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Item Type	Thesis or dissertation
Authors	Goodwin, Leigh
Publisher	University of Chester
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Author(s): Leigh Goodwin

Title: The Pentecostal Missionary Union (PMU), a case study exploring the missiological roots of early British Pentecostalism (1909-1925)

Date: October 2013

Originally published as: University of Chester PhD thesis

Example citation: Goodwin, L. (2013). *The Pentecostal Missionary Union (PMU), a case study exploring the missiological roots of early British Pentecostalism (1909-1925)*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Chester, United Kingdom.

Version of item: Submitted version

Available at: http://hdl.handle.net/10034/314921

The Pentecostal Missionary Union (PMU), a case study exploring the missiological roots of early British Pentecostalism (1909-1925)

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Chester for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by Leigh Goodwin

October 2013

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Abstract

The Pentecostal Missionary Union (PMU) commenced in 1909 as a non-sectarian Pentecostal faith mission with many similarities to the China Inland Mission (CIM), influenced by the links of its President, Cecil Polhill, as one of the illustrious Cambridge Seven missionaries. In 1924 it amalgamated into the newly formed British Assemblies of God (AOG), with a full merger in 1925. This thesis reconstructs the historical narrative of the PMU examining its theology and praxis. This thesis is not a descriptive biographical narrative of the PMU's leaders and missionaries but a historiography exploring the PMU's development in its original context based on information provided by primary sources. Other than one 1995 Masters dissertation, no research has been conducted specifically on the PMU. This research seeks to recover the lost voice of early British non-sectarian Pentecostal missiology marginalized by Protestant mission historiography and overlooked by Pentecostal historiographers focused on American or later periods of Pentecostalism.

Pentecostal historiographies have interpreted the twentieth century global revival movement largely through the 'latter rain' motif as an eschatologically providential event, discontinuous with previous ecclesiastical history. Pentecostal mission historiography is still developmental, especially in the employment of an historical roots methodology as opposed to traditional providential approaches. This thesis argues that early British Pentecostalism, before the Great War, originated as a non-sectarian mission movement strongly linked to antecedent faith mission roots, demonstrating the necessity for Pentecostals to engage with broader research methodologies that challenge traditional perceptions of the emergence and development of Pentecostalism. The Great War was interpreted with an apocalyptic lens that increasingly shifted Pentecostal eschatological emphasis away from missional urgency towards speculative application of Biblical prophecy with early twentieth century events. The severing of the PMU from its faith mission roots during the Great War, through CIM policy averse to Pentecostalism, reinforced Pentecostal perceptions of eschatological discontinuity and the need of a distinctive denominational identity in the uncertainty of the inter-war period. The lifespan of the world's first modern Pentecostal missionary organisation was relatively short but it encompassed three specific periods of British history: prior to the Great War, the Great War years and the inter-War years This thesis utilises these three distinct periods to provide a progressive narrative highlighting the challenges within the PMU's developmental history from non-sectarian faith mission to denominational mission department. The missiological emphasis of early Pentecostalism, as exemplified by the PMU, provides an understanding of the Pentecostal global phenomena a century later. Early 20th century Pentecostal revivals occurring in various places could have resulted in Pentecostalism remaining a localised sect but its significance grew through its emphasis on missiological urgency with pneumatological empowerment. Contemporary British and global Pentecostalism cannot be explained without historiographical reference to its earliest missiological roots including the PMU.

Thesis introduction and acknowledgements

The author of this thesis attended an Assemblies of God (AOG) Church from childhood and studied at Mattersey Hall, the British AOG College. In 2007-2009 the author undertook MTh studies in Pentecostalism. His thesis was an historical review of an early British Pentecostal leader from an Anglican background.[1] During this period of study the author recognised he had uncritically accepted simplistic views regarding the origins of Pentecostalism through primary revival centres such as Azusa Street and Sunderland. Interest in early British Pentecostalism has focused on its indirect emergence from the Azusa revival, when Thomas Barratt brought the Latter Rain teaching of a new outpouring of the Spirit to Sunderland at the request of resident Anglican vicar, Alexander Boddy. The Apostolic, Elim and AOG British Pentecostal denominations, formed in the early part of the 20th century, arose from this Sunderland revival centre. The author was aware of the existence of the Pentecostal Missionary Union (PMU) commenced by one of the Cambridge Seven, Cecil Polhill, before the AOG's formation. He also knew that Hampstead College, the PMU training facility, was the historical forerunner of Mattersey Hall where he studied. He became intrigued to question why Pentecostals concentrate their understanding of early British Pentecostalism on Boddy and Sunderland, while knowledge of the PMU and a renowned missionary such as Polhill appears minimal. These questions grew when the author's preliminary research uncovered details that Polhill had personally visited Azusa Street and was probably the first direct link between British Pentecostalism and the aforementioned revival. If there is a paucity of knowledge regarding Polhill's involvement in early Pentecostalism then the missionary organisation he formed has suffered an even greater lack of meaningful research. The Sunderland revival generally is viewed as the most important heritage bestowed by early British Pentecostalism to later denominational expressions of Pentecostalism, largely because the PMU's contribution has either been ignored or is unknown. However this thesis proposes that the identity of early British Pentecostalism was inherently one of

[1] Goodwin, Leigh, *The Life and Doctrine of C.L. Parker* (MTh dissertation, Mattersey Hall in association with Bangor University, 2009)

Spirit empowered faith mission and restores the PMU's significance in providing a strong missional heritage to subsequent expressions of Pentecostalism.

This question of why such ignorance prevailed regarding the PMU was further heightened when the author realised the PMU was not just the first British Pentecostal missionary society to be formed but one of the earliest attempts of Pentecostals globally to organise themselves to fulfil Jesus' Great Commission. The issue of the PMU's overlooked significance requires explanation and will not be resolved satisfactorily by utilising secondary source accounts on early Pentecostal development largely perpetuating that neglect. The author embarked on a comprehensive reading of primary sources such as the PMU minutes, archived correspondence and early Pentecostal magazines *Confidence* and *Flames of Fire,* which directly refer to the PMU's missionary activity. These resources have been used by various authors to provide a general overview of the development of Pentecostalism but there was both the scope and the need for fresh research to be conducted that would lead to the construction of an historical narrative singularly devoted to the PMU and its role in promoting early global Pentecostal mission activity.

An exploration of potential factors regarding the PMU's neglect became the basis of the hypothesis that the author wanted to pose through his research. Most Pentecostal historiographies until recently have been written utilising a providential methodology. Pentecostals are not unique in their providential understanding of missiological development. Walls describes the emergence of the voluntary society, and in particular the missionary society in Victorian Britain, although shaped by the specific period of Western social, political and economic development, as 'providentially used in God's purpose for the redemption of the world'.[2] However, Pentecostals have employed a providential approach to validate the divine source of the revival they attributed as a 'latter rain' outpouring of the Spirit to empower global evangelism. Other denominations and mission agencies, even those with

[2] Walls, Andrew, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History* (New York, Orbis, 1996) p. 253

revivalist emphases, such as Keswick and the Faith Mission movement were critical of Pentecostalism charging it with fleshly excesses, unwarranted insistence on glossolalia as evidence of the Holy Spirit being at work. Some attributed Pentecostalism with mental health issues and influence of demonic spirits. A discontinuous application of a providential approach has governed Pentecostalism towards a default perception that it was uniquely the 'latter rain' inheritor of the early Church's apostolic empowerment through the Holy Spirit. Consequently Pentecostals began to discount previous centuries of ecclesiastical tradition, represented by their critics, as less significant than the current restoration of what they believed was normative 1st century Christianity. Pentecostalism has traditionally applied providential approaches to defend views of historical discontinuity with other Christian traditions, which is why the author of this thesis has sought an alternative approach. The author's research of the Cambridge Seven,[3] the China Inland Mission (CIM) and other preceding 19th century revival movements revealed that they too linked pneumatological empowerment and eschatological urgency with missional purpose. The PMU provides a research opportunity to employ an historical roots methodology to explore its connections with earlier streams of Evangelical missiology. The first chapter of this thesis argues through a literature review the validity of claiming the overall neglected research of the PMU and also demonstrates the methodology employed to uncover the historical roots of the PMU. This thesis contends British Pentecostalism is only properly understood through its historical relatedness to wider Evangelical spirituality and missiology. Chapter two of this thesis explores the roots of early British Pentecostalism with Methodism, Keswick, Faith Missions and the Welsh Revival.

The PMU started out as a non-sectarian Pentecostal faith mission along the lines of the CIM. This reflects the desires of the two dominant Anglican leaders, Boddy and Polhill, not to commence a Pentecostal denomination. However during the Great War and post-War years Boddy and Polhill became less influential and the PMU came to represent a distraction for emerging

[3] Goodwin, Leigh, 'The Pneumatological Motivation and Influence of the Cambridge Seven' *JEPTA* Vol. 30.2 (2010) pp. 21-38

British Pentecostals from the perceived need to establish a strong denominational identity for Pentecostalism in Britain. This thesis explores the PMU's development to identify factors that caused the PMU's merger with the AOG. It seeks to explain how the PMU's significance became subsumed with the British AOG's emergence as a Pentecostal denomination in 1924. It could be presumed that the PMU's lack of longevity was due to inherent weakness and therefore it was inferior to what succeeded it. The methodology employed by this thesis departs from Pentecostal denominational bias by constructing a narrative that explores the PMU's history and contribution from a broader perspective. Timothy Walsh proposes 'It is perhaps understandable that the emergent and formative phase of English Pentecostalism has been neglected on account of later denominational pre-occupations and sensitivities'.[4] However, this thesis challenges British Pentecostal denominational perspectives that have discounted the PMU's legacy.

This research contributes additional understanding to an overview of the origins and expansion of global Pentecostalism. Although it may be conceded Azusa was very significant for Pentecostal origins that acknowledgement does not preclude a polygenetic hypothesis for the emergence of global Pentecostalism. This study of the PMU provides additional information to demonstrate early Pentecostalism was simultaneously occurring and being promoted through missional networks in various parts of the world. The PMU exemplifies how early British Pentecostals collaborated both in Britain and in other nations to prioritise an eschatological missional agenda. Any understanding of early global Pentecostal development would be incomplete without comprehensive research into the contribution the PMU made to organise and co-ordinate Pentecostal missionary effort along the lines of faith mission praxis. This thesis is not intended to provide a discursive narrative of early British Pentecostalism but emphasises that research of the PMU is intrinsic to explaining the importance of global missionary endeavour within Pentecostalism. This narrative of the PMU provides additional information to explore the polygenetic origins of Pentecostalism.

[4] Walsh, Timothy, *To Meet and Satisfy a Very Hungry People* (Milton Keynes, Paternoster, 2012) p. 237

The author wishes to commence his appreciation of those who have assisted him in this research project with immense gratitude to his wife who has been a consistent source of expressed confidence that he would accomplish his research goals and successfully submit this thesis. During the early phases of this research there were many who provided invaluable guidance and support in accessing important source material. Anne Dyer, senior librarian at Mattersey, astutely pointed the author in the right direction and provided a sounding board for some of his thoughts and proposals. The trustees of the Donald Gee archives are to be applauded in preserving key source documents relating to the PMU and ensuring that in the future material from the early years of Pentecostalism will be even more accessible as they become digitised. Sincere appreciation is also expressed towards Katherine McGee, archivist at the Flower Pentecostal Heritage Centre in Springfield, USA, who sent copies of scanned material from those archives. Jim Craig was most helpful in forwarding material from the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC) archives. The Overseas Missionary Fellowship (OMF) gave written authorisation for the author to access CIM archives held at the London School of Oriental and African Studies, which allowed key research into issues surrounding Polhill's resignation from the CIM.

A special word of thanks must be expressed to the author's supervision team at Chester University. He is particularly indebted to Wayne Morris, his principal supervisor throughout this research. Dr. Morris balanced encouragement with being an essential critical friend. It is doubtful whether this thesis would have been achieved without his patience, insights and mentoring skills. The author valued visits to Chester University to discuss his research with other faculty department members, who engaged enthusiastically with the author's research. In particular opportunities to explore the overall strands of the thesis with Professor Rob Warner were affirming and helpful in challenging the research parameters of the thesis. Professor William Kay's input has been invaluable in the first instance in underlining to the author that, from the perspective of his expertise in the historical research of the British Pentecostal and Charismatic movements, there was scope for PhD research on the PMU. Secondly he kindly

volunteered as part of the supervisory team to evaluate a draft of this thesis from the wealth of his academic background in Pentecostal history.

This thesis is especially dedicated to the author's parents, Stan and Dorothy, who provided him with the Christian heritage that shaped his faith journey, ministry calling and missional values.

Chapter 1: Literature review and methodology

1.1 Literature review

This thesis investigates material pertaining to early Pentecostalism, especially the PMU, filling a discernible gap in British Pentecostal historiography. The PMU was formed at Sunderland in 1909 under the leadership of two 'Spirit-filled' Anglicans Cecil Polhill and Alexander Boddy, who promoted global missions through empowerment by Spirit-baptism subsequent to salvation. This thesis examines the PMU's transitional development from its inception as an independent faith mission to its 1924 amalgamation into the newly formed British AOG and full merger in 1925. Allan Anderson comments on the PMU: 'Although this organisation was relatively small and somewhat unique, it represents Pentecostalism in its formative stage and is therefore a good case study for understanding the inner dynamics of Pentecostal missions.'[5] This thesis utilises available source documents relating to the PMU to explore embryonic Pentecostalism in its socio-economic and religious setting, creating a balanced historical reconstruction and evaluation of early British Pentecostal missionary endeavour. This reconstruction of the PMU's narrative and examination of its mission praxis from primary sources argues that the PMU resembled the faith mission practice of the CIM, establishing it as a Pentecostal off shoot continuous with the 19th century faith mission movement, which traditional Pentecostal providential historiographies have tended to ignore.

1.1.1. Global perspective of early Pentecostalism

Pentecostalism has expanded globally since the beginning of the 20th century and therefore no academic investigation of the modern missionary movement should ignore its impact. However the rapid development of global Pentecostalism does not warrant the development of an exclusive Pentecostal narrative without regard for the influence of other Evangelical missionary perspectives.

