to the movement and defended Pentecostals in his literature:

The heavenly power was signalized in Cornelius' case by the fit of tongues; we do not read that it was always so evidenced. In the case of the three thousand converts on the Day of Pentecost, we can hardly tell whether it was bestowed or not, but here undoubtedly it was received, and I don't think we ought to ignore that, in view of the claims made by some earnest Christians in our own day who testify to its reception still. My own conviction is that there are some who have received it. I can see nothing in Scripture to forbid such an experience, and very much that is for it. Dangers and perplexities no doubt there are, but, at least, let us not ban another Christian on such grounds. If our Lord Jesus Christ is ‘the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever,’ and if it seems good to Him, He is surely still able to do for the Saints of the Twentieth Century what He did for those of the First.²²⁴

He subsequently attended one of Polhill's pentecostal conferences at Holborn Hall (along with Gregory Mantle)²²⁵ although Moore was described by Boddy as “not in the [pentecostal] movement” he was clearly a friend of the movement.²²⁶ It had probably been Moore that Polhill and Boddy visited in 1908 when they drove to Wimbledon during their pentecostal car tour.²²⁷ Moore had spoken at Keswick in 1902 and 1904, both years that Polhill is known to have attended.²²⁸ The importance

223 His italics. Barratt actually states that it was Rev. “G. W.” Moore, but he almost certainly meant Rev. E. W. Moore, since E. W. Moore led a church in Wimbledon and had attended Polhill's ecumenical prayer meeting in February 1909. E. W. Moore subsequently attended a pentecostal conference at Holborn Hall. *Confidence* Vol.2 No.8 (August 1909), 188 cf. Vol.2 No.2 (February 1909), 48 and Vol.5 No.2 (February 1912), 37.

224 Extract from E. W. Moore, *Cornelius*, quoted in *Confidence* Vol.5 No.2 (February 1912), 37.

225 Mantle was a speaker for both the Pentecostal League of Prayer and Keswick. *Tongues of Fire* Vol.3 No.28 (April 1893), 12 cf. *The Keswick Week* (1902), 186-190, *PC*. Polhill made numerous donations to him over the years.

226 *Confidence* Vol.5 No.2 (February 1912), 37.

227 *Confidence* Vol.1 No.7 (October 1908), 8.

228 On Tuesday of the Keswick Week 1902 (22 July) he spoke on “The Tongue of the Learned” [Isaiah 50:4] and on the Thursday (24 July) on “Secrets of Blessing” [2 Kings 2:9]. *The Keswick Week* (1902), 62-65 and 134-138 respectively, *PC*. In 1904 he spoke on the Tuesday only (19 July) on “The Heart's Ease,” *The Keswick Week* (1904), 64-67, *PC*. Polhill was recorded in the Missionary Meeting in both years. *The Keswick Week* (1902), 207 and *The Keswick Week* (1904),

of Moore's support, brought to the movement probably because of some connection to Polhill, should not be underestimated. Moore was to the pentecostal movement a rare and valued voice of affirmation from outside of its own ranks.²²⁹ In August 1909, Polhill travelled to Wales for a pentecostal conference in Swansea.

5.2.7 Polhill's Pentecostal Historiography

Between 10-12 August 1909, Polhill presided over the Swansea conference, “for those who have not thus received the Holy Ghost, and are seeking to be baptised.”²³⁰ In Swansea, Polhill did not claim that the pentecostal revival was the culmination of previous revivals. Bartleman and others had done this by stating, “the present worldwide [pentecostal] revival was rocked in the cradle of little Wales. It was brought up in India, following; becoming full-grown in Los Angeles later.”²³¹ By contrast, Polhill stated, “The present movement is the complement, as it were, of the Revivals in Wales, India and China.”²³² This was an unusually progressive view for Pentecostals of that period. It probably indicates that even at this early stage of the pentecostal movement's development there was some understandable resentment at the notion that the Welsh, Indian, Chinese and other revivals were all mere precursors to the revival that took place at the Azusa Street mission. Polhill recognised this danger and affirmed that these earlier revivals were independent, concurrent, movements complimented by, not completed by, the pentecostal revival that started in the United States and spread to Europe.²³³ The Swansea conference of August 1909 was also attended by Boddy, Polman, Pastor Voget (from Germany), T. M. Jeffreys

203, *PC*.

229 *Confidence* Vol.5 No.2 (February 1912), 37.

230 *Confidence* Vol.2 No.9 (September 1909), 212.

231 Bartleman, 21

232 cf. *Confidence* Vol.2 No.9 (September 1909), 212.

233 Anderson has consistently emphasised this important distinction. Anderson, *Ends of the Earth*, 32; *Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 36 and *Spreading Fires* 27-28.

and Charles Leonard. Voget subsequently visited the PMU men's college amidst a debate as to whether continental students should be trained in the UK or a new home established in Amsterdam.

5.2.7.1 Educational Standards at the Men's College

Voget's judgement of the men's college was published in *Confidence* and hinted that teaching standards could be better. By this time Voget would be well aware of Polhill's wealth, and so he implied the teaching at the college should reflect the resources supporting it:

I think God has given him [Niblock] excellent material in those earnest boys, and has also fitted him especially for this most important work. Yet I could not help but wish that the training of those young men might be more thorough and more systematic than it is under existing circumstances...we ought to do our very best to add the very best training that human learning is able to afford....²³⁴

Evangelical missionaries from the CIM, like Polhill, did not place the greatest emphasis on teaching and learning. Missionaries were expected to be pragmatic evangelists, and this did not necessarily require them to be scholars. It is unclear what qualifications Niblock had for teaching the students, but Pentecostals tended to regard a gifted ministry as qualification enough to teach and train others. Eventually Polhill did bring in a teacher with more intellectual nous, H. E. Wallis, but it proved a divisive appointment in an already fragile PMU. Voget concluded his remarks by stating his conviction that a well-equipped central home was probably better than several insufficiently-equipped homes. The combined depth of experience, resources, vision, organisation and professionalism that Polhill possessed would not have been easy to replicate elsewhere.

²³⁴ Original italics. *Confidence* Vol.2 No.10 (October 1909), 219.

5.2.8 President of the PMU and Establishing the Women's College (October 1909)

In October 1909, the PMU had its first minuted meeting with Boddy, Mundell, Small and Polhill present. It was decided that Polhill was too busy for the role of treasurer, and he was duly elected president. In his place, Conrad Kennedy Reuss was appointed as missionary box collector and Miss A. L. Hale as secretary.²³⁵ It was also decided that a woman's college should be established under Eleanor Searle Crisp (1856-1923), formerly of the YMCA, assisted by her daughters both of whom were teachers able to teach “secular” subjects.²³⁶ Crisp was introduced in *Confidence* as someone who had formerly been associated with the Bethshan Healing Home.²³⁷ To help kick-start the initiative Polhill agreed to bear responsibility for leasing a building for the women's college. Notably there was a precedent for a female training college within the CIM. Polhill had donated to the CIM version on at least two previous occasions, so this is probably another example of Polhill taking inspiration from the CIM.²³⁸ At the same time, Polhill was beginning to develop his repertoire of London meetings.

5.2.9 The Institute of Journalists

Polhill added, in October 1909, to the meetings already being held in London, at Sion College and Praed Street Chapel, with a new location for Friday meetings at the Institute of Journalists on Tudor Street.²³⁹ Polhill's connection to the institute probably came through publishing *Fragments of Flame* which meant, like Boddy, he was

235 *PMU Minute Book 1* 14 October 1909, 13-14, *PCRA-DGC*.

236 *Ibid*, 12. cf. Gee, *These Men*, 34-36.

237 *Confidence* Vol.3 No.1 (January 1910), 18.

238 Broomhall, *HTCOC* Vol. 5, 489 cf. H. Soltau to C. Polhill, 13 September 1903, *PCO*.

239 The former premises of the Chartered Institute of Journalists. C. Bainbridge, ‘Our History’ under ‘Who We Are’ on the The Chartered Institute of Journalists website at www.cioj.co.uk (last accessed May 2014).

technically a journalist. It is unclear what precipitated this move, but Tudor Street was just behind the former location of the Friday meetings at Sion College which continued on Wednesdays. Meetings at the Praed Street Chapel continued on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. At this time, Pentecostalism was spreading and becoming more organised, and this enabled the Pentecostals to reach a collective consensus on how respond to criticism coming from Germany and elsewhere.

5.2.10 The London Declaration of 1909

As the year 1909 drew to a close, a small gathering of Pentecostals met in London to make a “short scriptural declaration” on the teachings of Pentecostalism.²⁴⁰ The declaration was made in late November, and Polhill was a signatory, but the exact date is not provided. It is difficult, therefore, to be certain of whether or not Polhill was actually present. He was in London on 2 and 15 November for PMU council meetings, and on 11 November he spoke at the opening of Harry and Margaret Cantel's Home of Rest at Highbury in North London, but he was also scheduled to speak in Carlisle at a small pentecostal conference held between 20-22 November.²⁴¹ The London Declaration was a response to the anti-pentecostal Berlin Declaration.²⁴² Some 2,500 German Pentecostals had already given their riposte in the Mülheim Declaration the previous month, but British Pentecostals had been affected too.²⁴³ According to Boddy, “Many have been stumbled by the printing in the English religious papers of the Berlin Declaration against the so-called Tongues

240 *Confidence* Vol.2 No.12 (December 1909), 286.

241 *Confidence* Vol.2 No.11 (November 1909), 255. Harry and Margaret Cantel were formerly associated with Zion City, Illinois, a failed religious community centred around the healing ministry of John Alexander Dowie (1847-1907). Robinson, 97.

242 Simpson, 65.

243 Ibid.

Movement.”²⁴⁴ The periodical of the Keswick convention, *The Life of Faith*, published the Berlin Declaration.²⁴⁵ The London Declaration was printed in *Confidence* in December 1909 and unashamedly affirmed tongues as the primary evidence of baptism in the Holy Spirit according to: Acts 2:4; 10:46 and 19:6, but most of the declaration focussed on the additional results of an intensified piety.²⁴⁶ In addition, it was agreed that baptism in the Holy Spirit was, “the gate into, and not the goal of a true and full Christian life.”²⁴⁷ It had thirty signatories from all over the country and proudly included the names of six pentecostal women.²⁴⁸ The involvement of women in the pentecostal movement had been singled out by the signatories of the Berlin Declaration as one of the reasons to doubt the pentecostal movement's authenticity.²⁴⁹ No students from the college signed the declaration, but Niblock was a signatory as was John Beruldsen's mother and Percy Bristow's older brother.²⁵⁰ There were however some notable absences amongst the signatories.²⁵¹ The irrepressible growth of the pentecostal movement and its opposition appear to have been a recurring theme towards at the end of 1909. Polhill spoke on the subject at “A Third German Conference” in Breslau, in December 1909.²⁵² He described the “snowball” like growth of the movement before advising on how to deal with opposition:

1. Ignore it in thought and in conversation; do not argue.
2. Let Christ be your centre.

244 *Confidence* Vol.2 No.12 (December 1909), 286.

245 According to Worsfold, 37, citing “*Life of Faith* 10 Nov 1909.”

246 *Confidence* Vol.2 No.12 (December 1909), back page.

247 Ibid.

248 Mrs Christina Beruldsen, Mrs Mary Boddy, Miss A. L. Hale, Mrs. M. Macpherson, Mrs Catherine Price and Mrs Netta Small.

249 Amongst other things the Berlin Declaration scorned the fact that Pentecostal prophecies were “mostly from women.” Glaubensstimme - Vom Glauben unserer Vorfahren, “Berliner Erklärung (1909)”: <http://tinyurl.com/6tecg1g> (last accessed May 2014).

250 Christina Beruldsen and Robert Bristow. See *1901 England Census* s,vv ‘Bristow, Robert’ (born c.1871 in Deptford, Kent).

251 For example, the Wigglesworths, Victor Wilson and Thomas Brem Wilson (no relation to Victor Wilson).

252 *Confidence* Vol.3 No.1 (January 1910), 19.

3. Cultivate heart-fellowship with Jesus Christ.²⁵³

Polhill encouraged humility in the face of hostility. He also seemed to imply that a Christ-like life is the key to overcoming prejudice. His reference to heart-fellowship probably correlates with the experiential elements of Pentecostalism. In essence, if Pentecostals live like Christ they will convince others, and if they cultivate heart-fellowship with Christ they will remain convinced themselves.

5.2.11 Polhill and Harry Small

Amongst others, Harry Small accompanied Polhill in Germany. They were afterwards in Paris together visiting a small French pentecostal congregation, and then in Edinburgh for a pentecostal conference in the new year.²⁵⁴ These are just some examples of a considerable amount of joint activity between Polhill and Small, and in addition to several payments in Polhill's records, a picture begins to emerge of close cooperation between the two men.²⁵⁵ It is even possible that Small and his wife, Netta, lived with Polhill for a time.²⁵⁶ This close cooperation probably helps explain why Small, who had initially been based in Scotland, still managed to attend PMU executive meetings in London on an almost monthly basis while other members of the executive based in Scotland were invariably absent.²⁵⁷ Small was born, David Henry

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ "Brother Cecil Polhill and Harry Small looking well and happy after their continental journey" Boddy writing from the Edinburgh conference in January 1909, and "Mr Polhill and Mr Small will no doubt tell you of their time in Paris," P. Percheron writing from Paris. *Confidence* Vol.3 No.1 (January 1910), 17 and 24 respectively.

²⁵⁵ For example, £20 to Mrs Harry Small "Household a/c at Langland Bay" 14 August 1909, £10.5s9d to Harry Small on 10 September 1909, £5 to "Harry Small Hall" on 10 September 1909, £6 for "Harry Small expenses" on 30 September 1909, £10 for "H. Small Household" on 27 December 1909. *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), 200, 204, 208 and 226 respectively, *PCO*.

²⁵⁶ Harry Small married Alice Jeanetta "Netta" Green in 1893 in Croyden, *England and Wales, FreeBMD Marriage Index, 1837-1915*, s.vv. "Small, Henry David." Both were Polhill's visitors for the 1911 Census. *Census of England and Wales, 1911*, s.vv. 'Small, Harry', address "The Cottage, Renhold, Beds." Available on www.ancestry.com (last accessed May 2014).

²⁵⁷ Small was present in October, November and December 1909, and at every meeting held between January-September 1910.

“Harry” Small, in 1866 in Kensington, London.²⁵⁸ His father, also David H. Small, had been an Army Surgeon in the Indian Army, in Bengal. Small Sr. was from East Wemyss which probably explains Harry's connection to that region of Scotland.²⁵⁹ Harry grew up in a house with servants, and census records twice record that he lived on “private means” which indicates the family were wealthy, so he and Polhill had something in common.²⁶⁰

5.3 Part Three 1910: Pentecostal Growing Pains

By 1910, the pentecostal movement began to experience growing pains, as the cracks of interpersonal tension began to develop. Niblock's leadership of the men's college came under scrutiny. In the resulting melee the seeds of division were sown between what was perceived as an elite, distant and controlling PMU executive in London, and a group of grassroots pentecostal pastors from around the country who grew increasingly suspicious of establishment figures like Polhill and Boddy. There were, however, more positive developments throughout the year, as Polhill continued his evangelistic activity; the PMU became something of a sanctuary for Pentecostals rejected from other societies, and the first group of British pentecostal missionaries was mobilised for Tibet.

5.3.1 Selectivity at the Men's College

With the advent of 1910 there came several problems for the men's college. Firstly, were the departures of two of its students. Thüesen could not return to the home because of poor health, and Hakim announced that he was returning to Iran to live

258 *1891 England Census* s.vv. “Small, David Henry” (b.1866). Available on www.ancestry.com (last accessed May 2014).

259 In addition to previous records cited concerning Harry see *1871 England Census* s.vv. 'Small, David H.' (born c.1825). Available on www.ancestry.com (last accessed May 2014).

260 In 1891 and in 1911.

with his father. In both instances, the decisions were probably not made entirely willingly. Neither would be regarded as missionaries of the PMU, and Hakim had “no definite employment” to return to in Iran.²⁶¹ It is possible, although never explicitly stated, that Hakim’s poor eyesight had returned. He was given a warm send off at Sion College, on 4 February 1910. In addition, a collection was taken for him, and his travel expenses were to be covered by “Mr Garland,” probably the anglican missionary Rev. James Garland, with whom he would be travelling back to Iran.²⁶² Hakim seems to have had little means of his own, so Polhill had personally borne some of his expenses throughout his stay at the college including his travel expenses during the Christmas holidays.²⁶³ The departure of two students was sad, but it demonstrated that the PMU would not naïvely accept anyone and everyone purely on the basis that they laid claim to a pentecostal testimony. It was a professional missionary organisation with minimum standards to be met. Assuming Hakim was Pentecostal, however, then he would have been one of the earliest Pentecostals in Iran.²⁶⁴

5.3.1.1 The PMU Men's College and A. M. Niblock

The second issue facing the home, from the perspective of the PMU executive, was their relationship with principal A. M. Niblock and his healing home within which the men's college was situated. There appears to have been some tension between

²⁶¹ *PMU Minute Book 1*, 35-36. Mundell queried Hakim's finances with quite an interrogatory tone in February 1910, *PMU Minute Book 1*, 46-47, *PCRA-DGC*.

²⁶² It is stated in *Confidence* that he was to be travelling with “a clergyman missionary in Ispahan, Persia.” *Confidence* Vol.3 No.3 (March 1910), 65. PMU minutes state that his travel expenses were being paid by Mr Garland. *PMU Minute Book 1*, 35-36. This was possibly Rev. James Garland a member of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews (Church Mission to the Jews) who, according to Shahvar, helped establish a permanent mission in Ispahan from 1890. S. Shahvar, *Forgotten Schools: The Baha'is and Modern Education in Iran 1899-1934* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2009), 38.

²⁶³ This was revealed in a PMU meeting when Mundell queried Hakim's finances, *PMU Minute Book 1*, 46-47 cf. *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), 232, *PCO*.

²⁶⁴ Earlier even than Lazarus and Baddell see Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 288.

Niblock and the executive council that peaked in January 1910. The first sign of concern was the establishment of a subcommittee to oversee the college's financial accounts, in November 1909.²⁶⁵ Further concern was caused by Niblock's failure to submit his accounts in time for the council meeting of 17 January 1910.²⁶⁶ When he eventually submitted his expenses they were "higher than approved," amounting to more than £40, and he handed the council a list of bills without any receipts or invoices.²⁶⁷ By the end of January Niblock conceded, "the time had come for a change," and in the same meeting Polhill stated that he had felt the mission needed its own home. Polhill had, by then, already been scouting for a new location in South London.²⁶⁸ Niblock offered to give lectures at the new home without remuneration, but the PMU executive were clearly reluctant and asked him to submit a syllabus first.²⁶⁹ Voget's recent judgement that the teaching had not been systematic enough at the college may have reflected poorly on Niblock.²⁷⁰ Additionally in March 1910, Polhill stated, "...there had been difficulties in the management of the home, the expenses had been higher than the council approved...and he did not feel that Pastor Niblock had helped the council as much as he might have done."²⁷¹ Niblock retorted that had he been part of the executive then he might have been able to cooperate more effectively, but the damage was now seemingly irreversible. Without first waiting for a new location to be found for the students, Niblock requested that they be removed from his care.²⁷² Boddy saw the potential for disaster and suggested that, since Niblock was no longer principal, he could now be invited onto the executive, but the

265 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 20, *PCRA-DGC*.

266 *Ibid*, 31.

267 *Ibid*, 31, 38 and 53.

268 *Ibid*, 31, 36-37.

269 *Ibid*, 31, 40.

270 *Confidence* Vol.2 No.10 (October 1909), 219.

271 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 52-53, *PCRA-DGC*.

272 *Ibid*.

proposal was blocked by Polhill, Mundell and Small.²⁷³ It was a decisive moment for the early British pentecostal movement. The desire to become a more professional organisation meant being selective, but Niblock was a popular pentecostal pastor who took offence at being sidelined. The debacle left the PMU without a college for its students, and the mission never really fully recovered from the public relations disaster caused by Niblock's dismissal.

5.3.1.2 Donations to the PMU and Running Costs

The third problem for the PMU was the lack of support (particularly financial) from the various centres. Polhill would have known that a professional PMU needed to be financially self-sufficient, but it was still too reliant on his financial backing. They wanted to start a woman's college, but the cost of this was estimated to be £500 per annum, and donations for all of the PMU's operations between February-December 1909 (excluding those from Polhill himself) amounted to just £465.3s.2d.²⁷⁴ Of this £125 had come from the "sale of jewellery" donated at the 1909 Sunderland conference. Donations from PMU missionary boxes alone, from all the centres, totalled £137.8s.9d. Amongst the twenty-five Welsh pentecostal centres there had been less than £10 raised from their missionary boxes albeit Welsh conferences had raised an additional £16.1s.²⁷⁵ Almost half of the PMU funds raised in 1909, £215.17s.10d, came from donations at conferences. Polhill had made generous free-will offerings to the PMU throughout the year, notwithstanding his donations to Niblock and some of the students, and he had made several advances to help balance

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ According to accounts published in *Confidence*. *PMU Minute Book I*, 14-15, *PCRA-DGC*. cf. *Confidence* Vol.3 No.1 (January 1910), 24.

²⁷⁵ *PMU Minute Book I*, 32 (the number of Welsh centres were enumerated) cf. *Confidence* Vol.3 No.1 (January 1910), 24, *PCRA-DGC*.

the PMU accounts.²⁷⁶ Moreover his role supporting pentecostal meetings and conferences helped to indirectly fund the PMU.²⁷⁷ The PMU could not afford to open another college on the strength of donations from the pentecostal movement alone, so Polhill had to personally offer to bear the cost of the lease on the new home estimated at £45 per year excluding bills.²⁷⁸

5.3.1.3 The London-Based Executive

The PMU was still less than a year old, so donations were likely to increase, but the London-centric nature of the executive council's activities did not connect easily to pentecostal assemblies outside the capital. These circumstances could explain why some centres, like the Welsh centres, sent very little to support the PMU. Members of the executive based in Scottish centres, excluding Small, complained of feeling isolated from the executive's activities.²⁷⁹ Having a London-based executive worked for a large organisation like the CIM, but the pentecostal movement was young, small and by this time already developing a denomination-like identity. By contrast, the CIM was truly interdenominational, so a centralised London headquarters made logistical sense. The PMU, on the other hand, only really catered to Pentecostals who had largely formed their own assemblies, so a London-based executive risked appearing too distant and unrepresentative. The solution was to send copies of PMU minutes to distant executive members who could not attend London meetings, and Jeffreys and Small were commissioned to tour the Welsh and Scottish centres

276 His free will offerings made under "C.H.P" or "C.P" for 1909 amounted to £44 *Confidence* Vol.3 No.1 (January 1910), 24. In addition he made advances to the PMU on, for example, 13 August 1909, 26 October 1909, 1 December 1909 amounting to £48.16s.11d some of which, if not all, were probably converted to donations. *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), 200, 216, 224 respectively, *PCO*.

277 For example, £5.16s had been donated at Sion College meetings and £2.13s.8d at a London conference. *Confidence* Vol.3 No.1 (January 1910), 24.

278 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 15, *PCRA-DGC*.

279 *Ibid*, 31, 27.

respectively in order to “enlist the sympathies” of pentecostal people for the PMU.²⁸⁰ The action appears to have helped, as donations for 1910 were almost double that of the year before at £902.16.½d but outgoings had also increased.²⁸¹ In addition to the extra costs associated with the women's college, the cost for missionaries just to travel to China or India was £45 each, and then each missionary cost between £30-40 per year to live in China or £50-60 per year to live in India.²⁸² In spite of the financial and relational challenges faced by the PMU, two short-term students were accepted into the men's college in January.²⁸³ The short-term nature of their stay at the college was probably partly determined by Niblock's resignation.

5.3.1.4 The First Male Missionaries “in friendly touch” with the PMU

The first short-term term student was Nathan Sapirstein, “...a highly educated young Polish Jew from Warsaw,” who had spent time in the United States and came to the PMU recommended by the North American Pentecostal Albert Weaver.²⁸⁴ He was trying to make his way to Jerusalem, but he had run out of money and had come to England to teach and raise funds. He spent three weeks at the college before proceeding to Jerusalem as a missionary “in friendly touch” with the PMU but not officially connected.²⁸⁵ The second short-term student was James Roughead from the same small Scottish village as Harry Small, and he also had plans to become a missionary in Jerusalem.²⁸⁶ Roughead was accepted to enter the college in January

²⁸⁰ *PMU Minute Book 1*, 32, *PCRA-DGC*.

²⁸¹ Totals taken from *Confidence* Vol.3 No.2 (February 1910), 48; No.3 (March 1910), 72; No.4 (April 1910), 96; No.5 (May 1910), 119; No.6 (June 1910), 152; No.7 (July 1910), 172; No.8 (August 1910), 200; No.9 (September 1910), 224; No.10 (October 1910), 248; No.11 (November 1910), 272; No.12 (December 1910), 296 and *Confidence* Vol.4 No.1 (January 1911), 24.

²⁸² *Confidence* Vol.3 No.7 (July 1910), 172.

²⁸³ Technically Polhill merely agreed to meet with Sapirstein in January 1910, but it is made clear later in *Confidence* that he spent three weeks at the home.

²⁸⁴ *PMU Minute Book 1*, 35, *PCRA-DGC*.

²⁸⁵ *Confidence* Vol.3 No.5 (May 1910), 119.

²⁸⁶ *PMU Minute Book 1*, 36, *PCRA-DGC*. He wanted to join Charles Leonard, the American

1910, and by May 1910 was writing to *Confidence* from Jerusalem.²⁸⁷ He was described in *Confidence* as “our Jerusalem missionary” under the PMU section, but curiously he did not hold a PMU certificate until 1915.²⁸⁸ This is probably explained by Polhill’s unwillingness at this time to give the impression that PMU missionaries could go wherever they pleased. He wanted to try his best to make sure they went to the Tibetan border, so this meant encouraging PMU missionaries to go to China and the Sino-Tibetan border, or India and the Indo-Tibetan border. It was not until Polhill had a settled work on the Tibetan border than he began broadening the PMU’s fields beyond China and India, and it was not until the first contingent of PMU missionaries sailed for China and Tibet that Polhill held “the first valedictory meeting of the PMU.”²⁸⁹

5.3.1.5 The PMU Men's College Moves to Preston

Niblock's split from the PMU threatened the mission on two fronts. In the first instance, the executive needed to find new lodgings for the students. The inventive solution was to send trainees on a tour of the various pentecostal centres around the country. This would achieve the twin objectives of providing their accommodation and testing their abilities.²⁹⁰ It also bought Polhill time to search for a new venue for the men's college in South London, but this was not immediately forthcoming, so the Glasgow based Pentecostal Mr [probably John] Miller was invited to be the new principal of the men's college.²⁹¹ The proposal to appoint Miller was probably an

Pentecostal, who was already in the Middle East

287 “Brother Roughhead[sic] was introduced by Mr Polhill as a missionary journeying to Jerusalem” *Confidence* Vol.3 No.4 (April 1910), 89; Vol.3 No.5 (May 1910), 119; he is described as 'our Jerusalem missionary' under the PMU section of Vol.3 No.7 (July 1910), 172.

288 *Confidence* Vol.8 No.2 (February 1915), 38.

289 *Confidence* Vol.3 No.9 (September 1910), 223.

290 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 42 and 50, *PCRA-DGC*.

291 *Ibid*, 40.

effort to help the Scottish centres cultivate a closer connection to the work of the PMU. By accepting this responsibility Miller would have been required to secure suitable accommodation for the men, but he struggled to find a suitable property and eventually declined to accept the role.²⁹² The executive then turned to Thomas Myerscough, a Preston based Pentecostal and estate agent, to take responsibility for the students. According to the minutes of the PMU, Polhill “recommended” the acceptance of Myerscough as the new principal.²⁹³

5.3.1.6 The Divide Widens

The second threat to the PMU, caused by Niblock's departure, was the potential for a public relations disaster. In July 1910, Boddy cautioned the executive, “he had been facing the fact of the decrease in support [because of] the removal of students from Pastor Niblock's care.”²⁹⁴ He suggested Niblock be invited to join the executive, “...to remove from [his] mind any sense of being wronged.” This time Polhill “cordially agreed” and the motion was passed unanimously.²⁹⁵ In addition, as a formality, Myerscough was invited onto the executive because of his new role as principal of the men's college. The executive had, however, underestimated the extent of the damage caused by Niblock's departure. In September 1910, both Niblock and Myerscough declined their invitations to join the executive.²⁹⁶ This left the PMU in the embarrassing and unusual position of having their students in Myerscough's care, yet he refused to accept an invitation to join the executive. The burden of this dilemma would have fallen on Polhill's shoulders, but there was little he could do as he was shortly due to depart for China, so he appears to have hastily placated Myerscough,

²⁹² Ibid, 68.

²⁹³ Gee, *These Men*, 67. *PMU Minute Book 1*, 68, *PCRA-DGC*.

²⁹⁴ *PMU Minute Book 1*, 68-69, *PCRA-DGC*.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ *PMU Minute Book 1*, 73, *PCRA-DGC*.

“Mr Polhill reported that he had made arrangements with Mr Myerscough of Preston to receive and train the male students as missionaries....”²⁹⁷ Polhill's diplomacy ensured that the students were cared for in the short-term. Niblock's perceived ill-treatment and the resulting disharmony had undoubtedly bruised the PMU, but it also affected the repertoire of Polhill-sponsored London meetings.

5.3.2 The London Meetings Slow

During 1910, the array of meetings Polhill had been sponsoring were reduced considerably. In January, there had been just three meetings in Sion College and six in the Institute of Journalists, but weekly meetings had been continuing at Praed Street Chapel on Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays and Sundays until they were abruptly withdrawn in March 1910.²⁹⁸ Niblock had formerly been a significant leader in these meetings, and his split from the PMU coincided with the termination of the Praed Street Chapel meetings.²⁹⁹ Throughout April and May there were just three meetings per week, two in Sion College and one in the Institute of Journalists.³⁰⁰ In addition, there were no longer monthly London conferences. Instead there was just one annual London conference held in May, probably timed to take place just before the Sunderland conference.³⁰¹ The slowdown does not appear to be because the meetings were any less popular. Boddy visited one meeting at the Institute of Journalists, on 28 January 1910, and found the room (which could hold up to 250) crowded with standing room only.³⁰² There were probably two further reasons, other than Niblock's resignation, for the curtailment of London meetings. The first is that Polhill probably

²⁹⁷ Ibid, 75.

²⁹⁸ *Confidence* Vol.3 No.3 (March 1910), 64.

²⁹⁹ For example, “A. M. Niblock Praed St Chapel” (29 September 1909) and “A. M. Niblock Pastor's Salary” (29 September 1909). *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), 208, PCO.

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

³⁰¹ Ibid.

³⁰² *Confidence* Vol.3 No.2 (February 1910), 31.

found the effort required to organise these events, at the same frequency as they had been in 1908 and 1909, quite unsustainable. The second was that Polhill probably believed there was already sufficient internal momentum in the pentecostal movement, so there was no longer any need for quite so many meetings. There would still have been many demands on Polhill's time, and he continued to invest a great deal of time, money and energy in establishing a solid pentecostal work in Bedford. To this end he made use of two high-profile international pentecostal visitors, Gerrit Polman and Frank Bartleman, throughout 1910.

5.3.3 Polman and Bartleman in Bedford (1910)

Polman began his visit by joining Polhill and Harry Small to Preston where Polhill was due to speak at a conference between 1-4 February 1910.³⁰³ Polman then visited Lytham, Neath, Swansea and Cardiff before journeying to Bedford. He remarked, “Under the many difficulties and persecutions the little group have gone on steadfastly. Friends had left them, but the Lord of Sabaoth was in their midst.”³⁰⁴ This may well refer to the departure of George Kendall from the Costin Street Mission Hall, as his disappearance from Polhill's records roughly coincided with this time.³⁰⁵ In spite of these “difficulties and persecutions” Polman still estimated numbers at an evening meeting in Bedford to be around two hundred people.³⁰⁶ This could refer to meetings in the Working Men's Institute, since Polhill had begun using it for pentecostal purposes in Bedford since at least September 1909, but it is just as likely to have been the Costin Street Mission Hall.³⁰⁷ Polhill's records also indicate that E.

303 He is listed as a speaker in *Confidence* Vol.3 No.1 (January 1910), 24.

304 *Confidence* Vol.3 No.4 (April 1910), 94-95.

305 He was replaced with the Pentecostals John Phillips and James Tetchner. Usher, ‘*Patron of the Pentecostals...*’, 46.

306 *Confidence* Vol.3 No.3 (March 1910), 64.

307 *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), e.g. 1 September 1909 'Working Men's Institute Pentecostal

E. Berry, his partner in evangelism on several occasions, was probably present at Polman's campaign.³⁰⁸ Several months later, in June 1910, Bartleman spoke three times in Bedford.³⁰⁹ Bartleman described speaking “in the Pentecostal Hall” in Bedford which at this time could only refer to the Costin Street Mission Hall. Bartleman and Polman afterwards travelled to Scotland, probably with Polhill, at the same time as the World Missionary Conference was being held in Edinburgh during June 1910.³¹⁰

5.3.3.1 The World Missionary Conference (June 1910)

The World Missionary Conference (WMC) was a large interdenominational gathering of missionary organisations, convened between 14-23 June 1910, to discuss the reports of eight commissions charged with researching various aspects of mission work.³¹¹ Of all the British Pentecostals, Polhill probably had the best chance of being invited to the conference as an executive member of the CIM, but he does not appear to have attended as an official delegate.³¹² Polhill's financial records do indicate, however, that he was in the general vicinity of the WMC (East Wemyss) at the same

Movement Bedford', 6 October 1909, and on 3 February 1910 around the date of this campaign, *PCO*.

308 *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), on 1 February 1910, 234, *PCO*.

309 *Confidence* Vol.3 No.8 (August 1910), 185.

310 *Ibid*, 185, 187.

311 1. To Consider Missionary Problems in Relation to the Non-Christian World 2. The Church in the Mission Field 3. Education in Relation to the Christianisation of National Life 4. The Missionary Message in Relation to Non-Christian Religions 5. The Preparation of Missionaries 6. The Home Base of Missions 7. Missions and Governments 8. Co-Operation and the Promotion of Unity. G. Robson ed. *World Missionary Conference* Vol.1-8 (Edinburgh: Anderson & Ferrier, 1910). Available online at the University of Michigan Digital Library, in 'Digital General Collection': quod.lib.umich.edu/g/genpub/ (last accessed January 2015).

312 There were probably no outspoken Pentecostals invited. Stanley notes David Cairn's plea at the conference, “for a renewal of faith in the 'illimitable potencies of the Divine Spirit'.” B. Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 323. Intriguingly the biography of Eleanor Polhill, *With the King*, was included in the bibliography of the report of commission six “The Home Base of Missions” Robson ed. *World Missionary Conference* Vol.6, 457;

time as the conference was being held.³¹³ It is likely that Polhill, like Bartleman and Polman, attended what was described in *Confidence* as, “a private home for Pentecost where there were even some delegates.”³¹⁴ Pentecostals were probably still too small, too ambiguous and regarded with too much suspicion to be invited to the conference. At least one member of the British Executive Committee of the WMC, Wardlaw Thompson, was already openly hostile to Pentecostals (see next section) and at least six official delegates became openly hostile towards Pentecostals (or those who held tongues to be the essential sign of the fullness of baptism in the Holy Spirit).³¹⁵ The PMU does not appear to be the only Protestant mission left out of the WMC e.g. the Salvation Army (which had an active overseas work), the Japan Evangelistic Band and other smaller missions like the Asian Pioneer Mission do not appear in the official list of delegates. There were, however, many positive aspects of the WMC not least the move towards integrating autonomous female societies more fully into their mainstream missionary counterparts which were, hitherto, overwhelmingly controlled by men.³¹⁶ This sentiment would have been welcomed by the PMU who had opened their women's college earlier in 1910. It proved to be far more stable and productive than the male equivalent.

313 Two payments for Polman's travel and expenses respectively in East Wemyss. *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), 262 (14 and 24 June 1910), *PCO*. The second payment for Polman's expenses (separated by 10 days from Polhill's donation for Polman's travel expenses) would seem to imply that Polman had accompanied Polhill. East Wemyss had a Pentecostal centre led by Harry Small. It is about 30 miles from Edinburgh over the Forth Bridge.

314 *Confidence* Vol.3 No.8 (August 1910), 185 and 187.

315 Six members of the CIM delegation (M.Broomhall, D. Hoste, A. Orr-Ewing, E. Pearse, W. Sloan and F. Marcus Wood) who were also present in the meeting of the CIM London Council, on 12 October 1914, where they voted to forbid entry to the CIM anyone who held tongues to be the essential sign of the fullness of baptism of the Holy Spirit (Polhill excused himself from the meeting). *CIM Minutes of the London Council*, 12 October 1914, 216-218, *SOAS*. Robson ed. *World Missionary Conference* Vol.9, 35-36, 42.

316 Stanley, 312-314.

5.3.4 The Status of Women in the PMU

The women's college opened at 116 King Edward Road, Hackney, North East London on 30 January 1910.³¹⁷ Eleanor Crisp was appointed the first principal of the college, and remarkably for the period she became a full member, and only female member, of the PMU executive council from 1913 until her death in 1923.³¹⁸ From 1914, she also received a handsome annual honorarium.³¹⁹ By contrast, the CIM London home council had no female members on their executive.³²⁰ Boddy proposed the motion for Crisp's election to the executive, in 1913, and Polhill seconded.³²¹ She managed the women's college competently and by the end of 1910 there were six women ready for the field: Grace Elkington, Margaret Clark, Constance Skarratt, Elizabeth "Beth" Jones, Thyra Beruldsen and Christina Beruldsen.³²² Some of these were willing defectors from other missionary societies, such as Clark and Skarratt, but at least one, Elkington, had been deliberately ejected from another society because she was a Pentecostal.³²³

5.3.5 Pentecostals Rejected from other Missionary Societies

Elkington had been a missionary in India with the London Missionary Society for

317 *Confidence* Vol.3 No.2 (February 1910), 32.

318 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 278, *PCRA-DGC*. She is listed as a council member in *Confidence* Vol.16 No.3/134 (July-September 1923), 97. Her death is announced in the next number *Confidence* Vol.16 No.4/135 (October-December 1923), 105. See *Confidence* Vol.17 No.1/136 (January-March 1924), 115-116 (E. Crisp's Obituary).

319 £60 which was roughly equivalent to an annual salary. *PMU Minute Book 1*, 351, *PCRA-DGC*.

320 Or indeed on any of their home councils except New Zealand. As of 1910 see *China's Millions* (1910), inside cover. The New Zealand home council consisted of two members: Mr A. Chadwick Brown as treasurer and his wife "Mrs A. Chadwick Brown" as honorary secretary.

321 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 278, *PCRA-DGC*.

322 Names followed by acceptance dates: Elizabeth "Beth" Jones on 20 December 1909; Grace Elkington on 17 January 1910; Thyra and Christina Beruldsen on 29 January 1910; Margaret Clark on 1 October 1910; Constance Skarratt on 2 December 1910. *PMU Minute Book 1*, 23 (Jones), 30 (Elkington), 34 (Thyra and Christina), 78-79 (Clark), 84 (Skarratt).

323 Clark had been a missionary in Mumbai with the Zenana Bible and Medical Missionary Society until she submitted her resignation in October 1910. *PMU Minute Book 1*, 78-79. Skarratt had been in charge of a Y.W.C.A home in Paris. She was accepted to the PMU without requiring any residence at the college. *PMU Minute Book 1*, 84-85, *PCRA-DGC*. cf. *Confidence* Vol.3 No.12 (December 1910), 294.

more than six years before becoming Pentecostal. She informed the PMU council, in January 1910, that the LMS, “...declined to send her out on account of her connection with the Pentecostal movement.”³²⁴ Polhill wrote to the LMS about the matter and received a reply shortly afterwards from their foreign secretary, Wardlaw Thompson (subsequently a member of the British executive committee of the WMC), “...he [Thompson] had spoken most favourably of Miss Elkington, saying that she was an excellent worker, and the only objection to her was her connection with the Pentecostal movement.”³²⁵ Such was the PMU's eagerness to defend missionaries like Elkington that it began advertising itself in *Confidence* as the society that accepted those rejected for being Pentecostal, “Baptized Missionaries working for Societies who do not endorse the Pentecostal Movement are also received when compelled to resign if the council from personal knowledge and after interviews etc. are satisfied.”³²⁶ By September 1910, Polhill was ready to accompany the first contingent of PMU missionaries to China and ultimately the Tibetan border.

5.3.6 The First Missionaries for China and Tibet

Sending the male students on tours of pentecostal centres had been hailed a great success by the PMU executive who struggled to find them a permanent home after Niblock's departure, but as a test of the students' abilities it had not gone well for all. Of the original eleven male students named in October 1909, there were nine left by March 1910. Hakim and Thüesen's departures have already been discussed. Kok subsequently returned to Amsterdam to supervise Polman's church while Polman toured the UK, but Kok and his wife and young son would soon proceeded to China

324 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 29, *PCRA-DGC*. cf. *Confidence* Vol.3 No.10 (October 1910), 245.

325 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 39, *PCRA-DGC*.

326 *Confidence* Vol.5 No.3 (March 1912), 71.

as PMU missionaries.³²⁷ Of the remaining eight, Harvey and Kirk were deemed the weakest and so they were, puzzlingly, paired together and sent to Wales.³²⁸ Their performance was judged “acceptable,” but by July 1910 it was decided by the executive that they were not suitable for the PMU.³²⁹ Williams and McGillivray toured Scottish pentecostal centres with “great benefit,” Trevitt and Bristow did “good work” in Bedford, and Beruldsen and Dennis had been “at work” in Edinburgh and Sunderland respectively.³³⁰ Of the students who had not been given notice only one, Dennis, did not join the others to China in September 1910. He became a missionary in Estonia (at that time part of the Russian Empire) probably owing to Niblock's influence.³³¹ He worked with Baroness Margarethe von Brasch, a Pentecostal, but not as an affiliate of the PMU.³³² The others: Trevitt, Bristow, Williams, McGillivray, and John, Thyra and Christina Beruldsen along with Polhill and Small gathered together at Sion College, on 9 September 1910, for the “First Valedictory Meeting of the British P.M.U.”³³³

5.3.6.1 Early Difficulties

Polhill's vision of a spiritually-empowered pentecostal mission force for Tibet seemed to have become a reality, but there were some notable difficulties from the outset of this venture. Before leaving the UK the missionaries had been given money to buy

327 Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 127.

328 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 50, *PCRA-DGC*.

329 *Confidence* Vol.3 No.5 (May 1910), 119 cf. *PMU Minute Book 1*, 70, *PCRA-DGC*.

330 *Confidence* Vol.3 No.5 (May 1910), 119

331 Niblock had been in Russia and on the continent early in 1910 and had met Baroness von Brasch there. On his return, Dennis wrote in *Confidence* that he had been inspired by Niblock's activity in Russia. *Confidence* Vol.3 No.2 (February 1910), 33 and 44.

332 His address was c/o The Baroness Von Brasch, Dorpat, Russia (modern day Tartu, Estonia) in *Confidence* Vol.3 No.11 (November, 1910), 268; In April, 1911, he translated an address by Paul, but his address is given as Dorpat, Russia *Confidence* Vol.4 No.4 (April 1911), 76; In June, 1911, he is referred to as a missionary in Russia *Confidence* Vol.4 No.6 (June 1911), 124; News of his return to Russia is also given in *Confidence* Vol.4 No.9 (September 1911), 209.

333 *Confidence* Vol.3 No.9 (September 1910), 223. The Beruldsens were technically joining a Scandinavian Mission, but they had been granted PMU certificates for a period of one year. *Confidence* Vol.3 No.8 (August 1910), 199.

kit, but it was reported to the PMU executive that on the day of departure Trevitt's bag had allegedly been found virtually empty.³³⁴ The second problem was the question of marriage. PMU policy had already been established since February 1910 when Kirk, who had not graduated as a missionary, suddenly announced his engagement. The executive regarded this as a “premature” step for a probationary student and passed a pre-emptive resolution requiring all missionaries to “keep themselves free” for two years after they had been sent out to the field.³³⁵ Shortly after the first PMU missionaries departed for China and Tibet, news reached Polhill that Trevitt, Williams, McGillivray and Bristow had all become engaged. Clearly angered by this, Polhill demanded the probationers wait for four years before marrying.³³⁶ This was two years longer than previously resolved, and one year longer than Polhill himself had even waited before marrying Eleanor.³³⁷ There was, however, beneath the retaliatory sentiment, a firm grasp of pragmatism in Polhill's decision. He knew all too well of the strains and perilous dangers these young men and women would be facing on the unforgiving terrain of the Sino-Tibetan border, and he knew the effect, for better and for worse, that this would have on their marriages and on their utility value to the fledgling PMU. Additionally any marriages entered into by male PMU missionaries could potentially double the cost of their maintenance to an already financially fragile mission, unless their wives were already existing members. The mission was still struggling to achieve financial self-sufficiency, and Polhill was already personally ensuring the PMU balanced its books, so he had good reason to object to the probationers marrying too early.

334 Probably because he was attempting to step out in complete faith. *PMU Minute Book 1*, 77-78, *PCRA-DGC*.

335 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 43, *PCRA-DGC*.

336 *Ibid*, 88.

337 The Cambridge Seven arrived at Shanghai on 18 March 1885. Broomhall, 22. Polhill married Eleanor in May 1888, Polhill, *Memoirs*, 118, *PCO*.

5.4 Conclusion

Until now, the development of British Pentecostalism, 1908-1910, has not come under close enough analysis from the perspective of Polhill. This has led to all sorts of gaps, errors and confusions. By placing Polhill within the context of his earlier life, his motivations for joining the pentecostal movement have become much clearer. By analysing the development of the movement from Polhill's perspective, the roles of other Pentecostals have also been more clearly elucidated. What is evident, at least, is that the role of G. B. Studd in Polhill's life has been underestimated. Studd became his guide around Los Angeles and his spiritual guide, and it seems highly likely that it was Studd who initially brought Boddy to Polhill's attention via the pentecostal periodical *A Cloud of Witnesses*.

A comparison of Polhill's pentecostal experience in Los Angeles and his ecstatic experience in 1906 reveals a great deal of continuity. In China, long before the emergence of the modern pentecostal movement, Polhill had demonstrated that he was not satisfied with general displays of power. He longed to witness specific examples of spiritual gifts, yet for Polhill the pentecostal experience was not primarily about *xenolalic* tongues. What would have struck Polhill after arriving in Los Angeles was just how mission-orientated the pentecostal movement was, and given the decline of mission on the Sino-Tibetan border, he would have naturally considered a pentecostal mission for Tibet a very logical solution to his need for missionaries.³³⁸

Pentecostalism, for Polhill, was primarily about power for mission and evangelism.³³⁹

Polhill's experience in Los Angeles did not replace his Evangelicalism, it emphasised

³³⁸ The earliest donations he made in Los Angeles, in 1908, were missionary related. Usher, '*Patron of the Pentecostals...*', 47.

³³⁹ *Flames of Fire* No.1 (October 1911), 2 and *Confidence* Vol.1 No.5 (August 1908), 13 respectively.

and complimented his Evangelicalism, “All the grand old Bible doctrines emphasised.”³⁴⁰

The question of how and when Polhill and Boddy came into contact is important because it became such a key partnership for Pentecostalism, and it reveals something about the nature of the movement. That Boddy and Polhill could meet for the first time in 1908, aged fifty-three and forty-eight respectively, and almost immediately establish an important working pentecostal partnership that would last for most of the rest of their lives is remarkable. Polhill’s activity at the first Sunderland conference and in the pentecostal activity subsequent to the conference was in line with the revivalist methods he had been promoting since at least 1906. He funded and employed Pentecostals, he networked and he strategized and planned meetings using all of his considerable resources to encourage the pentecostal revival.

Polhill’s John Bunyan tours may have started out as coincidental, evangelical-friendly, sightseeing, but there is a sense that they developed into something more meaningful. As Polhill and Boddy got to know one another and reflected on the life of Bunyan they would have recognised that they were at the beginning of seismic changes in the religious atmosphere in the country and the world. They would have had a sense that these changes would come at a personal cost just as Bunyan had suffered personally. As these difficulties became apparent, Polhill and the Pentecostals responded by various means: (1) making counter declarations; (2) encouraging humility in the face of hostility; (3) remaining as close as possible to scriptural practices; (4) encouraging successful and fruitful ministries and (5)

³⁴⁰ Polhill, *China Missionary*, 7.

ensuring networks remained wide. Polhill was particularly important in this last respect. He used his extensive, existing, missionary networks to ensure Pentecostalism maintained some mainstream acceptance. He personally wrote to missions from whom Pentecostals had defected or missions that had rejected Pentecostals. In Polhill, the Pentecostals had a figure of respect conducting back-room diplomacy on their behalf.

Much can be learned about Polhill from reviewing his domestic evangelistic activity. What is well understood is that Polhill's choice of venues, particularly in London, brought a certain degree of prestige to the pentecostal movement.³⁴¹ Additionally it is well understood that Polhill was a strategist.³⁴² His meeting locations, times and arrangements were carefully selected for maximum impact and underwent frequent restructuring. His resources and initiative were such that he could sponsor different kinds of meetings simultaneously. His work in Bedford was also pivotal. It was one of his key spheres of pentecostal influence. He laid the foundations for what would eventually become the Bedford AGBI, and many other key figures in the pentecostal movement worked in Bedford or came into contact with Pentecostalism in Bedford.³⁴³

A crucial observation to make about Polhill during this period is that he still regarded himself as a missionary, and he was still a full member of the CIM London council.³⁴⁴ Boddy introduced him to readers of *Confidence* in 1908, "Our dear brother, Mr. Cecil Polhill has dedicated his life, we believe, to Tibet, and is home for a furlough."³⁴⁵ It is

341 Gee, *Pentecostal Movement*, 53.

342 Ibid.

343 Such as John Phillips and his four children; Robert Jardine and Howard Carter.

344 His name is provided in a list of executive members printed on the inside cover of *China's Millions* during this period.

345 *Confidence* Vol.1 No.5 (August 1908), 12.

clear from this remark that Polhill had not departed from his course of engaging in mission (or the management and promotion of mission) to Tibet just because he had become Pentecostal, but his “furlough” really signified that he had hitherto exhausted all possible avenues to Tibet with the CIM. In his mind, the adoption of Pentecostalism and a new missionary effort towards Tibet were intrinsically connected. Just six months after the first Sunderland conference, in December 1908, Polhill seized the opportunity he had been waiting for by addressing the Hamburg conference on the subject of overseas mission. By subsequently establishing a missionary training college he brought new levels of professionalism to Pentecostalism. Professionalism meant selectivity, and not all of the students were deemed fit enough to become PMU missionaries. Polhill did, however, empathise with these students, and there is evidence that some of the “failed” students went on to have fulfilling missionary careers elsewhere.³⁴⁶ Another facet of the PMU’s professionalism, pursued by Polhill, was its ability to be financially self-sufficient. Polhill knew that the PMU could not depend on his finances, so he steered it on a course of financial autonomy.

The elation of the “first valedictory” meeting of the PMU, in 1910, was overshadowed by difficulties regarding the engagement of PMU missionaries. Polhill’s demand that the probationers wait for two years longer than previously resolved was not just a case of the former cavalry officer becoming angry at insubordination, but by becoming engaged the PMU missionaries revealed that their minds were not fully focused on the mission field. Polhill knew better than most how

346 Hakim appears to have continued mission work in his home country of Iran up until the late 1920s. J. Axtell (Church’s Ministry Among Jewish People archivist) to author, 12 January 2015; Thuesen may have become a pentecostal missionary in Egypt. N. Christensen (PhD researcher) to author 12 January 2015, and Edwin Dennis seems to have spent a considerable amount of time in Estonia.

family and marriage could complicate life on the Tibetan border, and the marriages had the potential to impact PMU finances and, therefore, his finances directly, but this is perhaps one area where Polhill was less flexible than he could have been. He had, after all, asked the PMU missionaries to wait for longer than he himself had waited before marrying. Bristow and McGillivray would eventually be forced to resign as a direct result of this marriage resolution.

In spite of these early difficulties, the departure of the PMU missionaries for China and the Tibetan border was a momentous occasion. It had been twelve years since the dissolution of Polhill's Tibet Mission Band, yet he had worked tirelessly ever since to reenergise mission to Tibet. His domestic evangelism, networking, revival meetings and financing of the pentecostal movement were intrinsically and irrevocably connected to this goal. By 1910, he had finally made meaningful progress, and the PMU had in large part become his new Tibetan band. By providing Polhill with a steady flow of missionaries for Tibet the pentecostal movement would continue to benefit from his patronage, experience and commitment throughout 1911-1914. All of which were indispensable for the development of the early movement.

CHAPTER 6 “THE TRIBES ABOUND AND ARE CLAMOURING FOR THE GOSPEL,” POLHILL AND THE PMU ON THE TIBETAN BORDER (1910-1914)

6.1 Part One 1910-1911: Tibetward

6.1.1 Polhill and the PMU in China and on the Tibetan Border, 1910-1911

Polhill's return to the Sino-Tibetan border in 1911 was his first since his pentecostal experience in February 1908. He had long given up on waiting for the CIM to provide him with missionaries. As far as Cecil Polhill was concerned God wanted to see Tibet evangelised, and God was behind the pentecostal movement's emergence, so a pentecostal missionary force for Tibet was the most logical solution imaginable. The PMU sent missionaries all over the world, but Tibet was Cecil Polhill's primary concern. Between 1910-1914, most of the PMU's missionaries were sent to the Sino-Tibetan or Indo-Tibetan border. The rest of Polhill's pentecostal activity was a by-product of this main aim.

6.1.1.1 Polhill and Harry Small in China

Polhill and his pentecostal associate and traveling partner, Harry Small, left London on 10 September 1910 for Berlin and then onto the Trans-Siberian express to China.¹ Polhill's records appear to indicate that Harry's wife, Netta Small, was left in charge of some of his affairs. For example, “Mrs Small £55.5s expenses for *Fragments of Flame*, travel expenses [etc.]” (8 September 1910); “Mrs Small £25 household” (13 September 1910) and “Mrs Small £40 (Outfit for 4 men)” to name but a few.² The numerous household payments to Netta Small are reflected in the “household

¹ *Confidence* Vol.3 No.9 (Sep 1910), 224.

² *Cash Book 1910-1914* (expenditure), 5 and 6 respectively, *BLA*.

account” section of Polhill's ledger which indicates that they referred to his own household.³ This probably explains why, during the 1911 census, the Smalls were residing at one of the cottages on the Howbury Hall estate.⁴ Polhill and Small shared certain commonalities that made their friendship understandable: both were from military families, both were from privileged backgrounds and both had embraced Pentecostalism.⁵ They arrived in China together, late September 1910, ahead of the new PMU missionaries who had travelled in a separate group by sea.⁶

6.1.1.2 Utilising Existing Evangelical Networks to Make Practical Arrangements for the PMU

Polhill already had extensive networks in China, and he utilised these networks as he travelled from place to place. For example, shortly after arriving in China he travelled to Tianjin where he stayed with George W. Clark of the CIM; then in Beijing they visited William H. Murray of the Scottish Bible Society, and at Jincheng, Shanxi, they met his old Cambridge Seven friend Stanley Smith who was by this time an independent missionary.⁷ Polhill made use of these kinds of networks by making practical arrangements for the imminent arrival of his PMU missionaries. To George Clark he made a cash advance on behalf of Arie Kok whom Polhill knew was shortly due to arrive by Trans-Siberian Express.⁸ To the deputy director of the CIM, J. W.

3 *Ledger of Accounts 1908-1912*, 80, PC.

4 *Census of England and Wales, 1911*, s.vv. 'Small, Harry', address 'The Cottage, Renhold, Beds.' Available on www.ancestry.com (last accessed January 2015).

5 Polhill's father, older brother and he himself had been in the Army. Small's father had been an Army surgeon

6 Polhill's letter dated 28 September “tells of their safe arrival in China.” *Confidence* Vol.3 No.10 (Oct 1910), 248.

7 Clark subsequently working in Yunnan. Austin, 266; Murray developed a reading system for the blind in China s.vv. 'William H. Murray' available online at the *Biographical Dictionary Chinese Christianity*, <http://www.bdcconline.net/en/stories/m/murray-william-h.php> (last accessed July 2014); Tsecheofu also Tsechowfu or simply Tse-Chow.

8 On 15 October 1910 “Clarke, George – advance on PMU and Mr Kok -£20” *Cash Book 1910-1914* (expenditure), 6, BLA.

Stevenson, he left “journey fares for young men” probably as an advance for Bristow, McGillivray, Trevitt and Williams shortly to arrive in Shanghai.⁹ With Smith he agreed that the PMU missionaries destined for Tibet would first be stationed with him, in Shanxi, for six months to acclimatise and learn Mandarin.¹⁰

6.1.1.3 Stanley Smith, the PMU and Healing

Given that Polhill and Smith disagreed on some evangelical fundamentals it seems strange that he should entrust his first contingent of missionaries to him. The fact that the CIM could not or would not give Polhill the kind of support he needed is probably one of the reasons why. They had categorically discouraged mission to Tibet, and Polhill responded by categorically contravening their advice and establishing a missionary organisation largely dedicated to evangelising Tibet. In addition, when it came to exercising *charismata* the CIM were theologically conservative, and there was growing concern within the CIM about the pentecostal movement. By 1911, Hector McLean, who would later join the PMU, had already been forced to resign from the North American branch of the CIM because he was a Pentecostal.¹¹ Smith by contrast was much more open minded about *charismata*. He was a known admirer of the North American healing evangelist Maria Woodworth-Etter (1844-1924). He regarded her book, *Acts of the Holy Ghost*, as a book he valued “next to the Bible,” and her healing ministry “unparalleled in history.”¹² The early British pentecostal movement was as concerned with divine healing as it was with the gift of tongues, arguably more than the gift of tongues. Accounts of healing in early pentecostal periodicals commended the movement to Polhill who republished them in his own

9 On 22 October 1910 *Cash Book 1910-1914* (expenditure), 6, *BLA*.

10 Trevitt wrote from Jincheng on 8 November 1911, “We are here for six months learning the language.” *Confidence* Vol.4 No.1 (Jan 1911), 21.

11 Austin, 451.

12 Robinson, 120.

periodical.¹³ Boddy's wife had experienced divine healing and practiced the gift of healing herself.¹⁴ The first principal of the men's college, Niblock, was a divine healer, and the first principal of the woman's college, Crisp, had been involved at the Bethshan healing home, so more than anything else it was probably Smith's openness to divine healing that made him the right candidate to nurture the earliest PMU missionaries. This is supported by the kind of activity Polhill and Small engaged in at Smith's station, as attested to in a letter from Polhill in 1911:

At Tsecheofu [Jincheng]...Hearts both of missionaries and Chinese Christians, were hungry, and soon began to find that the Lord was meeting hearts' needs, both in saving, sanctifying, and healing. None actually received the baptism while we were there, but in a few cases there was a definite seeking, and a distinct spiritual gain. Meetings went on morning, noon and night...A number were healed, some instantly.¹⁵

All this occurred at Smith's station, and so there is little doubt that Smith was complicit in the healing evangelism. According to Polhill, people were being converted and sanctified, but no one received what he regarded as a baptism in the Holy Spirit i.e. the pentecostal experience. He probably determined this by observing that no one spoke in tongues. What is certain is that Polhill and Small were attempting to spread pentecostal teaching and practices. After Polhill and Small's pentecostal campaign at Jincheng they proceeded south to rendezvous with the new PMU missionaries at Wuhan, Hubei.¹⁶

6.1.1.4 The PMU and Mok Lai Chi

Before arriving at Shanghai, the new PMU missionaries, consisting of the three Beruldsen siblings and Bristow, McGillivray, Trevitt and Williams, made a short stop

13 *Fragments of Flame* (October 1908), unpaginated see "The Sick Healed."

14 G. Wakefield, 57, 72.

15 Original formatting. *Confidence* Vol.3 No.11 (November 1910), 270.

16 Ibid.

at Hong Kong, on 19 October 1910, where they visited the Chinese pentecostal leader Mok Lai Chi (Mo Lizhi).¹⁷ Mok had been an interpreter in an American Board (Congregational) Mission in Hong Kong when a group of North American pentecostal missionaries started holding meetings there in 1908. Some of these were from a party of missionaries that had originally gone out from the Azusa Street mission to Japan under Martin Ryan.¹⁸ Polhill had donated £30 in 1908, during his visit in Los Angeles, to Mrs H. L. Lawler who also formed part of Ryan's original group, and who subsequently became a missionary in Shanghai.¹⁹ The early pentecostal group in Hong Kong eventually met with opposition from the American Board Mission which forced them to move into Mok's school building, and Mok subsequently adopted a leadership role in the mission. Mok wrote to Boddy in 1911 of the PMU missionaries' departure, "Our meeting that evening lasted till after ten o'clock, when we bade Brother Bristow and his band good-bye."²⁰ This remark would seem to indicate that Bristow had been appointed the leader of the young missionary group.

After leaving Hong Kong, the PMU missionaries arrived at Shanghai on 22 October 1910.²¹ At this juncture the group split between the four destined for the Tibetan border (Bristow, McGillivray, Trevitt and Williams) and the Beruldsens who proceeded to North China to the Scandinavian Alliance Mission in Xuanhua, Hebei, under the charge of C. G. Söderbom.²² The other four went inland, along the River Yangtse, to Wuhan where Polhill and Small were waiting for them.²³ The parallels

17 *Confidence* Vol.3 No.12 (December 1910), 293.

18 Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 111-112. Alfred and Lillian Garr had also been involved in these early Pentecostal meetings in Hong Kong.

19 Usher, 'Patron of the Pentecostals...', 47.

20 *Confidence* Vol.3 No.12 (December 1910), 293; Tiedemann, 'The Origins and Organizational Developments of the Pentecostal Missionary Enterprise in China' *AJPS* Vol.14 No.1 (2011), 119;

21 *Confidence* Vol.4 No.1 (Jan 1911), 20.

22 Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 125 cf. *Confidence* Vol.4 No.1 (Jan 1911), 21.

23 Hankou, Hupeh

with Polhill's own first journey in China in 1885 are striking. He too sailed along the Yangtse from Shanghai to Wuhan where the forceful holiness preaching of the respected veteran missionary Dr Griffith John had placed him irreversibly onto a pentecostal trajectory. Now twenty-five years later, Polhill was the respected veteran missionary waiting at Wuhan to inspire a new generation of missionaries. The four arrived at Wuhan at the end of October with the same high spirits and enthusiasm as the Cambridge Seven had done. Trevitt wrote of the group singing and playing the concertina on board the steamer, and having “won to Christ” two Chinese men on the river journey “Go Liang” and “Wang Kor-Liang.”²⁴ Their evangelising was possible only because Go Liang spoke English. According to Polhill, they spent “a few days of fellowship” together at Wuhan before he and Small proceeded west, inland, towards Sichuan while the new missionaries journeyed north by rail to Smith's station in Shanxi.²⁵

6.1.1.5 Pentecostal Healing Meetings across China

At Smith's station the four continued holding a similar style of healing meeting to those held by Polhill and Small, “On Sunday we had a blessed time here [at Jincheng]. We all spoke and dear Mr Smith interpreted. After the meeting a woman came for healing with creeping paralysis, and the next day the news was brought by one of the Sisters here that she was healed, so we praised our dear Lord....”²⁶ They also began holding twice weekly “waiting meetings for the Baptism of the Holy Spirit,” and by January 1911 Smith encountered a pentecostal experience of his own, “Mr Smith received the message from the dear Lord that He would baptize him on

24 *Confidence* Vol.4 No.1 (Jan 1911), 20. “Go Liang” was an English teacher to the Shanghai Police department. Wang-Kor-Liang's address is given as being in Wuhan.

25 *Confidence* Vol.4 No.1 (Jan 1911), 19, 20-21.

26 *Ibid*, 21.

January 17th and praise God that very night during the waiting meeting the Holy Ghost took complete control of his tongue but having the wisdom that cometh from above, he was not content, but earnestly sought a deeper and fuller manifestation of the abiding of the Triune God.”²⁷ In the minds of the earliest British pentecostal missionaries the sign of tongues was initially the key indicator of the baptism of the Holy Spirit. By February 1911, the four were finally joined by the Kok family.²⁸

6.1.1.6 The Koks

By the end of 1910, the Koks had still not yet left Europe. They had been spending time in Estonia with German Pentecostal Benjamin Schilling and former PMU student turned independent-pentecostal missionary Edwin Dennis. They finally departed for China on 16 January 1911 by Trans-Siberian Express, but it was not a good time to travel, as Manchuria was in the grip of a very serious epidemic of pneumonic plague.²⁹ After severe delays they got as far as Shenyang,³⁰ Liaoning, and then had to board a quarantine ship from the coast of Liaoning to Shanghai. After three days of quarantine, they were finally permitted to disembark at Shanghai. They reached Smith's station on 27 February 1911, six weeks after leaving Russia, and just as Polhill and Small were beginning to journey back east across China.³¹

6.1.1.7 Polhill and Small in Sichuan

After leaving the four at Wuhan, in October 1910, Polhill and Small continued divine healing practices amongst Polhill's missionary contacts. They travelled west along the

27 *Confidence* Vol.4 No.2 (Feb 1911), 47 and No.3 (March 1911), 69.

28 *Confidence* Vol.4 No.5 (May 1911), 104-105

29 *Confidence* Vol.4 No.5 (May 1911), 103 cf. W. C. Summers, *The Great Manchurian Plague of 1910-1911* (London: Yale University Press, 2012).

30 Mukden

31 *Confidence* Vol.4 No.5 (May 1911), 104-105

River Yangtse to Yichang, Hubei, where the missionary-in-charge “gradually regained his eyesight,” and a Chinese boy was healed of “ague.”³² Afterwards they progressed to Wanzhou and CIM outstations around Chongqing, Sichuan.³³ At Nanmenzhen they attended a four-day conference arranged by CIM missionary Hermann Wupperfeld.³⁴ Polhill wrote of his time at Nanmenzhen, “The powers against full surrender are strong,” but, “Mr Wupperfeld gave the meetings into our hands and there was gradual, steady movement forward...Towards the close of the meetings at Nan-men-chang the Lord was definitely working, and there was a definite seeking of, not merely the influence, but the very presence and fullness of the Holy Ghost, both on the part of the Chinese leaders, some of the converts, and missionaries.”³⁵ When Polhill used the phrase “full surrender” it is just as likely that he was describing the path to sanctification as it was that he was describing the pentecostal experience.³⁶ At Jincheng, he had spoken of the Lord “saving, sanctifying and healing” in that order.³⁷ This would seem to imply that Polhill generally sought to lead others into an experience of sanctification before expecting them to have a pentecostal experience. After several days, they continued west to Polhill's brother's station near Dazhou, Sichuan.³⁸

32 Strictly speaking Polhill does not say this came as a result of their prayers, but divine healing was certainly high on their agenda. *Confidence* Vol.4 No.1 (January 1911), 19.

33 Wanzhou was formerly known as Wanhhsien.

34 Nanmenzhen was formerly known as Nan-men-chang.

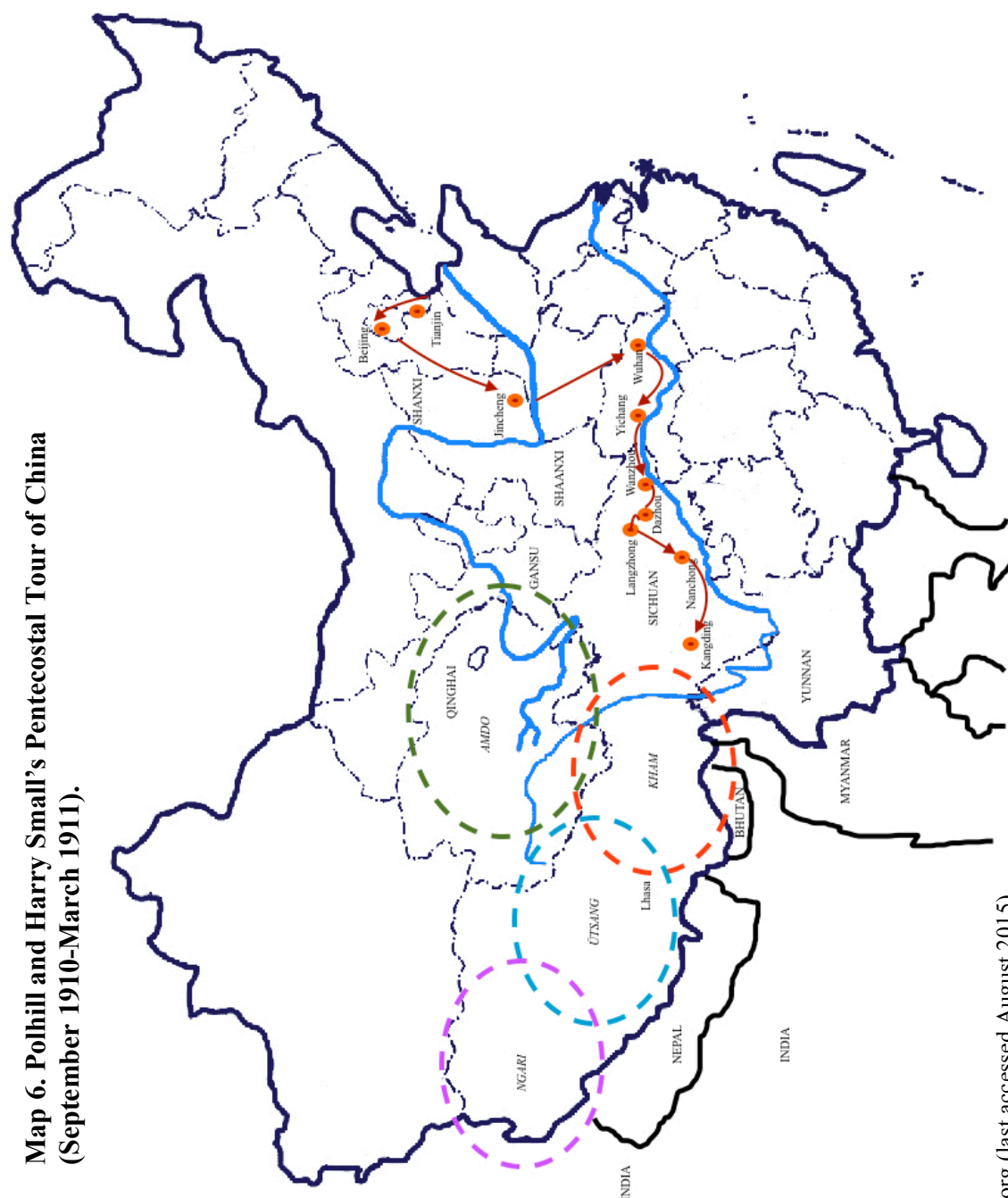
35 *Confidence* Vol.4 No.1 (January 1911), 19.