[5] Anderson, Allan, *Spreading Fires – The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism* (London, SCM, 2007) p. 123

Pentecostalism is relatively recent and its historiography still developmental. Douglas Jacobsen upholds 'there is no meta-model of Pentecostalism – no essence of Pentecostalism or normative archetype.'[6] Previous research on early Pentecostalism has tended to present a global overview of Pentecostal missionary activity or reflect the American centric historiographical debate whether Pentecostalism originated in Los Angeles with William Seymour or at Topeka, Kansas with Charles Fox Parham. Grant McClung claims study of the British PMU would 'help de-Americanize the international Pentecostal missionary movement'. He emphasises the British PMU 'was organized and sending forth board-sponsored missionaries at least a decade prior to the establishment of mission boards and departments by two of the larger North American Pentecostal bodies, the Assemblies of God and the Church of God'.[7] Michael Bergunder believes the British PMU exemplifies 'the development of a distinct synchronous Pentecostal network.'[8] These comments highlight the PMU's contribution to the momentum of early global Pentecostal missionary activity should be assessed, without claiming the PMU represents a definitive archetypal model of early Pentecostal missiology.

Anderson significantly contributes to understanding early global Pentecostal mission, through his various writings, such as *Christian Missionaries and Heathen Natives,*[9] *Origins of Pentecostalism and its Global Spread,*[10] *Signs and Blunders,*[11] *To all points of the compass: The Azusa St. Revival and Global Pentecostalism*[12] and *Spreading Fires – The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism*. This latter work explores the missiological roots and context of Pentecostalism particularly referring to Parham's understanding of

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[6] Jacobsen, Douglas, *Thinking in the Spirit: Theologies of the Early Pentecostal Movement* (Bloomington, IUP, 2003) pp. 11-12

[7] McClung, Grant, 'The World of R.M. Evans' *AJPS* Vol. 8.1 (2005) p. 175

[8] Bergunder, Michael, 'The Cultural Turn' in Anderson, Allan, Bergunder, Michael, Droogers, André and van der Laan, Cornelis (eds), *Studying Global Pentecostalism* (Berkley, University of California, 2010) p. 64

[9] Anderson, Allan, 'Christian Missionaries and Heathen Natives – The cultural ethics of early Pentecostal missionaries' *JEPTA* Vol. 22 (2002) pp. 4-29

[10] Anderson, Allan, *'Origins of Pentecostalism and its Global Spread'* (Paper given at Oxford Centre for Mission Studies, October 7th 2004) <http://www.ocms.ac.uk/lectures/> [accessed 03.03.2010]

[11] Anderson, Allan, *'Signs and Blunders: Pentecostal Mission Issues Home and Abroad in the 20th century'* (2000) <http://www.martynmission.cam.ac.uk/CSigns.htm> [accessed 02.07.2009]

[12] Anderson, Allan, 'To all points of the compass: The Azusa St. Revival and Global Pentecostalism', *Enrichment (*Spring 2006) <http://enrichmentjournal.ag.org/200602/200602_164_AllPoints.cfm> [accessed 0 2.07.2009]

missionary tongues or xenolalia and Azusa Street's apostolic faith missional urgency. Anderson demonstrates the progress of Pentecostalism in Asia, Africa and South America. The final section of his book critiques the theology and praxis of early Pentecostal missionaries, including some analysis of British PMU activity, but not exclusively. Cornelis van der Laan summarises Anderson's contribution to Pentecostal historiography as emphasising 'the global nature of the movement right from the start, speaking of a metaculture brought into existence through periodicals and missionary networks in its early stage.'[13] However this thesis concentrates on the British PMU's role within the emerging global Pentecostal missionary network.

Cecil Robeck's book *The Azusa Street Mission and Revival*[14] particularly examines evidence for the significance of the Azusa Street revival in the global Pentecostal movement. James Goff *Fields White Unto Harvest*[15] and Gary McGee *Tongues, The Bible Evidence: The Revival Legacy of Charles F. Parham*[16] examine the contribution that Parham and his distinctive emphasis of glossolalia made in terms of linking pneumatology with eschatological missional urgency. McGee's other publications *This Gospel Shall Be Preached,*[17] *Miracles, Missions & American Pentecostalism,*[18] and *The New World of Realities in Which We Live: How Speaking in Tongues Empowered Early Pentecostals*[19] reveal the extent of his research to particularly demonstrate American Pentecostalism's active engagement in global missionary endeavour from the outset of this revival movement. McGee's *Miracles, Missions and American Pentecostalism* importantly argues that Pentecostalism was a fulfilment of nineteenth century interest among

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[13] Van der Laan, Cornelis, 'Historical Approaches' in Anderson, *et al*, (eds), *Studying Pentecostalism* p. 210

[14] Robeck, Cecil, *The Azusa Street Mission and Revival: The Birth of the Global Pentecostal Movement* (Nashville, Thomas Nelson, 2006)

[15] Goff, James, *Fields White Unto Harvest: Charles F. Parham and the Missionary Origins of Pentecostalism* (Fayetteville, University of Arkansas Press, 1988)

[16] McGee, Gary, 'Tongues, The Bible Evidence: The Revival Legacy of Charles F. Parham' in *Enrichment* (Summer 1999) <http://www.agts.edu/faculty/faculty_publications/articles/mcgee_parham.pdf> [accessed 14.02.2010]

[17] McGee, Gary, *This Gospel Shall Be Preached: A History & Theology of AOG Foreign Missions to 1959* (Springfield, GPH, 1986)

[18] McGee, Gary, *Miracles, Missions & American Pentecostalism* (New York, Orbis, 2010)

[19] McGee, Gary, 'The New World of Realities in Which We Live: How Speaking in Tongues Empowered Early Pentecostals' *Pneuma* Vol. 30 (2008) pp. 108-135

Wesleyans and the Keswick part of the Holiness movement to link pneumatology with increased missional effectiveness. McGee explores the emergence of Pentecostal mission agencies and networks not just denominational expressions of Pentecostalism. Although Polhill and the PMU are mentioned in these writings, such references are incidental to the main emphasis on American Pentecostalism. This thesis redresses the neglected role early British Pentecostalism played in promoting organised cross-cultural missionary activity, even before American Pentecostalism formally structured its missiological endeavours. This internationalisation of Pentecostal historical roots helps counteract emphases on American sources to explain the global movement.

1.1.2. Development of academic interest in early European and British Pentecostalism

Robeck's article *The Development of European Pentecostalism*[20] provides a European perspective of how Pentecostalism started to spread and establish itself in various European nations. Van der Laan's *Proceedings of the Leaders Meetings (1908-1911) and of the International Pentecostal Council (1912-1914)*[21] informs about important co-operative attempts by early European Pentecostal leaders prior to the War. Most European Pentecostal research has majored on a particular nation or personality. David Bundy records Scandinavian Pentecostal development explaining the role Thomas Barratt played in the promulgation of European Pentecostalism through works such as *Thomas Barratt: From Methodist to Pentecostal,*[22] *A Historical and Theological Analysis of the Pentecostal Church in Norway*[23] and *Visions of Apostolic Mission: Scandinavian Pentecostal Mission to 1935.*[24] This latter work is relevant to this thesis as it critically proposes the British PMU's commencement was a departure from Barratt's own ideals of a European

[20] Robeck, Cecil, 'The Development of European Pentecostalism' *Pneuma* Vol. 10.1 (Spring 1988) pp. 1-2
[21] Van der Laan, Cornelis, 'Proceedings of the Leaders Meetings (1908-1911) and of the International Pentecostal Council (1912-1914)' *Pneuma* Vol. 10.1 (1988) pp. 36-49
[22] Bundy, David, 'Thomas Barratt: From Methodist to Pentecostal' *JEPTA* Vol. 13 (1994) pp. 19-49
[23] Bundy, David, 'A Historical and Theological Analysis of the Pentecostal Church in Norway' *JEPTA* Vol. 20 (2000) pp. 66-92
[24] Bundy, David, *Visions of Apostolic Mission: Scandinavian Pentecostal Mission to 1935* (PhD dissertation, Uppsala University, 2009)

missionary union. Other contributors to understanding historical development of European Pentecostalism are Carl Simpson who recounts the prominent leadership of Jonathan Paul among German Pentecostals prior to the War,[25] Arto Hämäläinen's overview of Finnish Pentecostalism's engagement in global mission from its inception to the present[26] and Frank Matre's revision of Norwegian Pentecostal history.[27] Van der Laan needs particular mention for his study of early Dutch Pentecostalism through works such as *The Pentecostal Movement in Holland,*[28] *Sectarian Against His Will: Gerrit Roelof Polman and the Birth of Pentecostalism in the Netherlands*[29] and *The Theology of Gerrit Polman: Dutch Pentecostal Pioneer.*[30] Van Der Laan's writings reveal how the primary leader of the Dutch Pentecostal movement, Polman respected Boddy, providing a relational opportunity for Dutch collaboration with the PMU, particularly until the end of World War One. Van der Laan contributes an understanding of the relationship between the Dutch Pentecostals and the PMU in China from a Dutch perspective with his biographical chapter on the life of Dutch PMU missionary Elise Scharten entitled *Beyond the Clouds: Elise Scharten (1876-1965), Pentecostal Missionary to China*.[31] This viewpoint is important to counteract inevitable British ethnocentricity contained in the PMU's official archives. Chapter five of this thesis re-examines the post-war breakdown of the collaborative relationship with Dutch Pentecostals by assessing PMU decisions relating to the Likiang mission station. This vignette on the relationship with the Dutch highlights how isolated the PMU became in collaborating internationally with other Pentecostals after the Great War.

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[25] Simpson, Carl, 'Jonathan Paul and the German Pentecostal Movement – the first seven years 1907-1914' *JEPTA* Vol. 28.2 (2008) pp. 169-182

[26] Hämäläinen, Arto, 'The Journey of the Finnish Pentecostal Mission: The Fire Burning in the Tensions between Modality and Sodality' *JEPTA* Vol. 30.2 (2010) pp. 30-43

[27] Matre, Frank, 'A Synopsis of Norwegian Pentecostal History' *JEPTA* Vol. 9.2 (1990) pp. 53-62

[28] Van der Laan, Cornelis, 'The Pentecostal Movement in Holland: Its Origin and Its International Position' *Pneuma* Vol. 5.2 (Fall 1983)

[29] Van der Laan, Cornelis, *Sectarian Against His Will: Gerrit Roelof Polman and the Birth of Pentecostalism* (Metuchen, New Jersey, Scarecrow, 1991)

[30] Van der Laan, Cornelis, 'The Theology of Gerrit Polman: Dutch Pentecostal Pioneer' *JEPTA* Vol. 8.1 (1989) pp. 13-33

[31] Van der Laan, Cornelis, 'Beyond the Clouds: Elize Scharten (1876-1965), Pentecostal Missionary to China' in Ma, Wonsuk & Menzies, Robert P. (eds), *Essays in Honour of William W. Menzies* (Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press, 1997) pp. 337-360

Awareness of early British Pentecostalism has been largely based on devotional biographies and autobiographies of personalities from that formative period such as Thomas Barratt,[32] Howard Carter,[33] John Carter,[34] George Jeffreys,[35] and Donald Gee.[36] These sources can be historically unreliable, in that they present a version of events tainted by the need to sanitise difficulties, defend denominational bias and possess an idealistic tendency accentuating positives.[37] Alfred Missen exemplifies the hagiographical approach in recounting early British Pentecostalism. Missen's narrative contains several errors such as portraying that Polhill specifically made the journey to Los Angeles to examine the Azusa Street revival[38] and initially the PMU's work was confined to Yunnan, which Polhill himself commenced and only later spread to places like India.[39]

Edith Blumhofer,[40] Kyu Hyung Cho,[41] Peter Hocken,[42] William Kay,[43] John Usher,[44] Gavin Wakefield[45] and Timothy Walsh[46] employ a scholarly approach to the historical development of early Pentecostalism in Britain. Blumhofer, Kay, Cho and Wakefield have particularly contributed understanding to Boddy's role in the commencement of British Pentecostalism through the influence of the Sunderland revival centre. Cho's thesis examines Boddy's unswerving loyalty to Anglicanism and its substantial representation within the PMU council as a key cause in the diminishing influence of Boddy and the

[32] Barratt, Thomas Ball, *In the Days of The Latter Rain* (London, Elim)
[33] Carter, John, *Howard Carter – Man of the Spirit* (London, Evangel Press, 1971)
[34] Carter, John, *A Full Life* (London, Evangel Press, 1979)
[35] Boulton, Ernest, *George Jeffreys: A Ministry of the Miraculous* (London, Elim, 1928)
[36] Gee, Donald, *These Men I Knew* (Nottingham, AOG, 1980)
[37] Van der Laan, *Studying Pentecostalism* pp. 207-208
[38] Missen, Alfred, *The Sound of a Going* (Nottingham, AOG, 1973) p. 3
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 60
[40] Blumhofer, Edith, 'Alexander Boddy and the Rise of Pentecostalism in Great Britain' *Pneuma* Vol. 8.1 (1986) pp. 31-40
[41] Cho, Kyu-Hyung, *The Move to Independence from Anglican Leadership: An Examination of the Relationship Between Alexander Alfred Boddy and the Early Leaders of the British Pentecostal Denominations (1907-1930)* (PhD dissertation, Birmingham University, 2009)
[42] Hocken, Peter, 'Cecil H Polhill: Pentecostal Layman'. *Pneuma* Vol. 10.2 (1988) pp. 116-140
[43] Kay, William, *Pentecostals in Britain* (Carlisle, Paternoster, 2000); 'Alexander Boddy and the Outpouring of the Holy Spirit in Sunderland' *JEPTA* Vol. 5.2 (1985), 'Sunderland's Legacy in New Denominations' *JEPTA* Vol. 28.2 (2008) pp. 183-199
[44] Usher, John, *The Significance of Cecil H. Polhill, 1860-1927* (MA dissertation, Regents Theological College, 2010)
[45] Wakefield, Gavin, *Alexander Boddy: Pentecostal Anglican Pioneer* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2007)
[46] Walsh, *Hungry People*

PMU in the development of Pentecostalism leading to the eventual emergence of the AOG in Britain. Hocken and Usher's research encompass the PMU, as any proper treatment of Polhill's life must include the missionary society he was president of for 16 years. Nevertheless their research does not specifically investigate the historical development and praxis of the PMU. Usher has investigated primary sources of Polhill's financial records to reveal Polhill's philanthropic generosity to emergent Pentecostalism.[47]

Walsh argues early British Pentecostalism developed distinctively from its global counterparts. He seeks to deconstruct what he terms the *sacred meteor theory*[48] that is the concept of Pentecostalism emerging discontinuously with prior ecclesiastical revival history, by examining four British revival centres of Sunderland, Bradford, Bournemouth and Croydon. Although Walsh describes the PMU as 'a significant arm of the emerging polity of the Pentecostal movement in England' and the combined leadership of Boddy and Polhill as 'a collaborative relationship that would prove seminal' in its formative phase,[49] he does not investigate British Pentecostalism's missiological emphasis through the PMU as a means to critique the *sacred meteor theory*. Kay's work dedicates a solitary page to the PMU, indicating how it is overlooked by Pentecostal historiographers to explain the phenomenon of British Pentecostalism, whereas Boddy and Sunderland are given more attention. [50]

1.1.3. Neglect of early British Pentecostal mission history

Andrew Walls makes a case that the British missionary movement even at its 19th century zenith was 'only peripheral to the Victorian church' and this has resulted in a corresponding neglect of Christian missions within any historical overview of the Victorian church relative to the global impact of British Protestant missions. He 'suggests that mission studies, and even the rather unfashionable "missions studies", may now have a major interpretative role to

[47] Usher, John, The significance of Cecil H. Polhill for the Development of Early Pentecostalism *JEPTA* Vol. 29.2 (2009) pp. 36-60
[48] Walsh, *Hungry People* p. 91
[49] *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51
[50] Kay, *Pentecostals in Britain* pp. 11-17

play in the understanding of the history of the Church in the West.[51] This point can also be applied to the historiography of early British Pentecostalism especially given that the contribution of the PMU has been overlooked. It is proposed this thesis contributes new knowledge and understanding of early British Pentecostal missiology. Previous research of early British Pentecostalism has included its mission history as an adjunct to investigation of Pentecostalism or as secondary to hagiographical detail of the main personalities involved. Global Pentecostal research has included missiology, but not specifically related to the unique British context of the PMU.