36 cf. chapter 5, subsection 5.1.1.3; Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 156-158.

37 *Confidence* Vol.3 No.11 (November 1910), 270.

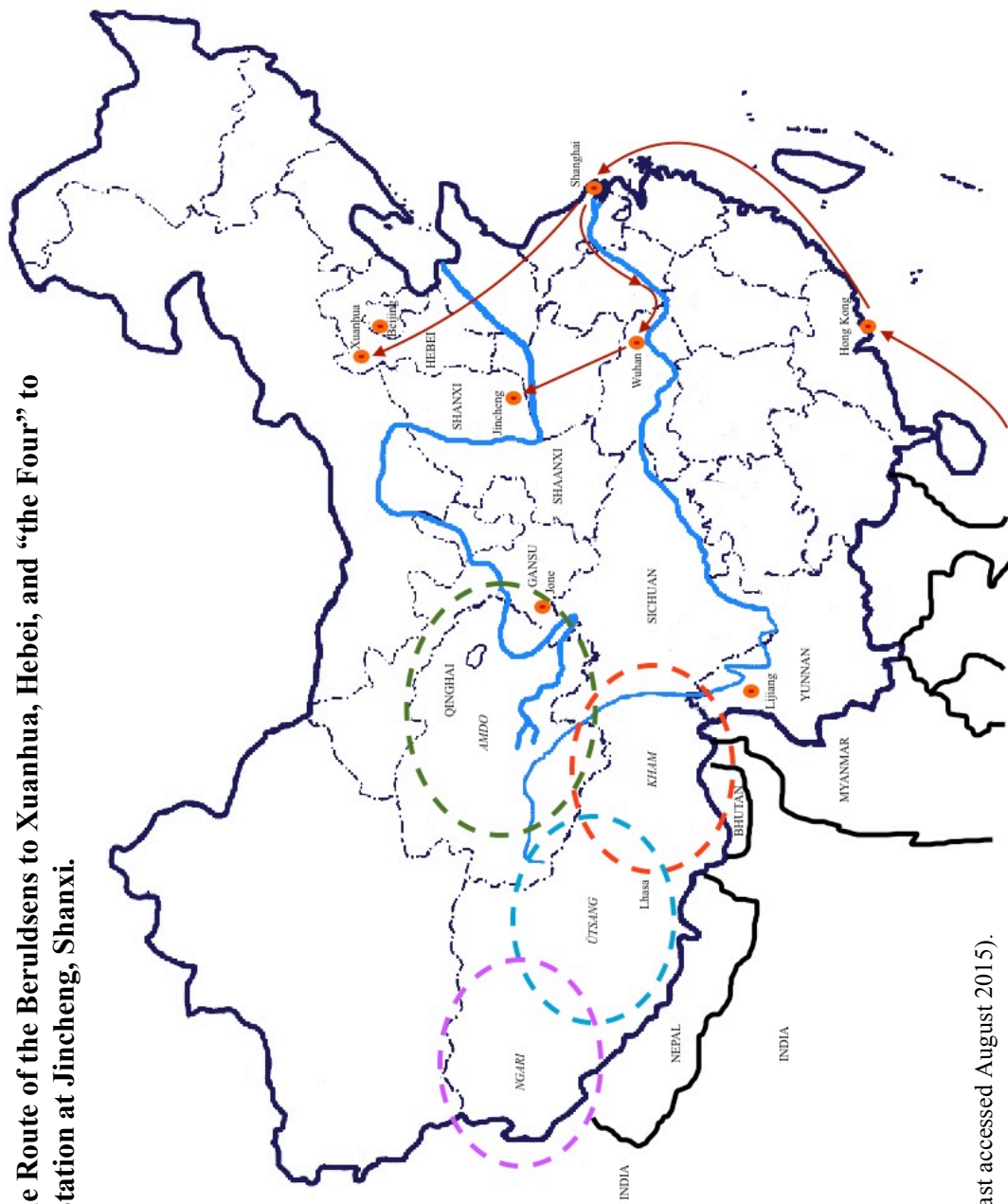
38 Arthur Polhill was a stationed at Shuting or Shu-ting near modern Dazhou.

**Map 6. Polhill and Harry Small's Pentecostal Tour of China
(September 1910-March 1911).**



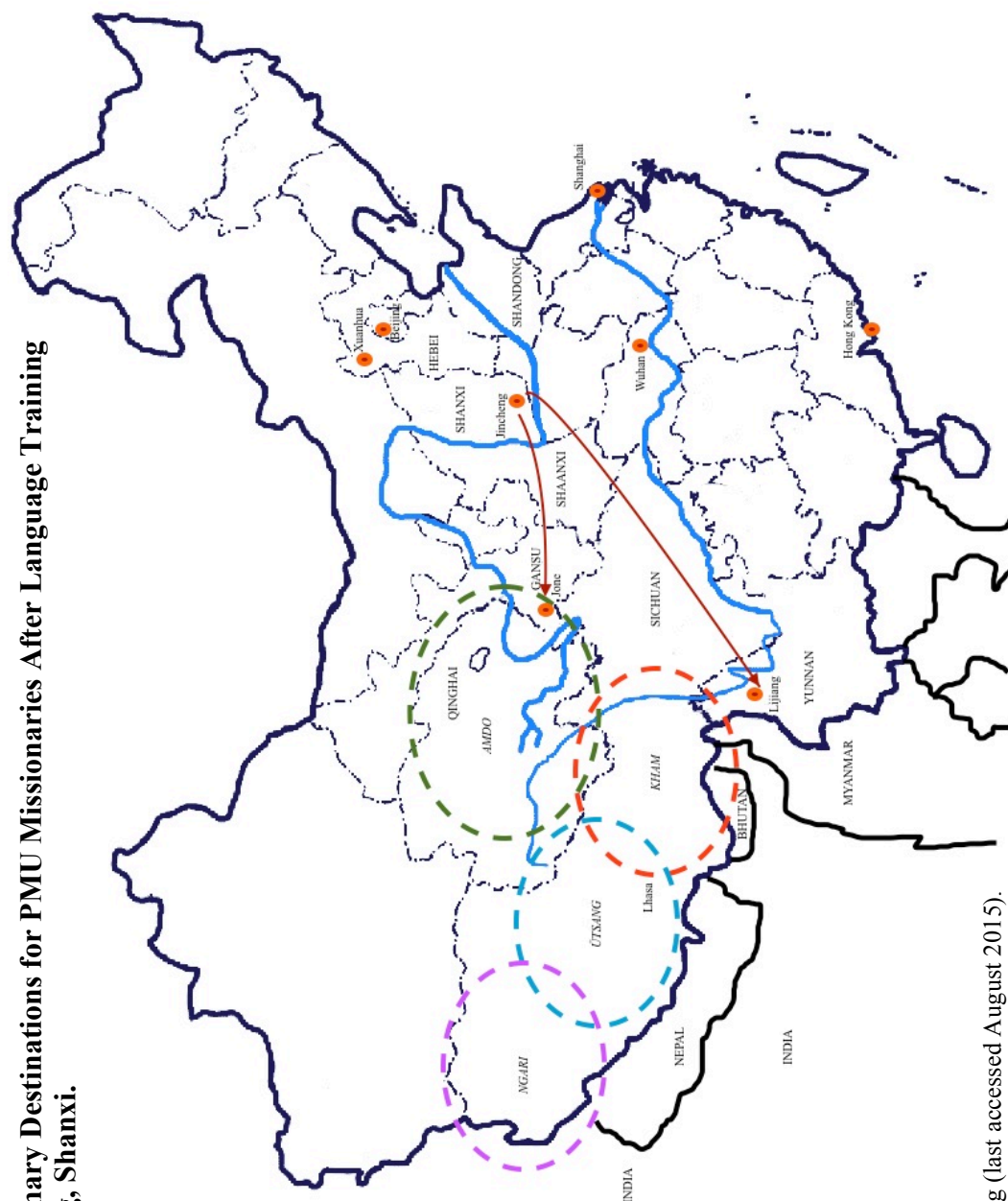
Source: www.chinamaps.org (last accessed August 2015).

Map 7. Showing the Route of the Beruldsens to Xuanhua, Hebei, and “the Four” to Standley Smith’s Station at Jincheng, Shanxi.



Source: www.chinamaps.org (last accessed August 2015).

Map 8. Primary Destinations for PMU Missionaries After Language Training in Jincheng, Shanxi.



Source: www.chinamaps.org (last accessed August 2015).

6.1.1.7.1 Dazhou and Langzhong

Polhill's brother, Arthur, had expressed concerns about Polhill's ecstasism in 1906, so it would have been understandable if Polhill had toned down the kind of meetings he had been holding since arriving in China, but that does not appear to have been the case:

At Shu-ting [near Dazhou] we further saw the hand of the Lord. One brother who was not willing even to attend the preliminary prayer meetings on account of prejudice, was the first to yield wholly to the Lord and seek a definite Baptism of the Holy Spirit. That very morning he received a letter from his father telling him that he had just received a copy of 'Fragments of Flame' from me. It was a rather remarkable coincidence. The Lord again blessed in the three days' meetings here, and gave an increased spirit of gladness, and in some cases a real desire for the filling of the Holy Spirit. Some were determined to join together in daily waiting upon God for the enduement of power.³⁹

The reference to prejudice indicates that Polhill and Small encountered some further opposition, but they were convinced of the reality of their experience, and so they did what they had come to do i.e. spread pentecostal practice and teaching. Polhill's position undoubtedly helped in these initial stages for several reasons: as Arthur Polhill's older brother he was often called upon for financial assistance; Polhill's background as one of the Cambridge Seven and a contemporary of the late Hudson Taylor gave him status; he was still a full council member of the CIM London home council and he dispensed money wherever he went. This ensured that Polhill was able to represent Pentecostals in places and positions that no other Pentecostal of his generation could. For example, at their next destination, Langzhong,⁴⁰ they visited another of Polhill's old Cambridge Seven friends, Bishop Cassels, the first Bishop of Western China. Polhill donated £100 to his cathedral and hostel building project on

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Paoning.

18 December 1910.⁴¹ The “Gospel Cathedral” is still used by Chinese Christians in Langzhong today (2015).⁴² Here in the seat of the Bishop of Western China their activity does appear to have been slightly more subdued, but they were permitted to speak at the weekly prayer meeting and the Sunday evening Chinese service.⁴³

6.1.1.7.2 Towards the Tibetan Border

After leaving Langzhong, Polhill and Small continued west to Nanchong, Sichuan, where they spent Christmas with CIM missionary A. E. Evans.⁴⁴ Polhill wrote, “the Lord came down in our midst and refreshed all. Some are definitely determined at all costs to seek the Baptism of the Holy Ghost.”⁴⁵ He had known Evans since at least 1906 when Evans had written to Polhill, from Nanchong, to thank him for sending a copy of *With the King*, “Thank you very much for the memorial biography of your dear wife...our work is now greatly enlarged but there are elements in it calling for revived prayer and humble dependence upon the Holy Spirit.”⁴⁶ With each station Polhill and Small visited they were moving progressively nearer to the Tibetan border.

After two more brief stops they reached their most westerly destination of Kangding, Sichuan, in January 1911.⁴⁷ This was the station Polhill had established as leader of the Tibet Mission Band in 1897, and it had been at that time the most westerly station

41 *Cash Book 1910-1914* (expenditure), 7, *BLA*.

42 Tiawanese Christians from “Good TV” made a Cambridge Seven pilgrimage to Langzhong. They took pictures of the cathedral as well as Bishop Cassels’ grave. See 27 November 2014: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LEphAFgaRCw&list=PLGs2AT8sZ-Ay0CDeELX-7rnin5Ehjl2mF&index=2> (Cathedral at 10:31 and Cassels grave at 13:04), last accessed July 2015.

43 *Confidence* Vol.4 No.1 (January 1911), 19-20.

44 Shunking cf. N. Standaert and R. G. Tiedemann ed. *Handbook of Christianity in China*, Vol.2 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 974.

45 *Confidence* Vol.4 No.4 (April 1911), 92.

46 E. A. Evans to C. Polhill 1 March 1906, *PCO*.

47 *Confidence* Vol.4 No.4 (April 1911), 92.

in Sichuan, but CIM missionaries (with Polhill's encouragement) had since established a new station some 280 miles further west, at Batang, on the Tibetan border proper.⁴⁸ Polhill and Small were invited to visit Batang, but according to Polhill the political situation was not stable enough, “The Tibetan work at this time is full of perplexities and problems – in a Transition state, great changes pending. Pray for Tibet and for its workers.”⁴⁹ Polhill was probably referring to the activity of the Imperial General Zhao Erfeng who had led an army into Lhasa, in February 1910, causing the thirteenth Dalai Lama, Thubten Gyatso, to take exile in British India.⁵⁰ Tibet seemed again to be on the cusp of opening, and Polhill wanted to stay, but he and Small began retracing their steps east to Wanzhou, Yichang and Shanghai to depart China around March 1911.⁵¹

6.1.1.7.3 Why not Kangding?

Given that Kangding had been opened by Polhill and his TMB missionaries it might be expected that he would have stationed the four PMU missionaries dedicated to Tibet there, but he did not. There are a number of issues that probably explain this. Firstly, it was not uncommon for the CIM to begin by stationing new missionaries more centrally in order to allow them to gradually acclimatise before sending them, if necessary, to more remote parts of China. Polhill still behaved procedurally like a CIM missionary, so it is not unusual that the four missionaries bound for Tibet did not immediately travel to the difficult and remote regions of the Tibetan border.

48 *Memoirs*, 151, *PCO*.

49 Polhill writing in *Confidence* Vol.4 No.4 (April 1911), 92.

50 Goldstein, *Snow Lion*, 27 cf. Wright ed. *China in Revolution: The First Phase 1900-1913* (London: Yale University Press), 5.

51 Polhill wrote, “There are some hungry hearts there [at Kangding], and we regretted our inability to spend a time in helping them.” *Confidence* Vol.4 No.4 (April 1911), 92-93. His financial records give some indication that he may have actually returned by Trans-Siberian Express. *Cash Book 1910-1914* (expenditure), 9, *BLA*.

Secondly, Polhill may have wanted to observe the state of Tibetan work in west Sichuan before making a decision about where to send the PMU missionaries. In the process of doing so he was probably assessing how the CIM reacted to Pentecostalism. The CIM had already begun the process of purging Pentecostals from the mission, so there was probably too much joint suspicion between the PMU and the CIM for any formal working relationship to exist. Finally, Polhill knew well of the socio-political limitations of working in west Sichuan. It was a flashpoint for Sino-Tibetan relations. Missionaries had lost their lives in Batang by being caught up in political tension between the Chinese and the Tibetans, so it would have probably been regarded as too risky to send his PMU missionaries there.⁵² These are the kinds of issues that would have led to Bristow, McGillivray, Trevitt and Williams eventually being sent to work on the comparatively more subdued northwest Gansu-Tibetan border, with the more pro-Pentecostal CMA group, rather than in west Sichuan with the CIM.

6.1.1.8 The Four Travel to The Gansu-Tibetan Border

After six months of acclimatisation, in June 1911, four of the PMU missionaries began trekking more than six hundred miles across land from Jincheng, Shanxi, to Lintan, Gansu, “Trevitt, Bristow, Williams and McGillivray are, we believe, now taking a tremendous journey across China, walking and riding in carts for hundreds of miles to the province of Kansu. Here they will learn the Tibetan language in a Missionary Station of the Christian Alliance [CMA], by arrangement with Dr. Simpson and Dr. Glover.”⁵³ It is highly likely that Polhill had arranged this, as he had

⁵² Sperling, 72 and 73

⁵³ Formerly Taochow (old city) or Taozhou. *Confidence* Vol.4 No.6 (June 1911), 142.

known about the CMA mission in Gansu since at least 1905.⁵⁴ Why the Koks had not joined the four is unclear. It may be that having arrived at Smith's stations about two months later than the other four they felt it necessary to remain longer. The Koks also had a small child which may have made keeping up with the four young men very difficult. Additionally Kok probably did not get on well with Frank Trevitt with whom he subsequently refused to work with in Yunnan.⁵⁵

The arduous journey across China took its toll on the four PMU missionaries, and the triumphalism and high spirits of their previous reports was dampened somewhat by the realities and rigour of missionary travel. For example, Williams wrote:

...we found the traveling become more and more tedious. We were sometimes awakened by our servant at 12 o'clock in the morning to start on our journey, and then not stopping for our mid-day meal, but had to continue until evening before having rest and food. When we arrived at an inn...the inn rooms were unbearable which is undoubtedly known to all those who have travelled in China...We called at several of the C.I.M Stations and were received very warmly, and they gave us all help possible for the journey. It has been indeed a very practical training for us. We have truly learnt many precious lessons never to be forgotten.⁵⁶

Williams' letter references numerous examples of stopping at CIM stations and being well treated, so there was evidently some cooperation between the CIM and the PMU, but this collegial spirit between missionary organisations should probably be distinguished from formal cooperation. The four arrived at Lintan, on 14 July 1911, where CMA missionary-in-charge William Wallace Simpson (1869-1961) met them.⁵⁷ Here they began to settle down to learn Tibetan, but further difficulties emerged in the form of interpersonal tensions. Bristow had written to Polhill, in

54 When E. B. Stirling, Honorary Secretary of the Tibet Prayer Union, had written to Polhill bringing his attention to the station. E. B. Stirling to C. Polhill, 24 May 1905, *PCO*.

55 Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 126 cf. Van Spengen, 'Early Missionary Activity...', 153.

56 *Confidence* Vol.4 No.9 (September 1911), 215.

57 Ibid.

September 1911, about his concerns regarding “Mr Trevitt's conduct.”⁵⁸ This may help explain why just three months after arriving at Lintan, Trevitt and Williams relocated with their Tibetan teacher, an ex-Lama called “Ahu-chos-kyong,” to a remote village, called Shentig, about twelve miles from Lintan along the Tao River in Amchok tribal territory.⁵⁹ In spite of the interpersonal tensions, the pentecostal teaching and practice the PMU missionaries brought with them was being well received by many of the CMA missionaries and local Christians. According to McGillivray, by late 1911, “the whole of the Alliance Missionaries are practically seeking the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, though not all on the same lines. Since the meetings at Mincheo conducted by Mr. Lutley, a beautiful spirit has been manifested amongst the missionaries.”⁶⁰ Trevitt wrote in October 1911, “...one [Chinese Christian named “Chow-Laoje”] specially is baptised with the Holy Spirit and speaks in tongues and prophecies....”⁶¹

6.1.1.8.1 Albert Lutley and the PMU

McGillivray's reference to CIM missionary Albert Lutley (1864-1934) is significant. Polhill and Small had earlier recognised the influence of Lutley in Nanmenzhen, Sichuan, “We found here, and in all the stations so far in the Province, that the meetings of Mr. Lutley in the Spring had exercised a very blessed influence in preparation and manifestation of the powers of the world to come, and deepening the prayer spirit.”⁶² Lutley travelled to China with the CIM in 1887 having responded to

58 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 129, *PCRA-DGC*.

59 *Flames of Fire* No.2 (Nov 1911), 4; *PMU Minute Book 1*, 242-243, *PCRA-DGC*. cf. Van Spengen, 'Early Missionary Activity...', 151. Shentig remains difficult to locate precisely.

60 *Flames of Fire* No.2 (Nov 1911), 4.

61 *Flames of Fire*, No. 3 (January 1912), 7.

62 *Confidence* Vol.4 No.1 (January 1911), 19.

“the hundred” recruitment campaign.⁶³ He subsequently became superintendent of Shanxi province and, like Polhill, he became a firm admirer of Xi Shengmo although, unlike Polhill, Lutley actually worked in the same province as Xi and almost certainly knew him personally.⁶⁴ The connection to Shengmo (“overcomer of demons”) is significant because reports from Polhill and McGillivray in combination with CIM records appear to indicate that Lutley travelled from station to station exercising a kind of proto-charismatic ministry of renewal. For example, in *China's Millions* (1910), “Mr A. Lutley, whom God has so abundantly used in his own province, Shansi [Shanxi], and also in Shensi [Shaanxi], is to go to Bishop Cassels' district in Szechwan to conduct a series of meetings there. Will you not pray that the Spirit of the Lord will be poured out upon the Chinese in this district. May there be such a mighty manifestation of His power that many who believe on Him may be quickened and many who know Him not, born again.”⁶⁵ According to McGillivray's writing for Polhill's periodical, “Mr. Lutley spoke of the gifts of the Spirit, and said that the Church should be spiritual and in every Church these gifts should be manifested. All are seeking God's best.”⁶⁶ This would seem to indicate that there were very pro-charismatic factions within the CIM even if the executive leadership did eventually relent to anti-charismatic pressure and proscribe Pentecostals (or those who held tongues to be the essential sign of the fullness of baptism in the Holy Spirit). Polhill's vision of a pentecostal-empowered missionary force evangelising Tibet seemed to have become a reality, but in 1911 sweeping political instability again threatened to bring Tibet mission and indeed all mission in China to a standstill.

63 Austin, 230.

64 *China's Millions* (1903), 98, *SOAS*. Stanley, 142 cf. Lutley's comments on Xi in his edited chapter in Broomhall ed. *The Chinese Empire*, 220-221.

65 *China's Millions* (1910), 22, *YUDL*.

66 *Flames of Fire* No.2 (Nov 1911), 4.

6.1.1.9 The Declaration of a New Chinese Province

General Zhao Erfung's progress in Tibet had resulted in the carving of a new province consisting of much of the traditional Tibetan region of Kham i.e. west Sichuan and east Tibet proper.⁶⁷ The province was declared “Chwan-si,” in July 1911, and along with it the traditional authority of the Tibetan chieftains was abolished. Polhill viewed this as an answer to prayer writing in October 1911, “...it will be obvious that the prayers of many years for this Hermit Land are to-day in large measure fulfilled. A great tract of the country thus at once becomes a part of China proper, the remainder, with Lhasa the capital, will be sure to follow shortly.”⁶⁸ The declaration of a new province, like the Younghusband Expedition of 1903-04, was expected to bring the long-awaited opening of the region to missionaries and the gospel. This might have been the case, but the revolution that was about to sweep through China ensured that the new province was never properly established.

6.1.1.10 The Effects of the Xinhai Revolution

A weak and embattled Qing Empire had been suppressing revolutions for years before the successful Wuchang Uprising of 10 October 1911 amongst Imperial Army officers, in Hubei, which spread from province to province and eventually led to the overthrow of the Manchu ruling dynasty.⁶⁹ As Polhill travelled through Beijing with Harry Small, in 1910, he had sensed revolution in the air noting the city's “fading grandeur” and expressing concern that the Imperial Government was weak. He was also aware at that time of rumours that a popular pro-foreign military commander, Yuan Shikai (1859-1916), might soon return from political exile to retake a leading

67 Wright, 5; Goldstein, *Snow Lion*, 28 cf. *Flames of Fire*, No.1 (October 1911), 4-5.

68 *Flames of Fire*, No.1 (October 1911), 4-5.

69 V. P. Dutt 'The First Week of Revolution: The Wuchang Uprising' in Wright (ed), 383, 410, 416.

role in the Imperial Government.⁷⁰ Yuan Shikai, ostensibly a constitutionalist, was popular with republican revolutionaries and court officials alike and considered the only person who could restore order to China after the revolution, so he was invited to lead government and became prime minister in Beijing on 15 November 1911.⁷¹ The stability that his appointment was thought to herald was a great comfort to many with the Boxer Uprising still fresh in the minds of missionaries. Polhill wrote in November 1911, “Yuan is on the move again, at the front, and he is the one man likely to bring his country through this trying hour to win back the Republicans...of bringing back peace to the nation. May it be so. Whenever China recovers, and stable government again asserts itself, then is THE HOUR for China's salvation, a mere pause, but then is the time to make the dash, then to send out every available truly God-called man.”⁷² The “mere pause” referred to the disruption and fear the revolution had caused across China. The Beruldsens, the Koks and two of the four missionaries on the Gansu-Tibetan border, Bristow and McGillivray, fled to coastal provinces as did several CMA missionaries from Gansu.⁷³ Trevitt and Williams remained somewhat sheltered for a short time, albeit extremely vulnerable, at their remote village station in Tibetan tribal territory. When it became too dangerous for them to remain there they returned to Jone (near Lintan), but they did not flee to the coast as most of the other missionaries had done.⁷⁴ Just as China experienced political growth pains, the pentecostal movement in the UK continued to experience growth pains of its own.

70 *Confidence* Vol.3 No.11 (November 1910), 270.

71 E. P. Young 'Yuan Shih-k'ai's Rise to the Presidency' in Wright (ed), 419-442.

72 Original formatting. *Flames of Fire* No.2 (November 1911), 4-5.

73 The Beruldsens and the Koks went to Tianjin, the Koks afterwards went to Shandong, Bristow and McGillivray headed for Shanghai with the departing CMA missionaries. *Confidence* Vol.5 No.3 (March 1912), 71 (Koks) 72 (Beruldsens); Vol.5 No.6 (June 1912), 141 (Bristow and McGillivray).

74 *Flames of Fire* No.5 (April 1912), 3; *Flames of Fire* No.6 (July 1912), 5.

6.1.2 Pentecostal Power Struggles

Both Polhill and Small were back in London for the PMU executive meeting of 10 April 1911.⁷⁵ A number of potentially damaging issues faced Polhill on his return. First was the issue of Niblock and Myerscough and their refusal to join the executive council. This potentially threatened Polhill's authority and control of the PMU men's college. It seems likely that there was some collusion between Niblock and Myerscough. Shortly after they had both refused to join the executive, Niblock had requested that one of the PMU students at Preston, Percy Corry, travel to London to help him with his ministry.⁷⁶ When the executive, who had not been informed, offered to help Corry financially both Niblock and Myerscough claimed to have been unaware that Corry was a student of the PMU.⁷⁷ In addition, in January 1911, Myerscough spoke at a large pentecostal conference arranged by Niblock in Caxton Hall, Westminster.⁷⁸ The previous month, Niblock had opened his own rival pentecostal college in South London.⁷⁹ He was clearly a charismatic and ambitious individual with influence in the movement, but what Polhill may have lacked in natural charisma he made up for in experience, contacts, vision, determination and resources. After 1911, Niblock faded from pentecostal literature. By 1914, he had enrolled to take anglican Holy Orders at Wells Theological College.⁸⁰ By July 1911, Myerscough had agreed to join the PMU executive on condition that his travel expenses would be covered.⁸¹ The executive agreed on the proviso that he give lectures at the women's college when he came to London, but it was an uneasy truce

75 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 99, *PCRA-DGC*.

76 *Ibid.*, 88-89.

77 *Ibid.*

78 *Confidence* Vol.4 No.1 (Jan 1911), 4.

79 "A Bible School at Herne Hill" *Confidence* Vol.3 No.12 (December 1910), 293.

80 M. Blain, *The Blain Biographical Directory of Anglican Clergy in the Pacific*, s.vv. 'Niblock, Alexander Moncur'. Available online at: anglicanhistory.org/nz/blain_directory/ (last accessed July 2014). Niblock subsequently joined the Freemasons.

81 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 95, *PCRA-DGC*.

between Polhill and Myerscough.⁸²

6.1.2.1 Infant Baptism

The second threat to the early pentecostal movement at this time was the legitimacy of infant baptism. Most Pentecostals were Nonconformists and naturally predisposed to object to infant baptism which was regarded as theologically suspect and unbiblical, but there were influential members of the movement who took a more relaxed view such as: Barratt, Boddy and Polhill. In March 1911, Boddy's *Confidence* editorial emphasised unity, and Barratt published a "Plea for Charity and Unity."⁸³ Barratt referred to the Evangelical Alliance and their "Evangelical Standards" as a model and basis for pentecostal unity.⁸⁴ Polhill's view, as an Anglican, was typically broad, "I think we are entitled to hold our views as firmly as we like be they sprinkling or immersion but have no right to force them upon our brother or insist that he is wrong and we are right...I believe it right to deal gently and in love lest we cause schism unnecessarily."⁸⁵ Polhill encouraged tolerance, yet he was in the minority. By contrast the Nonconformist assembly leaders were in the majority, and they were far more likely to hold hostile views of infant baptism. An ideological struggle for ownership of the movement was emerging. The position held by Boddy and Polhill was proto-Charismatic, but to gain wider acceptance this depended upon the good will of the majority. A schism along confessional lines was almost inevitable, but the moderate roots of the pentecostal movement probably helped ensure that it would eventually influence the traditional denominations in the way that Polhill and Boddy had always hoped. Polhill or the early Pentecostals could hardly have envisaged the

82 Ibid, 111-112.

83 *Confidence* Vol.4 No.3 (March 1911), 60 (editorial) and 63.

84 cf. subsection 6.3.6.1.2 and table 3.

85 Ibid, 63.

outcome of their widening divide at this stage, as they mostly believed they were on the eve of the imminent *Parousia*.

6.1.3 Polhill and Premillennialism

Polhill planned to hold his annual, pre-Sunderland, London conference between 30 May – 2 June in Holborn Hall, Grays Inn Road, for which he had compiled his own hymn book *Songs of Praises*.⁸⁶ The subject matter for the conference was highly eschatological in character being themed “the second advent.”⁸⁷ Premillennialism became a tenet of Polhill's theology during this time.⁸⁸ This is evidenced in his newly rebranded pentecostal periodical, launched in November 1911, incorporating his *Tidings from Tibet* circulars and news from “other lands,” so that the title changed from *Fragments of Flame* to *Flames of Fire: With Which is Incorporated Tidings from Tibet and Other Lands*. Polhill explained the rebranding as follows, “Surely 'Fire' is the supreme need of today. With this 'Fire' cold dead congregations will be galvanized...impecunious destitute Missionary Societies will find more than they can ask or think quietly flowing in, and men and women of God...will become a flame of fire.”⁸⁹ In the final section of his first issue he made the following list under “The Doctrines We Hold” which made clear the importance he placed upon premillennialism:

1. Atonement through the Blood
2. Sanctification through the Spirit
3. The Baptism in the Holy Spirit and fire with signs, as *power* for service [his italics]
4. The ordinances of Water Baptism and the Lord's Supper

86 *Confidence* Vol.4 No.2 (Feb 1911), 36. *Songs of Praises* was also used at Sion College meetings. It was not for sale but privately issued by Polhill who released two editions over the course of 1911. *Confidence* Vol.4 No.5 (May 1911), 109 (August 1911), 189. Sadly I am not aware of any copies that have survived.

87 *Confidence* Vol.4 No.5 (May 1911), 108.

88 See “The Doctrines We Hold” in *Flames of Fire* No.1 (Oct 1911), 5.

89 *Flames of Fire* No.1 (Oct 1911), 2.

5. The plenary inspiration of Old and New Testament (entire)
6. The pre-millennial Advent of our Lord
7. The Eternal bliss, or of punishment⁹⁰

Many of these doctrines had counterparts in most evangelical organisations such as the CIM or the Evangelical Alliance.⁹¹ The first key divergence from other evangelical groups was Polhill's connection of the baptism in the Holy Spirit with power for service (or mission). Many non-pentecostal missionaries would have agreed with this in principle, but Polhill made the connection between the pentecostal movement and mission unequivocal. The second distinctive was premillennialism which, again, was widely believed by Evangelicals in principle, but few outside the Plymouth Brethren made it a formal tenet of faith. Intriguingly, however, Polhill did not insist on premillennialism being accepted as a formal requirement for joining the PMU, as he excluded it from the *Principles of the PMU* in 1913.⁹² In any case, the PMU was steeped in premillennialism to the extent that it became something of a problem. The principal of the men's college (in London) from 1913, H. E. Wallis, subsequently lamented in *Confidence*:

It is a sad truth that with some of the Lord's dear saints the fact of His near return for His own is having the very opposite effect that it should have upon their missionary zeal. They are so engrossed with the horizon of the glorious hope of His coming that they fail to see the intervening landscape of daily obedience to the Lord's last command to send the Gospel message to earth's farthest bounds.⁹³

Wallis' criticism may have been behind Polhill's decision to, in the same year, leave premillennialism out of the principles of the PMU.⁹⁴ He was almost certainly still a

⁹⁰ *Flames of Fire* No.1 (Oct 1911), 5.

⁹¹ The principles of the PMU and the CIM, and the doctrinal basis of faith of the World Evangelical Alliance are compared later in this chapter.

⁹² *Principles of the PMU* (1913), Donald Gee Centre, Mattersey Hall, Doncaster, UK.

⁹³ *Confidence* Vol.6 No.10 (October 1913), 201-202.

⁹⁴ *Principles of the PMU* (1913), Donald Gee Centre, Mattersey Hall, Doncaster, UK; *PMU Minute Book 1*, 279, PCRA-DGC.

premillennialist himself, but he had come to place the doctrine in its proper place as a more speculative and contingent matter rather than a core evangelical tenet of faith.

6.1.4 Thomas Myerscough and the Men's College

By March 1911, there were “about” twenty-five students in Preston under the care of Myerscough and Harry Hall, but only three of these, Alex Clelland, James McNeil and Percy Corry, were officially training as PMU students.⁹⁵ This is an important detail because it demonstrated that Myerscough was actually teaching two parallel groups of students (some PMU some non-PMU). This was a conflict of interests. Myerscough was receiving all the publicity of being principal of the PMU college, but there was a danger he could be using this to recruit for his own ministry. For example, E. J. Phillips (the son of John Phillips) travelled to Preston from Bedford, but he does not seem to have ever officially joined the PMU college.⁹⁶ By July 1911, the number of PMU students at Preston had risen to four. The newest, W. F. P. “Willie” Burton, was an engineer from Lytham who had experienced miraculous healing and had already been involved with Myerscough's congregation for some time before applying to the PMU.⁹⁷ Alex Clelland and James McNeil were from the thriving pentecostal centre in Kilsyth. They transferred to Preston along with Percy Corry, also from Lytham, in September 1910 after Niblock's resignation.⁹⁸ Of these four only Corry expressed a desire to go to Tibet (via India), but Clelland also considered India, so it was resolved that they would both be sent to Assam, North East India, when the PMU

95 *Confidence* Vol.4 No.3 (March 1911), 68.

96 Or at least I can find no evidence of this in the PMU minutes.

97 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 120, *PCRA-DGC*. cf. *Confidence* Vol.4 No.8 (Aug 1911), 190 cf. Whittaker, 146-154.

98 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 75, *PCRA-DGC*. 1911 *England Census*, s.vv. 'Percy Newton Corry' (b. abt.1890) Lytham, Lanc. cf. Cartwright, *From the Backstreets of Brixton...*, unpaginated.

had raised enough money.⁹⁹ The amount required being stated as £300.

6.1.5 Female PMU Missionaries near the Indo-Tibetan Border

Initially Kathleen Miller, one of the first two PMU missionaries, appeared to be doing very well. She was working amongst the Tibetans in Darjeeling and seeing results, but she had subsequently relocated away from the Tibetan border to Odisha state in East India. Polhill would have preferred that she work near Tibet, but her work in Odisha appeared to be going well regardless. From Odisha she wrote in August 1909 of an ecstatic pentecostal outpouring, similar to the Mukti orphanage revival, taking place at a Girls School and Orphanage at Cuttack, but by the New Year she believed that God had told her to leave the PMU and depend entirely on him.¹⁰⁰ She resigned and returned her PMU certificate early in 1911.¹⁰¹ Her resignation caused alarm in the PMU executive, “Mr Polhill said that Mr Boddy's and his own reason for concern was that [Miller's] letter showed too much of special and private prophecies....”¹⁰² By the end of 1911, Miller, succumbed to illness and tragically died.¹⁰³ The danger of “special and private prophecies” was clearly a common one which gave Polhill occasion to write about it in his periodical under the heading “AFTER the Baptism of the Holy Ghost.”¹⁰⁴ He warned in his article, “There, too, lies the especial danger of the young convert newly baptised, who fresh elated with the wonders of the new revelation, and sense of unwonted powers, leans upon his experiences, visions, dreams, prophesies, and learns in time to place more value upon these than upon the

99 *PMU Minute Book I*, 111-112; 119; 136 and 141, *PCRA-DGC*.

100 *Confidence* Vol.2 No.9 (Sep 1909), 195-197.

101 *PMU Minute Book I*, 97, *PCRA-DGC*.

102 *Ibid*, 44.

103 *Confidence* Vol.4 No.12 (Dec 1911), 285.

104 His formatting. *Flames of Fire* No.3 (January 1912), 6.

Word of God itself.”¹⁰⁵ Miller was the first PMU missionary, or former PMU missionary, to die. There were, however, more missionaries ready to take her place from the PMU women's college albeit not on the Indo-Tibetan border. The nearest female PMU missionaries came to the Indo-Tibetan border, after Miller and up to 1914, was Faizabad, Uttar Pradesh.¹⁰⁶

6.1.5.1 PMU summary 1911

By the end of 1911, the PMU had nine missionaries in China and the Sino-Tibetan border and seven missionaries in India. Six of the missionaries in China were dedicated to Tibet, but there were no Indian missionaries dedicated to Tibet by the end of 1911 (see table below).

Table 1. PMU Missionaries by the End of 1911

China/Tibet	India	Other/Affiliates
Gansu-Tibetan Border Amos Williams Frank Trevitt Percy Bristow John McGillivray Hebei Christina Beruldsen John Beruldsen Thyra Beruldsen Shanxi (subsequently Yunnan-Tibetan border) Arie Kok Elsje Kok	Maharashtra Constance Skarratt Catherine C. White Margaret Clark Minnie Augustus Thomas Pune Lucy James Goshainhanj Elizabeth 'Beth' Jones Grace Elkington West Bengal/Odisha Kathleen Miller (resigned, deceased)	Jerusalem (subsequently South Africa) James Roughead (absent) ¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Grace Elkington and Beth Jones joined Albert Norton's "American Mission House" at Faizabad for several months before relocated to nearby Goshainhanj. *Confidence* Vol.4 No.5 (May 1911), 117-118 and *Confidence* Vol.5 No.10 (Oct 1912), 240. Norton had formerly been leader of the Pentecostal Daund mission near Pune. *PMU Minute Book 1*, 130-131, *PCRA-DGC*. Anderson, *Ends of the Earth*, 31.

¹⁰⁷ The Jerusalem missionary, James Roughead, fell ill and returned to East Wemyss, Scotland, in 1911. *PMU Minute Book 1*, 95, *PCRA-DGC*.

The women's college had enrolled an additional ten trainees in 1911, bringing the total to eleven, but only eight of the new intake passed their probationary period.¹⁰⁸ Two of these, Maggie Millie and Lizzie Millie, were engaged to Frank Trevitt and Amos Williams respectively. Another of these, Mabel Howard, became engaged to Polhill's former evangelistic partner, Ernest Edward Berry, who was by 1911 the principal of Stanes European High School in Coimbatore, Tamil Nadu, India.¹⁰⁹ Berry came before the PMU executive, in July 1911, to ask if they would approve of Howard leaving the college to join him back in India. Berry had previously spoken at one of Polhill's pentecostal conferences in London, and he testified to having had an experience of the baptism in the Holy Spirit with scriptural signs. The executive permitted Howard to go with their blessing, and they were married in India on 2 November 1911.¹¹⁰ Howard was offered a PMU certificate for three years, but she did not subsequently appear in any lists of missionaries holding PMU certificates.¹¹¹ Of the remaining eight women in the college, by the end of 1911, seven would eventually go to the Tibetan border.

108 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 90 (Elizabeth Biggs); 96 (Truida Baas and the Millie sisters); 101 and 103 (Howard and Walters);, 121 (Martha Rønager); 122 (de Vries), *PCRA-DGC* cf. *Confidence* Vol.4 No.3 (March 1911), 66 and (July 1911), 166 (Scharten). It is unclear when Reeves entered the home but she and Walters were eventually deemed unsuitable for mission life, *PMU Minute Book 1*, 109-11, *PCRA-DGC*. Maud Rawlings was the eleventh (enrolled the previous year), *PMU Minute Book 1*, 90-91, *PCRA-DGC*.

109 J. Peile, *Biographical Register of Christ's College, 1505-1905*, Vol. 2 (Cambridge: CUP, 1913), s. vv. Berry, Ernest Edward. Available online at: See the 'Memorandum of Association 1928' at Stanite World available online: stanesschool.nissinfotech.net/memorandum.asp (last accessed July 1914).

110 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 124-125, *PCRA-DGC*. cf. *India, Select Marriages, 1792-1948 FHL Film Number 527477*, s.vv. 'Ernest Edward Berry and Mabel Baddley Howard' available at Ancestry.com (last accessed July 1014).

111 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 127, *PCRA-DGC*.

Table 2. Students in the PMU Colleges by the End of 1911

PMU Students in the Men's College, Preston	PMU Students in the Women's College, London
<p>Alex Clelland*</p> <p>James McNeil</p> <p>Percy Corry*</p> <p>William 'Willie' F. P. Burton</p>	<p>Cornelia E. Scharten[†]</p> <p>Elizabeth Martha Biggs[†]</p> <p>Ieda de Vries[†]</p> <p>Lizzie Millie[†]</p> <p>Maggie Millie[†]</p> <p>Maud Rawlings</p> <p>Martha Rønager[†]</p> <p>Truida Bass[†]</p>

6.2 Part Two 1912: Opening Yunnan and Kindling “the Old Fire”

6.2.1 Political Developments in China

The child Emperor of the Qing dynasty, Aisin-Gioro Puyi (1906-1967), was forced to abdicate on 12 February 1912 ending more than two-and-a-half centuries of Qing rule.¹¹² Prime minister Yuan Shikai had hoped to negotiate a constitutional monarchy, but the republican revolutionaries of the southern provinces were too powerful. They had already organised a rival government under Sun Yatsen (a Christian) at Nanking.¹¹³ Yuan subsequently switched his allegiance to the Republicans and was inaugurated president of the Republic of China, in Beijing, on 10 March 1912.¹¹⁴ The announcement brought a new measure of stability to China and mission work was able to recommence. Polhill obtained the republic's new flag to display at the missionary meeting at the Sunderland conference of 1912:

* Denotes missionaries destined for the Indo-Tibetan border.

† Denotes future Yunnan-Tibetan border missionaries.

¹¹² Young, 434.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 436.

The red stands for China; the yellow for the Manchus; and the black for the Tibetans. This flag is a wonderful illustration of what God can do in a day. The change which has been wrought in China in these last times is wonderful, but what is going to happen to China now? They are reaching out for Western ideas, and we must give them Christianity. We need real Spirit-filled people to go and preach a real gospel to them. That is the only hope for China.¹¹⁵

Polhill spoke of the Chinese reaching out for western ideas, but he makes clear that he still saw the pentecostal movement as an essentially evangelistic one. He did not believe it was the job of the pentecostal movement to introduce educational innovation or medical expertise. He was aware of these needs but made a deliberate decision to focus on preaching and evangelism.¹¹⁶

6.2.2 The Four Become Two: Trevitt and Williams in Gansu in 1912

While the revolution of 1911 caused others to flee to the coast, Trevitt and Williams appear to have spent time between the CMA stations in Lintan and Jone, Gansu, and their more remote tribal station, but their position in Tibetan territory was always tenuous. Zhao Erfang's decision, shortly before the revolution, to abolish the traditional authority of the Tibetan chieftains had caused a Tibetan revolt all along the Sino-Tibetan borders.¹¹⁷ Trevitt observed, "...there is constant danger of losing our lives...the Chinese soldiers are completely driven out of Tibet altogether...the cry goes up by these wild Tibetans, 'Kill the Foreigners! Kill the Foreigners!'"¹¹⁸ An army of Chinese troops retaliated by destroying monasteries and slaughtering lamas.¹¹⁹ Additionally a local "war" had broken out between the villages where Trevitt and

115 *Confidence* Vol.5 No.6 (June 1912), 142.

116 Polhill, *Practical Points Concerning Missionary Work Reprinted from Suggestions to P.M.U. Workers* (London: Maranatha, 1916), 3.

117 Wright, 5 cf. *Flames of Fire* No.1 (October 1911), 4-5.

118 *Confidence* Vol.5 No.9 (Sep 1912), 214-215.

119 *Confidence* Vol.5 No.11 (Nov 1912), 263-264.

Williams were stationed which added to the precariousness of their position.¹²⁰ Their pentecostal message was however met with a significant degree of acceptance amongst the CMA missionaries. In May 1912, Trevitt and Williams held a conference at which several of the CMA missionaries had a pentecostal experience including W. W. Simpson, most of his family and a number of the Chinese.¹²¹ More followed later in the year:

Our teacher and servant are going on with Jesus, and the teacher desires to be immersed in water, and is also seeking the fullness of the Holy Spirit as at Pentecost...the Holy Spirit fell on dear Mrs Christie, and she spoke in Tongues for the first time. Hallelujah! Also dear Mrs. David Ehvall [Ekvall] got such a filling that she could not sleep for joy, for, as she tells the story, she could not sleep for laughing nearly all the night....¹²²

The CMA was not Pentecostal however, and this troubled Simpson who felt the whole organisation should come to his point of view. When they did not, he was compelled to leave the mission.¹²³

In spite of the socio-political difficulties along the Sino-Tibetan border the determination of Trevitt and Williams to penetrate further into Tibet remained undiminished. By the end of 1912, Trevitt and Williams announced their plans to travel to Lhasa.¹²⁴ Trevitt wrote to the PMU executive of planning to meet the Dalai Lama and requiring twelve-month's allowance in advance for the expedition. The executive replied that they were not "favourably impressed" with the proposal.¹²⁵ Polhill had systematically acquired information about many missionary attempts to

¹²⁰ Ibid, 263.

¹²¹ *Flames of Fire* No.6 (July 1912), 5 cf. 'A Revival Near Tibet' by W. W. Simpson in *Confidence* Vol.6 No.1 (Jan 1913), 3-5.

¹²² Original formatting. *Confidence* Vol.5 No.12 (Dec 1912), 286 cf. Vol.6 No.1 (Jan 1913), 3-5.

¹²³ Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 131 cf. Van Spengen, 'Early Missionary Activity...', 149.

¹²⁴ *Confidence* Vol.6 No.1 (Jan 1913), 24 cf. *PMU Minute Book 1*, 218-219, PCRA-DGC.

¹²⁵ *PMU Minute Book 1*, 218, PCRA-DGC.

get to Lhasa.¹²⁶ He knew how difficult it was just to get anywhere near the city let alone get an audience with the Dalai Lama. It was disconcertingly naive for the missionaries to be considering such an outcome, but the apocalypse seemed very near, and their pentecostal experiences were very real to them, “...what remorse whilst passing through the Great Tribulation (shortly to come to pass) to know for the sake of living for self, to have missed the highest and best for us...Praise and glory to Jesus for the Baptism into the Holy Ghost and Fire, and the speaking in Tongues as the Holy Spirit gives us to utter because He makes Jesus so real....”¹²⁷ Drastic plans to meet the Dalai Lama in Lhasa merely reflects the firm sense of commission they had as a result of the reality of their experiences. Polhill was, however much in sympathy, far too experienced in the practical realities of such ventures to agree to their proposal, but the executive did not reject it out of hand instead they resolved to write to CMA missionary William Christie for his opinion.¹²⁸

6.2.2.1 Bristow and McGillivray Leave Gansu to Marry

After the revolution broke out, Bristow and McGillivray had fled for the safety of the coast with some of the other CMA missionaries from Gansu.¹²⁹ This met with disapproval from the PMU executive probably because they chose to stop in Xuanhua, Hebei, where Bristow's fiancée, Thyra Beruldsen, was stationed.¹³⁰ Bristow had been in China for less than two years which meant that he was still ineligible for a PMU-approved marriage, but he appears to have had his advocates in the PMU executive, “It was suggested to Mr Polhill that the consent of the council might be

126 Such as those outlined in Marston, A. W. *The Closed Land: A Plea for Tibet* (London: S. W. Partridge, 1894).

127 Trevitt writing in *Confidence* Vol.5 No.9 (Sep 1912), 216.

128 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 219, *PCRA-DGC*.

129 *Confidence* Vol.5 No.6 (June 1912), 141.

130 *Flames of Fire* No.6 (July 1912), 5.

given for Mr Bristow to be married to Miss Beruldsen at an early date.”¹³¹ It is unclear why Bristow's circumstances should have been regarded as so exceptional for Polhill to set a new precedent by allowing him to marry earlier than anyone else, but as a compromise he agreed that Bristow could join the Norwegian mission in Hebei, “In the event of the [Norwegian] Society agreeing to do this the Council would consent to this transfer of Mr Bristow without asking the [Norwegian] Society to refund any of the expenses incurred by the Council on his behalf.”¹³² The marriage took place on 4 August 1912 after the Norwegian mission agreed to accept Bristow, but he found the climate of Hebei “did not suit him” and made a request to return to Gansu which was rejected by the PMU executive.¹³³ The Bristows persisted in Hebei until 1913 at which point they returned to Britain.¹³⁴ Anderson has traced the Bristows returning to North China and working there until at least the 1920s.¹³⁵

McGillivray was engaged to Mabel Seagrove, of Heathfield, who had been working with Stanley Smith in Shanxi for three years. She returned to England to take a short course in midwifery, and then applied to join the PMU. She was accepted in May 1912 in spite of a lukewarm reference from Smith.¹³⁶ The council asked her to enter the college for two-three months, but she kept deferring and eventually returned to China having spent no time at all in the college, so she did not receive a PMU missionary certificate.¹³⁷ McGillivray and Seagrove married on 7 February 1913 at which point McGillivray was stripped of his PMU credentials. They continued to

¹³¹ *PMU Minute Book 1*, 176, *PCRA-DGC*.

¹³² *Ibid*.

¹³³ *PMU Minute Book 1*, 186-188, *PCRA-DGC*.

¹³⁴ 'One great difficulty is the strength and influence of the Roman Catholics...the Mission Hall of the Chili Mission is by comparison humble indeed.' *Confidence* Vol.6 No.2 (Feb 1913), 42; They were in Edinburgh by September 1913 *Confidence* Vol.6 No.9 (Sep 1913), 185.

¹³⁵ According to Anderson they were eventually endorsed by the North American Assemblies of God. Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 125.

¹³⁶ *PMU Minute Book 1*, 157, 166, 172 and 175, *PCRA-DGC*.

¹³⁷ *Ibid*, 189.

work in China with Smith in Shanxi and in Gansu, with the CMA, and as the “Tibetan Tribes Mission” up until at least the mid-1920s.¹³⁸

Within a matter of months Polhill had lost two of his missionaries because of marriage. By modern standards, Polhill’s behaviour could be regarded as authoritarian, controlling and stubborn, but his decisions have to be seen in the context of the time, and strict marriage policies were a common feature of missionary societies.¹³⁹ Polhill’s case was also slightly exceptional in that marriages within the PMU had the potential to impact his finances directly. He also knew well of the potential loss and pain a family could face on the Tibetan border. The work of the PMU on the northern Sino-Tibetan border had probably reached its peak by the end of 1912, but at the same time a new field was opening on the southern Sino-Tibetan border.

6.2.3 The Koks and the McLeans in Yunnan in 1912

In the early stages of the revolution the Koks had sheltered at Tianjin with the Beruldsens, but as the political situation stabilised they travelled to Shandong to meet with former CIM missionaries Hector and Sigrid McLean.¹⁴⁰ Since being ejected from the CIM for being Pentecostal the McLeans had returned to China as independent missionaries working first in Shanghai and then in Yantai, Shandong. The McLeans had written to Polhill, in 1911, suggesting the Koks could join them near the Tibetan border in Yunnan province.¹⁴¹ It is unclear how the PMU came into contact with the

138 Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 125; Van Spengen, *Early Missionary Activity...*, 154; J. McGillivray to T. H. Mundell 10 August 1925, *PCRA-DGC*.

139 The CIM for example insisted that missionaries go to China unmarried and then wait two years. Austin, 198.

140 *PMU Minute Book I*, 164, *PCRA-DGC*.

141 Ibid, 136. cf. Tiedermann, *Development of the Pentecostal*, 131-132.

McLeans. Possibly because they met Kok, by chance, at Shandong after he had gone there to shelter from any revolutionary danger. Hector McLean had joined the CIM in 1901 and worked in Yunnan, but this was after Polhill had left full-time, in-the-field, mission work, and the PMU minutes indicate that Polhill had no prior knowledge of McLean. When he began corresponding with Polhill, in 1911, his connections with the CIM seemed to commend him highly to Polhill, so it was resolved by the PMU executive that Polhill would write to McLean agreeing with his suggestions and asking him to make the necessary arrangements.¹⁴² The Koks and the McLeans arrived in Kunming, the capital of Yunnan, on 31 May 1912.¹⁴³

6.2.3.1 Biggs, Scharten and Rønager in 1912

Kok and McLean returned south shortly after arriving in Kunming to meet three graduates from the PMU women's college: E. M. Biggs (from Scotland), C. E. Scharten (from the Netherlands) and M. S. Rønager (from Denmark) who had sailed for Hong Kong on 3 May.¹⁴⁴ Yunnan was more ethnically diverse, more populous and had a milder climate than Gansu. Polhill also had a strong contact there in the form of Edward Amundsen (1873-1928), a former member of his Tibetan Mission Band, who was stationed in Yunnan with the British and Foreign Bible Society. There is no evidence Amundsen was Pentecostal, but he cooperated closely with the PMU because of his connection with Polhill. He provided logistical support, and as a noted linguist he provided assistance with language acquisition.¹⁴⁵ Kok quickly identified the city of Lijiang, 350 miles north-west of Kunming, near the south-east border of the traditional Tibetan region of Kham as a fertile city for mission work which it

¹⁴² *China's Millions* (1901), 122, *LA*; *PMU Minute Book I*, 136, *PCRA-DGC*.

¹⁴³ *PMU Minute Book I*, 173, *PCRA-DGC*.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 173. cf. *Confidence* Vol.5 No.5 (May 1912), 115.

¹⁴⁵ Fader, 204-205 cf. *Flames of Fire* No.5 (April 1912), 4-5.

proved to be.¹⁴⁶ Another potential new frontier for Tibetan work was also beginning to develop in India.

6.2.4 The PMU and W. S. Norwood near the Indo-Tibetan Border

There were two male PMU students interested in mission to India, Clelland and Corry, one of whom, Corry, expressly wanted to evangelise Tibet via the Indo-Tibetan border.¹⁴⁷ Arrangements were made by the PMU council for the pair to go to Rev. W. S. Norwood's Central Asian Pioneer Mission (CAPM) station at Abbottabad, Pakistan (formerly Punjab, India).¹⁴⁸ It is not clear how the PMU came into contact with Norwood, but the CAPM's secretary, Harold F. Moppett, had his office at Tudor Street, London, on the same street where Polhill regularly held pentecostal meetings (at the Institute of Journalists), so it is possible that proximity to the Pentecostals brought the CAPM in touch with the PMU.¹⁴⁹ Norwood had formerly been a member of Col. G. Wingate's similarly named Central Asian Mission but evidently branched off to form the CAPM.¹⁵⁰ It was a tiny mission with just six missionaries and one member of staff, Moppett, in London.¹⁵¹ The prospect of benefiting from the PMU's resources was clearly an attractive one.¹⁵² Corry and Clelland sailed to Norwood's station in Abbottabad, Pakistan, on 24 December 1912.¹⁵³ In the meantime, Polhill's domestic activity continued by making use of a larger and more prominent venue in

¹⁴⁶ Previously known as Likiang-fu or Likiang. *Flames of Fire* No.7 (Oct 1912), 4.

¹⁴⁷ *PMU Minute Book 1*, 149, *PCRA-DGC*.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 200.

¹⁴⁹ *Confidence* Vol.6 No.1 (Jan 1913), 21 cf. H. F. Moppett to T. H. Mundell, 9 October 1912, *PCRA-DGC*.

¹⁵⁰ *PMU Minute Book 1*, 267, *PCRA-DGC*. Wingate's mission subsequently merged with C. T. Studd's WEC. Grubb, 202-203.

¹⁵¹ *PMU Minute Book 1*, 265, *PCRA-DGC*.

¹⁵² For example, W. S. Norwood to T. H. Mundell 18 August 1913, *PCRA-DG*. Norwood asked Mundell for assistance in a legal matter. He also proposed a new CAPM council consisting largely of members of the PMU executive(!) Mundell's reply seems to indicate that he did not think it wise for executive members of the PMU to form a parallel council of the CAPM. H. F. Moppett to T. H. Mundell 25 September 1913, *PCRA-DGC*.

¹⁵³ *Confidence* Vol.6 No.1 (Jan 1913), 23.

Central London.

6.2.5 Domestic Activity in 1912: Rekindling “the Old Fire”

By the end of 1911, Polhill had again begun to make use of the Institute of Journalists, Tudor Street, as a venue for weekly meetings. Friday was now the only day of the week he was sponsoring meetings in London, but there was one on Tudor Street at 3.30pm and one in nearby Sion College at 7pm. The meetings were termed “Central London Meetings” in *Confidence* which reflected that there were other pentecostal meetings, located less centrally, taking place in London.¹⁵⁴ Polhill ensured that mission remained an important feature of his meetings, so the first Friday of the month was designated a “missionary meeting.”¹⁵⁵ They were held throughout January, February and March but stopped throughout April probably because of an eight-day mission at Holborn Hall.¹⁵⁶ Primitive Methodist and philanthropist Sir William Pickles Hartley (1846-1922) (producer of Hartley's jam) owned Holborn Hall. In 1912, the hall was converted into the headquarters of the primitive methodist connexion, but there does not appear to be any meaningful connection between Polhill and the Methodists.¹⁵⁷ At times, Polhill merely hired halls owned or used by other Evangelicals or halls that were for religious purposes such as: Eccleston Hall, Sion College and Kingsway Hall.¹⁵⁸ That is not to say that there was no attendance from members of existing denominations. At least one primitive methodist minister attended one of Polhill's three events at Holborn Hall in 1912. According to

¹⁵⁴ *Confidence* Vol.5 No.2 (Feb 1912), 44; Usher, ‘*The Patron...*’, 52-55.

¹⁵⁵ *Confidence* Vol.5 No.2 (Feb 1912), 44.

¹⁵⁶ The hall was described by Boddy as being situated on the junction of Gray's Inn Road and Theobalds Road, and there is an office block by the name of “Holborn Hall” situated at that junction today. *Confidence* Vol.5 No.2 (Feb 1912), 44 cf. ‘Google Maps’ <https://goo.gl/maps/Y83yh> (last accessed January 2015).

¹⁵⁷ H. B. Kendall, *History of the Primitive Methodist Church* (Cambridge: CUP, 1919), 152-3.

¹⁵⁸ Ecclestone Hall was owned by the evangelical aristocrat Lord Radstock; Sion College was an Anglican Clergyman's Club and Kingsway Hall was another Methodist hall.

Confidence, “When he [the Primitive Methodist] witnessed the power of God in the meeting, he said, ‘This is the old fire that the Primitive Methodists used to have.’”¹⁵⁹

6.2.5.1 First Holborn Hall Event (January-February 1912): The Women's Conference

The first conference at Holborn Hall between 30 January-2 February was on the subject of “World-Wide Revival.”¹⁶⁰ In addition to pentecostal luminaries such as Boddy, Wigglesworth, Polman, Archdeacon Phair,¹⁶¹ from Canada and the Preston students, there were those sympathetic to the pentecostal movement though, “...in no sense pledged in all points to the views of the Pentecostal movement,” including Keswick speaker E. W. Moore and methodist minister Gregory Mantle.¹⁶² Polhill's daughter and future CMS Missionary, Kathleen Polhill (b.1893), also attended. She would subsequently become a Pentecostal. The conference was notable for the number of female speakers: Miss Reuss, Beresford Baker, Eleanor Crisp, Miss Mansfield, Wilhelmine Polman, Lydia Walshaw, Maria Gerber, Miss Ching and Catherine Booth-Clibborn (“the Maréchale”) were all listed speakers.¹⁶³ Polhill wrote after the conference, “...not the least precious ministry was the word from our sisters.”¹⁶⁴ Pentecostals, Polhill included, were by the standards of the time leading proponents of women in ministry. Most PMU missionaries were women, most of the PMU students were women and the women's college, under Eleanor Crisp, ran efficiently and relatively harmoniously compared to the men's college.

¹⁵⁹ *Confidence* Vol.5 No.5 (May 1912), 107.

¹⁶⁰ *Flames of Fire* No.3 (Jan 1912), 7; No.4 (March 1912), 2-3 cf. *Confidence* Vol.5 No.2 (Feb 1912), 27-28.

¹⁶¹ Although Phair was actually born in Ireland. *IDPCM* s,vv. ‘Phair, Robert.’

¹⁶² *Flames of Fire* No.4 (March 1912), 2.

¹⁶³ *Confidence* Vol.5 No.2 (Feb 1912), 37-38.

¹⁶⁴ *Flames of Fire* No.4 (March 1912), 2.

Figure 14. Holborn Hall c.1909



Formerly Holborn Town Hall at the junction of Clerkenwell Road and Grays Inn Road. It has since been demolished, but the office block in its place still bears the name Holborn Hall.

Source: by kind permission of Margaret Veal, Museum officer of the Englesea Brook Chapel and Museum of Primitive Methodism. See: 'Holborn Hall' under 'Topics' and 'Primitive Methodist History' at www.myprimitivemethodists.org (last accessed August 2015).

6.2.5.2 Second Holborn Hall Event (April-May 1912): Appealing to Evangelical and Holiness Communities

A further conference was held between 24 April-2 May 1912 in the so-called “season of May Meetings,” which demonstrates the strategies employed by Polhill and the Pentecostals to encourage both attendance at their conferences and wider acceptance in the evangelical and holiness communities. One of Polhill's main target groups was the Pentecostals themselves, so it was announced in *Confidence* that the conference theme would be on the themes of: the Gospel, the baptism of the Holy Ghost and the book of Acts.¹⁶⁵ The other group Polhill wanted to target was the wider evangelical body, so in his own periodical (which he sent to non-Pentecostals as well as Pentecostals) he extended, “a loving and general invitation to all dear Christian friends of Keswick, Mildmay, Evangelical Alliance, Y.M and Y.W.C.A, missionary societies...and especially to ministers.”¹⁶⁶ In spite of the pentecostal themes of the conference announced in *Confidence* when the event was actually held a sign was displayed outside Holborn Hall which read, “An Eight Days' Mission for the deepening of spiritual life.”¹⁶⁷ Any passer-by would have regarded this as a holiness mission. Polhill was a holiness advocate, so he would have seen no contradiction in advertising his event in this way even if he regarded the pentecostal experience as a stage beyond sanctification. Polhill was reaching out to the evangelical and holiness communities in order to introduce them to Pentecostalism and include them in the meetings, but he had to reassure them that Pentecostalism retained many of the same elements as the older movements.

165 *Confidence* Vol.5 No.4 (April 1912), 84.

166 *Flames of Fire* No.4 (March 1912), 2-3.

167 *Confidence* Vol.5 No.5 (May 1912), 106 cf. Whittaker, 153. Myerscough organised a convention in Preston in 1911 with the same theme.

6.2.5.2.1 Orderliness, Mission and Evangelism

Another feature of Polhill's attempt to appeal to Pentecostals, yet reassure visitors and onlookers who might have had concerns, is how he dealt with order in the meetings. He wrote in his periodical that the January conference at Holborn Hall had, “...gracious healings, baptisms in the Holy Ghost, and lives renewed, restored, surrendered...without a trace of disorder or wildfire...,”¹⁶⁸ but he did not want to appear to be discouraging ecstaticism altogether, so in his invitation for the April conference he wrote reassuringly, “...we do not shun manifestations in meetings. All true manifestations, whether tongues, and interpretations, prophecy, healings, prostrations, are for general profit we fearlessly allow them, provided we are convinced of their genuineness...but it is the Word of God that abides and brings abiding revival.”¹⁶⁹ A further feature that Polhill added to the Holborn Hall events in 1912, in order to ensure that Pentecostals remained within the boundaries of Evangelicalism, was times dedicated to mission and evangelism. Polhill was first and foremost a missionary, so the April event at Holborn Hall also doubled as a valedictory meeting for Biggs, Rønager and Scharten who departed for Yunnan.¹⁷⁰ The final Holborn Hall event of the year was an evangelistic mission held during October. The mission illustrated Polhill's preference for pragmatic activism. It included open-air preaching and, “bands of workers visited widely around in the neighbourhood, preaching and teaching the Gospel, and distributing invitations and tracts.” Polhill estimated fifteen to twenty converts and “many” healed.¹⁷¹ The series of Holborn meetings was followed, in May 1912, by the fifth Sunderland conference.

168 *Flames of Fire* No.4 (March 1912), 2-3.

169 His italics. *Flames of Fire* No.4 (March 1912), 2-3.

170 *Confidence* Vol.5 No.5 (May 1912), 106.

171 *Flames of Fire* No.8 (Nov 1912), 4.

6.2.6 The Consultative International Pentecostal Council

Polhill was a listed speaker at Sunderland on the 30 and 31 May, but there is no substantial record of what he said.¹⁷² More significant perhaps was the first gathering of the so-called “Consultative International Pentecostal Council” established “...in order to protect this work from wrong teaching, or false teachers...,” which met on 31 May in Sunderland.¹⁷³ By 1912, it would have been clear that Boddy and Polhill were the two most central figures in British Pentecostalism. This was quite literally the case, as they occupied the two most central positions, on the front row of the 1912 conference group photo.¹⁷⁴ It would, therefore, have been entirely natural for them to assume some responsibility for guiding the movement. This was the rationale for the Consultative International Pentecostal Council. The logic for some central accountability for the sprawling pentecostal movement was sound, but the council’s organisation was poorly managed. It consisted of eight self-appointed “chief leaders in different lands” for which Boddy and Polhill were the sole British representatives. No Scots, no Welsh, no Irish and no British Nonconformists. In this way, it operated quite like the Eton “Pop” Society. The two elitist groups shared common traits in that they were supposed to consist of distinguished leaders, and they had non-transparent self-electing processes. It was an unusually retrogressive step in an era of increasing class equality. The two-chamber system of government had been seriously reformed the year before, in 1911, curtailing the ability of unelected Lords to interfere with the House of Commons. In addition the Labour Movement was growing rapidly. Polhill was aware of these events having reflected on them positively in his periodical under the heading “This Marvellous Year. Eventful 1911,” so the decision to self-elect is

172 *Confidence* Vol.5 No.6 (June, 1912), 135-137.

173 *Confidence* Vol.5 No.6 (June, 1912), 133 cf. Wakefield, 141.

174 *Confidence* Vol.5 No.6 (June, 1912), 129

perplexing.¹⁷⁵ It had also clearly been challenged by the wider movement because, by December 1912, the consultative council released the following declaration, “The Council feels that as an Advisory Council it must be self-elected, and not subject to the control of votes of Assemblies.”¹⁷⁶ In spite of this, the decisions and declarations of the consultative council were theologically moderate which helped the pentecostal movement to remain within the mainstream.

6.2.6.1 The First Declaration of the Consultative Council

Their first declaration, in May 1912, addressed the “Baptism of the Holy Ghost and Fire,” which they declared was, “always borne witness to by the fruit of the Spirit and the outward manifestations.”¹⁷⁷ In contrast with the London declaration of 1909 tongues were alluded to, but never mentioned less so insisted upon. This resulted in Barratt, the Norwegian representative, standing down from the consultative council in protest, in 1913, as he insisted on tongues being *the* sign of baptism in the Spirit.¹⁷⁸ Polhill's influence is most clearly seen in the imperative to mission, “In full sympathy, therefore, with the urgent appeal for an increase of evangelistic and missionary zeal...we should train our churches and circles to a more intelligent interest and active participation in this great work.”¹⁷⁹ Additionally Polhill emphasised, on at least one prior occasion, that Pentecostalism was not about “frothy emotion.”¹⁸⁰ The consultative council's declaration that Pentecostals should avoid “soulish experiences or fleshly demonstrations” reflected these concerns. Finally, as president of the PMU, the need for Pentecostals to submit to authority was an emphasis Polhill had good

175 “This Marvellous Year” was actually an excerpt from the Daily Mail. *Flames of Fire* No.3 (January 1912), 2.

176 *Confidence* Vol.5 No.12 (Dec 1912), 277.