Biographies have been published about individuals that influenced Pentecostal missionary work during this period including Boddy,[52] Polhill,[53] Smith Wigglesworth[54] and Willie Burton.[55] Many writings regarding Wigglesworth have been published showing Pentecostals enduring fascination with an ordinary working class northern Englishman who exercised a healing ministry.[56] As invaluable as these writings are they focus on the individuals concerned and therefore do not present an integrated view of early British Pentecostal missionary work. John Andrews[57] and Anne Dyer[58] have researched subsequent periods of British AOG missionary activity. Their dissertations include this earlier period, in order to demonstrate antecedents for later AOG missionary work. British Pentecostal chronicler, Donald Gee, wrote about early Pentecostal missionaries and their work[59] but this was

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[51] Walls, *Missionary Movement* p. 144

[52] Lenz, Darin, 'Visions on the Battlefield: Alexander A. Boddy, Early British Pentecostalism, and the First World War, 1914-1918' *Journal of Religious History* Vol. 32.3, (September 2008) pp. 281-302; Wakefield, *Boddy*; Cho, *Boddy*; Kay, *Boddy* and Blumhofer, *Boddy* pp. 31-40

[53] Hocken, *Polhill* pp. 116-140; Usher, 'The Significance of Cecil H. Polhill for the Development of Early Pentecostalism.' *JEPTA*, Vol. 29.2 (2009) pp. 36-60

[54] Cartwright, Desmond, *The Real Smith Wigglesworth: The Life and Faith of the Legendary Evangelist* (Christian Art, 2003)

[55] Womersley, Harold, *Wm. F. P. Burton: Congo Pioneer* (Eastbourne, Victory, 1973); Moorhead, Max, *Missionary Pioneering in Congo Forests* (Preston, R. Seed & sons, 1922); Womersley, David & Garrard, David (eds), *Into Africa: The Thrilling Story of William Burton and Central Africa Missions* (Nottingham, New Life Publishing, 2005)

[56] Stormont, George, *Wigglesworth* (Chichester, Sovereign, 1989); Hacking, William, *Smith Wigglesworth* (Tulsa, Harrison, 1995); Frodsham, Stanley Howard, *Smith Wigglesworth* (London, Elim, 1949) are some examples of the works on Wigglesworth.

[57] Andrews, John, *The Regions Beyond* (PhD dissertation, University of Wales, 2003)

[58] Dyer, Anne, *Missionary Vocation: A study of British Assemblies of God's World Missions 1965-2000* (PhD dissertation, Bangor, University of Wales, 2007)

[59] Gee, Donald, *To The Uttermost Part* (London, AOG, 1932)

published after the PMU had merged with AOG and signifies a retrospective view of early British Pentecostal mission from the perspective of Gee's own leadership position and involvement in the AOG. Gee also gave an address on early Pentecostal mission work entitled *The Romance of Pentecostal Missions*, suggestive of an idealised notion of cross-cultural mission work.[60]

A progressive view of history exaggerates what Roger Spalding terms a `presentist perspective, meaning the purpose of the past was seen to be its contribution to the present rather than it having an autonomous existence of its own'.[61] This thesis seeks to counteract that approach by exploring early British Pentecostalism as an important period of Christian missiological history in its own right. The only previous research of note directly focused on the PMU is Peter Kay's dissertation *The Four-Fold Gospel in the Formation, Policy and Practice of the Pentecostal Missionary Union*.[62] Kay's 1995 thesis abstract acknowledged study of British Pentecostal missiology was overdue and since then there has been no attention given solely to the PMU. Kay identifies the fourfold gospel, where Jesus is portrayed as 'Saviour & Sanctifier; Healer; Baptizer in the Spirit and Coming King', as the main entity of the early Pentecostal revival movement. He employs the fourfold gospel theme as his framework to assess the PMU's formation, policy and praxis.

Although this thesis upholds Kay's view of the PMU's roots in 'Faith Mission practice',[63] his imposition of a fourfold gospel structure is an essentialist approach limiting investigation of the PMU to a static interpretation, excluding transitional development during the PMU's history. Kay's fourfold gospel approach does not seem appropriate, as this thesis demonstrates that the PMU imitated the CIM rather than a North American mission model. Kay upholds 'the demise of the PMU as a separate entity' reveals 'how the

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[60] Gee, Donald, *Romance of Pentecostal Missions* (address given by Donald Gee, Richmond Temple, May 24th 1928) <http://webjournals.alphacrucis.edu.au/journals/AEGTM/1928-july/romance-of-pentecostal-missions/> [accessed 10.08.2010]

[61] Spalding, Roger & Parker, Christopher, *Historiography-An Introduction* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2007) p. 2

[62] Kay, Peter, *The Four-Fold Gospel in the Formation, Policy and Practice of the Pentecostal Missionary Union (PMU) 1909-1925* MA dissertation (Cheltenham & Gloucester College, 1995)

[63] *Ibid.*, abstract pp. i-ii

Pentecostal movement as a whole had distanced itself from its predecessors in its interpretation of the four-fold gospel.'[64] However there is no evidence that the PMU was formulated around the four-fold gospel so it is conjecture on Kay's part to equate the PMU's demise with the four-fold gospel.[65] Furthermore this thesis has not uncovered any basis for Kay's conclusion that Pentecostalism's alleged rejection of the fourfold gospel played any part in the PMU's amalgamation into the AOG. Rather Gee's commentary on the period leading to the AOG merger suggests something contrary that in his view the PMU had impaired and compromised its distinctive Pentecostal character.[66]

Essentialism reduces complex historical narrative to a narrow number of stereotypical characteristics, for example the four-fold gospel of Jesus being Saviour/Sanctifier, Healer, Baptizer and Coming King but it does not create latitude for consideration of nuances, alternatives or conundrums.[67] In the second half of the twentieth century social science methodology influenced historical approaches to look for structural models but this is no longer fashionable.[68] Recent historical methodological thinking known as 'Poststructuralism' has influenced historians to be cautious of essentialist simplifications and less inclined to propose reconstructions of the past with absolute definitive accuracy.[69]

Kay maintains that the 1910 Sunderland Whitsuntide conference promoted the fourfold gospel. This assumes Boddy's Sunderland conference and the PMU used synonymous terms however the fourfold gospel is not overtly stated in the PMU principles or statements of faith. Kay asserts 'This four-fold theological gestalt underlay the formation of the PMU'[70] but does not directly link this claim to any source material regarding the PMU's commencement. Kay's essentialist hypothesis that the fourfold gospel provided the basis of the

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[64] Kay, *Fourfold Gospel*, p. 2
[65] *Ibid.*, p. 58
[66] Gee, Donald, *The Pentecostal Movement* (Luton, AOG, 1949) p. 127
[67] Droogers, André, 'Essentialist and Normative Approaches' in Anderson, *et al*, *Studying Pentecostalism* p. 31
[68] Spalding & Parker, *Historiography* p. 4
[69] Berfer, Stefan, Feldner, Heiko & Passmore, Kevin (eds), *Writing History: Theory and Practice* (London, Bloomsbury, 2010) p. 143
[70] *Op cit.*, pp. 3- 6

PMU's missiology is a questionable supposition anachronistically superimposed on evidence inferring the concept rather than portraying it as an explicit or intentional model of mission. Kay's PMU historiography was composed in an era when American Pentecostal perspectives were still in vogue so perhaps influenced Kay's selection of the fourfold gospel as his narrative theme.

Anderson explains this alleged fourfold pattern of Pentecostalism was highlighted by Donald Dayton[71] and adds it 'can only neatly be applied to classical Pentecostalism in North America.'[72] Gee stated that Pentecostals borrowed the fourfold concept from A.B. Simpson, the founder of the Christian and Missionary Alliance (C&MA), who omitted Spirit-baptism and then Pentecostals adapted the slogan inserting Spirit-baptism instead of sanctification. Gee cautioned against formulaic approaches restricting the gospel to just four essentials.[73] Cho's thesis applies the fourfold gospel model to early British Pentecostalism proposing Boddy disseminated a fivefold gospel adding Pentecostal pneumatology without ever employing the actual terminology.[74] Bergunder questions whether it is possible to discover essential categories as a meaningful starting point for a scholarly definition of Pentecostalism.[75] It is imperative that a fresh historiography of the PMU is written avoiding the imposition of pre-conditioned essentialist parameters. This research provides an opportunity to revisit source material relating to the PMU with a view to discovering primary influences, such as the CIM, shaping its missiological praxis, rather than the North American fourfold gospel emphasis suggested by Kay.

The necessity of further research into early Pentecostal missionary history is clarified by Anderson's observation: 'The first two decades of Pentecostalism represent more than its infancy; this period was the decisive heart of the

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[71] Dayton, Donald, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Meutchen, Scarecrow, 1987) p. 174
[72] Anderson, Allan, 'Varieties, Taxonomies, and Definitions' in Anderson, *et al*, *Studying Pentecostalism* pp. 25-26
[73] Gee, Donald, *After Pentecost* (Springfield, GPH, 1945) p. 53
[74] Cho, *Boddy* p. 219
[75] Bergunder, Michael, 'Constructing Pentecostalism: On Issues of Methodology and Representation' *JEPTA* Vol. 27.1 (2007) p. 64

movement, its formative time when precedents were set down for posterity.'[76] According to Poloma 'glossolalia and missionary outreach provide a window into better understanding the Pentecostal world-view and its attraction in the global marketplace.'[77] The PMU's narrative provides important clues to better understand the developmental history of the two main Pentecostal distinctives identified by Poloma as mission and glossolalia. This thesis will not construct a generalised historical narrative of early British Pentecostalism; rather it will explore the distinct missiological history of the PMU. Bundy observes 'the historiography of Pentecostal mission theory, praxis and history is still in its initial stages'.[78] It is anticipated this research will contribute to the discovery of the rich legacy early British Pentecostalism gave both to global Pentecostalism as a mission movement and also to contemporary British Pentecostal identity. This historical narrative provides new information and insight by its specific focus on the distinctive contribution of the PMU to global Pentecostalism as an early expression of organised missionary activity combined with Holy Spirit empowerment. Early Pentecostals were opposed generally to organisation and human inspired missiological praxis they viewed as paradoxical to the Holy Spirit's work. The PMU combined missiological pragmatism with pneumatological experience, which was unusual among early Pentecostals.

1.1.4. Primary sources relating to the PMU

Potential epistemological problems in researching the PMU relate to accessing sufficient sources, particularly as there are no remaining eyewitnesses to verify events covered by the period of this thesis. Kay observes Pentecostal theology 'was often worked out on the wing' and 'material relating to early years is difficult to obtain.'[79] This thesis relies on primary documentary sources. The purpose is to present reasoned findings

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[76] Anderson, *Origins of Pentecostalism* p. 2

[77] Poloma, Margaret, *The Spirit Bade Me Go: Pentecostalism and Global Religion* (Paper presented at the Association for Sociology of Religion annual meetings, Washington, August 11-13, 2000) <http://hirr.hartsem.edu/research/pentecostalism_polomaart1.html> [accessed 26.02.2010]

[78] Bundy, *Apostolic Mission* p. 4

[79] Kay, William, & Dyer, Anne (eds), *Pentecostal & Charismatic Studies* (London, SCM, 2004) introduction p. xix

from source material available from early Pentecostalism demonstrating influential antecedents, beliefs and context on their missionary praxis.

Polhill produced *Flames of Fire* (1911-1925) a periodical reporting on PMU missionary work and recording how the PMU laid a foundation for Pentecostal missionary expansion. PMU minutes and correspondence from 1909 to 1925 provide insights to challenges encountered by this new missionary organisation.[80] These documents demonstrate the policies, values, doctrines and practices of this early Pentecostal missionary organisation. These archives are an invaluable research resource, especially as the PMU minutes represent agreed decisions rather than subjective personal viewpoints such as can be conveyed in articles, reports and correspondence. However, Peter Burke warns against an over dependence on such archives stating that 'Official records generally express the official point of view. To reconstruct the attitudes of heretics and rebels, such records need to be supplemented by other kinds of source.'[81] This thesis seeks to analyse data gained from the PMU minutes by cross-referencing with correspondence from key detractors such as Wigglesworth, Burton and Breeze as well as investigating other archives such as the CIM minutes. The resignations of various PMU council members during and after the Great War would not be adequately explained without supplementing the PMU minutes with letters from those involved.

Confidence was the first British Pentecostal magazine published by Boddy from 1908 until 1926.[82] It provides Boddy's edited account of the British and global Pentecostal movement's growth through testimonies, articles and reports. Boddy was the PMU council member responsible for editorial publicity so he used *Confidence*'s popularity to publish PMU missionary reports, details about the PMU council and missionary giving. Van der Laan highlights inter-war tensions between the British PMU and Dutch missionaries to emphasise the importance of PMU archival sources to reconstruct the PMU's history, as

[80] The author of this thesis assisted the Donald Gee centre with providing a database for the digitised PMU archives so that the University of Southern California can make them available online.
[81] Burke, Peter (ed), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (Cambridge, Polity, 2001) p. 5
[82] Boddy, Alexander A. (ed), *Confidence* (Sunderland)

this incident is not referred to in Pentecostal publications such as *Confidence* or *Flames of Fire.*[83]

In addition to official PMU archives there is material available relating to specific PMU personnel. Hector and Sigrid McLean were experienced missionaries with the CIM, until they clashed with North American CIM director Henry Frost when they experienced Spirit-baptism at Azusa. Following their enforced resignation from the CIM, Polhill recruited the experienced McLeans to pioneer a mission field in Yunnan on behalf of the PMU. The McLeans mentored the PMU missionaries sent to Yunnan until 1917 and pioneered new mission stations for the PMU while retaining independent status from the PMU. Their story is told in the autobiography *Over Twenty Years in China*.[84] The importance of cross-referencing hagiographical material with primary sources is illustrated by the example of the McLeans. PMU missionary correspondence reveals Sigrid McLean suffered severe depression and suicidal tendencies.[85] Biographies may sanitise difficulties or overlook mistakes of missionaries so this thesis relies on primary sources to present a truer picture of the challenges experienced by the PMU supported by secondary source evidence.

Beautiful River, South of the Clouds is the biographical narrative of the Andrews, who headed up the Likiang-fu mission for the PMU and AOG.[86] Gladys Boyd, second wife of PMU superintendent at Yunnan-fu, William Boyd, wrote an autobiography entitled *A Chinese Rainbow: Remarkable Missionary Experiences in Yunnan*.[87] Further information about PMU personnel has been acquired from American AOG archives at the Flower Pentecostal Heritage centre in Springfield such as James Boyce's personal testimony, Inez Spence's book on Grace Agar called *Dark is this Land*[88] and references to former PMU missionaries in American AOG minutes and

[83] Van der Laan, *Studying Pentecostalism* pp. 211-212
[84] McLean, Sigrid, *Over Twenty years in China* (Minneapolis, McLean, 1927)
[85] PMU archives, correspondence from Kok to Polhill (5th August 1913)
[86] Andrews, James H., *Beautiful River, South of the Clouds* (Taipei, author, 1999)
[87] Boyd, Gladys, *A Chinese Rainbow: Remarkable Missionary Experiences in Yunnan* (Luton, Redemption Tidings, 1944)
[88] Spence, Inez, *Dark is This Land: Grace Agar* (Heroes of the Conquest Series No.9, 1962)

magazines. Although biographies provide important narratives of PMU personnel, they have to be interpreted with an awareness of their subjectivity.

Dutch PMU missionaries, Arie and Elsje Kok, pioneered the Likiang-fu mission station close to the Tibetan border. He later became head of the Dutch legation in Peking and afterwards General Secretary of the International Council of Churches. Information about him can be traced in Van der Schuit's tribute.[89] William and Mary Taylor briefly worked as PMU missionaries in Japan and then they were abruptly omitted from PMU sources. Paul Shew's article on early Pentecostal missionary activity in Japan includes a section on the Taylors and gives further explanation of their missionary work after they left the PMU, which exemplifies limitations of the PMU sources.[90] This thesis utilises supplementary sources to cross-reference with the PMU archives to verify reliability of those records, assess if there are contradictions and use data provided to fill possible gaps.

1.1.5. The PMU and the Modern Missionary Movement

This research relates early British Pentecostal missionary activity to the broader phenomenon of modern Christian missions. Max Warren *The Missionary Movement from Britain in Modern History*[91] and Donald Lewis' edited work *Christianity Reborn – The Global Expansion of Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century* demonstrate how modern British mission history cannot be segregated from social factors. Lewis' work includes a chapter by David Martin entitled *Evangelical Expressions in Global Society* proposing that societal changes in the early twentieth century created a context for Pentecostalism to emerge and grow. Martin proposes that the crumbling social and ecclesiastical hierarchical structures in the English-speaking world

[89] Van der Schuit, J.J., *In Thankful Remembrance: Tribute to Arie Kok* <http://www.carlmcintire.org/booklets-YetSpeaketh.php> [accessed 19.12.2010]
[90] Shew, Paul Tsuchido, 'A Forgotten History: Correcting the Historical Record of the Roots of Pentecostalism in Japan' *AJPS* Vol. 5.1 (2002)
[91] Warren, Max, *The Missionary Movement from Britain in Modern History* (London, SCM, 1965)

coincided with 'a movement toward a lay, popular and enthusiastic Christianity, culminating in Pentecostal awakenings'.[92]

The PMU is positioned chronologically at the epicentre of those changes and this narrative on the transition of the PMU from a non-sectarian faith mission to a denominational mission agency can serve as a commentary on those changes as well as those changes explain what took place in the PMU's development. Walls' previously referred to work *The Missionary Movement in Christian History*[93], is a collection of his lectures and writings on the history of Christianity. It is the third section that contains interest for the subject of this thesis because it explores the missionary movement from the West, particularly portraying how nineteenth century Britain was the principal source of Protestant missions. Awareness of Britain's role in the modern missionary movement influenced how British Pentecostalism prioritised global mission.

The modern Christian missionary movement gathered strength in Europe and North America during the 19th century paralleling political and commercial colonial ambitions for overseas expansion. Brian Stanley *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*[94] deals with the influence of European Enlightenment on the praxis of British Protestant missionaries. Peel proposes that Evangelicalism was a product of the Enlightenment age and 'individual Evangelicals were profoundly shaped by many of the secular beliefs and values of their age.' Nevertheless he qualifies that although Evangelical mission might share the civilizing ideals of Enlightenment, Evangelicalism was based on different premises and aims than that which was merely achievable through the application of reason. Therefore Peel advocates that mid 19th century mission, such as that done by the CMS among the Yaruba, had a positive influence among the indigenous population.[95] Stanley in *The Bible and the Flag* seeks to counteract the anti-colonial tendency to brand missionaries as complicit in the excesses of imperialism and economic

[92] Martin, David, 'Evangelical Expressions in Global Society' in Lewis, Donald M. (ed) *Christianity Reborn-The Global Expansion of Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 2004) p. 274
[93] Walls, *Missionary Movement* pp. 143-262
[94] Stanley, Brian, *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment* (London, Routledge, 2001)
[95] Peel, JDY, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yaruba* (Indiana University Press, 2003) p. 5

exploitation. He acknowledges the mistakes of missionaries while maintaining that the primary motive of the majority of missionaries was to promote the gospel not Western imperial objectives.[96] During the 1980's, in an era that focused on postcolonial theory, the Comaroffs renewed the importance of Christianity and civilizing mission in Southern Africa within colonialism and its impact upon anthropological concern.[97] The Comaroffs main contribution is their re-evaluation of colonial expansion into Africa and their challenge of traditional Eurocentric postcolonial perspectives that uphold Western hegemony shaped global destiny and culture.[98] These authors provide important understanding of how mission and empire interlocked in the 19th century.

Although Anderson advocates formulating a post-colonial reading of Pentecostal history,[99] Bergunder warns against a susceptibility to a distorted post-colonial reading of 'indigenous' as automatically implying freedom from Western influence.[100] This thesis will not examine postcolonialism or indigenous agency with regard to the PMU's history. The PMU archives have been investigated as representative of the original socio-economic and cultural context in early 20th century Britain and as such they provide insights into a Westernised view of early Pentecostal missionary activity. Examination of early Pentecostal missionary praxis requires care to avoid retrospectively assessing attitudes and understanding through a post-modern lens of ethnic and social correctness. The PMU's activity occurred in a period when colonialism had reached its pinnacle of global influence and should be interpreted in an historical framework where Western missionaries were perceived to be associated with colonialism. This is especially true for the PMU missionaries that worked in the context of China after the Opium wars with Britain and the Boxer Rebellion of the late Victorian era. The PMU will be analysed in its historical context where the remoteness of the cultural context

[96] Stanley, Brian, *The Bible and the Flag* (Leicester, Apollos, 1990)
[97] Comaroff, Jean and John, *Of Revelation and Revolution* Vol. 1 (University of Chicago, 1991) p. xiv
[98] Comaroff, Jean and John, *Modernity and its Malcontents* (University of Chicago, 1993) p. xi
[99] Anderson, *Global Pentecostalism* p. 25
[100] Bergunder, *Constructing Pentecostalism* p. 72

in which the PMU operated compared to current paradigms of cultural values regarding gender, ethnicity and social class is accounted for.

This narrative of the PMU highlights the transitional challenge shared by all British missionary societies faced as they emerged from the 19th century into a radically changed 20th century social and religious landscape, where they were viewed as phenomenal of imperial colonialism and as participants in economic and social class ideological objectives. Some Pentecostal missions would not be tainted by this link to modern missions because they were perceived to be part of a new movement, however this thesis explores how the PMU, through its Anglican constituency and CIM roots, would still be associated stylistically and culturally with Victorian and Edwardian ideals. Boddy and Polhill were Anglicans, who believed in inter-denominational mission. However this stance put them on a collision course with both early Pentecostals who rejected denominationalism and other emerging Pentecostals who, particularly after the Great War desired a clearer denominational identity for British Pentecostalism that was not centrally controlled.

Klaus Fiedler claims that academic missiological interest has concentrated on the era of classical missions (1800-1914) and has largely ignored the rise of inter-denominational faith missions in that period. Fiedler's work addresses his research of faith missions in the context of the Protestant missionary movement.[101] Fiedler's missionary organisation chart categorises British Pentecostal missionary organisations to be Evangelical, as opposed to Ecumenical or Fundamentalist.[102] Accordingly his research provides a foundation for the links between British Pentecostalism and Evangelical missionary networks, particularly faith missions, to be examined.

1.1.6. Link between the PMU and the CIM

This historiography of the PMU does not assume a link between the PMU and CIM just because of Polhill's common involvement in both, but rather analyses

[101] Fiedler, Klaus, *The Story of Faith Missions* (Oxford, Regnum, 1994) p. 9
[102] *Ibid.*, p. 15

its CIM faith mission roots through its praxis. Anderson wrote that the British PMU 'saw its work in China in continuity with the tradition of the China Inland Mission, and adopted similar practices'.[103] CIM archives held at the London School of Oriental and African Studies were accessed to evaluate whether the PMU simply emerged as a Pentecostal clone of the CIM and how the relationship changed between the two missions. The CIM is an important missionary antecedent for early British Pentecostal missiology, particularly through Polhill's direct link with the CIM as one of the Cambridge Seven. This thesis explores material mentioning the Cambridge Seven such as Alvyn Austin's *China Millions*,[104] A.J. Broomhall's *Assault on the Nine*,[105] John Pollock's *Cambridge Seven* [106] and Benjamin Broomhall's *Evangelisation of the World*.[107] Pollock's writing on the Cambridge Seven is limited to the initial call of the seven missionaries and ignores the actual contribution their lives made to Christian missions and their personal struggles. Pollock dismisses Cecil and Arthur Polhill's lives as `less spectacular' comparative to that of Studd. Cecil's missionary contribution after inheriting Howbury Hall in 1903 is limited to seven missionary visits to China.[108] Pollock makes no comment regarding Polhill's leadership of the PMU or contribution to global Pentecostalism, perhaps revealing his personal disinterest of Pentecostalism and how Pentecostal mission has been historically marginalized by traditional missionary historiographers. The various works by the Broomhalls tend to be edited and uncritical perspectives of the CIM's work but include some original observations of missionaries and specifically refer to missionary experiences of the Cambridge Seven members in China. Austin engages more critically with CIM archives to produce an overview of the CIM's work in China and makes multiple references to Polhill's missionary career with the CIM. Fiedler's work on faith missions provides pivotal understanding on how the

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[103] Anderson, *Spreading Fires* p. 33

[104] Austin, Alvyn, *China's Millions: the China Inland Mission and Late Qing Society, 1832-1905* (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 2007) p.19 indicates the CIM archives' limitations, as they do not include CIM London council correspondence.

[105] Broomhall, A.J., Hudson *Taylor and China's Open Century: Assault on the Nine* (Book Six) (London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1988)

[106] Pollock, John, *The Cambridge Seven* (Basingstoke, Marshall Pickering, 1985)

[107] Broomhall, B., The Evangelisation of the World: A Missionary Band (London, Morgan & Scott, 1889)

[108] *Op cit.*, p. 108

CIM created a benchmark for assessing other faith missions,[109] including the PMU. Both Austin and Fiedler's works show how interest in faith missions, such as the CIM, is reviving and therefore this research into the PMU that links early British Pentecostal missions with faith missions adds to the wider narrative of modern mission development. The PMU provides an opportunity to analyse how early British Pentecostal missiology was informed by faith mission praxis, while it also sought to operate distinctly through its dogma of baptism in the Spirit accompanied by glossolalia.

The PMU promoted a unique pattern of Pentecostal faith mission praxis globally prior to World War One through relationship with other European Pentecostals and encouragement for similar North American PMU initiatives. Boddy encouraged the commencement of Pentecostal Mission Unions in North America. It will be considered in chapter three whether these missionary unions were based on exactly the same lines as the British model and how influential the PMU was within the overall scenario of global Pentecostal missions. Generally the North American PMU initiatives have been neglected, probably because they were viewed as failures and therefore best forgotten. Sources for the attempted Canadian PMU are James Craig's biographical research of James Eustace Purdie,[110] Thomas Miller's exploration of the Hebdens and the PAOC[111] and William Sloos' narrative of the Hebdens.[112] McGee[113] and C.E. McPherson[114] researched Levi Lupton, controversial leader of the American PMU. These sources investigate PMU initiatives through the lens of North American Pentecostal historical development. These initiatives have not been incorporated into research of early British

[109] Fiedler, *Faith Missions* pp. 116-120
[110] Craig, James, *'Out and Out for the Lord' James Eustace Purdie: An Early Anglican Pentecostal* (MA thesis, University of St. Michael's College, Toronto, 1995)
[111] Miller, Thomas William, 'The Canadian Azusa- The Hebden Mission in Toronto' *Pneuma* Vol. 8.1 (1986) pp. 5-29 and *Canadian Pentecostals: A History of Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada* (Mississauga, Ontario, FGPH, 1994)
[112] Sloos, William, 'The Story of James & Ellen Hebden: The First Family of Pentecost in Canada' *Pneuma* Vol. 32.2 (2010) pp.181-202
[113] McGee, Gary, *Levi Lupton and the ill-fated Pentecostal Missionary Union in America* (AOG Theological Seminary paper November 14th 1986, archive held at Flower Pentecostal Heritage Centre, Springfield, Missouri)
[114] McPherson, C. E., *Life of Levi R. Lupton: Twentieth Century Apostle of the Gift of Tongues, Divine Healer, etc.* (Alliance, McPherson, 1911)

Pentecostalism's contribution to global missionary enterprise, which this thesis encompasses.