177 *Confidence* Vol.5 No.6 (June, 1912), 133.

178 Wakefield, 142.

179 *Confidence* Vol.5 No.6 (June, 1912), 133.

180 *Confidence* Vol.2 No.9 (Sep 1909), 212.

cause to stress, "...[we] cannot accept the notions of some who claim to be taught of the Holy Ghost in such a way as not to need counsel, instructions, admonition, reproof, or correction from other members of the body."¹⁸¹ This last clause was especially pertinent to the PMU's missionaries on the Gansu-Tibetan border.

6.3 Part Three 1913: Victories and Vicissitudes

The year 1913 saw the beginning of the demise of the PMU's work on the Gansu-Tibetan border, but at the same time a new field opened on the Yunnan-Tibetan border under the steady leadership of Arie and Elsje Kok. It proved to be one of the most fruitful fields of the PMU. Polhill also began to bring the PMU men's college back fully under his control by relocating it to London. Inevitably this move proved divisive, as the division caused by Niblock's departure was still fresh in the minds of many, but it probably did not concern Polhill greatly. He was focused on channelling his resources into Yunnan, and the *Parousia* seemed very close.¹⁸² There were also significant changes to the make to the PMU executive that reflected tensions within the organisation. Polhill continued his pre-Sunderland London conferences with a focus on healing, and brought a new pentecostal leader to Bedford, Robert Jardine, to work at the Costin Street Mission Hall. The newest challenge of the consultative council was to reassure Pentecostals in the face of attacks from the prominent evangelical author Jessie-Penn Lewis.

6.3.1 Trevitt and Williams: The Shentig Building Debacle

The work of PMU missionaries, Trevitt and Williams, had peaked on the Gansu-

¹⁸¹ *Confidence* Vol.5 No.12 (Dec 1912), 277.

¹⁸² Quoting A. B. Simpson in December 1913 on the "The Missionary Emergency," and, "The signs of the soon coming of the Lord Jesus intensify the crisis and the emergency." *Flames of Fire* No.15 (December 1913), 6.

Tibetan border by the end of 1912. They had held some successful pentecostal meetings in Lintan over Christmas, but the year ended with an ill-conceived scheme to travel to Lhasa to meet the Dalai Lama. In June 1913, the PMU executive received information from Gansu that gave further cause for concern. Trevitt and Williams had purchased land at Shentig, in tribal territory, without first consulting the executive. They claimed that the pentecostal congregation in Halifax, UK, had guaranteed funds for this, but after making some enquiries the executive learned that no such guarantee had been given. The Halifax congregation had merely expressed an interest in the project.¹⁸³ Trevitt and Williams were told to do nothing else until the executive had given them permission, but they proceeded to buy building material regardless.¹⁸⁴ Apart from the obvious concerns about financial process, Polhill would have known that building work was a potential flash point for conflict between missionaries and local people.¹⁸⁵

By September 1913, CMA missionary William Christie had written to the executive, “...the land referred to had owing to serious difficulties with the Tibetans been returned to the former owners....”¹⁸⁶ In addition Christie complained, “very strongly of Mr Trevitt's conduct in refusing to be guided or advised...and the serious difficulties he was thereby causing.”¹⁸⁷ In the same meeting the executive heard that Williams also complained “very strongly” of Trevitt and had moved to a separate station as a result. Trevitt in turn complained about Williams. The executive resolved the following to deal with the tensions:

183 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 243-244, *PCRA-DGC*.

184 *Ibid*, 257.

185 For example, he would have remembered that it was the cause of the anti-foreign riot in Chongqing in 1886. *Memoirs*, 42, *PCO*.

186 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 269, *PCRA-DGC*. cf. Van Spengen, ‘*Early Missionary Activity...*’, 152-153.

187 *Ibid*.

1. The separation of Trevitt and Williams could not be permitted.
2. They were to settle their differences.
3. They were to submit to CMA missionary William Christie.
4. They were to stop purchasing land or building without permission.
5. Christie was invited to be leader.
6. Owing to their conduct the executive did not consider it “advisable” for their fiancées [the Millie sisters] to travel to Gansu.¹⁸⁸

Points one to five were measured, restrained and sensible decisions, but point six is perhaps difficult to accept from the perspective of a contemporary more liberal society. In order to understand why the PMU, and Polhill, made resolution six it is perhaps best to ignore the fact that Trevitt and Williams were engaged to the Millie sisters. The problem was that the Gansu mission had become dysfunctional, and Trevitt and Williams were behaving erratically. It was simply not safe to send the Millie sisters to Gansu under these circumstances. It would have been irresponsible of the PMU executive to have done so. By the end of 1913, Trevitt and Williams had reunited but relocated to a former CMA station at Guide,¹⁸⁹ Qinghai (in the heart of what is now Hainan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture).¹⁹⁰ Polhill had twice visited Guide in the 1880s and 90s before he began primarily working in Sichuan.¹⁹¹ Their relocation may be related to the reputation Christie had gained for being anti-Pentecostal. His former colleague, W. W. Simpson, who had by now left the CMA, wrote to the executive, in December 1913, informing them of Christie’s anti-Pentecostal stance and advising them against placing him in charge of the missionaries.¹⁹² Work on the Yunnan-Tibetan border was, by contrast, developing very promisingly.

188 *PMU Minutes Book 1*, 269-270, *PCRA-DGC*.

189 Kweiteh or Kwei-eh.

190 *PMU Minutes Book 1*, 292-293, *PCRA-DGC*.

191 *Memoirs*, 119 and 128, *PCO*.

192 *PMU Minutes Book 1*, 295, *PCRA-DGC*.

6.3.2 The Koks, Biggs, Rønager and Scharten in 1913

On 13 February 1913, Kok began escorting Biggs, Rønager and Scharten to Lijiang.¹⁹³ In the same month, Miss O. M. Rea, who was already a missionary based in Yunnan, applied to join the PMU recommended by McLean. According to the minutes of the PMU, she had not yet had, "...the full baptism...but is earnestly seeking."¹⁹⁴ She appears to be the only missionary accepted by the PMU hitherto who was not yet a definitive Pentecostal. Polhill had always been open to working with non-pentecostal Evangelicals, so his influence can be detected here. By April, the PMU in Yunnan had begun itinerating in the countryside around Lijiang where they encountered several tribes including: the Mosuo (a subgroup of the Na, Naxi or Nakhi i.e. "Western Na"), Miao, Ku-tsong or Dro and Lisu.¹⁹⁵

6.3.2.1 The PMU, Polhill and the Indigenous Principle

In 1913, it would appear that the Pentecostals in Yunnan primarily interacted with the Tibeto-Burmese Mosuo ethnic group who were mostly Tibetan Buddhists. Their young "Tibetan" assistant, "Shüen-Ming-deh" or "Ming-deh," who was "soundly converted" spoke Mosuo, and according to Scharten the women mostly spoke Mosuo not Mandarin.¹⁹⁶ The Lijiang missionaries recognised early that the best way of spreading the gospel was to rely on the people of Yunnan themselves, "The Lord is teaching us more and more that the natives are the best evangelists to their own people."¹⁹⁷ Polhill was also a strong proponent of the indigenous principle reflected in his use of Roland Allen's *Missionary Methods, St Paul's Or Ours?* quoted in *Flames*

193 *Flames of Fire* No.12 (July 1913), 4-5.

194 *PMU Minute Book I*, 227-229, *PCRA-DGC*.

195 Van Spengen, 'Early Missionary Activity...', 155.

196 *Confidence* Vol.6 No.9 (Sep 1913), 187.

197 *Confidence* Vol.6 No.10 (Oct 1913), 207.

of *Fire* from 1915 onwards.¹⁹⁸ Roland Allen (1868-1947) was an Anglo-Catholic missionary in China who, according to Anderson, “was a radical, provocative mission strategist far ahead of his time, who tirelessly advocated a post-Western Christianity and mission methods that focused on local talent.”¹⁹⁹ Allen was the kind of influence that Polhill was able to bring to the pentecostal movement by being more open minded, interdenominational and indeed more scholarly. Polhill's periodical was probably one of the most scholarly, in its use of sources, of all the British pentecostal periodicals of the time.²⁰⁰ Two contacts in Yunnan were considered significant enough to report on in *Confidence*. The first was a Tibetan convert, “Mr Wang or Wong,” who was a confucian scholar and author of books on comparative religion.²⁰¹ His picture featured prominently on *Confidence* in September 1913. The second was a wealthy Mosuo farmer, “Mr Ho,” who seems to have acted as Kok's guide on itinerary trips.²⁰² Lijiang was by far the PMU's most successful field. Kok issued a thousand gospels at the market, and their chapel soon became too small being filled weekly with fifty converts in noisy extemporaneous prayer, but political changes threatened the work again.

198 *Flames of Fire*, No.24 (February 1915), 2-3.

199 Anderson, *Ends of the Earth*, 88.

200 For example, in his use of: C. von Orelli, *Old Testament Prophecy*, (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1885) in *Flames of Fire*, No.6 (July 1912), 3 and No.8 (November 1912), 2; R. C. Trench, *Synonyms of the New Testament*, (London, 1880) in *Flames of Fire*, No.7 (October 1912), 2; T. Erskine, *The Brazen Serpent* (Edinburgh:Advocate, 1879) in *Flames of Fire* No.14 (October 1913),1-2 and No.15 (December 1913), 1-2; J. E. Watts-Ditchfield, *The Church in Action: Lectures Given in the Divinity School of the University of Cambridge 1913* (New York: R. Scott, 1913) in *Flames of Fire* No.22 (December 1914), 3; T. D. Bernard, *The Progress of Doctrine in the New Testament, Considered in Eight Lectures Delivered Before the University of Oxford* (London:The Bampton Foundation, 1867) in *Flames of Fire*, No.23 (January 1915), 1 and No.25 (March 1915), 1-3 and B. Matthews, *Paul the Dauntless: The Course of a Great Adventure* (London:S.W Partridge, 1918). *Flames of Fire*, No.46 (January 1917), 2-3.

201 *Confidence* Vol.6 No.9 (Sep 1913), see picture on front cover cf. “About Bro. Wang” in *Confidence* Vol.6 No.9 (Sep 1913), 187.

202 *Confidence* Vol.6 No.10 (Oct 1913), 208.

6.3.2.2 Further Political Issues Affecting the Tibetan Border and the PMU

According to Goldstein, the British authorities in India had found the period of China's direct control over Tibet, between 1905-1911, unsatisfactory.²⁰³ The British had grown closer to the thirteenth Dalai Lama during his period of exile in India, and during the disruption of the Chinese revolution they had watched him regain control of Tibet by expelling all Chinese officials. Rather than support a fully independent Tibet, the British sought a compromise that met their own political objectives of a neutral buffer zone between British India, Russia and China. In pursuit of this goal they arranged a conference in Simla, India, throughout 1913-1914 between Britain, Tibet and China. The British suggested that the Chinese retain loose suzerainty over Tibet and maintain only a small official and military presence there while the Tibetans could largely be left to their own affairs. The Chinese refused to accept this condition over what they regarded as a province of the Republic of China and left the Simla Accords unsigned.²⁰⁴ The conference ended with a bi-lateral Anglo-Tibetan declaration recognising all the terms that the Chinese had rejected.²⁰⁵ Polhill followed these developments and reported on them in his periodical *Flames of Fire*. In this way, he would have been able to keep his missionaries up-to-date with political developments that affected them.

The threat to pentecostal mission was not a remote one, as developments in Yunnan soon proved. Scharten wrote of a rebellion of soldiers in Dali, south-west of Lijiang, who wanted to create an independent province of West Yunnan shortly before

203 Goldstein, *Snow Lion*, 30-36.

204 Ibid.

205 "Convention Between Great Britain, China, and Tibet, Simla; Attached to the Anglo-Tibetan Declaration (1914)" available at the Tibet Justice Center, under "Resources," "legal material" and "Great Britain/United Kingdom" available at <http://www.tibetjustice.org/materials/treaties/treaties16.html> (last accessed July 2015).

Christmas 1913.²⁰⁶ It forced the missionaries to cancel a series of meetings that had been planned for the period. The mutineers travelled eastwards looting and killing, but they were met by “loyal soldiers” from Lijiang who brought the campaign to a halt. In addition, changes to the governance of tribal districts caused tribesmen to leave Lijiang in disgust. The fears eventually passed and work continued particularly amongst the Mosuo, and other tribes, who regularly attended services.²⁰⁷ Tibet consisted of numerous and diverse ethnic groups, and PMU missionaries encountered language barriers and socio-political tensions. Tibet was also geographically large stretching from North West China to North West India where two more PMU missionaries, Corry and Clelland, were stationed.

6.3.3 Percy Corry, Alex Clelland and Tibet

Clelland and Corry arrived in Abbottabad, Pakistan, on 22 January 1913.²⁰⁸ After a year of learning Urdu, Corry, who wanted to evangelise Tibet, became disappointed not to be learning Tibetan and requested to be moved to Darjeeling, “[Corry] reminded the council that the Lord had called him to work for Tibet...the language he had been studying during the past 12 months would be of no use for his work among the Tibetans....”²⁰⁹ The executive resolved to write to a recently returned missionary of the Tibetan Mission Darjeeling, Miss A. S. Talbot, for the “particulars of transfer.”²¹⁰ Talbot recommended Darjeeling, but the leader of the Central Asian Pioneer Mission, W. S. Norwood, with whom Corry and Clelland were stationed,

206 Probably caused by a combination of Tibetan military manoeuvres and what Fincher refers to as an “increase in provincialism.” F. Fincher, 'Provincialism and National Revolution' in Wright (ed)., 185-226.

207 *Confidence* Vol.7 No.3 (March 1914), 57-58.

208 *Confidence* Vol.6 No.2 (Feb 1913), 42.

209 *PMU Minute Book I*, 297-298, *PCRA-DGC*.

210 *Ibid*, 297-298. Talbot is listed as a local representative on the mission's financial statements. See e.g. “Financial Statement of the Tibetan Mission, Darjeeling (1915),” 13, *YUDL*.

insisted it would be most beneficial for the missionaries to remain in Abbottabad:

I cannot, of course, admit that Abbottabad is not a suitable station from which to work for Tibet. I am sure it is...Percy [Corry] is eager. He is apt to hastily scan a situation. There are not Tibetans here. We are not on the actual borders of Tibet. Hence the conclusions are against this station for Tibetan work. But, as I have pointed out, these very points are in favour of this station rather than otherwise. We want to avoid observations. At any of the recognised stations of missionary work for Tibet we could not possibly escape observation. At Leh and Darjeeling zealous missionaries have been waiting to get into Tibet for more than fifty years...They are not entering now. I do not think they will enter unless the very unlikely thing happens, viz. a change of policy of the Government...[here] arrangements [can be] made for the advance without the eyes of the Government being attracted. We have I believe treaty rights of entry under certain conditions....²¹¹

Norwood's case was relatively persuasive, and it was probably for this reason, the possibility of a new frontier for Tibetan work, that Polhill did not immediately transfer Corry out of Abbottabad. Polhill planned a visit to the subcontinent later in 1914, so the matter was deferred until then.²¹²

6.3.4 The Women's College in 1913

By 1913, four more women were ready for the Sino-Tibetan mission field: Jenner, the two Millie sisters and de Vries. The apparent success Kok was experiencing in Lijiang, Yunnan, compared with the inconsistency of Trevitt and Williams, in Gansu and Qinghai, left the executive with little choice but to send all four women to Yunnan.²¹³ This was in spite of the Millie sisters being engaged to Trevitt and Williams. Plans had also been considered to relocate Trevitt and Williams to the more productive station in Yunnan, but Kok, who knew something of Trevitt's difficult personality, protested strongly at this proposal.²¹⁴ Funds to send the women were not

211 W. S. Norwood to T. Mundell 14 January 1914, *PCRA-DGC*

212 *PMU Minute Book I*, 302, *PCRA-DGC*.

213 *PMU Minute Book I*, 240, *PCRA-DGC*. cf. *Confidence* Vol.6 No.6 (June 1913), 111.

214 Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 126 cf. Van Spengen, 'Early Missionary Activity...', 153.

immediately available, however, so they would not depart until 1914. Under the able principleship of Eleanor Crist, the women's college continued to run smoothly. The same could not be said for the men's college.

6.3.5 The New London College in 1913

According to Hocken, "How the men's home came back to London is a tale that illustrates some developing tensions between Polhill and the grass-roots Pentecostal leaders, almost all men from much simpler backgrounds."²¹⁵ There is certainly some truth to this, but there are a number of crucial caveats that help clarify Polhill's position. Firstly, when in 1910 Polhill had been searching for a new location for the PMU men's college it had always been made clear that any location outside of London was a temporary measure. For example, when Glasgow was considered, "It was pointed out that this arrangement was temporary, one year, and that it was hoped a home could eventually be found in London, if not, in London and Glasgow."²¹⁶ The same point had been made when Myerscough volunteered to take the PMU students in Preston, "Mr [John] Miller has not seen it the Lord's will to accept students, so Myerscough of Preston, who had expressed himself willing to do so, should as a temporary measure give lectures with the help of Mr Hall, the students boarding at some suitable place."²¹⁷ Since the transfer of the students to Preston the relationship between Myerscough and the PMU executive had been far from harmonious. Even when Myerscough eventually consented to joining the executive, in June 1911, he only attended one meeting throughout the whole of 1912.²¹⁸ This last factor alone was probably reason enough to compel Polhill to look for alternative locations for the

²¹⁵ Hocken, 127.

²¹⁶ *PMU Minute Book 1*, 64, *PCRA-DGC*.

²¹⁷ *PMU Minute Book 1*, 68, *PCRA-DGC*.

²¹⁸ On 30 April 1912 see *PMU Minute Book 1*, 171, *PCRA-DGC*.

college, but it had always been understood within the executive that locating the college outside of London was, rightly or wrongly, a temporary measure.

It should have come as no surprise then when, in February 1913, Polhill informed the executive that he had begun to negotiate with a young Anglican clergyman from Queen's College Cambridge, Rev. Hubert Edgar Wallis (b.1886), to lead a new PMU men's college in London.²¹⁹ Wallis met the council the following month and was approved but, "...the council were not able to agree that the Training Home should be removed from Preston...."²²⁰ Polhill's colleagues on the executive probably anticipated that Myerscough would not appreciate being so abruptly relieved of duty and the potential for damaging conflict as a result, so Wallis was asked if he would consider moving to Preston instead.²²¹ In April 1913, Wallis declined to go to Preston, and the executive in attendance (Polhill, Boddy, Sandwith, Mundell and Crisp) agreed to relocate the home to London under Wallis with "thanks to Myerscough."²²² The following month the PMU executive met at Sunderland where those who had not been in attendance challenged the resolution of the previous meeting. This included Myerscough but Murdoch probably objected as well.²²³ In the resulting debate, "Myerscough retired [walked out] whilst the question was being discussed," so the meeting was adjourned until the following day. When the council reconvened Myerscough was still so upset that he had to be asked to leave the room, "...to allow the council to more freely discuss the business."²²⁴ The potential for a damaging schism was real, so an uneasy compromise was reached.

219 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 230-231, *PCRA-DGC*. cf. *Confidence* Vol.6 No.11 (Nov 1913), 216.

220 *Ibid*, 233-4.

221 *Ibid*, 234.

222 *Ibid*, 236.

223 Hocken, 128 fn74. Hocken notes that Murdoch had a strongly independent pentecostal congregation in Kilsyth and never attended another PMU meeting after this one.

224 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 251, *PCRA-DGC*.

Polhill was to be solely responsible for the expenses of the new college in London, and the PMU executive would be at liberty to send students either to London or Preston as they saw fit, but Polhill was not to be so easily outmanoeuvred. Shortly after this arrangement had been agreed he took it upon himself to relocate one of the students, Frederick D. Johnstone, from Preston to London without first consulting the executive.²²⁵ In addition, he had a correction published in *Confidence* to counter any suggestion that he would not be accepting donations to the London college.²²⁶ An exasperated executive entered into a “long-themed discussion” with Polhill in which it was agreed that, where candidates expressed no preference, the executive should collectively decide to which college students should be sent.²²⁷ The new men’s college, on the same street as the women’s college, King Edward’s Road, Hackney, had its official opening on 11 October 1913.²²⁸ In addition to Johnstone of Manchester, who had been accepted to the PMU in February 1913, at least three further students were accepted to the London college in 1913: James Allen, Arthur William Richardson and Alfred G. Lewer.²²⁹

225 Ibid, 278 and 287.

226 *Confidence* Vol.6 No.9 (Sep 1913), 184.

227 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 278, *PCRA-DGC*.

228 *Flames of Fire* No.14 (Oct 1913), 5.

229 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 284 and 290, *PCRA-DGC*.

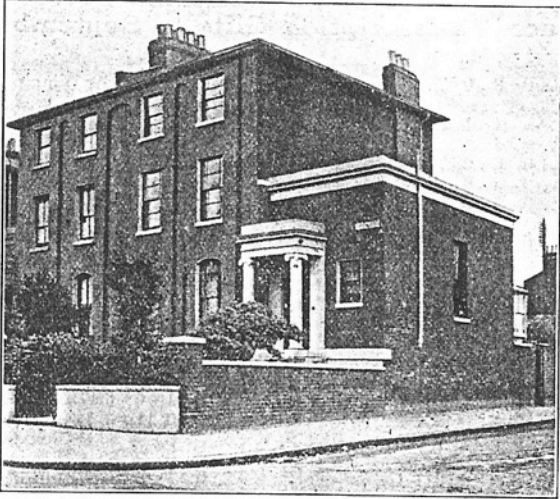
Figure 15. The PMU "Training Home for Men," King Edward Road, Hackney

FURTHER HEALING OF MISS KERIN.

OCTOBER, 1913. VOL. VI. No. 10.

"CONFIDENCE"

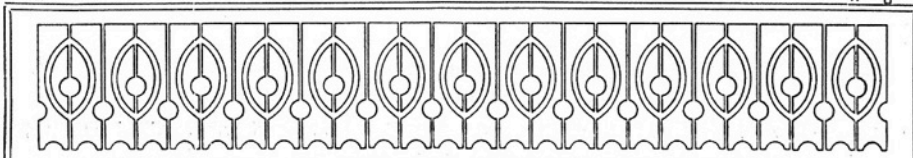
EDITED BY
ALEX. A. BODDY,
ALL SAINTS' VICARAGE, SUNDERLAND, ENGLAND.



The London Pentecostal Missionary Training Home for Men.
Rev. H. E. WALLIS, 60 King Edward Road, South Hackney, London, N.E.
Opened with a Special Service by Mr. Cecil Polhill, Saturday, October 4th, 1913.
(Candidates may apply for Syllabus, etc.)

"This is the CONFIDENCE that we have in Him, that if we ask anything according to His will, He heareth us: And if we know that He hear us, whatsoever we ask, we know that we have the petitions that we desired from Him."—1 John v., 14-15.

67th ISSUE.



ONE PENNY.

London: Samuel E. Roberts, Publisher, Zion House, 5a, Paternoster Row, E.C.

Source: from my personal copy of *Confidence*.

6.3.5.1 The Preston College in 1913

The reasons why Myerscough objected so strongly to the college being moved to London are not entirely clear, but Wallis' Anglicanism is usually cited, and there was certainly evidence of anti-Anglican sentiment at Preston.²³⁰ Boddy's Anglicanism and Polhill's decision to remove Johnstone to London were the object of bitter criticism from PMU student W. F. P. Burton.²³¹ His position in the PMU was an anomaly. He was a PMU student, but Myerscough had also ordained him shortly before joining the PMU. He was a leader, yet he was a student supposed to be subject to an executive council. This confusion of power, mixed with doctrinal differences over the nature of baptism, made his position as a PMU student increasingly untenable. By February 1914, the PMU executive, including Myerscough, had unanimously agreed that Burton could not be sent to the mission field as a missionary of the PMU.²³² He began his own missionary enterprise, in 1914, that came to be known as the Congo Evangelistic Band.²³³ It was a successful mission, but the British pentecostal missionary movement was beginning to fragment.

6.3.5.1.1 George Jeffreys and the Elim Evangelistic Band

George Jeffreys was another irrepressible talent who found the college at Preston too constricting. He had been talent spotted by Polhill and accepted to the PMU in September 1912, but within a matter of months he had departed again to assist his brother, Stephen Jeffreys, in conducting large evangelistic missions.²³⁴ It is important

230 Hocken, 132, 133 cf. Goodwin, 'The Pentecostal Missionary Union (PMU)...', 128.

231 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 288, PCRA-DGC.

232 Ibid, 300.

233 C. Whittaker, *Seven Pentecostal Pioneers: The Inside Story of the Pentecostal movement and its present-day influence*. (Basingstoke: Marshalls, 1983), 157.

234 Gee, *These Men.*, 49. Gee stated that Polhill "enabled" George to have a short period of training.

to note that Polhill was extremely good willed about Jeffreys' decision. He thought it was desirable for him to return to the college not to exert a kind of despotic control, but because he recognised Jeffreys was gifted and he wanted him for the foreign mission field. When he saw Jeffreys having success as a domestic evangelist he reported on his activities very enthusiastically in *Flames of Fire*, and cooperated with Jeffreys throughout the early years of his vocation.²³⁵ They even spoke at a conference together in 1921, six years after Jeffreys had established the Elim Evangelistic Band.²³⁶ Changes and tensions within the men's colleges were reflected by changes and tensions within the PMU executive.

6.3.6 Domestic Activity in 1913

6.3.6.1 PMU Executive Changes: The Scottish Exodus

The PMU executive had, by 1913, undergone various changes since its establishment that reflect tensions in the movement. Polhill remained its president; T. H. Mundell remained as honorary secretary; Boddy remained as editorial secretary and Harry Small remained as an acting member of the executive, but these were the only original members left.²³⁷ Of the others: Bell, Murdoch and Wilson, had all resigned or been dropped. It is probably no coincidence that they were all based in Scotland. Bell had never been to a meeting and was eventually dropped from the executive; Wilson had

Pohill had, just prior to Jeffreys joining the PMU, been to a conference in Swansea with Eleanor Crisp, *Cash Book 1911-1914*, 56, 57, *BLA*; *PMU Minute Book 1*, 190 (Jeffrey's application), 250 (Jeffrey absent), *PCRA-DGC*. cf. *Confidence* Vol.6 No.2 (Feb 1913), 27-29; (Oct 1913), 205.

²³⁵ For example, *Flames of Fire* No.10 (February 1913), 3 and No.32 (October 1915), 3.

²³⁶ Polhill, George and Stephen all spoke at Conferences in Dowlais and Merthyr Tydfil, Wales, between 26 March-4 April 1921. *Elim Evangel* Vol2/No2 (March 1921), 19. It had been Polhill who first arranged meetings for Stephen Jeffreys in Horbury Chapel, also in 1921, which was afterwards acquired by George and renamed Kensington Temple (currently one of the largest churches in country). Gee, *Pentecostal Movement*, 127.

²³⁷ Up to December 1913 see *Confidence* Vol.6 No.12 (Dec 1913), 245.

been box secretary for Scotland, but he had never been to a meeting either and relinquished the post in April 1911.²³⁸ Murdoch tendered his resignation one month after the new men's college opened in London citing his inability to get to London as one of the causes.²³⁹ The departures were probably largely due to the separation of distance between the Scottish members and the main centre of council activity in London. The executive had attempted to mitigate this by sending all copies of minutes to Scottish members, but it was evidently not enough, so Small remained the only Scottish-based member of the executive, in 1913, even though he himself had actually been born in London. Small's privileged background, London connection and friendship with Polhill probably made him less likely to feel distanced from the executive. There were undoubtedly additional theological variables involved in the Scottish departures. For example, Murdoch and Bell had joined the new Apostolic Faith group (which subsequently became a denomination) established by William Oliver Hutchinson, and both advocated the controversial practice of "pleading the blood."²⁴⁰ The Apostolic Faith distinguished itself slightly from other British pentecostal groups in that they believed the offices of "Apostle" and "Prophet" were being restored in their organisation.²⁴¹ There were also disagreements over the nature of tongues as a sign.

6.3.6.1.1 T. M. Jeffreys, the PMU Executive and Tongues as a Sign

The Welsh congregationalist minister T. M. Jeffreys had been on the executive council of the PMU since its inception in 1909. He was an active Pentecostal, and he had brought Maria Gerber's orphanage work in Turkey to the attention of the PMU

238 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 100, *PCRA-DGC*.

239 *Ibid*, 281.

240 The practice of invoking the Holy Spirit by repeatedly shouting "blood! blood! blood!" Worsfold, 45, 54, 115 fn1 and 116.

241 *Ibid*, 52-53, 73.

and readers of *Confidence*.²⁴² In December 1911 he wrote an article for *Omega* in which he stated, “...we are constrained to come out from all such associations as would bind us down to the eccentricities and false teaching which unfortunately so largely characterize that [pentecostal] ‘movement’.”²⁴³ This offended the PMU executive who wrote to Jeffreys demanding that he stand down. He replied that he could not agree that speaking in tongues was the inevitable sign of baptism in the Holy Spirit. The executive was usually cautious about insisting on tongues publicly, but they still privately maintained that tongues were the recognised scriptural sign even though, “...some do it who have not been baptised with the Holy Spirit.”²⁴⁴ Jeffreys conceded defeat and published a clarification in *Confidence* stating that he still believed in the baptism in the Holy Spirit with tongues, but he decried, “...spurious manifestations which form unhealthy spiritualistic experiences of certain so called Pentecostal communities...,” to which, “...the PMU form a healthy corrective.”²⁴⁵ Jeffreys attended one more meeting of the executive before tendering his resignation in April 1913.²⁴⁶ On the one hand, Polhill was faced with executive members whose practices fell well outside the boundaries of mainstream evangelical practice, and on the other he had executive members (or former members) whose pentecostal convictions did not seem to run deep enough. These are the kinds of issues that would have led Polhill to compose the thoroughly evangelical *Principles of the PMU* later the same year.²⁴⁷

242 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 143, *PCRA-DGC*; *Confidence* Vol.3 No.6 (June 1910), 152.

243 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 147-148, *PCRA-DGC*.

244 *Ibid*, 148.

245 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 154-156, *PCRA-DGC*; *Confidence* Vol.3 No.5 (May 1912), 114.

246 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 239, *PCRA-DGC*.

247 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 279-285, *PCRA-DGC*.

6.3.6.1.2 Polhill and Evangelicalism

Polhill's membership of the CIM was one of his chief evangelical credentials. The CIM officially described itself as an “evangelical mission.”²⁴⁸ In 1906, Polhill provided a reference for an applicant to the CIM and commended him approvingly as an “orthodox evangelical.”²⁴⁹ Furthermore Polhill made several donations between 1905-1908 to the British Evangelical Alliance and to Henry Martyn Gooch the general secretary of the Evangelical Alliance.²⁵⁰ Polhill's pentecostal experience in no way detracted from his Evangelicalism. In writing the *Principles of the PMU* he formally defined the character of the first European pentecostal mission to be “evangelical.”²⁵¹ This did not merely mean interdenominational, but it implied adherence to a small set of non-negotiable core beliefs. By comparing the doctrinal statements of the World Evangelical Alliance (WEA), the CIM and the PMU it can be seen how closely these organisations were aligned (see table 3).

It would not have been difficult to see that when Polhill established the PMU, in 1909, he had modelled it on the CIM, but Gee was the first historian to record it for posterity.²⁵² There is a copy of the Principles and Practices (P&Ps) of the CIM in the PMU archives dated September 1903, so it can be safely assumed that this was the document used by Polhill to compose the *Principles of the PMU*. Polhill had been on the CIM home council since February 1903, so he may have even helped in the composition of the 1903 edition.²⁵³ The 1903 edition was largely the same as earlier

248 *Principles and Practices of the China Inland Mission*, (London, September 1903), *PCRA-DGC*.

249 Candidate Schedule ‘Ernest Edward Berry’, July 1906, *PCO*.

250 On 28 July 1905 (64), 30 October 1905 (74), 5 February 1907 (130), 3 July 1908 (170) in Polhill, *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), *PCO*, 64, 74, 130 and 170 respectively.

251 Polhill submitted a provisional copy of the *Principles of the PMU* to the PMU Council 13 October 1913. *PMU Minute Book 1*, 277, *PCRA-DGC*. The Principles were adopted with no alterations minuted the following meeting on 20 November 1913. *PMU Minute Book 1*, 285, *PCRA-DGC*.

252 Gee, *Pentecostal Movement*, 50.

253 T. Howard (Chair of the London home council) to Cecil Polhill, 15 February 1903, *PCO*.

editions of the CIM P&Ps, but there are some notable differences such as the inclusion of justification by faith.²⁵⁴ Gee stated that PMU candidates were expected to assent to, “all the usually accepted fundamental truths held by evangelical believers,” and additionally, “the Baptism of the Holy Ghost with the scriptural signs.”²⁵⁵ As can be seen from the table, Polhill also added “Sanctification” to the principles of the PMU. Sanctification was not in the P&Ps of the CIM, so by adding this Polhill was aligning the PMU more closely to the WEA. The PMU was, therefore, technically more Evangelical than the CIM. Further Polhill expands slightly on the atonement to include the incarnation and divinity of Christ which was also more closely aligned with the WEA's position. This indicates that Polhill probably used additional documents when composing the *Principles of the PMU*, and he did not merely rely on documents from the CIM.

²⁵⁴ Cooper, 8-16, *SOAS*.

²⁵⁵ Gee, *Pentecostal Movement*, 51.

Table 3. The Doctrinal Basis of Faith (1846) of the World Evangelical Alliance Compared with the “soundness of faith” Sections of the P&Ps of the China Inland Mission (1903) and the Principles of the Pentecostal Missionary Union (1913) (with original formatting and orders retained).²⁵⁶

World Evangelical Alliance (1846)²⁵⁷	China Inland Mission (1903)²⁵⁸	Pentecostal Missionary Union (1913)
The divine Inspiration, Authority and Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures.	Divine inspiration and authority of the Scriptures	divine inspiration and authority of Scriptures
The Right and Duty of Private Judgment in the Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures.	They must be catholic in their views, and able to have fellowship with all believers holding these fundamental truths.	They must be catholic in their views, and able to have fellowship with all believers holding these fundamental truths, even if widely differing in their judgment as to points of Church government.
The Unity of the Godhead, and the Trinity of Persons therein.	the Trinity	the Trinity
The utter Depravity of Human Nature, in consequence of the Fall.	the fall of man and his consequent moral depravity and need of regeneration	the fall of man and his consequent moral depravity and need of regeneration
The Incarnation of the Son of God, His work of Atonement for sinners of mankind, and His Mediatorial Intercession and Reign.	the atonement	The Incarnation, Divinity, and the Atonement of the Lord Jesus Christ
The Justification of the sinner by faith alone.	justification by faith	Justification by Faith
The work of the Holy Spirit in the Conversion and Sanctification of the sinner.	No equivalent	Sanctification and the Baptism of the Holy Ghost with the Scriptural signs.
The Immortality of the Soul, the Resurrection of the Body...the Eternal Blessedness of the Righteous, and the Eternal Punishment of the wicked.	the resurrection of the body, the eternal life of the saved, and the everlasting punishment of the lost.	The Resurrection of the Dead, the eternal life of the saved and the everlasting punishment of the lost.
The divine Institution of the Christian Ministry, and the obligation and perpetuity of the Ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.	No equivalent	No equivalent

²⁵⁶ The order, ultimately, looks as though it has been derived from some form of the Westminster Confession minus some of the more obviously Calvinist elements.