1.1.7. The Great War's shadow on emerging Pentecostal missions

The Great War cast a massive shadow over early twentieth century history and disrupted the PMU's progress, particularly as Britain was involved as one of the main protagonists. This thesis explores the War's causality to establish prevailing attitudes Christians maintained towards the justness of Britain's involvement and the thorny issue of how conscientious objection polarised early Pentecostals. Previously these issues have been generally explored but this thesis particularly examines how they affected the PMU. Commentators, such as Gee,[115] Carter,[116] Kay,[117] Anderson[118] and Hocken,[119] all seem to agree that conscientious objection played a part in transferring the leadership profile away from Boddy and Polhill in the development of British Pentecostalism. The missiological purpose of this thesis determines the need to investigate primary sources for how the War more generally disrupted cross-cultural mission activity through consideration of a wider range of issues such as isolation of field missionaries, travel restrictions and training of new missionary personnel, rather than through the usual singular lens of conscientious objection. This research gave consideration to a broader selection of literature relating to the Great War so that data uncovered from the PMU archives relating to the war years could be explained in terms of how the magnitude of the conflict impacted upon the PMU. John Keegan's work was helpful in demonstrating how the Great War's disruption extended globally well beyond the European theatre of conflict[120] enabling the realities of the global affect of the war described in minutes and correspondence in the PMU archives to be more readily grasped. Gary Sheffield's revisionist history of the Great War *Forgotten Victory* seeks to dispel misunderstandings regarding British involvement in the conflict.[121] Niall Ferguson's work entitled

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[115] Gee, *Pentecostal Movement*
[116] Carter, *Full Life* and *Man of the Spirit*
[117] Kay, William, *Inside Story* (Mattersey, Mattersey Hall, 1990)
[118] Anderson, *Spreading Fires*
[119] Hocken, *Polhill*
[120] Keegan, John, *The First World War* (London, Hutchinson, 1998)
[121] Sheffield, Gary, *Forgotten Victory* (London, Headline, 2002)

The Pity of War[122] confronts individuals holding patriotic perspectives of the War to reconsider the major consequences and changes on the shape of global history of this seemingly unnecessary conflict.

1.1.8. Post war decline of the PMU and merger with AOG

After the War the PMU's resources were overstretched and it encountered increased pressures on its sustainability. British AOG commentators Missen[123] and Gee[124] examined this phase of British Pentecostal history with the aim of explaining the formation of independent local autonomous Pentecostal centres into a denomination. William Kay similarly infers the PMU was a stepping-stone to the emergence of British Pentecostal denominations. He concludes 'Despite Polhill's attempts to secure the financial viability of the PMU, he came to realise after the 1914-1918 war that it would only function successfully if it were attached to denominational church structures.'[125] The PMU archives do not support Kay's conclusion of Polhill's acceptance of Pentecostal denominationalism. It is true that Polhill did not impede the merger process with the AOG but neither did he actively participate to see it succeed. This thesis reveals that Polhill was looking to retire from the PMU before the merger with the AOG was proposed, so the AOG provided an opportunity to offload his responsibility for the PMU and for the mission work to continue without his financial backing. This issue demonstrates the importance of a more thorough investigation of the PMU as its own entity in the development of early British Pentecostal historiography. The later phase of the PMU's history is analysed within an unfolding diachronical context, rather than as a mere harbinger for the British AOG's emergence. The PMU archives provide important data to analyse the usual simplistic linear explanations for the PMU's merger into the AOG and propose a more complex set of factors caused the PMU's transition from non-sectarian faith mission into a denominational missionary department.

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[122] Ferguson, Niall, *The Pity of War* (London, Penguin, 1998)
[123] Missen, *Sound of a Going* pp. 60-61
[124] Gee, *Uttermost Part* p. 6 and *Pentecostal Movement* pp. 126-128
[125] Kay, *Pentecostals in Britain* p. 17

1.1.9. Impact of the Congo Evangelistic Mission (CEM) on the PMU

The CEM was commenced and led by a PMU training graduate known as Willie Burton. Much of the material recording the story of the CEM is biographical such as, *Wm. F. P. Burton: Congo Pioneer*, authored by one of his Congo missionary colleagues, David Womersley[126] and *Missionary Pioneering in Congo Forests*, authored by Max Moorhead,[127] who was part of the Bracknell teaching controversy with the PMU. Other books recording the CEM's work are authored by Burton himself: *God Working With Them*,[128] *When God Changes a Man*[129] and *When God Changes a Village.*[130] David Garrard has produced a comprehensive history of the CEM that includes discussion of the CEM's engagement with the Indigenous Principle.[131] He has uncovered a previously unknown source of original letters relating to Burton's time as a missionary candidate with the PMU[132] producing three articles on Burton's Early Years.[133] These articles seek to analyse the tensions between Burton and the PMU and the factors that caused him to go to Africa independently of the PMU. The majority of the sources written on Burton and the CEM have been authored by Burton or by personnel linked to the organisation he commenced. This research seeks to explore the connections and struggles between the PMU and CEM through reference to source material such as PMU minutes and correspondence. It is inevitable that the sources narrating the CEM's history will be favourable to the CEM and the PMU sources will be less favourable. So this research has sought to understand the relationship between the two by developing a synthesis of both sources. Chapter five of this thesis examines how the emergence of another British Pentecostal missionary society, popular with grass roots Pentecostalism, had the potential to rival and detrimentally impact the PMU's status and progress.

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[126] Womersley, *Burton*
[127] Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering*
[128] Burton, William, *God Working With Them* (London, Victory Press, 1933)
[129] Burton, William, *When God Changes a Man* (London, Victory Press, 1929)
[130] Burton, William, *When God Changes a Village* (London, Victory Press, 1933)
[131] Garrard, David, *The History of the Congo Evangelistic Mission* (Mattersey, Mattersey Hall, 2008)
[132] Burton Correspondence, Donald Gee archives, Mattersey Hall
[133] Garrard, David, 'Burton's Early Years of ministry and doctrine under the Auspices of the PMU' *JEPTA* Vol. 32.1 (2012) pp. 7-18; 'W.F.P. Burton and His Missionary Call' *JEPTA* Vol. 32.2 (2012) pp. 237-247 and 'William F.P. Burton and the Rupture with the PMU' *JEPTA* Vol. 33.1 (2013) pp. 14-27

Summary

This thesis argues that secondary sources emphasise the international development of Pentecostalism, largely through biographical material highlighting dominant personalities and revival centres, particularly from an American perspective. However the narrative of Pentecostal mission has been neglected, when in fact early Pentecostalism placed a high priority on the urgency of global missionary activity. Although there is renewed academic interest in Pentecostal missiology, there has been a distinct lack of research prioritising the PMU. Research has covered later expressions of British Pentecostal missionary activity but not specifically the foundational period represented by the PMU. This thesis has prioritised the PMU archives, as this rich source of material has been surprisingly neglected in reconstructing a narrative of the PMU as a pivotal organisation in early British Pentecostalism. This research goes beyond a mere nostalgic re-visitation of hagiographical narrative to fill a gap of knowledge, as it provides analysis of how faith mission practice informed PMU praxis. This thesis proposes that neglected research of the PMU has resulted in historical and theological disconnection for later British Pentecostalism. This thesis seeks to create awareness of the missional roots of British Pentecostalism both directly with the PMU and also indirectly with nineteenth century faith missions. The literature review demonstrates how this research will not only contribute to a greater understanding of the missional heritage of British Pentecostalism but will also enrich knowledge of how early British Pentecostal missionary initiatives were influenced by the modern mission movement.

1.2. Methodology

The methodology employed in this thesis reflects transitions in Pentecostal historical research away from hagiographies and providential approaches to historical roots emphases by exploring PMU links with earlier non-Pentecostal faith missions. The methodology of this thesis seeks to account for the beliefs, values, vested interests and circumstances of the diverse participants in the PMU's history but also includes how broader socio-economic and political influences contextually shaped the PMU's development.

1.2.1. Appropriate taxonomy

The PMU council comprised a hybrid of both Spirit-filled Anglicans and Pentecostals who had left other denominations, so it is important for the purpose of this thesis to classify early British Pentecostalism. Anderson uses the taxonomy of Classical Pentecostals to describe the era of the PMU's development.

> *Classical Pentecostals are those whose diachronous and synchronous links can be shown, originating in the early-twentieth-century revival and missionary movements. The first decade of the twentieth century was the time when these movements began to emerge, and although it took a few years before they were known by the term 'Pentecostal', their gradual ostracizing by holiness and evangelical relatives resulted in new denominations being formed just before and after the Great War.*[134]

This classification of Pentecostalism is relevant to the PMU as it accommodates those within the PMU who promoted Pentecostalism as an experience and organised missionary activity carrying the appellation 'Pentecostal' yet they themselves remained Anglican and had no intention of forming Pentecostalism into denominational structures. This taxonomy includes the non-sectarian faith mission represented by the PMU model. It links the PMU's historical roots back to the Victorian missionary movement, challenging traditional perspectives of Pentecostalism emerging discontinuously with what occurred previously. This methodology prioritises a missiological focus on early Pentecostalism and as such it historically links classical Pentecostalism within the stream of modern Protestant global missions. This is germane to this thesis' primary argument that maintains traditional Pentecostal discontinuous views have been justified by the employment of an isolated providential methodology without recourse to other methodologies. This thesis seeks to moderate unhelpful discontinuous applications of providential methodologies by emphasising research of the PMU with an historic roots approach.

1.2.2. Traditional providential view

A providential approach attempts to trace God's sovereign role throughout history with Pentecostals particularly applying it to the Spirit's work in people

[134] Anderson, *Global Pentecostalism* p. 17

and historical events. Early Pentecostals viewed themselves as part of a spontaneous, providentially induced, end-time revival, discontinuous with over 1800 years of Christian history. Kay suggests 'Christian history is an exploration of providential occurrences'. However he also argues for the British Pentecostal movement's development to be placed into its historical and social context.[135] He promotes the merits of a providential approach in reconstructing a narrative of early Pentecostalism by stating 'it is impossible to write Pentecostal history without reference to providence, and that this is for two reasons: first, because providence figured largely in the thinking of the early Pentecostals and, second, because providence is integral to church history generally.'[136] Van der Laan refers to Kay's advocacy for the role of providence in the Pentecostal movement's formation and his caution secular historical models may detract from a distinctive Pentecostal view of the Spirit's inspiration in people's experiences of supernatural phenomena. From the Enlightenment period the providential method was gradually dismissed from being a legitimate academic approach, as it could not be verified by empirical social science disciplines. However recently it has been conceded inter-disciplinary studies can be inclusive of a providential perspective as having plausible validity. David Bebbington proposes it is reasonable for Christians to attribute historical surprises and negative circumstances producing positive outcomes as divine providence.[137]

Certainly early Pentecostals interpreted the outpouring of the Spirit as a providential equipping for the urgent challenge of global missions in their imminent eschatological framework. According to Andrews:

> Many early Pentecostals believed that the rise of the Pentecostal Movement was part of God's providential plan. For them, the outpouring of the Spirit was neither accidental nor coincidental, but it was a sovereign move of God, for empowering of the Church and to further the work of missions to the nations of the world. In providential terms God is viewed as being in control of world events and the progress of the church.[138]

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[135] Kay, *Inside Story* pp. 10 & 14
[136] Kay, William, 'Three Generations on: Methodology of Pentecostal History' *JEPTA* Vol. 11.1 & 2 (1992) pp. 56 & 57
[137] Bebbington, David, *Patterns in History- a Christian View* (Downers Grove, IVP, 1979) pp. 183-184
[138] Andrews, *Regions Beyond* p. 7

PMU personnel such as Boddy and Mundell interpreted events during the Great War, for example the angel of Mons[139], the retrieval of Palestine from Turkish occupation[140] and the end of the War following a time of national prayer[141] as part of an unfolding divine providence in an overall eschatological scheme. Boddy also interpreted the availability of someone who had the calibre, experience and resources of Polhill, arriving as he did via Azusa to spearhead British Pentecostal mission initiatives, as immensely providential. Boddy wrote of his gratitude to God 'for the unswerving courage of our beloved brother Mr. Cecil Polhill. The Lord had surely raised him up in England to be one of His special witnesses, giving him at the same time unusual opportunities and great influence with many in very different positions in life.'[142] It is legitimate to explore how early Pentecostals phenomenally understood events and experiences in a providential framework of history.