²⁵⁷ I. Randall and D. Hilborn, *One Body in Christ: The History and Significance of the Evangelical World Alliance* (London: Paternoster, 2002) 358.

²⁵⁸ *Principles and Practices of the China Inland Mission*, (London, September 1903), PCRA-DGC.

The consequences of this document should not be underestimated, as Polhill was ensuring that Pentecostalism remained firmly faithful to evangelical fundamentals. The two main pentecostal denominations that would subsequently emerge, the AGBI and Elim, came from a tradition in the PMU that could hardly have conformed any more closely to Evangelicalism without completely losing its pentecostal identity. Even if the AGBI and Elim did not explicitly appeal to the *Principles of the PMU*, they were not unduly burdened with any radical doctrinal innovations from Polhill. Elim and the AGBI inherited a theological “clean slate” from the PMU because of Polhill’s influence. A comparison of the *Principles of the PMU* and the fundamental truths of the AGBI and Elim show some notable similarities (see table 4 below).

Table 4. The Principles of the PMU (1913) Compared with the Fundamental Truths of Elim (1923) and the AGBI (1924) (in the original order in which they appear and with original formatting retained).²⁵⁹

PMU (1913)	Elim (1923)	AGBI (1924)
[1] the divine inspiration and authority of the Scriptures...	1. We believe that the Bible is the inspired Word of God, and that none may add or take away therefrom, except at their peril.	1. The Bible is the inspired Word of God. 2 Tim iii, 15/16; 1 Peter ii, 2.
[2]...and the Trinity...	2. We believe that the Godhead eternally exists in three persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and that these three are one God.	2. The unity of The One True and Living God Who is the Eternally self existent "I AM." Who has also revealed Himself as One Being in Three Persons – Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Deut. Vi, 4; Mark xii, 29; Matt xxviii, 19.
[3] ...the fall of man and his consequent moral depravity and need of regeneration...	3. We believe that all have sinned and come short of the glory of God.	3. The fall of man, who was created pure and upright, but fell by voluntary transgression. Gen. I, 26/31; iii, 1/7; Rom. v, 12/21.
[4]...The Incarnation, Divinity, and the Atonement of the Lord Jesus Christ, Justification by Faith...	4. We believe that through the death and risen power of Christ all who believe are saved from the penalty and power of sin.	4. Salvation through faith in Christ, Who died for our sins according to Scriptures, was buried, but was raised from among the dead on the third day according to the Scriptures, and through His Blood we have Redemption. Tit. ii, 11; Rom. x 8/15; Tit. Iii, 5/7; 1 Cor. Xv, 3/4.
<i>Orders differ after point 4.</i>		

²⁵⁹ *Principles of the PMU* (1913), Donald Gee Centre, Mattersey Hall, Doncaster, UK; *The Elim Evangel* Vol.4 No.8 (August 1923), 169; *Redemption Tidings* Vol.1 No.1 (July 1924), 19.

6.3.6.1.3 Further Changes within the PMU Executive

New additions to the executive included W. H. Sandwith, a Bracknell assembly leader, who had been chosen to replace Polhill as Honorary Treasurer in 1910; James S. Breeze an assembly leader in Southport who joined the executive in December 1912;²⁶⁰ Conrad Kennedy Reuss volunteered as temporary Box Secretary and attended one meeting but was then replaced by “Mrs Sandwith” in January 1910 and the membership of college principals Myerscough and Eleanor Crisp have already been discussed.²⁶¹ In January 1913, Polhill presided at a pentecostal conference in Stirling organised by David Millie, father of the Millie sisters, and “Mr Muir,” and both were shortly afterwards appointed joint Secretaries of Scotland for the PMU.²⁶² This bolstered the Scottish-based representatives on the council to three, but there were no longer any Welsh representatives on the executive.

6.3.7 The London Conference of 1913: Healing Hands

The pre-Sunderland London conference of 1913 was held in Kingsway Hall, a newly built hall of the Wesleyan West London Mission, in Holborn, between 22-25 April 1913.²⁶³ One delegate described the conference afterwards, “It certainly has been to my mind, the best Convention.”²⁶⁴ There is little record of what Polhill spoke about except he is referred to in two other printed talks that probably indicate that Polhill had returned to one of his priorities, that of divine healing. The first to refer to Polhill was German Pastor Jonathan Paul, “When Jesus walked on the earth He healed the blind man....We must be a people looking at Jesus. Brother Polhill said: ‘One touch of

260 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 208, *PCRA-DGC*.

261 *Ibid*, 19, 27.

262 *Confidence* Vol.6 No.1 (Jan 1913), 18-19 and (Sep 1913), 184.

263 *Confidence* Vol.6 No.6 (June 1913), 107.

264 *Confidence* Vol.6 No.5 (May 1913), 87.

Jesus changes everything.”²⁶⁵ The second to refer to Polhill in the same vein was Pastor Heinrich Vietheer, “[King] David...was connected with God. Brother Polhill said: ‘We need a touch of God’; one touch of the living God. All who have touched Him have experienced His power.”²⁶⁶ This theme was reflected in Polhill's periodical at approximately the same time. In an article entitled “A Lost Art” Polhill outlined his conviction that the practice of laying on of hands, as outlined in Hebrews 6.2, had been neglected. He highlighted the fact that Christ laid hands on the sick to heal them in Mark 5.23, and that Christ promised, according to Mark 16.18, that believers could heal by the laying on of hands, “Let us take delight in the restoration of such a wonderful channel of the Divine working, the human hand. May it ever be joined to the Saviour's, a crucified hand.”²⁶⁷ Speakers at the London conference included: Paul from Germany; Veithier of Russia;²⁶⁸ Geyer and Basle from Switzerland; Bartleman, Boddy, Crisp, Polman, Wigglesworth and Robert Anderson Jardine amongst others.²⁶⁹ Many of these received donations from Polhill in the month preceding the conference, in the month of the conference or the following month.²⁷⁰

6.3.8 Robert A. Jardine and Bedford

Jardine had been a pentecostal leader in Liverpool, but he relocated to “Beth-Rapha” on Cauldwell Street, Bedford in 1913.²⁷¹ Polhill's involvement in this relocation is highly likely. Firstly, the London conference of 1913 had not been the

²⁶⁵ Ibid, 88.

²⁶⁶ *Confidence* Vol.6 No.6 (June 1913), 108.

²⁶⁷ Original formatting. *Flame of Fires* No.11 (May 1913), 2-3.

²⁶⁸ It is unclear whether Veithier was actually Russian or just a German missionary who conducted mission in part of the Russian Empire.

²⁶⁹ Ibid, 81-93, 96-97 cf. *Confidence* Vol.6 No.6 (June 1913), 107-111. *Flame of Fires* No.11 (May 1913), 5.

²⁷⁰ Polhill, *Ledger of Accounts 1910-1914*, 18-19 (Wigglesworth, Boddy and Bartleman in March), 19 (Bartleman in April), 19 (Wigglesworth, Paul, Poleman and Boddy in May) in addition to other Pentecostals, *PC*.

²⁷¹ *Confidence* Vol.5 No.3 (May 1912), 106 cf. Vol.6 No.3 (March 1913), 60 and No.7 (July 1913), 146.

first of Polhill's London conferences at which Jardine had spoken, he had also spoken at the 1912 conference at Holborn Hall, so Polhill was well aware of Jardine and his ministry. He had received at least two donations from Polhill since July 1912 for “evangelistic” purposes.²⁷² Secondly, Bedford was in the centre of Polhill's sphere of pentecostal influence, so it is unlikely that Jardine would have relocated there without communicating with Polhill first. Crucially, however, Polhill's financial records list a payment to Jardine as “pastor” of the Costin Street Mission Hall in July 1913.²⁷³ There are probably at least two things about Jardine that would have recommended him to Polhill. The first was his focus on evangelism (or witness) the power for which Polhill believed came from the Holy Spirit in the form of the pentecostal experience. One of the first things Jardine did when he arrived in Bedford was to hold an evangelistic tent meeting.²⁷⁴ The second is perhaps indicated in the name that Jardine gave his home “Beth-Rapha” or “House of Healing.” This could simply speak of spiritual healing, but it could equally refer to the kind of divine healing that Polhill believed to be an important element of Pentecostalism.²⁷⁵ Jardine's meetings in Bedford had a significant impact on Pentecostalism in Britain. A young Howard Carter (1891-1981) became Pentecostal at Jardine’s meetings and subsequently became a founding member of the AGBI.²⁷⁶

272 *Ledger of Accounts 1911-1914*, 12, 16, PC.

273 “Jardine Costin St Pastor - £26” *Ledger of Accounts 1911-1914*, 21, PC.

274 *Confidence* Vol.6 No.3 (March 1913), 60.

275 *Confidence* Vol.6 No.7 (July 1913), 146.

276 V. Synan, *Voices of Pentecost: Testimonies of Lives Touched by the Holy Spirit* (Ann Arbor, MI: Vine Books, 2003), 35-36.

Figure 16. A Pentecostal Congregation Outside the Costin Street Mission Hall, Bedford (1915).



The man in the light coat, near the centre, on the back row is thought to be John Phillips and Robert Jardine is thought to be the man on his immediate left.

Source: I am grateful to the late Rev. Des Cartwright for sharing this image from his personal collection.

6.3.9 Polhill and Criticism of Pentecostalism

The Sunderland conference of 1913 saw Polhill speak on the theme of persecution referring to Acts 8:1-4.²⁷⁷ Polhill's association with Pentecostalism had come at a cost of both financial and social capital, and he had much to lose of both. He hinted at this in *Flames of Fire* in April 1912, "Have we earnestly sought...the prize of the Baptism of the Holy Ghost and Fire...are we going all the way? Does it cost too much? Friends leave you, your reputation for common sense amongst many is gone; you appear to have lost influence in some respects."²⁷⁸ He was clearly speaking from personal experience. The movement as a whole came under attack at that time particularly in the writings of Jessie Penn-Lewis. She was a holiness speaker and author with connections to Keswick and a close relationship to the Welsh revivalist Evan Roberts. In 1912, she released *War on the Saints: A Text Book for believers on the work of deceiving spirits among the children of God* in collaboration with Roberts. The book explicitly and implicitly attacked Pentecostalism in a number of passages, claiming it to be the work of "deceiving spirits" or demons.²⁷⁹ It was the role of Polhill and the rest of the international consultative council to step in and defend Pentecostals from Penn-Lewis' misguided attacks. The consultative council carefully and systematically critiqued the book's main points, and then published their summary in *Confidence* for the benefit of the young pentecostal community.²⁸⁰

277 *Confidence* Vol.6 No.6 (June 1913), 117.

278 *Flames of Fire* No.5 (April 1912), 2.

279 J. Penn-Lewis and E. Roberts, *War on the Saints: A Text Book for believers on the work of deceiving spirits among the children of God* (London: Marshall Brothers, 1912), 160, 282, 285, *IA*.

280 *Confidence* Vol.6 No.7 (July 1913), 135-136.

6.4 Part Four 1914: Polhill and the End of the First Phase of Early British

Pentecostalism

A recurring theme in Polhill's periodical towards the end of 1913 was the missionary “emergency.”²⁸¹ The reasons for this emergency were: revivals in competing faiths such as Hinduism in India, Islam in Africa and Buddhism in Japan; the increase in world population; the openings created by political stability in China and the growing signs of the imminent *Parousia*.²⁸² These were some of the reasons why, in 1914, Polhill chose to tour PMU stations in India and the Yunnan-Tibetan border. It was also a year that marked the end of an era. The Pentecostals probably did not know it at the time, but 1914 would be the last Sunderland conference. Across the Atlantic the American Assemblies of God would be established in 1914, and across the English Channel the war erupted. The first phase of British Pentecostalism was drawing to a close, as the Pentecostalism of the war years and post war years took on a different form.

6.4.1 Three-day Conference, Mumbai (January 1914)

On 1 January 1914, Polhill departed for India.²⁸³ On this occasion he does not appear to have had Harry Small with him. He was met on arrival at Mumbai by all of the PMU's missionaries in India and Pakistan: Clark, Elkington, Jones and Skarratt met him on arrival; Corry and Clelland arrived later that day, and Wakeford, James, White and Thomas arrived the following morning.²⁸⁴ Lucy Wakeford was the newest PMU missionary in India. She had been a missionary of the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission (ZBMM) for thirteen years, but she transferred to the PMU while on furlough

281 *Flames of Fire* No.12 (July 1913), 3; No.13 (August 1913), 4; No.15 (December 1913), 4-6.

282 *Ibid.*

283 *Confidence* Vol.7 No.1 (Jan 1914), 16.

284 *Confidence* Vol.7 No.5 (February 1914), 39.

in England in 1913. She was the third PMU missionary to have transferred from the ZBMM.²⁸⁵ Polhill had been a financial supporter of the ZBMM for many years, and continued to donate to them even after he became Pentecostal.²⁸⁶ The transfer does not appear to have been because of any ill will, and the PMU even wrote to the ZBMM to ask if they would release Wakeford's return ticket to India. A three-day conference was arranged at the Methodist Church, Grant Road, Mumbai where they were joined by Archdeacon Robert Phair and his wife. Archdeacon Phair, an Irish-born Canadian-based Anglican, was also the superintendent and secretary of the CMS for Canada, and probably the most senior Anglican in the pentecostal movement at that time.²⁸⁷ By the end of January, Polhill had travelled north with his sister, Alice Challis, with whom he had first encountered an evangelical conversion some forty-four years earlier, to Bharatpur where she was stationed with her husband as CMS missionaries.²⁸⁸

6.4.2 Touring Pakistan and North India

From Bharatpur, Polhill travelled more than 370 miles northwest to Lahore, Pakistan, where he was joined by Corry and Clelland. Just as he had exercised a healing ministry in China with Harry Small, in 1911, Polhill appears to have done the same thing in India, “The Lord graciously heard prayer for a little child of eight years of age, who was very sick in hospital with Enteric Fever, and in answer to the prayer of a few of us, with the laying on of hands, the temperature dropped to normal, and I

285 The other two being Margaret Clark and Daisy Comyn-Ching. Ching had married and left the PMU by 1914. *PMU Minute Book 1*, 78-79 (Clark), 236 (Ching allowance), 255 (Ching married), *PCRA-DGC*.

286 For example, *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), 18, 82, 206, 248, *PCO*.

287 *Confidence* Vol.7 No.2 (Feb 1914), 39-40 cf. Vol.1 No.9 (December 1908), 12-13 (for background information on Archdeacon Phair).

288 There are numerous letters between Polhill and his sister in the *PCO*.

believe the child was on the way to recovery.”²⁸⁹ Corry remained unsettled in Pakistan, but Polhill was probably convinced by Norwood's claim that Pakistan could form a new frontier for Tibetan work. In a compromise designed to keep Corry in Abbottabad for a little longer the PMU executive approved an increase in funding, so that he could pay for a tutor to teach him Tibetan, but by September 1914 Corry was again seeking to move nearer to the actual Indo-Tibetan border.²⁹⁰ To this end he contacted the Moravian mission at Leh. Polhill had a great deal of experience with Moravians both in Bedford, where he had sent his daughter to a Moravian school, and in the mission sphere where he joined the Moravian initiated Tibetan Prayer Union.²⁹¹ The executive were, therefore, content with Corry's arrangement, but requested that Corry pass his first exam in Urdu before leaving Abbottabad.²⁹² The condition clearly frustrated Corry who left Abbottabad, with Clelland, in 1915 having failed to pass his exam in Urdu. By September 1915, both had resigned from the PMU. Clelland stated that he was leaving missionary work, and Corry left to take a teaching post at an Indian Boys' School.²⁹³ It was evidently a very sad end to the PMU's work in Pakistan. The executive could certainly have been more sensitive to the preferences of these missionaries, but it was pointed out to them that the Millie sisters had passed two language exams “with honours” in just nine months.²⁹⁴ Corry subsequently joined the Elim denomination and was for a time Dean of their Bible College.²⁹⁵

289 *Confidence* Vol.7 No.3 (March 1914), 59.

290 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 337, 345, *PCRA-DGC*.

291 See Polhill, *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), 44 (“Children – Moravian Ladies School – Kathleen [Polhill]”), *PCO*.

292 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 352, *PCRA-DGC*.

293 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 430 (Corry's resignation), 436 (Clelland's resignation), 440 (Corry's resignation contd.) *PCRA-DGC*.

294 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 412-414, *PCRA-DGC*.

295 Cartwright, *From the Backstreets of Brixton...*, unpaginated.

Map 9. Polhill's India Tour 1914



Polhill's route through India and Pakistan in 1914.

Stars indicate the presence of
PMU missionaries.

Source: Wikimedia Commons, www.commonswikimedia.org (last accessed August 2015).

6.4.3 Final Stage of Polhill's 1914 Indian Tour

After leaving Lahore, Polhill travelled east to New Delhi where he spoke of the Durbar, “We drove along the King's Way to the scene of the Durbar, viewed the large circular mound around the great raised dais, upon which sat our King Emperor and Empress beneath a canopy, while before him passed a procession of Rajahs and rulers of the land offering obeisance, and in front of which were massed thousands of our troops.”²⁹⁶ He then proceeded to Elkington and Jones' station at Goshainganj, and onto Faizabad where he encountered Shorat Chuckerbutty whom he admired as, “one of the few lady MAs.”²⁹⁷ Together they prayed for the sick. Polhill was always ready to admire the intelligence of others, and his attitude towards Chuckerbutty was promisingly progressive. His opinion of the Durbar, however, is more difficult to gauge. The North Americans were already outspoken critics of the British occupation of India, and a year after Polhill's visit Mahatma Gandhi returned to India and subsequently began campaigning for independence.²⁹⁸ What can be said about Polhill with some certainty is that he would have evaluated the British position in India from a missionary perspective. He was no supporter of the opium trade.²⁹⁹ He had witnessed the devastating effects of opium from British India in China, but he probably would have regarded British authority in India as conveying some strategic advantage for mission work especially evangelistic mission work.³⁰⁰ The PMU's Indo-Tibetan work had not fared well, but Polhill was still pleased at the progress of

296 *Confidence* Vol.7 No.3 (March 1914), 59.

297 See Anderson, *Ends of the Earth*, 32 and 107.

298 C. Markovits, *A History of Modern India, 1480-1950* (Wimbledon: Anthem Press, 2004), 366-367.

299 He had subscribed to Benjamin Broomhall's anti-opium alliance in 1907. *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), 126, *PCO*. By 1908, British India was still exporting more than 52,000 chests of opium to China per year. By 1911, partly owing to the efforts of evangelical lobbyists, the British had agreed to reduce opium exports to China by 10% per year until 1917. By 1913, the British had agreed to cease exports provided the Chinese could demonstrate that their production of opium would also stop. H. Janin, *The India-China Opium Trade in the Nineteenth Century* (Jefferson: McFarland & Comp., 1999), 181-182.

300 *Flames of Fire* No.16 (March 1914), 2-3.

his missionaries in India in general, and the Sino-Tibetan work was progressing as well as he could have hoped. The Indian stage of his journey had come to an end by 10 February 1914 when he reached Kolkata to begin a sixteen-day voyage to Hong Kong.³⁰¹

6.4.4 Polhill in Yunnan in 1914: Equipping Local Christians

Polhill arrived in Hong Kong late February 1914. He took a French steamer (Yunnan was French controlled) to Haiphong, Vietnam, before proceeding by train to Yunnan where he was welcomed by McLean, Rønager and Baas,³⁰² an independent Pentecostal, as well as the CIM's Allen, Parker, Fullerton and his former TMB missionary Edward Amundsen. A six-day conference was arranged in Kunming by Allen, McLean and Amundsen meeting twice daily at McLean's chapel and Allen's chapel alternately. The aim of the conference was to invite town and country Christians, "...to put a simple, workable, usable knowledge of the most elementary Gospel from the Word itself into the ears and minds and lips of the very simplest Believers and the women, so that all may know how to 'spread the tidings round, wherever man is found.'"³⁰³ This was Polhill's strategy. He himself had never attempted to get to Lhasa. His energy and resources were channelled into converting Tibetans and Chinese on the outskirts of Tibet. Then the unreachable Tibetans, of inner Ü-Tsang, could hear the gospel from their own people. A distinctly pentecostal element was evident in the last session, "The Baptism of the Holy Ghost with signs according to Acts ii," which was well received, "...many asked for the Baptism and

301 *Confidence* Vol.7 No.3 (March 1914), 59-60.

302 Mr Baas not to be confused with Miss Truida Baas who had spent time in the PMU women's college. *PMU Minute Book 1*, 96, *PCRA-DGC*.

303 *Flames of Fire* No.17 (May 1914), 6-7.

power of the Holy Ghost with signs.”³⁰⁴ A waiting meeting was held that evening at which “Miss Allen,” daughter of Mr & Mrs Allen, had a pentecostal experience.³⁰⁵ The influence of PMU missionaries on CIM missionaries would later lead to a serious break down in relationship between the two missions.

6.4.4.1 Where Are Our Women?

It is not difficult to appreciate Polhill's excitement at the potential of the PMU's missionary work in Yunnan as he enthused in a letter published in *Confidence*, “...where are our women?...the tribes abound and are clamouring for the gospel.”³⁰⁶ In March 1914, he telegraphed the PMU executive to send out five more women from the women's college: Ethel Cook, Ieda de Vries, Fanny Jenner and the Millie sisters without delay. Jenner was a qualified teacher who had already been teaching in the PMU college for several years before being accepted as a missionary in 1912;³⁰⁷ Cook was the most recent trainee having been accepted to the college in October of the previous year. She was from Clapton and already well known to Crisp.³⁰⁸ Polhill had personally interviewed both Jenner and Cook before finally accepting them into the home. When the executive received Polhill's telegram they had already become accustomed to a more sustainable monetary policy i.e. sending students when the pentecostal populace had donated enough money to send them, so they replied to Polhill that they were still waiting for the funds, but these were not ordinary circumstances. Polhill sent another telegram that illustrated his sense of urgency and

304 Ibid, 7.

305 Ibid.

306 His emphasis. *Confidence* Vol.7 No.5 (May 1914), 94.

307 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 181, *PCRA-DGC*. Jenner was an “LCC” certified teacher which probably stood for London County/Council Certificate. The London County Council acted as Local Educational Authority by providing teacher training in the London Day Training College which subsequently became part of the University of London. R. Aldrich, 'The Training of Teachers and Educational Studies: the London Day Training College, 1902-1932.' *Paedagogica Historica* Vol.40 No.5 & 6 (October 2004), 621.

308 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 277, *PCRA-DGC*.

confidence, “Send without delay. Will pay passage.”³⁰⁹ Polhill’s solicitor advanced the £251 cost of passage. The five women set sail for Yunnan, on 27 March 1914, and arrived at Hong Kong no later than 6 May 1914 where McLean met them.³¹⁰ By 14 May, they had reached Kunming where they settled down to language preparation with Polhill’s former TMB missionary Edward Amundsen.³¹¹

6.4.4.2 The PMU on the Yunnan-Tibetan Border and Polhill's Mission Strategy

The Lijiang missionaries had converts and workers amongst the Mosuo, Chinese and Tibetans.³¹² In June they began making plans to build their own church. Kok submitted a budget to the executive for the project that came to £400. It was a sign of their faith in Kok that the money was quickly raised with Polhill personally pledging £100.³¹³ By October 1914, they had already raised £380 of which £180 had been donated by German Pentecostals.³¹⁴ They also planned to expand, but this met with some strategic objections from Polhill. In August 1914, Scharten proposed opening a new station at “Ho Ch'in” (possibly Heqing) which she claimed was larger than Lijiang, but the executive replied that they preferred to work centrally from one station, and then itinerate from there.³¹⁵ Polhill's mission strategy can be seen very clearly here. He published an article in *Flames of Fire*, in the same month, advocating a compromise between settling in one station permanently and constantly searching for bigger and better stations:

Is it not the thought in the mind of a missionary when he goes out, that he will

309 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 311, 313, *PCRA-DGC*.

310 *Confidence* Vol.7 No.7 (July 1914), 139.

311 *Flames of Fire* No.22 (Dec 1914), 7.

312 For example, *Confidence* Vol.7 No.8 (Aug 1914), 157-158; (March 1915) has a picture of several, named, with their ethnicity on the front cover.

313 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 328, *PCRA-DGC*.

314 *Ibid*, 365-366.

315 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 367-368, *PCRA-DGC*.

spend most of his life in one station? And it seems to be the great aim of missionary societies to open stations. It is true, of course, that the other side can be carried too far, and a missionary spend his time aimlessly in wandering about from place to place...'a rolling stone gathers no moss'. But is there not, however, a mean between these two?...Might it not be better...we should rather aim at one or two central stations from which workers could go out and return more readily[?]³¹⁶

This was a more mature Polhill who after nearly thirty years of missionary experience and administration had come to the conclusion that settled, patient and determined work in one or two areas was likely to be more profitable than constantly looking and striving for something bigger and better. By encouraging this he was again reflecting the influence of Roland Allen.³¹⁷ It was a move away from the Victorian-adventurer style of mission towards a more professional and systematic approach. Pentecostal work flourished openly in Yunnan right up until the “reluctant exodus” of missionaries from China during the 1940s and 50s.³¹⁸ The first pentecostal missionaries in Myanmar started as missionaries in Yunnan. Some of the northern tribes of Myanmar are now almost entirely Pentecostal.³¹⁹ The work on the northern Sino-Tibetan border, however, took an alternative path.

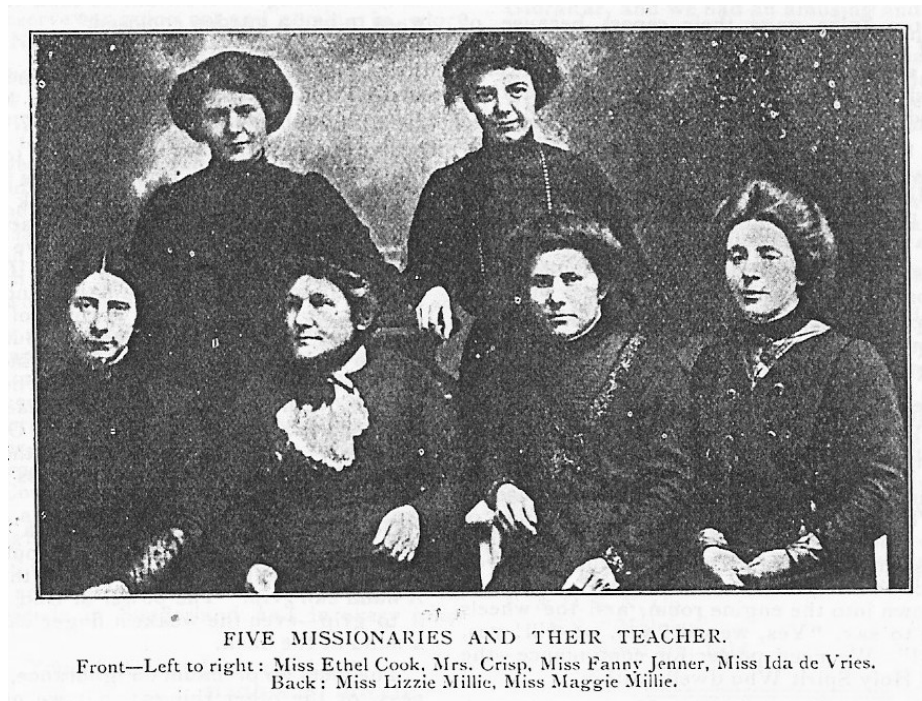
316 *Flames of Fire* No.19 (Aug 1914), 2.

317 *Flames of Fire*, No.24 (February 1915), 2-3.

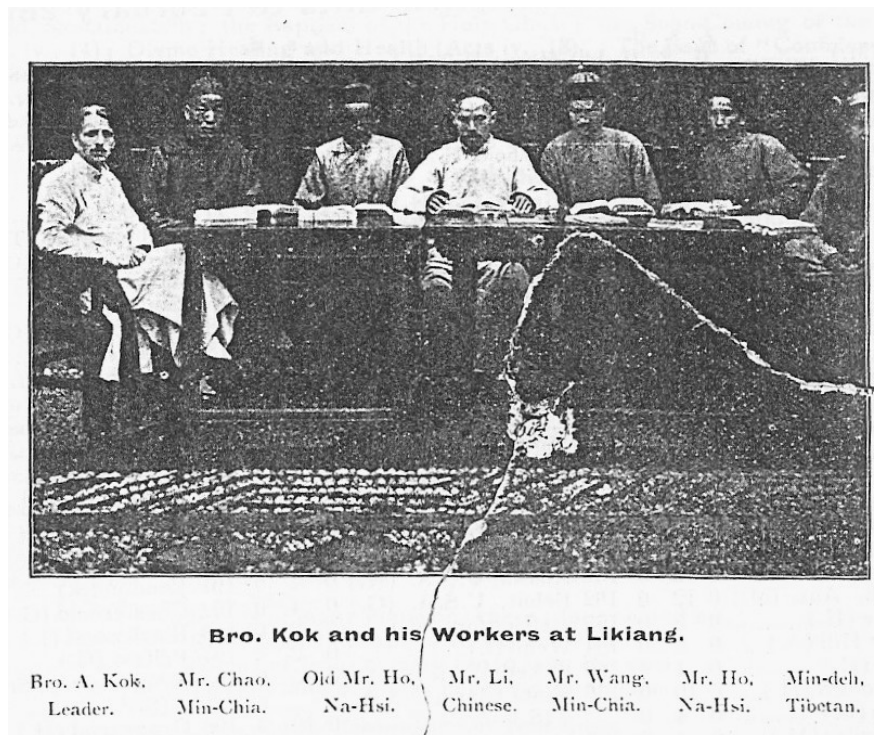
318 C. Van der Laan, 'Beyond the Clouds: Elize Scharthen (1876-1965), Pentecostal Missionary to China' in W. Ma and R. P. Menzies ed. *Pentecostalism in Context: Essays in Honour of William W. Menzies* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 337-353; Kay 'The Four-Fold Gospel in the Formation...', 79. Broomhall, *HTCOC Vol.7*, 562-566.

319 C. Khua Khai, 'The Assemblies of God and Pentecostalism in Myanmar' in A. Anderson and E. Tang ed. *Asian and Pentecostal: The Charismatic Face of Christianity in Asia* (Oxford: Regnum Books, 2005), 262 cf. Van der Laan, 347.

Figures 17 & 18



Five PMU missionaries destined for the Sino-Tibetan border and Eleanor Crisp.



Arie Kok with converts in Lijiang. The description gives their names and ethnicity.

Source: from my personal copies of *Confidence* (May 1914), 95 and (March 1915), front cover respectively.

6.4.5 Trevitt and Williams in 1914

In 1914, Trevitt and Williams were still spending money they were not authorised to spend, and Trevitt's conduct was still the subject of complaints most recently from his former PMU colleague McGillivray. The honorary secretary, Mundell, wrote a letter, in March 1914, to “remonstrate strongly” with Trevitt.³²⁰ On the Tibetan border there was continued fighting between Tibetans and Chinese, so Trevitt and Williams left their posts and made their way to Beijing in the hope, they claimed, of meeting Polhill whom they knew to be en route to China.³²¹ This was not prearranged with Polhill who arrived nowhere near Beijing, but the missionaries’ intentions became clearer when, on their return journey, they stopped at Stanley Smith's station at Jincheng, Shanxi, to wait for the Millie sisters.³²² This had not been approved, but their work in Qinghai had not been completely neglected as they reported that meetings continued under the local evangelist at Guide, “Mr Hsiung.”³²³ By 1915, they were finally reunited with their fiancées and married, but tragedy struck when Williams died of Smallpox on the return to Guide, and within six more months Trevitt had died of Tuberculosis. The Millie sisters both married and both widowed within a matter of months returned to Yunnan.³²⁴ Polhill knew what it was like to lose loved ones, and he was probably deeply moved by the loss of these men, particularly Trevitt, for whom he is thought to have written a moving tribute.³²⁵ Their deaths marked the end of the PMU's work on the northern Sino-Tibetan border although not the end of pentecostal work there altogether.³²⁶

320 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 303 and 315, *PCRA-DGC*.

321 *Confidence* Vol.7 No.7 (July 1914), 138-139.

322 *PMU Minute Book 1*, 379, *PCRA-DGC*.

323 *Flames of Fire* No.22 (Dec 1914), 9.

324 Anderson, *Ends of the Earth*, 71.

325 *Ibid*.

326 McGillivray and his wife Mabel worked there up until the 1920s. Van Sengen, 154.

6.4.6 Domestic Activity in 1914

In 1914, the pentecostal meetings at the Institute of Journalists discontinued permanently, but the Friday evening meetings at Sion College continued to be led by Mundell in Polhill's absence.³²⁷ Polhill's regular London meetings were being advertised with less regularity in *Confidence* throughout 1914, but this could merely reflect that they were already well known, and they continued to be advertised in Polhill's own periodical.³²⁸ After returning from Yunnan, he reintroduced his midday meetings in the Cannon Street Hotel.³²⁹ Soon afterwards, these moved to a new venue, Newton Hall, on Fetter Lane in August.³³⁰ Fetter Lane was famously associated with John Wesley. He had come into contact with the Moravians in a meeting on Fetter Lane, and he subsequently felt his heart being "strangely warmed" in a Moravian meeting in Aldersgate Street in 1738.³³¹ Intriguingly Polhill referred to Wesley's experience as taking place in a "waiting meeting" which was the same phrase he used for pentecostal meetings.³³² In doing so, he was acknowledging the pietistic roots of certain pentecostal practices.³³³ What occasioned the move to Newton Hall is uncertain, but it was still within the very centre, the City, of London. Friday was now the only day of the week Polhill held his weekly pentecostal meetings.

6.4.6.1 The PMU Colleges from 1914

When Polhill had arranged for Wallis to lead a new PMU men's college in London,

327 *Flames of Fire* No.16 (March 1914), 5; *Confidence* Vol.7 No.1 (January 1914), 14.

328 Once in January and once in December. *Confidence* Vol.7 No.1 (January 1914), 14; No.12 (December 1914), 237.

329 *Flames of Fire* No.16 (July 1914), 7.

330 *Flames of Fire* No.19 (August 1914), 7.

331 S. Tompkins, *John Wesley: A Biography* (Oxford: Lion Publishing, 2003), 61.

332 *Flames of Fire* No.20 (October 1914), 2-3.

333 Anderson, *Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 25.

there had been dissension amongst some of the grassroots Pentecostals probably because of Wallis' Anglicanism, so Boddy was at pains to stress the college's pentecostal credentials when he visited, "In the lecture room the blackboard had on it a sketch map of Palestine and Egypt; also letters in the Greek Alphabet...The brothers are having a good time. The Lord is in the midst, baptising them in the Holy Ghost with the signs following."³³⁴ The new college was evidently a place of both Pentecostalism and real scholarly learning. This was difficult to compete with, so it was perhaps inevitable when, in February 1915, Myerscough received a letter from the executive, "the council decided to officially recognise the London Home to which students would in future be sent for training...the council unanimously recorded their sincere appreciation of your valuable work and labour of love which you have bestowed upon the students who have been from time to time under your training at Preston."³³⁵ There were undoubtedly a number of issues that contributed to this resolution. Firstly, Polhill had always envisaged the home being in London, and secondly, there had always been tension between Myerscough and the executive that affected trust between the two parties, but finally, and crucially, the Preston home was hardly sending any missionaries to Tibet. Preston had, however, produced a number of notable Pentecostals even if they were not all being sent to the Tibetan border as Polhill had generally hoped. One of the students from Preston who did go to the Yunnan-Tibetan border, William John Boyd, was eventually appointed superintendent of the PMU in China.³³⁶ The PMU women's college remained, by contrast, a much more stable missionary producing apparatus with Eleanor Crisp in charge until her

334 *Confidence* Vol.6 No.11 (November 1913), 216.

335 T. Mundell to T. Myerscough 27 February 1915 in *Correspondence Book No.1 of the Pentecostal Missionary Union*, 63, PCRA-DGC cf. *PMU Minute Book 1*, 399-400, PCRA-DGC.

336 Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 129.

retirement in 1918.³³⁷ As the pentecostal movement began to divide along sectarian lines, there were also intra-Pentecostal disagreements particularly regarding the nature of tongues as a sign.

6.4.6.2 The Final Sunderland Conference 1914: A Parting of Ways

Polhill arrived back from China just in time to attend the Sunderland conference 1914. It was to be the last Sunderland conference and the end of an era.³³⁸ A major theme was, yet again, the *Parousia*. Boddy spoke of the coming of the Lord and the “closing of the current dispensation.”³³⁹ More significant for the future of Pentecostalism, however, was the theme of tongues in the public assembly. The discussions were recorded in detail, and there was remarkable frankness about some of the more obvious disconnections between theology and practice. Henry Mogridge, leader of the Lytham pentecostal assembly, was particularly outspoken. Mogridge had sharply observed two outstanding issues regarding the use of tongues and interpretation, amongst others,³⁴⁰ that gave him cause for concern. Firstly, was the length of interpretations being in some instances three times as long as the utterance itself. The second was that interpretations were often prophecies, but he found no biblical precedent for prophetic tongues.³⁴¹ Polhill's contribution to the discussion was typically broad and balanced. In reference to what he referred to as Mogridge's “interesting remarks” he emphasised that tongues should be used sparingly in the public assembly, “It might start with a demonstration of the Spirit, but was apt to run

337 Polhill wrote a tribute to her “long and efficient” leadership of the women’s college, and she retained a place on the PMU council even after retiring from the home. *Confidence* Vol.11 No.2 (April-June 1918), 35-6.

338 Gee also identified 1914 as the “Dawn of a New Era.” Gee, *Pentecostal Movement*, 121. Wakefield also recognizes 1914 as a watershed moment for early Pentecostalism, Wakefield, 191. Also Hocken, 121.

339 *Confidence* Vol.7 No.6 (June 1914), 116.

340 M. Cartledge, ed. *Speaking in Tongues: A Multi-Disciplinary Perspective* (London: Paternoster, 2006), 70. Cartledge has discussed Mogridge's concerns in more detail.

341 *Confidence* Vol.7 No.12 (Dec 1914), 236.

off into nature....”³⁴²

More significant perhaps was the discussion over what would come to be known as initial evidence. Robert Brown, a pentecostal leader from New York,³⁴³ represented what would become the classic pentecostal position, “He [Brown] would like to have the sense of this meeting as to what they considered the evidence of the baptism of the Holy Ghost. In the United States, they believed that when they were baptised they would speak in tongues as a supernatural sign and seal there and then [which] he thoroughly believed.” Polhill represented what might be termed the charismatic (or proto-charismatic) position. He replied to Brown directly, “They should receive indeed the baptism of the Holy Ghost with power, but no direct statement that He should be received with tongues. Therefore they could not definitely go about the world and say, 'You shall receive the Holy Ghost with tongues'...they must be careful not to go one word beyond what scripture actually commanded lest they should be a stumbling block to some.”³⁴⁴ The final Sunderland conference ended on 5 June 1914. Twenty-three days later, Archduke Franz Ferdinand was assassinated in Sarajevo sparking off a chain of events that, before the end of the year, led to the outbreak of WWI.

6.4.7 The Effects of WWI

The war took its toll on the PMU and the British pentecostal movement in several ways. One of the most damaging effects was to emphasise the ideological gulf that existed between Anglicans Boddy and Polhill, who believed the war was just, and

³⁴² Ibid.

³⁴³ Although originally from Northern Ireland.

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

non-Anglican grassroots Pentecostals who were mostly pacifists.³⁴⁵ In spite of these differences, Polhill empathised with those who refused to fight and tried to help in any way he could. When conscription was introduced, in 1916, conscientious objectors had to defend themselves in local tribunals, so Polhill issued those from the PMU with a signed certificate confirming their objections were genuinely based on religious conviction.³⁴⁶ Some Pentecostals were given hard labour to perform, such as Donald Gee, others were imprisoned, such as Howard Carter, and some German pentecostal conscientious objectors were executed, but at least one PMU student, Arthur Gibbs, went to the front line.³⁴⁷ An additional effect of the Great War was to seriously disrupt inter-European pentecostal cooperation. There had been vigorous inter-European travel amongst Pentecostals before 1914, but this was seriously hindered by the war. In addition, non-British missionaries were considered suspect by the British Government. The Foreign Office wrote to Polhill in 1917 to ask if he could reorganise the mission in Yunnan to ensure it was not dominated by “alien members,” naming the Koks and Cornelia Scharten specifically.³⁴⁸

6.4.8 PMU Summary up to 1914

By 1914, Polhill had largely accomplished what he had hoped to accomplish in the pentecostal movement. He had created a pentecostal missionary force for Tibet. A review of the PMU’s missionaries, by the end of 1914, demonstrates just how important Tibetan-border work was for Polhill (see table 5). The new people groups encountered in Yunnan also had the effect of compelling Polhill and the PMU missionaries to broaden their horizons. For example, Kok wrote in Polhill’s periodical

345 Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 223-229; L. Goodwin, *The Response of Early British Pentecostals...*, 90.

346 Goodwin, *The Response of Early British Pentecostals...*, 87.

347 Ibid, 85-87; Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 227.

348 Van Spengen, *Early Missionary Activity...*, 156-157.

in 1914:

Politically, East Tibet is Chinese territory, but the people are in origin, language, religion, customs and subjection to the Dalai-Lama, as much Tibetan as the people of Chando [Chamdo], of Kokonor [Qinghai] over the frontier. This means that an area nearly as big as Great Britain, inhabited by pure Tibetans – not to speak now about immense fields with tribes of Tibetan origin, as the His-fan, the Na-his, the Nu-tsi – is open today.³⁴⁹

The exact origin and language of some of the people groups on the Yunnan-Tibetan border was difficult to ascertain, and remains so to this day, so Kok's observation that some of the people groups were of Tibetan origin (rather than wholly Tibetan) was an extremely insightful one.³⁵⁰

Table 5. PMU Missionaries by the End of 1914

China/Tibet	India/Pakistan	Other/Affiliates
<p>Near the Yunnan-Tibetan Border Arie Kok Elsje Kok Elizabeth M. Biggs Cornelia E. Scharten Monica S. Rønager Fanny E. Jenner Ethel Cook Ieda de Vries Maggie Millie Lizzie Millie</p> <p>Near the Gansu-Tibetan Border Amos Williams Frank Trevitt</p> <p>Hebei Christina Beruldsen John Beruldsen Thyra Beruldsen</p>	<p>Near the Indo-Tibetan Border Percy Corry Alex Clelland</p> <p>Maharashtra Constance Skarratt Catherine C. White Margaret Clark Minnie Augustus Thomas</p> <p>Pune Lucy James</p> <p>Goshainhanj Elizabeth 'Beth' Jones Grace Elkington</p>	<p>Yunnan-Tibetan Border Hector McLean Sigrid McLean Edward Amundsen O. M. Rea</p> <p>Japan William Taylor Mary Taylor</p> <p>Africa F. D. Johnstone</p>

³⁴⁹ *Flames of Fire* No.18 (July 1914), 4.

³⁵⁰ Denwood, 9.

As soon as it became obvious that the field of Tibet was more diverse than previously envisaged, and that the work in Yunnan was well situated to meet this challenge, Polhill and the PMU became noticeably more open-minded towards missionaries who wanted to go elsewhere. It was only after Kok led a settled work in Yunnan that the PMU entertained any notion of its missionaries going to Africa. By the end of Polhill's tenure as President of the PMU, the mission had several full members in Africa and South America, but there were still twice as many PMU missionaries in Yunnan than in all the other fields of the PMU put together.³⁵¹ Even after the PMU voted to merge with the AGBI, in 1924, the pentecostal work in Yunnan continued to flourish.³⁵² Polhill had determined the focus of British pentecostal mission for the best part of two generations.

6.5 Conclusion

This period of Polhill's life has never been satisfactorily analysed before, yet there is rich detail available, and there is much to be learned about Polhill, the PMU and other Pentecostals. Polhill and Harry Small arrived in China, in September 1910, before the PMU students had even reached Hong Kong, amongst the earliest British Pentecostals in China.³⁵³ An important observation to make about their first visit to China is that they do not appear to have met with the Beruldsens. The Beruldsens were to be looked after by the Scandinavian Alliance Mission in Hebei, so Polhill was more concerned with those who would be going to the Sino-Tibetan border. For Polhill, non-Tibetan mission was more contingent. By contrast, after making some preparatory arrangements with Stanley Smith, he personally travelled to meet his new

351 If we include those on furlough from Yunnan. *Confidence* No.140 (May 1925), 167.

352 Gee estimated there were at least sixty pentecostal missionaries in Yunnan by 1938, but not all of these were from the British AGBI. Van der Laan, 347.

353 Potentially *the* earliest British Pentecostals in China.

Tibetan band at Wuhan, Hubei.

Polhill's contacts and understanding of the Sino-Tibetan border were indispensable to the PMU. His political insight, in particular, was an important asset. His grasp of the Sino-Tibetan political climate gave him a stable, level-headed, view of some of the major changes that occurred in China and Tibet throughout his tenure as president of the PMU. He remained, as a rule, optimistic with each new political turn about the potential for reaching Tibet, but always realistic enough not to send missionaries directly into Tibet proper. It is because of the commitment that Polhill gave to his vision for Tibet that pentecostal mission in South West China, and in neighbouring countries like Myanmar, subsequently flourished.

Most research into Polhill's life seems to largely have overlooked his interests on the Indo-Tibetan border.³⁵⁴ This research has shown that just because Polhill permitted pentecostal missionaries to be sent to India this did not necessarily mean they were any less encouraged to evangelise Tibet, and this insight has partly come about by connecting Polhill's pre-pentecostal experiences with his life as a Pentecostal. Polhill had spent almost two years, between 1895-1897, evangelising amongst the Tibetans near the Indo-Tibetan border at Darjeeling. There was some initial pentecostal activity on the Indo-Tibetan border from PMU missionary Kathleen Miller, in 1909, but after her death the PMU's Indo-Tibetan hopes were placed in Corry and Clelland. The possibility of a new Indo-Tibetan frontier detained Corry and Clelland in Abbottabad longer than they could bear, and they eventually resigned. By 1915, the PMU's work

354 Funnel would be the primary exception. Goodwin touched on this very briefly, "[Polhill's past] provides insight into factors stimulating Polhill's particular desire to motivate Pentecostal missionary activity in an area of China and India close to Tibet." Goodwin, *The Pentecostal Missionary Union (PMU)...*, 85. Goodwin does not, however, provide any pentecostal examples of Indo-Tibetan work.

on the Indo-Tibetan border had come to an end before it had really started. It may be that Polhill and the PMU executive did not respond proactively enough to Corry's protests, but Norwood seemed determined to keep the missionaries in Abbottabad even against the missionaries' own desires.

The issue of Polhill's authority in the PMU is a significant one. It is probably fair to conclude that his sense of traditional authority could be at odds with the sense of egalitarianism that existed in the early pentecostal movement.³⁵⁵ In addition, the experiences that early Pentecostals had of the Holy Spirit provided them with a sense of individual affirmation that could at times make it difficult for them to easily respond to traditional modes of authority. The same sense of affirmation had led Polhill to ignore the CIM's protestations not to evangelise Tibet. These tensions began to manifest in the relationship between Niblock and Polhill (and the PMU executive); in Polhill's stance on marriage and in the relationship between Polhill (and the PMU executive) and the PMU students and missionaries. With Myerscough and the college at Preston the difficulty of exercising traditional authority in the pentecostal movement was compounded by doctrinal differences, and a sense of a north-south divide between the PMU executive and pentecostal assemblies outside of London. The initial catalyst for Myerscough's poor relationship with Polhill and the PMU, however, does appear to be Niblock's resignation from the college. It cannot be said that Polhill did not try to mitigate these divisive forces, and the "elephant in the room" is that there was probably a good deal of jealousy for Polhill because of his wealth and power.³⁵⁶ He was an easy target for resentment, and an icon of old-

355 Kay, 'The Four-fold Gospel; Cecil Polhill...', 33.

356 He eventually invited Niblock onto the executive but Niblock refused; He had executive minutes copied and sent to Scotland and Wales; he transferred the college out of London, and he tried to steer a theologically moderate path on issues such as: infant baptism, personal revelations and tongues as a

fashioned Evangelicalism against whom a new generation of Pentecostals could easily contrast themselves.

The relationship between Polhill and the holiness movement is significant. The theological transition from the holiness movement to the pentecostal movement was embodied in figures like Polhill and Boddy, but he never fully abandoned his holiness convictions. For Polhill, sanctification was an indispensable stepping stone on the path to Pentecostalism. He probably agreed with Boddy that the pentecostal experience was not an act of grace, but a degree of advanced spirituality. He was also broad-minded and inclusive in his theology. He rightly sought to avoid turning Pentecostalism into a sectarian possession of those who rejected infant baptism, and he rightly, eventually, held to a moderate path on tongues as a sign. Early Pentecostals, like Polhill, drew their recruits mainly from the ranks of the holiness movement, and it is probably for this reason that some sections of the holiness movement became so hostile to Pentecostalism. The Consultative International Pentecostal Council was organised partly to meet this hostility, but it was too undemocratic. It may be that Polhill was concerned that if the consultative council became fully representative it would make the pentecostal movement appear too much like a denomination. The effect was to reinforce a sense of elitism that almost certainly already alienated the PMU executive from the larger pentecostal body. The consultative council did make helpful declarations, but it only lasted two years probably because of the flaws in its organisational structure.

By 1914, Polhill would have had a certain sense of achievement. He had recognised

sign. He was an Anglican, but he was not a particularly strong Anglican. This is evidenced by his willingness to widely sponsor non-Anglican congregations including one that he had planted himself.

the field of Tibet as unreached, in 1886, very early in his missionary career. For the rest of his life he worked tirelessly to change these circumstances. He had overcome immense obstacles to plant missionaries on the Tibetan border: personal suffering, violence, loss of life, censure and rejection by the CIM, but he never gave up. He watched and waited for God's breakthrough. It came in the form of the pentecostal movement. The puzzle of how someone so seemingly embedded in traditional Evangelicalism, like Polhill, could become so committed to the early pentecostal movement begins to make more sense when it is understood in the context of his determination to evangelise Tibet. An alternative, pentecostal, mission under his control makes perfect sense in light of a perceived lack of support from his traditional evangelical allies. Polhill became a Pentecostal because he believed Pentecostalism was God's solution to the missionary problem of Tibet. It is difficult to quantify exactly how beneficial Polhill's involvement became for Pentecostalism, but this research has highlighted some of the more obvious areas of influence. From Azusa Street to the future leaders of British pentecostal denominations, and from pentecostal leaders on the European Continent to missionary causes in India, China, the Tibetan border and elsewhere. Polhill's generous, passionate, consecrated life left Pentecostalism with an incomparable legacy.

CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSION

7.1 Polhill post-1914 until his resignation from the PMU in 1925

Primary sources for Polhill's life after 1914 become much less diverse. He is barely mentioned in *China's Millions* after 1907, and, to date, there is only one letter in the Polhill Collection after 1907.¹ In addition, to date, there are no detailed financial records for Polhill after 1914. There are however ample pentecostal sources for his life concentrated up to his resignation from the PMU in 1925. He was still liberally referenced throughout *Confidence*, and his own periodical continued publication up until January 1925. There are also his memoirs, written in 1925, but these make almost no mention of his pentecostal years except to say, "The China Inland Mission, the Wesleyan Methodists, the YMCA Chinese Native Mission and the Pentecostal Missionary Union are all working here [in Yunnan]. The Pentecostal Missionary Union have a work amongst the tribes and Tibetans at Li Kiang [Lijiang], among the mountains and snows in the far North-west of the Province."² Polhill's life and significance from 1914 until his death in 1938 require much more detailed analysis than can be provided here, but there are some obvious pivotal events that give a sense of his life up to 1925.

7.1.1 Polhill and the PMU Split with the CIM³

Tensions between Pentecostals and the CIM significantly increased throughout 1914. Anderson has identified the behaviour of former CMA missionary W. W. Simpson as

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- 1 A letter from his son, Arthur, at that time a young Naval officer writing from aboard H.M.S. *Steadfast* near Novorossiysk, Russia. Arthur Henry Polhill to C. Polhill 26 February 1920, *PC*.
 - 2 *Memoirs*, 177. The reason for Polhill's silence regarding Pentecostalism is probably because he was mainly concerned about the time he shared in China with his brother (1885-1900). For example, he says very little of Kalimpong or of the years 1900-1907.
 - 3 I address this split in my MA dissertation but some of the details were incorrect. This section of the thesis has added more findings, such as Anderson's, and corrected some of the errors of my previous work. Usher, '*Prepared for Pentecost...*', 42-46.

a significant contribution to this tension.⁴ After becoming Pentecostal, Simpson became outspoken in his insistence that every missionary should, like him, also become Pentecostal. He acted upon these convictions by travelling around CIM stations in China praying for missionaries to be baptised in the Spirit. He also published a circular, in which he cited Polhill as a character reference, accusing missionaries resistant to Pentecostalism of being “Laodicians” (i.e. lukewarm).⁵ Polhill was not in full sympathy with Simpson’s methods, but he was not able to distance himself far enough from Simpson to fully satisfy the CIM. Notably, however, the CIM had already established a subcouncil to determine the mission’s official stance towards Pentecostalism several months before Hoste had written to Polhill to complain about Simpson.⁶ The catalyst for the creation of the CIM subcouncil appears to have been from an earlier source. It was probably inspired, partly at least, by interpersonal relationships between PMU missionaries and CIM missionaries in Yunnan.

There was, up until 1914, a collegial spirit between Pentecostals and CIM missionaries in Yunnan, to the extent that Pentecostals were able to hold waiting meetings in CIM property.⁷ On 4 June 1914, a North American CIM missionary based in Yunnan, Miss Eleanor I. Pilson, complained to the CIM Shanghai council about the CIM’s association with Cecil Polhill and with the Pentecostals.⁸ According to the minutes of the CIM, “...in her [Pilson’s] opinion the relations between the [CIM]

4 Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 131-132.

5 Ibid, 132.

6 The subcouncil was established in September 1914, but Hoste did not complain about Simpson to Polhill until January 1915. *CIM Minutes of the Shanghai Council* 10 September 1914, 297, *SOAS*; Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, n149 (chapter 5).

7 The meetings described by Polhill in *Flames of Fire* No.17 (May 1914), 6-7 seem to have involved the use of CIM property.

8 *CIM Minutes of the Shanghai Council* 4 June 1914, 287, *SOAS*; Pilson had transferred from Henan to Yunnan the previous year. *China’s Millions* (1913), 153, *LA*.

Mission and Mr Cecil Polhill and his workers were too close.”⁹ It is probably no coincidence that in the same meeting the CIM Shanghai council read another letter from Pilson’s hitherto eligible CIM colleague in Yunnan, Mr Fullerton, informing the CIM that “an attachment had sprung up” between himself and PMU missionary Martha Rønager.¹⁰

Shortly afterwards, in July 1914, the CIM established a subcouncil to look into the PMU’s use of CIM property for waiting meetings.¹¹ The subcouncil’s conclusions regarding waiting meetings were somewhat alarmist, “For one thing, the strain upon the brain occasionally is such that in some cases insanity has ensued, etc.”¹² They also rather harshly recommended that Rønager’s application to join the CIM be rejected and that Pentecostals should be barred from using CIM property for waiting meetings.¹³ Polhill refused to be present in the room when the CIM London home council voted (in favour) of the resolutions in October 1914, and he staunchly defended waiting meeting in his periodical.¹⁴ Pilson was, however, still unsatisfied and she persisted in her attacks:

...whilst Mr and Mrs Allen have acquiesced in the conclusion of the Council that what are known as ‘waiting meetings’ should not be held on the C.I.M. premises, she [Pilson] believes that they have not taken a clear stand against the ‘Pentecostal’ movement, but on the contrary seem to sympathise with it. No administrative action had apparently been taken which would seem to deal

9 *CIM Minutes of the Shanghai Council* 4 June 1914, 287, *SOAS*.

10 *CIM Minutes of the Shanghai Council* 4 June 1914, 287 (for Fullerton’s letter), *SOAS*. In the same meeting the CIM felt that Pilson should “state more fully and explicitly the reasons which lead her to contemplate such a serious step as that of severing her connection with the mission.” The CIM London council subsequently recorded in their minutes: “...the subject of the relationship between the [CIM] mission and the Pentecostal Missionary Union in Yunnanfu...arose owing to the engagement of Mr J. D. Fullerton, a member from Australia, to Miss Ronager, a member of the Union. It also showed that Miss Pilson a member of the mission from America, had sent in her resignation on account of her disapproval of the connection between the China Inland Mission and the Pentecostal Missionary Union.” *CIM Minutes of the London Council* 12 October 1914, 217, *SOAS*.

11 *CIM Minutes of the Shanghai Council* 10 September 1914, 295, *SOAS*.

12 *Ibid*, 296, *SOAS*.

13 *Ibid*, 294-297, *SOAS*.

14 *CIM London Home Council* 12 October 1914, 216, *SOAS*.

with the matter in its largest aspect in Yunnan-fu...Mr Hoste had written to Miss Pilson on April 26...reminding her that the question of the relationship of the Mission to the 'Pentecostal' movement was under consideration by the different Councils of the Mission, and saying that a clear statement on the subject would probably be prepared before long.¹⁵

In December 1914, the CIM became firmer in its rejection of Pentecostals by refusing to accept or retain any missionaries who held tongues to be the essential sign of the fullness of baptism in the Holy Spirit.¹⁶ Polhill did not believe tongues to be the essential sign (merely the most likely result of baptism), but he was prepared to remain in fellowship with those who did, so his position in the CIM was becoming untenable.¹⁷ He attended one more meeting of the CIM London home council before tendering his resignation from the CIM in July 1915.¹⁸ He had been in the CIM for thirty-five years and had donated almost £14,000 to the organisation between 1902-1914.¹⁹ Miss Pilson resigned from the CIM in January 1916 in spite of the anti-pentecostal resolutions for which she had so aggressively lobbied.²⁰

One of the great ironies of the actions of the CIM Shanghai council is that the same conservative cautiousness that characterised the CIM's rejection of Pentecostals was the same attitude that led them to oppose mission to Tibet and this, in turn, had indirectly led to the establishment of the PMU in the first place. After the communist victory in China and the "reluctant exodus" of missionaries, the CIM was renamed the

15 Letters from Miss Pilson, dated April 7 and June 11 *CIM Minutes of the Shanghai Council* 28 June 1915, 384-385, *SOAS*.

16 These were probably part of the original resolutions voted on in October 1914, but what is evident from the minutes is that a process of drafting and editing took place between the home council regarding the exact wording of the resolution. *CIM Minutes of the Shanghai Council* 7 December 1914, 328-333, *SOAS*.

17 *Flames of Fire* No.20 (October 1914), 3.

18 *CIM London Home Council* 30 July 1915, 279. *SOAS*.

19 Including donations to Cassels and Hoste: £1000 in 1902; £500 in 1903; £1000 in 1904; £1500 in 1905; £1000 in 1906; £2180 in 1907; £1500 in 1908; £1300 in 1909; £850 in 1910; £1000 in 1911; £500 1912; £500 1913; £1000 1914. *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), 12-266, *PCO*; *Cash Book 1910-1914* (expenditure), 7-123, *BLA*; The 1902 and 1903 donations are confirmed in two loose receipts, *PC*.

20 For her resignation see *CIM Minutes of the Shanghai Council* 10 March 1916, 442, *SOAS*.

Overseas Missionary Fellowship (and subsequently OMF International). In the spirit of “Diversity and Unity” the OMF International now welcomes Pentecostals and Charismatics, but as of 2015 it was still forbidden to use OMF property for the promotion of charismatic teaching (or indeed anti-charismatic teaching).²¹

7.1.2 The End of the Sunderland Conferences

A further significant development was the end of the Sunderland conferences. After the last Sunderland conference, Boddy became an increasingly withdrawn figure.²² This was a huge loss to the pentecostal movement and to his friend, Polhill, who had supported Boddy for so many years. Together they had been the glue at the centre of early British Pentecostalism holding it together under their joint leadership, as even Gee had to admit, “Nothing will ever diminish the debt of lasting gratitude which, under God, the Pentecostal Movement in the British Isles owes to Alexander A. Boddy and Cecil Polhill for their devoted leadership during its earliest years. They were God’s chosen instruments for the work they accomplished.”²³ Polhill made up for what Boddy lacked in vital resources and clear missionary vision, but Boddy probably had a better understanding of grassroots Pentecostals, and he was more pastoral.

After Boddy’s church ceased to become available for conferences, the annual

21 Email from D. Hails (Former CIM archivist) to the author 2 June 2010 cf. ‘Our Values’ under ‘About Us’ on the OMF International website www.omf.org (last accessed June 2015); According to the OMF’s “charismatic statement,” “...no member may take a lead or be involved in organizing meetings for the promotion of pro-charismatic or anti-charismatic teaching.” My thanks to Peter Rowan (National Director of OMF International (UK)) for sharing this. P. Rowan email to author 9 July 2015.

22 Wakefield, 191-208; Hocken, 136.

23 Gee, *Pentecostal Movement*, 148.

Whitsuntide meetings naturally moved to London.²⁴ These new Polhill-led Whitsuntide celebrations struggled to live up to the, perhaps rose-tinted, glory days of the conferences in Sunderland.²⁵ In addition, the pentecostal movement was becoming increasingly organised and sectarian. The Assemblies of God formed in the United States in 1914;²⁶ Elim was established in Ireland in 1915 and the AGBI formed in Britain in 1924 absorbing the PMU as its missionary wing.²⁷ In many ways the AGBI was built upon the networks of the PMU.²⁸ According to Hocken, Polhill agreed to the merger between the PMU and the AGBI, but a close review of the primary sources actually reveals that he abstained from the crucial vote, in October 1924, “[regarding] the bases of an agreement between the P.M.U Council and the Assemblies of God...Mr Polhill (considering that he would (D.V) be resigning as a member of the Council) preferred not to vote upon this resolution.”²⁹ By January 1925 he had resigned.³⁰ Hocken is probably right, however, in concluding that by this stage Polhill would have been largely content to know that a settled work was flourishing in Yunnan.³¹ He made at least two further donations towards pentecostal mission after the PMU-AGBI amalgamation.³²

24 According to Wakefield, “The convention was moved [from Sunderland in 1915] partly because of fears of an invasion of the north-east coast, and partly because the war effort was important to Boddy – the Parish Hall was being used as a Detention Hospital for wounded fighting men.” Wakefield, 194.

25 Gee, *Pentecostal Movement*, 124.

26 Anderson, *Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 53.

27 Ibid, 93; Hudson, ‘*A Schism...*’, 18; W. Kay, ‘A History of British Assemblies of God’ (PhD thesis, University of Nottingham, 1989), 76-77.

28 A number of the PMU executive members (or former members) remained with the AGBI after the PMU amalgamation, such as: E. W. Moser, Thomas Myerscough and Thomas Mundell. W. Kay, ‘*A History...*’, 76; P. Kay, ‘*The Four-Fold Gospel in the Formation...*’, 67.

29 *PMU Minute Book 5*, 54-55, *PCRA-DGC* cf. Hocken, 136. It may be that Hocken is thinking of the decisions made by the PMU executive in September 1924 to send two PMU representatives, at the request of the AGBI, to have an unofficial talk about amalgamation with J. N. Parr (representing the AGBI). *PMU Minute Book 5*, 40-41, *PCRA-DGC*. One of the two representatives elected to represent the PMU was Polhill himself, but by the next meeting he had changed his mind and asked for E. W. Moser to represent the PMU instead. *PMU Minute Book 5*, 40-41, *PCRA-DGC*.

30 *PMU Minute Book 5*, 40-41, 82, *PCRA-DGC*.

31 Hocken, 139-140.

32 £250 to the General Fund and £120 for the renovation of the PMU premises in Yunnan-fu (Kunming) *PMU Minute Book 6*, 123 and *PMU Minute Book 7*, 65, respectively, *PCRA-DGC*.

7.2 Final Assessment

This thesis has sought to address the question of how Polhill, an evangelical Anglican, and a well-embedded council member of the CIM became a leading organiser of early British Pentecostalism and the founder of a new pentecostal mission. The contention of this thesis is that Polhill's passion for Tibet led him into conflict with the more cautiously conservative members of the CIM executive, and this left him with no other choice but to turn to the more radical pentecostal movement to fulfil his vision of evangelising Tibet. His passion for Tibet has been demonstrated conclusively throughout 1886-1907,³³ and this thesis has provided numerous instances of the CIM's increasing opposition to mission to Tibet.³⁴ This left Polhill at an impasse just as the pentecostal revival erupted in Los Angeles.³⁵ Within six months of encountering British Pentecostals at Sunderland, Polhill proposed the formulation of a new pentecostal mission.³⁶ Within three months of this proposition, yet seven months before he had even been elected president of the PMU, he had already informed the CIM of his intention to lead a party of pentecostal missionaries to the Tibet border.³⁷ By 1914, most of the PMU's missionaries were on the Tibetan border (see table 5), and by the time the PMU amalgamated with the AGBI there were twice as many PMU missionaries on or near the Tibetan border than in all the other fields of the

33 See chapter 3, subsections: 3.4.2, 3.5, 3.5.4-3.8.1, 3.9-3.11, 3.13 and 3.14-3.15 and chapter 4, subsections: 4.2-4.4, 4.4.4, 4.6.1-4.6.1.2 and 4.9-4.9.1.

34 See especially chapter 3, subsections 3.14.1 and 3.15; chapter 4, subsections: 4.6, 4.6.1.2 and 4.9-4.9.1 and chapter 5, subsections 5.2.1.1-5.2.1.1.1.

35 See chapter 4, subsections 4.9-4.11.

36 In Hamburg, in December 1908. *Confidence* Vol.1 No.9 (December 1908), 2 (of supplement). Notes on Polhill's address appear in the following issue. *Confidence* Vol.2 No.1 (January 1909), 15-16.

37 He informed the CIM of his intentions in March 1909, but he was not elected president of the PMU until October 1909. *Minutes of the CIM Shanghai Council*, 492, *SOAS* and *PMU Minute Book 1*, 13, *PCRA-DGC* respectively.

PMU put together.³⁸

The connection between Polhill's interest in Tibet and his interest in developing early British Pentecostalism has been drastically underestimated hitherto. By extension, the influence of Polhill himself has been underestimated to the extent that he remains largely unknown outside of academic circles and insufficiently understood even within academic circles. Part of the failure hitherto has been methodological i.e. a tendency within Pentecostalism to view anything pre-Pentecostal as irrelevant, and part of the failure stems from lack of primary sources. This thesis has connected Polhill's pre-pentecostal years with his pentecostal years in a way that has not been possible hitherto, and has demonstrated that a critical great person approach is the best method for understanding Polhill and enriching early British pentecostal history.

7.3 Polhill and the Demographics of Early British Pentecostalism

Some have come to the conclusion, such as R. M. Anderson and Calley, that the growth of Pentecostalism is best understood as a kind of coping mechanism for disinherited working-classes, or as Anderson states, a movement that sprung up amongst, "'hilly-billy,' 'rural,' 'small town,' 'country and western,' 'Southern' and 'Midwestern'" types.³⁹ Anderson claims to support his thesis by determining the parental occupations of a sample of thirty-two early pentecostal leaders and concludes, "...only one [the father of Nickels John Holmes] could be called professional...[and]...other than [Holmes, Barratt and possibly Tomlinson] none can be considered as solidly middle-class."⁴⁰ This thesis has shown that Anderson's

38 If we include those on furlough from Yunnan. *Confidence* No.140 (May 1925), 167.

39 Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 7.

40 Ibid, 100.

sample is far too unrepresentative. For example, he ignores key North American, or North American-based, figures like Carrie Judd Montgomery (whose father was a solicitor), G. B. Studd (whose father was a wealthy business man and who was himself an international cricketer and Cambridge-educated barrister), Mabel Atwater Weaver (whose father was also a successful business man who owned a mansion and several hundred acres of land) and Robert Phair (who was himself an Anglican Archdeacon).⁴¹ These are just the North American, or North American-based, omissions, but Anderson's sample is supposed to be internationally representative.⁴² The number of international leaders who fall out of Anderson's category is even larger: Polhill himself need hardly be mentioned, Ernest E. Berry (Cambridge graduate),⁴³ Stanley Smith (Cambridge educated son of a surgeon),⁴⁴ Boddy (whose father was a Cambridge-educated Anglican vicar),⁴⁵ Maude Orlebar (of the Bedfordshire landed gentry),⁴⁶ Harry Small (son of an army surgeon),⁴⁷ T. H. Mundell (a solicitor whose godfather was the Archbishop of Canterbury),⁴⁸ Edward J. G. Titterington (a civil servant who held an MA), Baroness Margarethe von Brasch (of the nobility),⁴⁹ Pandita Ramabai (a respected scholar and advocate of women's rights) and Shorat Chukerbutty (who held a Masters degree)⁵⁰ to name just those who have

41 Miskov, 16 (Montgomery); E. E. Atwater, *Atwater History and Geneology Vol.3* (Meridan: The Journal Press, 1917), 80-81, *IA* (Mabel Weaver); *IDPCM* s.vv. "Phair, Robert."; Venn, s.vv. "Studd, George Brown."