Van der Laan believes a distinctive Pentecostal providential view of history illustrates the struggle Pentecostals encounter to participate in objective academic research and yet maintain their convictions.[143] Bergunder suggests historiographical reprints of the providential approach in researching early Pentecostalism 'would obscure the complicated trajectory of historical development.'[144] A providential approach may overlook historical and/or sociological factors that have impacted events and can minimise human achievement. Yet Kay contends it is essential to reconstruct early Pentecostal historiography utilising a providential approach, as that was the early Pentecostals own worldview.[145] When things became difficult in the world appearing to hinder missionary work, such as revolution or armed conflict, a providential interpretation was ventured. Kay's brother, Peter, believes Polhill's statements reveal he accepted a providential understanding of

[139] Boddy (ed), 'The Vision at Mons' *Confidence* Vol. 8.9 (November 1915) pp. 165-169
[140] Boddy (ed), 'Prophetic Items' *Confidence* Vol. 10.6 (November-December 1917) p. 91
[141] PMU archives, correspondence to Mr and Mrs Leigh (18th September 1918)
[142] Boddy (ed), *Confidence* Vol. 1.7 (October 1908) p. 9
[143] Van der Laan, *Studying Pentecostalism* p. 208
[144] Bergunder, *Studying Pentecostalism* p. 60
[145] Kay, William, 'Christian History Writing ' *UCCF* for *CHF Bulletin* (Sept 2008) p. 10

Victorian history in which God turned evils such as opium wars and revolutions to the good of opening up China to the gospel.[146]

This thesis accepts Kay's contention that early Pentecostals interpreted the Spirit's outpouring within their eschatological framework as God's providential plan to empower the Church for global missions as an end time revival, however that does not mean that all subsequent research has to replicate the same approach. This historiography of the PMU utilises other conventional academic approaches to interpret the PMU's narrative. Skreslet advises constraint regarding the use of a providential framework to interpret mission history because theology can overrule sound historiographical principles in recovering the historical account.[147] British Pentecostalism emerged from the previous century's social and spiritual history, where colonialism was perceived as a providential opportunity and responsibility given to the Anglo-Saxon church to fulfil the great commission.[148] Stanley argues that following a providential approach to reconstruct British missionary history is problematic because nineteenth century missions was allied to an ethnocentric perspective where God was attributed as extending the influence of British imperial control for the purpose of increased missionary activity. Stanley suggests empires may be instruments of divine providence in a certain part of history but that must not be taken to the point where that empire is assumed to possess special divine validation at the expense of other nations.[149] Hastings exposes the ethnocentric dangers of a providential approach by his reference to German history where from Bismark onwards theological and missionary nationalism was fuelled by a belief in the providential role of German *Volkisch* Protestantism.[150]

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[146] Kay, *Four-Fold Gospel* p. 20
[147] Skreslet, Stanley, 'Thinking Missiologically about the History of Mission' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (April 2007)
[148] Christensen, Torben & Hutchinson, William (eds), *Missionary Ideologies in the Imperialist Era: 1880-1920* (Arhus, Aros, 1982) p. 136
[149] Stanley, Brian, *Missions, Nationalism and the End of the Empire* (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 2003) pp. 179-181
[150] Hastings, Adrian, 'The Clash of Nationalism and Universalism within Twentieth Century Missionary Christianity' in Stanley (ed), *Missions, Nationalism and the End of the Empire* (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 2003) p. 24

McGee explains that early Pentecostals imposed on the latter rain motif a distorted interpretation of history whereby they perceived that Spirit empowered mission ceased after the Apostolic age and idealistically proposed Pentecostals uniquely carried the apostolic anointing for global mission in the remainder of human history.[151] Pentecostal normative methodology, of perceiving the latter rain outpouring as eschatologically providential, has isolated it from mainstream historical academic research. This thesis employs a methodology stating the origins of Pentecostalism occurred within an historical context challenging traditional Pentecostalism's default mindset of maintaining its discontinuity was providential. A providential approach may be included alongside an historical roots methodology but this thesis maintains that it should not be relied upon as the main method because it is prone to subjective application such as upholding the Pentecostal revival movement as discontinuous with prior ecclesiastical history.

1.2.3. Historical roots approach

This thesis employs a historical roots approach to research classical Pentecostalism. This methodology regards history as more than mere recovery of facts from disconnected historical periods; rather it is about discovering antecedent roots and continuity.[152] Kay is critical of the presumption contained in the historical roots approach 'that every element can be accounted for by prior activity: that the past might influence the present but that the present can have no causative purchase on the past.'[153] However the key concern of the historical roots approach is to track backwards to discover generalised precursors, antecedents and prototypes. A genuine historical roots approach seeks to trace multiple potential sources and influences of historical development without narrowly limiting those antecedents, differing with an essentialist approach that seeks to simplistically identify a few key characteristics. Van der Laan explains 'The historical roots approach stresses Pentecostal continuity with nineteenth-century religious and social developments, in particular the holiness and evangelical

[151] McGee, *American Pentecostalism* p. 90
[152] Black, Jeremy & MacRaild, Donald (eds), *Studying History* (Basingstoke, Palgrave, 1997) p. 3
[153] Kay, William, 'Karl Popper and Pentecostal Historiography' *Pneuma* Vol. 32.1 (2010) pp. 5-15

movements.' Some Pentecostal historians such as William Menzies and Vinson Synan combine historical roots and providential approaches.[154] The author of this thesis does not discount providential views of history but rather emphasises a historical roots approach identifying important links British Pentecostalism has through the PMU to non-Pentecostal influences, such as faith missions and Roland Allen, to construct a narrative of the PMU.

Bergunder maintains early Pentecostal histories have tended to be uncritical hagiographies interpreting events idealistically and providentially. He perceives the inherent weakness of the providential approach is its basic belief of Pentecostalism being:

> *A spontaneous providentially generated, [world wide] end-time religious revival, a movement fundamentally discontinuous with 1900 years of Christian history; but such a notion is hardly compatible with academic history. Therefore the 'new' Pentecostal historiography is trying to relate the emergence of Pentecostalism to 19th Century theological roots and to its contemporary social and cultural context.*[155]

This narrative on the PMU provides an opportunity to explore the validity of Bergunder's claims for a new Pentecostal historiography that recognises how early Pentecostalism and its missiology flowed out of the faith mission stream of the previous century. Chapter two particularly examines the faith mission roots of the PMU through a comparison of the PMU's mission principles with those of the CIM.

A key leader of the early Pentecostal movement, Barratt, significantly believed Pentecostalism was not a sudden revival commencing at Azusa but its origins should be traced to earlier revivals in India and Wales. He proposed God prepared the Spirit's outpouring in the fires of previous revivals.[156] Barratt's comment reveals that some early Pentecostal leaders valued the influence of previous ecclesiastical heritage on the 20th century Pentecostal outpouring. Bergunder regards the 19th century global Protestant missionary network as a neglected historical root of Pentecostalism vitally shaping its development. The motivational eschatological missionary urgency of the faith mission

[154] Van der Laan, *Studying Pentecostalism* pp. 208-209
[155] Bergunder, *Constructing Pentecostalism* p. 54
[156] Barratt, Thomas, *Twentieth Century Revivals* (Oslo) pp. 1-2

movement became a decisive theological root for Pentecostalism. It provides some clues why glossolalia became important for the latter rain movement in heralding a perceived end time revival resulting in all nations being evangelised before Christ's return.[157]

Anderson is supportive of a fresh approach to trace early Pentecostal history.

> *Pentecostal historical approaches have also changed. Pentecostals themselves have moved from a providential view of their history through one of origins in the white holiness movement in the United States, with its fourfold Gospel, to a more generally accepted view of multiple origins.*

He concurs with Bergunder's proposal that the origins of Pentecostalism are to be found in the global network of evangelical missions.[158] Annette Newberry adds:

> *Though differentiated by the glossolalia plank in their theological platform, Pentecostals exhibited much of the same behaviour and doctrinal convictions of the holiness and evangelical missionaries without neglecting the traditional Pentecostal view of evangelism with signs and wonders.*[159]

This research will follow Anderson and Bergunder in applying a historical roots method to construct an analytical narrative of the PMU, in order to avoid the narrow subjective applications of a providential approach. It is not this thesis' intention, in applying the historical roots method to the specific micro narrative of the PMU, to impose a homogenetic hypothesis on all early global Pentecostal missionary endeavours but rather to uphold the PMU's example as evidence that early Pentecostalism was heterogeneous in nature.

1.2.4. Importance of source material

Leopold Van Ranke influenced historical research methodology by prioritising careful authentication and evaluation of source material.[160] A source has been categorised as primary if it was created during the historic period of interest and is therefore regarded as original and uninterpreted material. Secondary sources are regarded as those created later, based on knowledge provided by original documents and oral tradition coupled with interpretative analysis of those primary sources. This dissertation assesses source material

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[157] Bergunder, *Constructing Pentecostalism* p. 57
[158] Anderson, *Studying Pentecostalism* pp. 22- 23
[159] McGee, *American Pentecostalism* introduction by Newberry, Annette, p. xviii
[160] Green, Anna, & Troup, Kathleen (eds), *The Houses of History* (Manchester, Manchester University press, 1999) p. 2

to establish events pertaining to the PMU's emergence and development from 1908-1925 and to explore the missiological praxis of early British Pentecostalism within that context.

Geoffrey Elton recommends historical research focus on one master set of archives and exhaust that material rather than try and read all existing material.[161] This research has prioritised original PMU documents held at the Donald Gee archives, Mattersey, England, which comprehensively cover the PMU's history, incorporating minutes and letters written at the time representing actual issues faced by the PMU. Nevertheless such a singular focus would be too restrictive. To avoid what Van der Laan refers to as a 'tunnel vision' approach,[162] this thesis has also utilised CIM archives held at the London School of Oriental and African Studies and miscellaneous papers held at the Flower Pentecostal Heritage Centre in Springfield, USA.

1.2.5. Research Parameters

The 1909-1925 period has been selected because it is a unique period of mission activity linked to the Pentecostal emphasis on Spirit-baptism and glossolalia. This timeframe covers the commencement of the first British Pentecostal missionary organisation, the PMU in 1909.[163] 1925 has been fixed as the closure date because it encompasses a major transition within British Pentecostalism. The PMU was incorporated into the British AOG in 1924 and a year later the PMU became known as the Home Mission Reference Council (HMRC), heralding the end of Boddy and Polhill's influence upon early Pentecostalism.

This thesis intentionally focuses on a micronarrative of early British Pentecostal missions. This is not due to nationalistic prejudice but rather to argue that the PMU, as one of the earliest global examples of organised Pentecostal missiology, represents historical roots helpful to Pentecostals understand their missiological heritage and identity. A historical roots

[161] Green & Troup, *History* pp. 3-4
[162] Van der Laan, *Studying Pentecostalism* p. 203
[163] Fiedler, *Faith Missions* p. 19 describes the AFM as the earliest Pentecostal mission organisation commencing in 1907.

approach has been deliberately selected to research the PMU in order to seek explanations for the distinctive missiological emphasis of early British Pentecostalism. This thesis examines early British Pentecostal missiology as opposed to American dominated perspectives of global Pentecostal advances or the pietistic form of Pentecostalism represented by continental European Pentecostal groups.

A microhistory is the intensive historical investigation of a well defined smaller unit of research. A micronarrative is an intentional restrictive historiography within very focused parameters. This thesis does not narrate the story of global Pentecostalism but a selective aspect of early British Pentecostalism. These imposed research parameters indicate this study of the PMU to be a microhistory, where the scale of analysis has been reduced to emphasise a limited period of early British Pentecostal mission history. It can also be regarded as a micronarrative in that it seeks to intensively focus on inter-denominational faith mission expressions of early Pentecostalism rather than recount the emergence of British Pentecostal denominations such as the Apostolic and Elim movements. This micronarrative of the PMU adds to the bigger picture of global Pentecostalism, along with other narratives, in that it informs that the roots of early Pentecostalism have been diverse. Burke warns of the potential dangers of a micronarrative when he states it can create unique problems, 'notably that of linking microhistory to macrohistory, local details to general details'.[164] The construction of this narrative seeks to heed the warning that this microhistory of the PMU should not be used exclusively to explain the emergence of either British or global Pentecostal development. Levi believes that a microhistory should not seek a homogenous interpretation of events and symbols but should rather seek 'to define and measure them with reference to the multiplicity of social representations they produce.'[165] This thesis proposes that the PMU's narrative demonstrates the heterogeneous nature of early global Pentecostal developmental history.

[164] Burke, *Historical Writing* p. 293
[165] Levi, Giovanni, 'On Microhistory' in Burke, *Historical Writing* p. 107

Michael Bentley maintains historiographical purpose is not to provide an original reading or interpretation, but rather to offer a fresh viewpoint by a synthetic account, which searches for connection and comparison. It recognises many narratives could have been formulated but an optimal historiography is one that explains development with maximum clarity.[166] This exploration of the PMU has sought to reconstruct an historical narrative that clarifies its developmental processes and also discusses early Pentecostal missiological links. The rationale for utilising a historical narrative approach for this research on the PMU is that it allows for the development, events and challenges of the PMU to be embedded in the authenticity of historical context. Max Warren advocates for the need of mission to be studied holistically 'within its historic setting, registering the interplay of all the forces that go to determine human action.' He also adds that the historical phenomenon of Christian Missions 'cannot be accurately appraised unless it is seen as integral to the political, economic and social condition of its time.'[167]

This narrative could have been written in a style with chapter titles majoring on issues that the PMU grappled with such as leadership, missionary training, and development of its mission fields. However this approach would have overly compartmentalised the PMU, so a historically integrated narrative has been preferred. This narrative has been constructed to enable a chronologically holistic understanding of the major global and national issues that impacted on the historical setting the PMU operated in. The PMU only existed in a relatively short period but there were immense changes occurring in the economic, social and religious values of that era around the time of the Great War. The fledgling PMU was birthed in an era of significant global missionary expectation as represented by the 1910 Edinburgh missionary conference but just a few years later it was trying to survive and progress its missionary objectives amidst a global conflict, the scale and impact of which had not been experienced before. Then the PMU entered a third phase in its brief history of negotiating the challenges of a radically altered post-war national and global context to operate a missionary association shaped by

[166] Bentley, Michael, *Modern Historiography: An Introduction* (London, Routledge, 1999) p. vii
[167] Warren, *Missionary Movement* p. 10

Victorian and Edwardian societal values. This thesis has deliberately constructed a progressive chronological narrative so that a sequential and coherent understanding is provided of the PMU's development and struggles in the transitional journey from a faith mission to a denominational mission department. There could be a danger of misrepresentation of the PMU if a snapshot approach was utilised to construct its history without regard for the dynamic and fluid historical context that the PMU existed in. A modern structural approach could have detracted from the sense of journey that the PMU went through that is better conveyed by an unfolding chronological narrative.

1.2.6. Missiological Narrative

The PMU illustrates the transition of early Pentecostal missiology from the largely disorganised spontaneity of the first few years, where little thought was given to planning or mission theory, to the practical organisation of missionary activity through faith mission societies such as the CEM and PMU. They both adopted strategies from Roland Allen that prioritised the indigenous church principle and sought to employ a 20th century missiology reflecting a New Testament pattern.[168] McGee contextualises the PMU's commencement as providing a middle ground model to resolve the missionary problem for early Pentecostals not wanting to be independent nor willing to be too organised that spiritual empowerment could be quenched.[169]

Louis Cohen defines methodology as 'that range of approaches used in educational research to gather data which are to be used as a basis for inference and interpretation, for exploration and prediction.'[170] This methodology outlines how this thesis will be approached so it delivers important information to evaluate early Pentecostal missiology. Although many traditional methodologies have favoured a purely descriptive narrative, this thesis combines a narrative of the PMU's history with analysis of its missiology and influences upon it fulfilling Stanley Skreslet's plea to think

[168] Allen, Roland, *Missionary Methods* (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1962)
[169] McGee, *American Pentecostalism* p. 139
[170] Cohen, Louis, Manion, Lawrence & Morrison, Keith (eds), *Research Methods in Education* (Abingdon, Routledge, 2007) p. 47

missiologically about the history of mission.[171] This thesis aims to produce an integrated analytical narrative of the PMU rather than a problem oriented history fashionable for much of the twentieth century.[172] Modern methodologies tend to favour a deep structural enquiry,[173] however a narrative approach to history has been revived because structural approaches have been criticised as reductionism and determinism. This thesis has avoided a rigid structural approach, as this would detract from the dynamic of the PMU's narrative. This narrative approach using episodes from various contexts to construct the history of the PMU was selected to avoid the narrow subjectivity of limiting the impact and influence of the PMU to a few essentialist issues. The methodology reflects an inter-related approach utilising an analytical narrative form that balances interest in events, structures and key characters.[174]

This analytical narrative tells the PMU's story but as a 'detailed and textured account of context and process with concern for both sequence and temporality'.[175] Analytical narrative facilitates both exposition and explanation and is a preferred method for the exploration of the PMU as a case study.[176] Analytical narrative is a useful method to locate and explore mechanisms, event dynamics that shaped the interplay between strategic characters in early British Pentecostalism. This thesis has focussed on the main characters such as Polhill and Boddy to assess their aims and motives in establishing the PMU as a non-sectarian faith mission intended to reach places like Tibet. Polhill and Boddy responded to significant events like the First World War, the CIM's policy towards Pentecostalism, disputes between PMU council members and the emergence of a new context in post-war Britain that shaped the PMU's destiny. The way this thesis depicts the characters that formed the PMU and the role they played in the outcome of the PMU's history is an

[171] Skreslet, *Thinking Missiologically*
[172] Green & Troup, *History* p. 210
[173] Bentley, *Historiography* introduction p. vii
[174] Burke, *Historical Writing* pp. 18 and pp. 285-296
[175] Levi, Margaret, *Modeling Complex Historical Process with Analytical Narratives* p. 5 <http://www.yale.edu/probmeth/Levi.pdf> [accessed 16.09.2013]
[176] Bates, Robert H. (ed), *Analytical Narratives* (Princeton University, 1998) pp. 10-11

intentional historiographical device in plotting the transition of the PMU from its faith mission roots to a denominational function within the British AOG.

The danger with this approach is that it has marginalized the contribution of the PMU missionaries. The lives of all the PMU missionaries were researched but the historiographical emphasis on the PMU's transitional development has inevitably subordinated the extent of narrative relating to individual stories and personalities of the PMU, whether Western or indigenous. A justification of the approach taken by this thesis can be made through reference to Skreslet's argument that mission historiographies should not merely celebrate missionary heroes because research that adds to missiological understanding should be more than a devotional missionary biography.[177]

1.2.7. Historiographical contextual perspectives

This research is historical in nature, which Cohen refers to as 'the systematic and objective location, evaluation and synthesis of evidence in order to establish facts and draw conclusions about past events'. He further proposes it should be 'an act of reconstruction undertaken in a spirit of critical enquiry designed to achieve a faithful representation of a previous age.'[178] This thesis explores source documents in order to interpret events in their context producing a balanced historical narrative and evaluation of early British Pentecostal mission. Van der Laan believes 'Writing history may be described as accurate research of relevant events and facts in order to arrive at coherent conclusions and interpretations concerning the past that will be of use for the present.'[179]

This narrative has been primarily shaped by research of material uncovered in the PMU archives; so interpretative elements arise from the discovery of the PMU's narrative rather than from existent perspectives derived largely from minimal knowledge of the PMU. Kay enjoins the need for historical methodology to objectively 'tell the story of events making use, if possible, of

[177] Skreslet, *Thinking Missiologically*
[178] Cohen, *Research Methods* p. 191
[179] Van der Laan, *Studying Pentecostalism* p. 202

documents originating with the eyewitnesses of those events.' In recreating a connected historical narrative 'that puts people and events together into a coherent sequence', Kay concedes the subjective element remains where 'the historian must select the events that are pieced together.'[180] This thesis constructs a coherent historical narrative by initially focussing on pre-war episodes that reflect the non-sectarian ethos of the PMU, then by introducing the challenges of the Great War years that set in motion significant factors that weakened the PMU, creating the complex situation that led to the decision for the PMU to merge with the AOG in the 1920's. Arthur Marwick cautions against making mechanistic distinctions between causes and effects, referring to problems connected with the very concept of events.[181] This thesis has sought to avoid potential dangers of employing a methodology relying on over-simplified explanations of events and their causes, by exploring the PMU's history as an unfolding process. The PMU's transition from non-sectarian faith mission to integration within the AOG cannot be reasoned away by postulating singular causes such as the intransigence of the PMU leadership or the post-war socio-economic situation, rather it was an agglomeration of factors as reflected by the different vignettes recounted in Chapter five.

Impartial research and inductive reasoning are important tenets of historical research methodology, which should be applied to Pentecostal historiography. Elton maintained researchers should not impose their own enquiries but allow questions to arise spontaneously from the evidence. Philip Abrams refutes Elton's view that narrative can be a purely objective explanatory historical device. Abrams argues every narrative contains implicit analysis because historians decide how to arrange evidence, as facts do not speak for themselves.[182] Kevin Passmore legitimately recognises narratives are not neutral containers for historical reconstructions of factual reality as they represent a partial view of history.[183] Green and Troup cite Michael Lemon's argument that although historians select a process to construct a narrative

[180] Kay, *Pentecostals in Britain*, introduction p. xiv
[181] Marwick, Arthur, *The New Nature of History* (Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2007) p. 204
[182] Green & Troup, *History* pp. 5-6
[183] Berfer, Feldner & Passmore, *Writing History* p. 130

from various available sources, those choices should be intelligible so events are connected by a 'conventionally acceptable contiguity'.[184] The PMU archives were comprehensively researched and references of interest filed under headings relating to co-operation with other mission agencies, impact of the Great War, indigenous principle, economic issues, training, doctrinal issues, etc. These sources were used to map how important ecclesiastical, social and economic factors had a determining influence on the PMU's development, effectiveness and praxis chronologically within the PMU's history.

The issue of bias within documentary sources and how researchers themselves interpret information must be acknowledged. Some documents are more obviously biased because they are autobiographical, written with specific agendas and lack objectivity. However all sources need to be evaluated as potentially containing some subjectivity and ulterior motivation. Anderson advises source material limitations should be recognised as any documents, whether missionary magazines, letters, or reports were written in a style and perspective reflecting selective interest for home base consumption to stimulate prayer and finance.[185] It is impossible for researchers to divest themselves of personal experiences and achieve neutrality. All researchers should recognise influences that have shaped them and seek to be as objective as they can in both selection and interpretation of source materials utilised.[186] The main ethical considerations of this research methodology largely focused on the author's personal objectivity, concern to preserve the contextual integrity of sources used and how they have been portrayed. Hopefully this awareness has safeguarded the narrative from being a narrow introspective historiography of the PMU, while maintaining historical authenticity. This researcher recognises the possibility of his 'insider' Pentecostal perspective distorting objective reconstruction of the PMU's history.

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[184] Green & Troup, *History* p. 205
[185] Anderson, *Studying Pentecostalism* p. 6
[186] The author is Assistant to the British AOG Mission Director. He was resident lecturer at Africa School of Missions in South Africa from 1993-1998.

1.2.8. Diachronical structure

Periodisation is an analytical device employed to allocate the past into manageable timeframes reflecting closely integrated common values, events and trends. Marwick states structures are 'not just imposed arbitrarily by an historian'. They are a coherent and logical way of conveying history flowing from careful research and reflection of connections and inter-relationships.[187] The structure of this thesis incorporates a diachronical approach showing the PMU's development through distinct periods of its short history. The thesis format represents a euro-centric periodisation of pre-war, Great War and post-war up to the amalgamation of the PMU and British AOG because the focus is upon contextualising British Pentecostalism. The pre-war years represent the final phase of Western imperialistic world order deemed to supply advantages for the providential global spread of Christianity. The 1910 Edinburgh missionary conference reflects that era's optimism. The Great War significantly impacted all missionary activity but particularly affected the PMU because Britain was one of the main protagonists in the War. Also the PMU was still a relatively new organisation when the War commenced, which increased its vulnerability to the conflict's effects. The post-war period created a phase of unprecedented challenge to the survival of the embryonic Pentecostal faith mission in the revised global landscape, economic situation and rising expectations for British Pentecostalism to find its identity in the national context.

Kevin Passmore proposes 'the fact that historical writing has a narrative structure does not imply belief that the past itself has a like structure. On the contrary, the historian's account represents one possible way of making sense of a past, which has no pre-given meaning, and of which there is an unknowable range of interpretations.'[188] Although this thesis is structured as a diachronic micronarrative of the PMU it does not imply it is merely a 'proper history' that buries concepts in the interior of the narrative, as a hidden or implied shaping device. This thesis follows a diachronical structure to demonstrate the contextual impact of the PMU's three distinct periods on its

[187] Marwick, *New Nature of History* pp. 207-208
[188] Berfer, Feldner & Passmore, *Writing History* p. 139

development, so the narrative methodology provides a conceptual apparatus and not just a basic discourse of the PMU.[189] This accords with Spalding and Parker's observation for a successful narrative always requiring 'an analytical structure as well; and, in historiography, an analytical approach has an implied narrative if it is to have any meaning.'[190]

To be consistent with the overall research methodology this thesis investigates the historic mission roots of British Pentecostalism, evident through the PMU's connections with the CIM and faith missions commenced through people like Hudson Taylor and Anthony Groves. Therefore the first part of this thesis examines the social, religious and missionary background the new Pentecostal missionary movement was birthed in. Particularly the Pentecostal movement in Britain was influenced by a different set of social and religious factors from those in America or continental Europe. Cho believes the distinctiveness of British Pentecostalism must not be overlooked. He particularly highlights how Boddy's leadership accommodated the British Pentecostal movement within Anglican Evangelicalism, which defined the nature of early British Pentecostalism.[191]

Ernest Boulton suggests early British Pentecostalism was 'the object of much misunderstanding and malignity.'[192] Pentecostalism challenged traditional churches and even Evangelical streams seeking for revival and deeper levels of spirituality. The phenomenon of glossolalia and Pentecostal insistence that this was uniquely evidence of a deeper work of the Spirit was controversial to Evangelicals. The additional aspect of some Pentecostals' persuasion that the Spirit was outpoured to equip believers with xenolalia for missionary purposes further polarised Pentecostalism from other denominations within the context of cross-cultural missionary work. Early Pentecostals resorted to a providential approach as an apologetic rationale for their pneumatological experiences as sourced 'from above' in the light of accusations from other Christian denominations that they were at best products of emotional hype

[189] Green & Troup, *History* p. 220
[190] Spalding & Parker, *Historiography* p. 49
[191] Cho, *Boddy* p. 9
[192] Boulton, *Jeffreys* p. 1

and at worst originated 'from below'. Gee believed God providentially allowed the Pentecostal movement's rejection by other ecclesiastical traditions compelling Pentecostalism to develop as a separate entity.[193] This factor potentially explains why Pentecostals have been reticent to attribute the movement's missiological roots to the very organisations they encountered misunderstanding and opposition from. Gee's separatist view of early Pentecostalism's emergence suggests a context for his later criticism of Boddy and Polhill's reticence to formalize Pentecostalism as a distinct ecclesiastical polity.

This thesis contributes to a fuller understanding of how deeply associated the outpouring of the Spirit was in the early Pentecostal movement's DNA to its missiological motivation and urgency. Andrews' thesis reveals British Pentecostals viewed themselves as a missionary society.[194] Gee stated 'this Pentecostal Movement has been an intensely missionary movement from the very beginning.'[195] This thesis establishes the PMU was the seedbed for a continuing prevalent missionary mindset in subsequent British Pentecostalism. Analysis of how early Pentecostal immanent eschatology fuelled their missionary zeal compels reflection on whether current Pentecostal missionary practice needs to be re-configured with a sharper pneumatological and eschatological edge. This thesis allows for later Pentecostals, over a hundred years on since the birth of global Pentecostalism, to consider whether missionary urgency and eschatological expectation have become disconnected. This links the underlying argument of this thesis relating to early Pentecostal missiology with an application whereby the motive and praxis of contemporary Pentecostal missionary mobilisation can be challenged. The history of the PMU is not merely a descriptive narrative of early British Pentecostalism, as it illustrates social attitudes and reveals historical changes occurring in wider society. This microhistory of the PMU informs about the antecedents that led to its context, the changing

[193] Gee, *Pentecostal Movement* p. 19
[194] Andrews, *Regions Beyond* p. 21
[195] Gee, *Romance of Pentecostal Missions*

dynamics of its historical context and adds to an understanding of the missiological mindset of Pentecostalism.

Chapter three investigates the attitudes of early Pentecostals to living by faith in the context of missionary support and examines possible connections with faith mission practice. This exploration provides a basis to consider whether a certain form of missional support became enshrined as a narrow idealised spiritual optimum. Both the PMU and the CEM were patterned after inter-denominational faith missions even if they had a distinctive Pentecostal message. Fiedler states 'On the whole, however, the Pentecostal missionary movement did not develop along inter-denominational faith mission lines; instead, the denominational Pentecostal mission became the normal pattern.'[196] The PMU was birthed as a non-sectarian Pentecostal expression of the faith mission tradition and 16 years later the PMU was amalgamated within one of the fledgling Pentecostal denominations, the British AOG. Research is required to explain that transitional journey within early Pentecostal missions from the perspective of the non-sectarian PMU. Usually any explanation of the PMU's demise has been given to demonstrate the missiological antecedents of the British AOG. Consequently previous analysis of the PMU has been for the singular purpose of creating an understanding of the context for the formation of the British AOG and by default demonstrates the weaknesses of the PMU. Simplistic explanations have been given for the PMU's demise and the AOG's emergence in the inter-war period, usually focused negatively on Boddy and Polhill's leadership,[197] because the approach is instinctively retrospective from a denominational bias and follows a linear progressive providential methodology. This thesis examines the PMU's developmental history as its own entity and therefore commences with its conception rather than its demise.