42 T. B. Barratt's father is in his sample.

43 Peile, s.vv. 'Berry, Ernest Edward.'

44 Venn, s.vv. 'Smith, Stanley Peregrine.'

45 Wakefield, 4.

46 Refer to chapter 5.2.1.2.1.

47 Refer to chapter 5.2.1.

48 Gee, *The Pentecostal*, 55.

49 Titterington, a London-based pentecostal leader, seems to have become *de facto* principal of the men's college in London, late 1914 (presumably in place of Wallis). See: *PMU Minute Book I*, 364-365, 370, 379, *PCRA-DGC*. Robeck, 'The Azusa Street Message Comes to Eastern Europe', 3. Unpublished English version of an extra chapter in the Russian translation of Robeck's *The Azusa Street Mission and Revival*. I am grateful to Professor Robeck for sharing this with me. The Russian version is available at: <http://www.ezdra.com/> (last accessed July 2015).

50 A. Anderson, 'The Roots of Pentecostal Globalization: Early Pentecostal Missions' in S. M. Studebaker ed., *Pentecostalism and Globalization: The Impact of Globalization on Pentecostal*

been addressed in this thesis as having some direct, or indirect, connection to Polhill, but there are more.⁵¹ The condescending notion that all early Pentecostals, or nearly all, were simple, poor, disinherited people must now finally be regarded as discredited. It is for this reason that R. M. Anderson's method is not the best way of explaining early British Pentecostalism. By contrast, it is only through understanding Polhill's life and records that the significance of many of the early British Pentecostals can be fully understood and contextualised.

7.4 Polhill's Great Person Impact

Just as early British Pentecostalism would have probably struggled to survive without Polhill's prodigious efforts, so too early British pentecostal history needs to continually revisit Polhill's life and legacy to fully recover its past. To fail to do so would be to impoverish an already disparate record. Polhill's impact can be roughly divided into two main categories. The first is his tangible impact including for example: individual patronage, building in particular geographic locations, group patronage such as the PMU colleges and students and other miscellaneous donations to Pentecostals. The second type of impact is his intangible impact including for example: his administrative and organisational know-how, the prestige and respect he brought to the movement, his theological views and his strategic influence. There are several instances of tangible and intangible overlaps. In some instances Polhill's tangible impact, such as the funding of an expensive conference venue in London,

Theology and Ministry (Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 2010), 36.

51 John K. Leech K.C., a barrister, was offered the post of PMU superintendent of India by Polhill (an offer he declined). He later became a senior figure in Elim; Hudson, '*A Schism...*', 18 cf. *PMU Minute Book 1*, 185, *PCRA-DGC*. Another from the nobility is Sir [probably Franz Adolf] von Gordon of Laskowitz castle, Poland, (Prussian nobility), Robeck, '*The Azusa Street Message...*', 3-4 cf. *Confidence* Vol.4 No.7 (July 1911), 164 and Vol.8 (September 1915), 178. There are also other minor pentecostal, middle class, figures such as H. E. Wallis (Cambridge educated Anglican vicar).

also had an intangible impact such as, in this instance, an increase in the prestige and status of Pentecostalism. In addition he made tangible theological contributions, such as the *Principles of the PMU*, but at the same time his general, broad-minded, moderate approach to theological questions would have also had an intangible impact.

7.4.1 The Development of Pentecostalism in Bedford

Polhill's chief sphere of pentecostal influence outside of London was undoubtedly his home county of Bedfordshire. Technically the first pentecostal assembly in Bedfordshire was the one held in Howbury Hall. The first publically accessible assembly was the short-lived assembly that met at 6 Lime Street, Bedford, under W. J. Tomlinson who was himself "under Mr Polhill."⁵² The first pentecostal congregation in Bedford in a building purpose-built for worship was in the Polhill-owned Costin Street Mission Hall. It is from this building that the current AGBI in Bedford traces its first minister, J. A. Vanstone, but there were earlier antecedents.⁵³ For example, the pentecostal ministries of John Phillips and James Tetchner started at the CSMH under Polhill's patronage. Furthermore it would seem that it was owing to Polhill's influence that Robert Jardine transferred from Liverpool to Bedford where he ministered at the CSMH under his patronage. It is difficult to quantify the knock-on effect of all of the ministers and the visiting evangelists (such as Barratt, Polman, Bartleman, Turney, Leonard and Weaver) that Polhill hired from around Britain, the European Continent and North America, but there are some obvious results.⁵⁴ All four

52 *Confidence* Vol.1 No.7 (October 1908), 9.

53 According to the history section of their website see 'About Us' and 'Church History' at <http://www.bedsptecostal.moonfruit.com/#> (last accessed August 2015). The current senior pastor has also confirmed that Vanstone derived from the Costin Street Mission Hall (as accepted history within the church). J. Masih telephone interview with the author, 3 December 2014. Early *Redemption Tidings* make reference to Vanstone in Bedford as early as 1926 *Redemption Tidings* Vol.2 No.12 (December 1926), 12.

54 *Confidence* Vol.2 No.8 (August 1909), 188; *Confidence* Vol.3 No.3 (March 1910), 64; *Confidence* Vol.3 No.8 (August 1910), 185; *Confidence* Vol.2 No.8 (August 1909), 188. See also, "The First

of John Phillips' children, three sons and one daughter, became Elim ministers including E. J. Phillips who was at one time the most senior figure of the Elim denomination.⁵⁵ The ministry of Robert Jardine resulted in Howard Carter becoming Pentecostal, and Carter in turn became a senior figure within the AGBI.⁵⁶ James Tetchner was also involved in early attempts to form the AGBI, and Jardine became a minister in the Apostolic Faith denomination.⁵⁷ Polhill's involvement may not have always been direct, but with only one or two degrees of separation the common denominator is Polhill. It is only by examining Polhill's life and records that vital aspects of the development of early British Pentecostalism become clear. Outside of Bedford, Polhill held less of a "monopoly," but his impact in London was no less significant.

7.4.2 The Development of Pentecostalism in London

Polhill held the first pentecostal meetings in the "City of London" and in Marylebone, West London, and in a number of other Central London locations such as Sion College, the Canon Street Hotel, the Institute of Journalists, Holborn Hall and Kingsway Hall. Polhill's expensive conference venues would have brought the pentecostal movement a certain degree of prestige and respectability in the capital.⁵⁸ He also sponsored individuals to minister in certain London locations. This could be

Pentecostal Mission in Bedford" in chapter 5 of this thesis.

55 D. Cartwright, 'From the Backstreets of Brixton...'; N. Hudson, 'A Schism And Its Aftermath. An historical analysis of denominational description in the Elim Pentecostal Church, 1939-1940' (unpublished PhD thesis, King's College London, 1999), 138. John Phillips' daughter, Dorothy 'Dollie' Phillips, became an Elim missionary. C. Cartwright, *Defining Moments: 100 Years of the Elim Pentecostal Church* (Malvern: Elim Pentecostal Church, 2014), 37.

56 Quay has speculated that John Carter, Howard's brother, also became Pentecostal in Bedford. Quay, 9.

57 Cho, Kyu-Hyung, 'The Move to Independence from Anglican Leadership: An Examination of the Relationship Between Alexander Boddy and the Early Leaders of the British Pentecostal Denominations (1907-1930).' (PhD thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham, 2009), 262; Worsfold, 178-179.

58 Gee, *The Men*, 74.

for one-off events such as the meetings in 1909 at Eccleston Hall, where Niblock and Smith Wigglesworth ministered, but it could also be for regular Sunday meetings such as the meetings at Praed Street chapel, near Paddington Station, in which Niblock appears to have taken a leading role. Pentecostal travellers from all over the world were more likely to pass through London than any other part of the country, and they would often find themselves in a Polhill-sponsored meeting before moving elsewhere.⁵⁹ It had been Polhill who first arranged meetings for Stephen Jeffreys in Horbury Chapel, in 1921, which was afterwards acquired by George Jeffreys and renamed Kensington Temple (currently one of the largest churches in the country).⁶⁰

In addition to Polhill's significant impact in Bedfordshire and London he was capable of making grand, one-off, gestures in other locations such as, for example: the mortgage of the Azusa Street mission building; Emmanuel Hall in Bournemouth and the Lijiang pentecostal chapel amongst others.⁶¹ Polhill also made hundreds of smaller miscellaneous donations to pentecostal causes throughout the UK and Europe.⁶² To list them all here and determine their significance is far beyond the scope of this thesis, but it is precisely for this reason that Polhill's legacy must be continually revisited. Polhill's life and records help contribute to the history of small assemblies at a time when there may be few references to them in any other sources.⁶³

59 Such as Aimee Semple McPherson and virtually every European pentecostal of note spoke at a Polhill-sponsored London event.

60 According to Gee, "Early in 1921 he [Polhill] somehow arranged an evangelistic campaign for Stephen Jeffreys in Horbury Chapel, Kensington. They were powerful meetings...In later years George Jeffreys was able to acquire old 'Horbury' for the constant proclamation of the full Gospel, and renamed it Kensington Temple." Gee, *Pentecostal Movement*, 127.

61 Such as Polman's pentecostal hall in Amsterdam (admittedly this was supposed to be a loan, but there is no evidence the money was ever returned to Polhill), Usher, '*Patron of the Pentecostals...*', 44 fn60; and other not-strictly-pentecostal building projects such as the Lanzhong Gospel Cathedral and the Tibetan Preaching House, "Polhill Hall," in India. See "Dazhou and Langzhong" in chapter 6 of this thesis and see below for details of "Polhill Hall."

62 See, Usher, '*The Significance...*', 45, 48 and 50 '*The Patron...*', 49-55 for an enumeration of some of these smaller donations.

63 Harry Small and the East Wemyss Pentecostals being a key example.

7.4.3 Administrative Impact

Much of Polhill's administrative impact derives from the establishment of the PMU and the PMU colleges. He had been at the heart of a huge global, "octopus" like, missionary organisation, the CIM, for many years and this provided the PMU with a well-tested administrative template.⁶⁴ Polhill moved Pentecostalism away from the highly *ad-hoc* nature of the early movement to something far more organised and professional.⁶⁵ This was the impetus behind the establishment of the PMU and its colleges, and it could be seen in a host of smaller administrative arrangements such as: application forms, formal principles, minuted meetings, accounts, annual general meetings and formal posts such as treasurer, secretary and president. These were not systems that could be easily implemented by intuition alone. They required someone of experience to demonstrate how and why these practices were important. Polhill demonstrated to the pentecostal movement how to run a mission professionally, and this set the standard for pentecostal missions to follow. For example, it is doubtful that Myerscough would have been able to administer the Congo Evangelistic Band so efficiently had he not first been an executive member of the PMU.⁶⁶ The PMU colleges are the ancestors of the pentecostal colleges of today such as the AGBI's Mattersey Hall Christian College and Elim's Regents Theological College.⁶⁷

7.4.4 Polhill's Impact on the PMU Colleges through Different Phases

The men's college went through three phases up to 1914. All of the phases were

64 Broomhall, *HTCOC* Vol.6, 8.

65 Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 27 and 260-285 and *Ends of the Earth*, 48.

66 Gee, *Pentecostal Movement*, 109.

67 The current Mattersey Hall website acknowledges its roots go back to the PMU college of 1909, under 'About Us' and 'History Matters' at www.matterseyhall.com (last accessed August 2015); The Regents' website has no history section currently www.regents-tc.ac.uk (last accessed August 2015).

influenced by Polhill to a greater or lesser extent in his capacity as president of the PMU, by his financial patronage and by his emphasis on mission to Tibet. The first phase (1909-1910) was the original intake of students at Niblock's healing home in Paddington. This was a period of significant influence from Polhill, as the college was based in London the students would have encountered him frequently. Of the eleven named students in 1909, five went on to work on the Sino-Tibetan border.⁶⁸ This low pass rate evidently concerned Polhill, amongst other things, so he sought to replace the principal and relocate the college to a new premises.

The second phase (1910-1913) of the men's college was the period of the college's sole residence in Preston. This was the period of least influence from Polhill, as the students were geographically distant from him, and the general atmosphere at Preston could at times be quite hostile to Polhill and the PMU executive. Only three students from Preston went to the Tibetan border and only one of these for any significant period of time.⁶⁹ The Preston college was, however, an embryo of new pentecostal initiatives such as Elim and the Congo Evangelistic Band. For some, such as George Jeffreys and probably E. J. Phillips, the instruction they had received at the PMU college at Preston became the only "formal" theological training they would ever have.⁷⁰ Polhill had behaved magnanimously in permitting the college to remain in Preston for more than two years, given that it was supposed to be a temporary arrangement, but he remained unsatisfied by the college's performance and sought to relocate it back to London. The third phase (1913-1915) of the PMU men's college was the period of two parallel colleges in London and Preston. This was a successful

68 Bristow, Kok, McGillivray, Trevitt and Williams.

69 Percy Corry, Alex Clelland and William John Boyd.

70 The extent to which Myerscough and Hall's instruction could be regarded as formal is certainly open to debate. Usher, *'The Patron...'*, 52.

effort by Polhill to re-exert his influence over the colleges. The majority of the PMU students based in the London colleges, up to 1914, eventually became missionaries with the PMU.⁷¹ Myerscough was evidently aggrieved at this new competition for students, but he was compelled to cooperate with the London colleges, and students would often transfer to London from Preston to await departure for the mission field.⁷²

The PMU women's college had less definable phases probably because it was managed so consistently and efficiently, as Gee had to acknowledge, "...there were none of the vicissitudes [in the women's college] that troubled the Men's Training Homes."⁷³ A great deal of credit for this must go to the principal Eleanor Crisp, but it was probably Polhill who appointed her in the first place, and he supported her throughout her tenure as principal.⁷⁴ He wrote a warm tribute to her when she retired from the women's college in 1918, and a further warm tribute to her when she died in 1924.⁷⁵ Crisp was operating, just as Niblock and Myerscough were, within an overarching vision that was conceived, driven and supported by Polhill. He too must take a significant share of the credit for the well-rounded missionaries that graduated from the PMU women's college many of whom continued as missionaries with the AGBI.⁷⁶

71 Such as William Richardson and A. G. Lewer from the 1913 intake alone.

72 Such as William John Boyd and James Boyce. *PMU Minute Book 1*, 348, 372, *PCRA-DGC*.

73 Gee, *These Men*, 34.

74 The PMU minutes would seem to imply that Polhill had appointed her, "Mr Polhill explained the steps which led up to the thought of making provision for the training of women candidates...Mrs Crisp, a lady experienced in Bible training young women had consented to take the oversight of such a Home..." *PMU Minute Book 1*, 14, *PCRA-DGC*.

75 *Confidence* Vol.11 No.2 (June 1918), 35-36.

76 For example, Gee mentions three by name in, *These Men*, 35.

7.4.5 Theological and Strategic Impact

One of Polhill's chief accomplishments was to keep the PMU well within the confines of mainstream Evangelicalism. He was capable of theological speculation, but he knew how to discern what was speculative and what was mainstream and when to compartmentalise these appropriately.⁷⁷ By doing so, Polhill avoided some of the theological idiosyncrasies that characterised pentecostal denominations.⁷⁸ One of Polhill's greatest influences was to promote the kind of interdenominational, charismatic, Christianity that has now swept over Christendom. He and fellow Anglicans, Rev. A. A. Boddy and Archdeacon Robert Phair, were really the first Charismatic Anglicans.⁷⁹

Polhill's ecumenical outlook was also a benefit to the movement. He resisted sectarianism and probably made more effort than any other Pentecostal of the period to continue to integrate with his previous evangelical contacts. The most obvious example being his position within the CIM, but there are a number of additional figures who became allies of the pentecostal movement, partly owing to Polhill, such as: E. W. Moore, Gregory Mantle, Edward Amundsen and H. E. Wallis. This, however, became a mixed blessing, as Pentecostalism became more sectarian there was no call for what Gee referred to as "dry" ministers from outside the movement.⁸⁰ Gee further complained, "There seemed to be, on the part of the convener [Polhill], a great desire to create a certain impression by filling the platform with denominational

77 See for example his article on "real apostolic succession" being spiritual rather than ecclesiastical. *Flames of Fire* No.12 (July 1913), 2.

78 For example, the peculiar ecclesiology of the Apostolic Faith denomination and their controversial practice of "pleading the blood" see "PMU Executive Changes: The Scottish Exodus" in chapter 6 of this thesis; the Spirit of Christ teaching within Elim; Kane, 63-81, and, arguably, the teaching of initial evidence in the AGBI (and early Elim).

79 Polhill would have been pleased to know of the conference, in 1966, that took place between renewal leaders (including Catholics) and classical Pentecostals at the Bedford AGBI. Quay, 9.

80 Gee, *These Men*, 75.

ministers. These worthy brethren, most of them from obscure Welsh valleys, may have had some kind of personal Pentecostal experience, but they never caught fire in London.”⁸¹ Gee managed to take one of Polhill’s great strengths, his ecumenical outlook, and present it as a weakness. A more mature Gee would eventually warm to the ecumenical movement ever so slightly.⁸²

Polhill’s strategic influence on the mission field was also highly important. He had learned from the earliest days of his missionary career that the people to whom he was proclaiming salvation could be highly intelligent and morally noble. These experiences probably informed his decision to encourage the indigenous principle. By 1925 he would write, “It is significant of the trend of Christian work in China that to-day the work is mainly in the hands, and increasingly so, of Chinese brethren: this is as it should be.”⁸³ His fifteen years of actual missionary experience and many additional years of administering mission had made him wise to some dubious and out-dated missionary tactics. He rightly discouraged any ill-advised adventurism that would lead missionaries into Tibet proper. He also discouraged too much focus on opening new stations. This would have helped the PMU missionaries focus their energies on the people that surrounded them. One of Polhill’s most enduring legacies is that he thoroughly equipped the pentecostal movement for professional mission.

7.5 Polhill After January 1925

Primary sources are fewer and more scattered between 1925 and Polhill’s death in 1938. He returned to India at least once and China at least twice and continued to take

81 Gee, *Pentecostal Movement*, 125.

82 Particularly inter-pentecostal ecumenism. W. Vondey, ‘Pentecostalism and Ecumenism’ in Robeck and Yong, 280. Robeck, ‘The Assemblies of God and Ecumenical Cooperation 1920-1965’ in Ma and Menzies, 143-144.

83 *Memoirs*, 171, *PCO*.

an interest, albeit decreasingly so, in pentecostal mission.⁸⁴ In India, he returned to Kalimpong, near the Indo-Tibetan border, and supported the ministry of the Indo-Tibetan Christian pioneer Gergan Dorje Tharchin. In doing so, he inadvertently contributed to the Tibet independence movement.⁸⁵ A Polhill-funded preaching house, “Polhill Hall,” still stands in Kalimpong today.⁸⁶ In 1927, Polhill took the unusual step of petitioning the thirteenth Dalai Lama directly. The Dalai Lama personally replied but declined Polhill’s offer of an audience.⁸⁷

What his thoughts and feelings were between 1925-1938 are much harder to determine, but he left a parting declaration in his will that sums up his feelings towards the end of his earthly life:

First it is my privilege gratefully to acknowledge that through grace and faith in the atoning sacrifice of Christ my Saviour on Calvary I have the assurance of the forgiveness of my sins. This faith and assurance have brought me power both to live and to die in sure and certain hope of a glorious resurrection to life eternal for I know that I have passed from death to life. And I am also grateful for having been permitted to bear testimony to these great truths, not only at Home, but also in China, India and Tibet.⁸⁸

Even then, as he faced imminent death, his final sentence, his final word, was to give thanks for the privilege of evangelising Tibet.

84 He went to China late in 1925, *UK, Outward Passenger Lists, 1890-1960* s.vv. ‘Polhill, Cecil Henry’ (September 1925) available on www.ancestry.co.uk (last accessed July 2015); He was in Kalimpong in 1926, Fader estimates he was there for approximately a year, Fader, *Vol 2*, 218; He made another visit to China in August 1931 (aged seventy-one). Stanley Smith died in China in January of that year. *UK, Outward Passenger Lists, 1890-1960* s.vv. ‘Polhill, Cecil Henry’ (August 1931) available on www.ancestry.co.uk (last accessed July 2015);

85 Fader, *Vol.2*, 128-221, 495 fn119a-120,

86 Fader estimates the house was built “...sometime towards the end of the nineteenth century,” but I think this is unlikely for at least two reasons. The first being that Polhill was based at Kangding, near the Sino-Tibetan border, between 1896-1900, and he did not receive his inheritance until after 1900. There are two donations in Polhill’s records to Rev. Evan MacKenzie (formerly of the Tibet Pioneer Mission) for a “mission hall” (October 1909) and “preaching house” respectively, totaling £135. Polhill Hall was formerly known as a “preaching house,” so the hall was probably built between 1909 and 1910. 210 and 258 respectively *Cash Book 1904-1910* (expenditure), *PCO*. Today (2015) it is in residential use.

87 *Ibid*, 220-221.

88 *Will of Cecil Henry Polhill*, 1.

According to Hocken, there were no “Pentecostals bodies” named in Polhill’s will, but there was at least two Pentecostals (or former Pentecostals). He left a legacy for the former PMU executive member (1915-1924), William Glassby, who was also his estate manager, and he left a legacy to his own daughter, Kathleen, who had testified to being Pentecostal in 1913.⁸⁹ In addition, he left a number of legacies to evangelistic organisations and missions for which it is impossible to rule out the existence of any Pentecostals in membership.⁹⁰ The Costin Street Mission Hall, however, was left to the Bedford Evangelistic Society. A large legacy was also left to the China Inland Mission with one, very predictable, caveat, “...four hundred pounds [40%] be set aside for maintaining and extending their work on the China Tibetan border or in the interior of Tibet as circumstances may permit.”⁹¹

89 Ibid, 3 (Kathleen), 5 (Glassby). Cf. *Confidence* Vol.6 No.6 (June 1913), 117.

90 Ibid, 3. For example, he left a donation to the British and Foreign Bible Society of which Edward Amundsen was a member.

91 Ibid, 3.

APPENDIX I THE TESTIMONY OF WANG TSUAN YI (UANG-TS'ONG-I)⁹²

Excerpt from J. E. Cummings' *A New Thing: Incidents of Missionary Life in China* (1895):

Pao-ning [Langzhong, Sichuan], September 26th, 1892.

YESTERDAY was a red-letter day in Pao-ning. We met at 9.45 a.m. for a native Communion Service. A little company of twenty-eight — twenty-one natives (eleven men and ten women) and seven foreigners. Fifteen of the natives were receiving the Holy Communion for the first time, having been baptized last February. The Lord was very present with us, and it seemed to me a little foretaste of that day when we shall sit down, one large family, out of every nation, and of all tribes and peoples and tongues, in the visible presence of our blessed Lord. At eleven o'clock the public service began, and there must have been a hundred and twenty present — the greater proportion men. Mr. Cassels preached from Rom. vi. 3, 4, "Christ died, was buried, and rose again for its we with Christ are dead, buried, and risen again."

At this service six were baptized — three men, one lad, and two women.

1. Chen-Sien-Seng, teacher of the girls' school.
2. Wang Tsuan Yi, the man who was at Song-p'an with Mr. C. Polhill-Turner.
3. Lao-U, a farm-labourer, from the Shaos' village.
4. Ku-uen-kin, one of the school-boys.
5. Chen-Si-niang, wife of the teacher.
6. Uang-ta-sao.

After the baptisms there were a few testimonies...Wang Tsuan Yi testified next, and told us what a wicked man he had been in his younger days (he is now over fifty). There could hardly be any sin of which he had not been guilty. He seldom spent a night at home, stole people's pu-kai (bedding), gambled away his money, smoked opium, was a sorcerer, and had even been a soldier!! (Thank God, soldiers can be Christians, as we so well know!)

Twenty years ago he came to Pao-ning (his home is about thirty-five miles from here) and heard of the Roman Catholics; but before then he had become tired of his wild, sinful life, and for three years had gone about reading and explaining the *Sheng Ü* (Sacred Edict), and became a vegetarian, in order to atone for his sins. The Roman Catholics made him buy a candle for forty cash (2d), and gave him three small books to read at morning, noon, and night, when the candle was to be burnt. The priest read to him from the Bible. He could not understand much, but for the first time he heard of God and Jesus.

⁹² J. E. Cummings *A New Thing: Incidents of Missionary Life in China* (London: S. W. Partridge & Co., 1895), 316-320, *IA*.

Following the priest's directions, he read the books and burnt the candle; but still he knew that sin was in his heart.

Two years ago he came again to Pao-ning, and was told that there were foreigners in the city, preaching God's *fuh-ing* (happy-sound = gospel). This sounded good, and he came to the house, where he heard the pure gospel first from Chen-Sien-Seng (who was baptized with him yesterday). He bought two small books, and returned to his home in the country. Some months after, he returned to buy a whole Bible, and spent all day at the *Fuh-ing-fang*. The HOLY SPIRIT was taking hold of him.

In the autumn of last year, Mr. Beauchamp found out his house while itinerating in that neighbourhood. Wang was away at that time, but his wife and child were at home. There was no sign of idols or idolatry, but in the place where the paper gods would have hung there were scrolls, with characters written upon them to the effect that God was the One True God and Jesus the only Saviour. In the spot where incense-pots used to stand, were the treasured Bible and hymn-book, and Christian tracts. The little girl could repeat hymns, and knew how to pray. The neighbours added their testimony that Wang Tsuan Yi was a man who worshipped God. A message was left, inviting him to come to Pao-ning for the Christmas services. He came.

At that time Mr. C. Polhill-Turner was here, on the eve of setting out to get a house and begin work at Song-p'an, a city to the extreme north-west of this Province, where there are many Thibetans. He was in need of some native to accompany him, and mentioned the matter at one of the services, saying that he could promise no salary, and that possibly a good deal of suffering and persecution would be involved. Wang Tsuan Yi volunteered to go. He knew Song-p'an, he said, having served there as a soldier, and would be glad to suffer for the Lord Who had done so much for him.

His offer was accepted; he went with Mr. Turner, and, after being there about six months, was shamefully treated and beaten for the Lord's sake. Owing to a drought in the city, Satan stirred up the people to attack the missionaries, ill-treat them terribly, and turn them out of the city. Wang Tsuan Yi and another Christian man, the cook, were beaten with a thousand stripes! Mr. and Mrs. Turner went to Ch'en-tu, and Wang Tsuan Yi came back to his home.

A few Sundays ago, in telling of his experiences at Song-p'an, he made so little of the sufferings he had gone through, and so much of the joy of being counted worthy to suffer for His Name.

He hopes to return to Song-p'an soon. One thing he said had grieved him — he had suffered for his Lord, but had never confessed Him in baptism. Would the Lord not confess him? (referring I suppose to Matt. X. 32, 33). It was a joy to see him baptized.

Excerpt from an editorial in *China's Millions* (1895):⁹³

93 *China's Millions* (1895), 78, YUDL.

The Rev. W. W. Cassels' deeply interesting story of the conversion and subsequent life and testimony of a Chinese Christian named Wang, will, we trust be ready before the Anniversary meetings. Once a dissolute soldier, and now an exemplary member of the Pao-ning church, Wang's witness has been blessed to not a few others. It was he who accompanied Mr and Mrs. Cecil Polhill-Turner to Sung-p'an, and stood so nobly by them upon the occurrence of the riot. To this series of tracts we desire to call the special attention of our readers. The price of each of the two named above is 6d. per dozen.

APPENDIX II FULL TEXT OF THE “MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE CHINA INLAND MISSION AND THE TIBETAN BAND” 1896.⁹⁴

Memorandum of agreement between the China Inland Mission and the Tibetan Band

- The Tibetan Mission Band at present located in the neighbourhood of Darjeeling, believing that their objects could be better attained by approaching Tibet on the Chinese side, and in association with the CIM and CIM being in fully sympathy with their objects, and gladly welcoming them as associates, the following agreement is mutually accepted by Mr C. H. Polhill-Turner on behalf of the Band, and by Mr Hudson Taylor on behalf of the CIM, it being fully understood that the going to China of any member of the band under this agreement is perfectly voluntary, and conditional on his cordial acquiescence in the terms of the same.
- It is understood that the object for which the Band came to India, viz., the evangelisation of the whole of Tibet, also their connection with each other, with their present leader Mr Polhill-Turner, and with Mr Sharp and their supporters at home, are not affected by their becoming associates of the CIM. In the event of reinforcements being added to the Band, it is agreed that such will be accepted by Mr Sharp on behalf of the Band and its supporters and by the London council of the CIM.
- The Members of the Band in becoming probationary associates of the CIM do so on the same terms as other probational associates, so far as cordial acceptance of the P&P (which have been fully explained to the present members of the band) and the direction of the mission are concerned. It is agreed, however, as to Chinese study, the members of the Band be only expected to pass the first four of the six sections of the CIM course. Further, that until the first two sections be passed their strength and attention be given to Chinese study and work, and that subsequently not less than half the time be given to study and work in Chinese and the rest in Tibetan until the four Chinese sections are completed. After the completion of the first two sections no objection will be made to their residence in any safe and suitable centre near the Tibetan border in such numbers as may be deemed judicious.
- The edition of the P&P referred to in this agreement is that of May 1893, with the 2 modifications made by the London and China council, viz. (1) that the probationary period only terminates with two years when two sections have been passed and (2) that marriages shall not take place until both parties have completed their probation and are in suitable health.

Signed

On behalf of the CIM

On behalf of the TMB

⁹⁴ 'Memorandum of agreement between the China Inland Mission and the Tibetan Mission Band c.1896', *PCO*.

APPENDIX III A SELECTIVE TIMELINE OF CECIL POLHILL (UP TO 1914)

1860	Born Cecil Henry Polhill-Turner.
c.1870	His sister, Alice Polhill, experiences an evangelical conversion.
1881	Death of his father Captain Frederick Polhill-Turner.
1879	Enters the University of Cambridge.
1880-85	Officer 2 nd Dragoon Guards (Queens Bays).
1882-83	Arthur Polhill experiences an evangelical conversion and tells Cecil he is considering mission to China.
1883-84	Cecil Polhill experiences an evangelical conversion.
1884	
(c. April)	Stanley Smith speaks at Aldershot Mission Hall where Polhill is based. Polhill is challenged by Miss Georgiana Daniell to consider mission.
1885 (Jan)	C. T. Studd and Stanley Smith speak at Howbury Hall.
1885 (Jan)	Arthur and Cecil Polhill become affiliated with the CIM.
1885 (Mar)	The Cambridge Seven arrive at Shanghai.
1886	Polhill makes his first reference to Tibet.
1886-87	Begins prospecting the Tibetan ethnographic region of Amdo.
1888	Marries Eleanor Marston who is also interested in Tibet.

First phase on the Tibetan border

1888-91	Three years stationed at Xining, Qinghai, on the border of Amdo.
1890	Establishes a chapter of the Tibet Prayer Union.
1892	Riot at Songpan on the fringes of Amdo and Kham.
1893-1895	Recovery in England.

Second phase on the Tibetan border

1895	Takes control of the Tibet Pioneer Mission at Kalimpong and renames them the Tibet Mission Band.
1896	Bilateral agreement with Hudson Taylor to affiliate the TMB with the CIM.
1897-1900	Relocates to Kangding, Sichuan (on the fringes of Kham), and the TMB is fully absorbed into the CIM.
1899	Appointed superintendent of Tibet for the CIM.
1899	His only older brother, Fiennes, dies.
1899-1901	Boxer Uprising halts missionary work.

End of full-time, in-the-field, missionary career

1900	His uncle dies leaving him a fortune.
1900	Return to England.
1901-1905	Active member of TPU and promoter of mission to Tibet especially at the University of Cambridge.
1902	Surname shortened to "Polhill."
1902	Attends the Keswick convention where George Mantle suggests the formation of "prayer circles for revival."

1902	Forms a prayer circle for China, Tibet and worldwide revival at Cambridge.
1903	Re-enters Howbury Hall.
1903	Tibet left out of the CIM's general survey of the field.
1903-04	British military expedition into Tibet.
1906	CIM council member Joseph Vale describes mission to Tibet as "about dead."
1906	Revival at Bonnie Brae Street Los Angeles.
1907	Dixon Hoste (general director of the CIM) personally writes to Polhill asking him not to expand mission work on the Tibetan border.
1907	Learns of the revival at the Azusa Street mission.
1907	Short-term return to the Sino-Tibetan border.
1907-1910	Mission to Tibet officially discouraged in <i>China's Millions</i> .

First Phase of Early British Pentecostalism

1908 (Jan)	Arrives in California.
1908 (Feb)	Pays off the mortgage on the Azusa Street building and has a pentecostal experience.
1908 (Mar)	Arrives back into the UK.
1908 (Jun)	Attends first Sunderland conference and meets Alexander Boddy for the first time.
1908 (Dec)	Suggests the establishment of a professional pentecostal mission.
1909 (Jan)	Pentecostal Missionary Union established.
1909 (Mar)	Informs the CIM of his plans to plant pentecostal missionaries on the Tibetan border.
1909 (Mar)	First missionaries of the PMU sent to India one of whom travels to the Indo-Tibetan border.
1909 (Aug)	PMU men's college opens at Niblock's healing home in Paddington.
1909 (Oct)	Appointed president of the PMU.
1909 (Oct)	PMU women's college announced.
1909 (Nov)	Signatory of the London Declaration.
1910 (Jan)	Niblock resigns as principal of the men's college.
1910 (July)	Myerscough agrees to become principal of the men's college in Preston.
1910 (Sep)	First valedictory meeting of the PMU.
1910 (Sep) -	
1911 (Mar)	First pentecostal tour of China and Sino-Tibetan border.
1911 (July)	First four PMU missionaries arrive at the Gansu-Tibetan border.
1911 (July)	New Chinese province declared consisting of much of the eastern section of the Tibetan ethnographic region of Kham.
1911 (Oct)	The Xinhai Revolution.
1912 (Feb)	Abdication of Emperor Puyi.
1912 (Mar)	Yuan Shikai made president of the Republic of China.
1912 (May)	First PMU missionaries arrive in Yunnan to work near the Yunnan-Tibetan border.
1912 (May)	First declaration of the Consultative International Pentecostal Council.
1913 (Feb)	Announces the establishment of a new men's college in London.
1913 (Oct)	Composes the <i>Principles of the PMU</i> .

- 1914
- (Jan-Feb) First pentecostal tour of India (and Pakistan).
 - 1914 (Feb) Second pentecostal tour of China and near the Sino-Tibetan border.
 - 1914 (June) Final Whitsuntide conference at All Saints, Sunderland.
 - 1914 (July) Outbreak of WWI.
 - 1914 (Dec) CIM refuse to accept or retain any missionary who believes tongues to be the primary sign of baptism in the Holy Spirit.
 - 1914 (Dec) Eighteen PMU missionaries (or affiliates) on or near the Sino-Tibetan or Indo-Tibetan borders.

End of First Phase of Early British Pentecostalism

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