[196] Fiedler, *Faith Missions* p. 118
[197] Missen, *Sound of a Going* p. 60

1.2.9. Pentecostal Missiological praxis

The predominant narrative of early Pentecostal missionaries is that they were regarded very negatively as untrained and disruptive by other missionary organisations. Anderson states

> *Pentecostal missions were used to thinking in expansionist terms. Sometimes the expansionist mentality brought Pentecostal missionaries in conflict with other missions, partly because the Pentecostals had no comity agreements (nor wished to have them) and partly because the other missions saw the Pentecostals as encroaching on their territory and so opposed them vigorously*.[198]

Early Pentecostal missionaries are generally perceived as being impulsively caught up in the urgency of reaching other nations with the gospel not in accord with premeditated missiological principles. This thesis assesses early Pentecostal missionary attitudes to prevalent early twentieth century missionary praxis, such as comity and the indigenous principle. The PMU provides an opportunity to critique how early Pentecostals shaped their missionary praxis. Amos Yong and Tony Richie claim no early Pentecostals systemised Pentecostal missiology until Melvin Hodges in the mid-twentieth century focused on the indigenous mission principle and Pauline methodology, because of practical exigencies in fulfilling the Great Commission.[199] However they have ignored how a non-Pentecostal, Roland Allen, provided a pneumatological focused missiology based on early church apostolic patterns for early Pentecostals to implement a considered missiological strategy. Although the British AOG only formally adopted the indigenous principle into its missionary policy in 1931,[200] the PMU accepted and implemented some of Allen's material from 1915 onwards. Burton's CEM also attempted to implement Allen's indigenous principle.[201]

An assumption is made that the indigenisation principle was only actively promoted in Pentecostalism through American AOG missionary Hodges'

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[198] Anderson, *Spreading Fires* p. 245

[199] Yong, Amos and Richie, Tony, *Studying Global Pentecostalism* (Berkley, University of California, 2010) p. 247

[200] Andrews, *Regions Beyond* p. 155 highlights Howard Carter proposed British AOG adopt the indigenous principle at a HMRC conference as early as 1931.

[201] Kay & Dyer, *Pentecostal & Charismatic Studies* p. 212

publication *The Indigenous Church* in 1953.[202] However the American AOG resolved as early as 1921 its new foreign mission policy was 'to establish self-supporting, self-propagating and self-governing native churches.'[203] The American AOG's introduction of the indigenous principle can be traced to published articles by Alice Luce, who was herself clearly influenced by Allen's missiology.[204] Also in 1931 when Noel Perkin became the American AOG foreign mission secretary he reported all new missionary initiatives were commenced from a foundation of establishing a native church.[205] Randy Hurst upholds that Perkin was the instigator of integrating these principles into American AOG missiology and encouraged Hodges to read Allen's missiological writings in 1935, just before Hodges commenced church planting missionary work in El Salvador.[206] The missiology of early Pentecostalism in both Britain and North America can be traced directly to Allen's insights.[207] Allen as a non-Pentecostal articulated and validated the pneumatological and biblical credentials for a 'Pentecostal' missiology prioritising and enhancing the indigenous principle. Leslie Newbigin states the essence of Allen's life and message 'was that the mission of the Church is the work of the Spirit.'[208] Byron Klaus argues 'the most significant contributor to Pentecostal mission strategy, particularly in its incipient stages, was Roland Allen'. Allen's emphasis on Pauline methods of church planting derived from the book of Acts provided a ready-made template for Pentecostal missiology.[209]

The document Polhill wrote in 1916 'Suggestions to PMU Workers' reflects Allen's influence. Polhill instructed PMU missionaries to have a church planting strategy that incorporated a vision for reaching whole provinces

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[202] Anderson, Allan, *The Pentecostal Gospel and Third World Cultures* (1999) <http://www.artsweb.bham.ac.uk/aanderson/Publications/pentecostal_gospel_.htm> [accessed 20.12.2010]
[203] US AOG minutes (1921) Foreign Mission Policy resolution 3
[204] Anderson, Allan, 'Towards a Pentecostal Missiology For the Majority World' *AJPS* Vol. 8.1 (2005) p. 39; Luce, Alice Eveline, 'Paul's Missionary Methods' *Pentecostal Evangel* (Jan 8, 22 and Feb 2); Hurst, Randy, 'Introduction' in Hodges, *Indigenous Church* p.8 confirms link between Allen, Luce's articles and US AOG 1921 mission policy.
[205] US AOG general council minutes 1931, Report of Missions Department by Noel Perkin pp. 50-59
[206] Hodges, *Indigenous Church* pp. 8 & 9
[207] *Ibid.*, pp. 44-46
[208] Allen, *Missionary Methods* foreword by Newbigin, Leslie p. ii
[209] Klaus, *Eschatological Perspective* pp. 336-337

through important cities. He instructed that missionaries should not settle in a single location but move on to plant strategic missionary centres in other unreached provinces.[210] Polhill encouraged PMU missionaries to allow indigenous congregations to take responsibility for the hall used for gatherings, giving, church government and teaching so they had the expectation of not being dependent upon foreign missionaries. Missionaries were to teach the indigenous people and trust them with responsibility. As soon as it was possible local leaders were to be appointed as church elders so they were regarded as authentically indigenous.[211]

It was Allen's specific link of pneumatology to these indigenous missiological principles that intrigued and challenged early British Pentecostals to explore the motivation and validity of their own praxis that was reflective of an inherited British paternalistic worldview. Allen's writings provided a significant pneumatological framework for their missiology at a time when Evangelical missions such as the CIM had distanced themselves from Pentecostalism. Allen's missiology was probably very timely in filling a gap for someone like Polhill post-CIM and also appeared to validate Pentecostalism's claims in linking Pentecostal experience to missional empowerment with the expectation of an end time revival.

Polhill published segments of Allen's missionary methods regarding missionary policy and strategy in *Flames of Fire*,[212] which in itself indicates some form of positive endorsement of Allen's ideas but without prescriptive application. Kok, the Likiang-fu mission station leader, was notified of PMU policy limiting accumulation of mission premises. Mission stations were to be strategic centres, such as Likiang-fu, from where rural districts and towns could be systematically evangelised. The timing of this letter at the end of 1914 and its content appears to indicate the PMU adapting their policy towards New Testament missionary strategies advocated by Allen of

[210] AOG HMRC 'Practical Points Concerning Missionary Work' reprinted from Cecil Polhill, *Suggestions to PMU Workers* 1916
[211] Polhill, *Suggestions*
[212] Polhill (ed), 'Mission Policy' & 'Missionary Strategy' in *'Flames of Fire'* No. 24 (February 1915) pp. 2-4

establishing 'Antioch' centres. The letter strongly implies Polhill was the one leading this change within the PMU as the letter states any explanations for this policy would be given by Polhill.[213] Nevertheless Kay is critical of whether the PMU actually implemented Allen's indigenous principle. He believes the PMU maintained a colonial institution through perpetuating mission stations and employing indigenous evangelists rather than establishing independent national churches with their own leadership.[214]

Alfred and Mary Lewer are examples of PMU missionaries implementing genuine indigenous mission principles. They moved to Wei Hsi in 1918 where they commenced a successful pioneering work among the Lisu tribe. Lewer compiled a simple catechism for them to learn the basic truths of Christianity. Lewer was an effective cross-cultural missionary to the Lisu in that he ate their food, journeyed with them over the mountains, slept out in the open with them, settled their disputes and defended the vulnerable against injustice. Gee states the churches Lewer planted among the Lisu were established to be self-supporting.[215] When Alfred Lewer tragically drowned in the Mekong River in 1922 the PMU recognised Lewer had done an apostolic work with 1000 converts among the Lisu.[216]

The Edinburgh 1910 world mission conference emphasised the comity principle. Comity is defined as an agreement between missionary organisations voluntarily prohibiting work in an area where others are already established. Comity evolved to avoid duplication and competition on the same mission field. The comity principle reflected territorial mission values in terms of the reached West evangelising the unreached 'heathen' parts of the world through strategic allocation of provinces or regions to specific missionary societies. This thesis demonstrates how the PMU pursued missional comity among other Pentecostal groups in North America and Europe and also on the actual mission field with other societies. The PMU principles incorporated the comity principle when Polhill wrote his suggestions to PMU workers in

[213] PMU archives, correspondence to Kok (6th November 1914)
[214] Kay, *Four-Fold Gospel* p. 61
[215] Gee, *Men I Knew* pp. 56-57
[216] PMU archives, correspondence to Lewer (14th December 1923)

1916. He instructed they were to avoid territory and smaller towns already worked by existing Protestant and Evangelical missions. He also followed the comity principle of the Edinburgh continuation committee that major cities were regarded as neutral and necessary for establishing strategic bases by multiple missionary societies.[217] Faith missions did not devise the mission territorial comity principle but it suited their purpose well. It meant they could concentrate on unevangelised regions of the world without having to work closely alongside mission agencies they differed with doctrinally.[218] Polhill sought to operate the PMU on the lines of a faith mission that implemented the comity principle.

An exploration of the PMU provides an alternative voice and interpretation of how early Pentecostal missionaries functioned. The constructionist approach employed in this thesis allows for multiple realities or interpretations embedded in the source material relating to the missionary praxis of early British Pentecostals to be narrated.[219] The constructionist approach accommodates the validity of Missen's verdict that the PMU worked in comity with other mission societies[220] and also includes McGee's belief the PMU's ideal of missionary co-operation was thwarted when its missionary activity was associated with excesses of Pentecostalism.[221] The example of missionary comity in research of early Pentecostalism demonstrates the importance of employing a methodology that enables a measured narrative to be developed where not all early Pentecostal missionaries are stereotyped as individualistic and unequipped nor are they idealistically feted as perfect missionary role models. McGee believes the PMU provides an example of how early Pentecostals valued collaborative missionary endeavour but also argues that the capacity for co-operative effectiveness among Pentecostal mission agencies was impaired by 'the splintering effect of

[217] AOG HMRC, *Practical Points Concerning Missionary Work* reprinted from Polhill, Cecil, 'Suggestions to PMU Workers' (1916)
[218] Fiedler, *Faith Missions* pp. 188-190
[219] Corbin, Juliet, 'Grounded Theory' in Somekh, Bridget & Lewin, Cathy, *Research Methods in the Social Sciences* (London, Sage, 2005) p. 49
[220] Missen, *Sound of a Going* p. 60
[221] McGee, Gary, *Strategies for Global Mission* in Dempster, Klaus & Petersen (eds) 'Called & Empowered' (Peabody, Hendrickson, 1991) pp. 217-218

denominationalism.'[222] This thesis shows that the PMU struggled to co-operate with early expressions of British Pentecostal denominationalism, such as the Apostolics.

This thesis has employed the term 'praxis' at various points, which has become familiar terminology within the academic field of practical theology. Praxis is not merely used as a synonymous word for practice, rather it is utilised in the sense of analytical reflection informing and determining action.[223] The term can be applied to the missionary endeavour of the PMU, as its leadership and field personnel sought to shape their missionary strategy through considered application of contiguous missiological thinking from the CIM and Allen. Analysis of early British Pentecostal missionary praxis has intrinsic value in adding knowledge to understand the contribution of Pentecostalism to modern mission history. Early British Pentecostals were dealing with the same missionary issues, such as the indigenous principle, comity and evangelism of unreached areas, as the rest of the modern mission movement was grappling with as demonstrated by the 1910 Edinburgh Mission Conference.

Bundy makes the point 'no significant history of Pentecostalism in a particular country can be written that does not take into account the larger structures of that tradition, the trans-national and trans-confessional networks, both synchronically and diachronically.'[224] Therefore this thesis carefully evaluates the British PMU with due regard for both its missiological antecedents and the development of global Pentecostal missiology during the same early 20th century period.

1.2.10. Human element in the construction of a historical narrative

The historiographical method employed takes the human dimension of the narrative seriously. This thesis will not be a mere hagiography idealising the

[222] McGee, *Strategies* p. 218
[223] Johns, Jackie David, 'Yielding to the Spirit: the Dynamics of a Pentecostal Model of Praxis' in Dempster, Murray, Klaus, Byron, & Petersen, Douglas (eds), *The Globalization of Pentecostalism* (Oxford, Regnum, 1999) pp. 70-84
[224] Bundy, *Apostolic Mission* p. 500

founding leaders and field missionaries of the early British Pentecostal movement. There is recognition of their humanity and biases produced from personal experiences and Edwardian British social background. The PMU must be assessed as a relatively short-lived missionary society. However over a brief 16-year period PMU missionaries pioneered many mission stations in Yunnan province creating evangelistic opportunities to reach several tribal groups virtually untouched on the inaccessible borders of China, Tibet and Burma. The PMU also established other missionary activity in diverse places as India, Japan, Brazil and Congo. The Congo Kalembe field, commenced by PMU missionaries, endured long after the PMU's amalgamation with the AOG, even though it was overshadowed by the prolific expansion of Burton's Congo Evangelistic Mission (CEM) and was dismissed by Burton as not being worthwhile or sustainable as a mission field.[225]

Polhill warrants some attention in this thesis, as he was already an established cross-cultural missionary before becoming a Pentecostal. He was one of the Cambridge Seven who served with the CIM in China and Tibet. Source material from that period of Polhill's CIM missionary work will be researched to take advantage of the particular opportunity Polhill provides to compare his missionary beliefs and practices before and after his Pentecostal experience. Although Boddy was a key early Pentecostal figure, it was Polhill who became the PMU president and shaped PMU policies and practices along faith mission principles. It will be important therefore to compare and contrast the CIM and PMU mission organisations.

Polhill's missionary experience and stature combined with his first hand Pentecostal experience at Azusa Street, along with his personal wealth, uniquely positioned him to shape and resource early British Pentecostalism as a credible missionary movement. Nevertheless early British Pentecostalism did not become a mission movement just because of Polhill's singular influence. Besides Polhill and Boddy there were many others who impacted early Pentecostal mission activity. Polhill may have determined the PMU's

[225] PMU archives, correspondence to Moser (11th September 1925) Donald Gee archives, Mattersey

policy and been the primary financer of much of its activities but he was not the main equipper. He appointed others to this task. For a few years Thomas Myerscough ran the PMU training school at Preston. Lancashire became an important Pentecostal mission sending area even after both the training school and PMU had ceased to function. The quality of the training and calibre of missionaries sent out from Preston have left a missional legacy still recognised 100 years later. Missionary leaders such as Burton arose from the PMU training school at Preston. The PMU also ran men and women's training schools in London. The PMU's training programme will be explored in chapter three.

1.2.11. A methodology encompassing broader influences

There were other broader factors at work such as the pneumatological and eschatological beliefs that the Pentecostal experience was not an end in itself but was intended as empowerment for global mission activity. This thesis explores the theological influences upon early Pentecostals that strongly embedded their missiological persuasions and passion within their understanding of the Pentecostal outpouring. It is important to review British theological emphases prior to the 20th century outpouring of the Holy Spirit that contributed to the convergence of eschatological understanding and Pentecostal experience heightening missiological urgency at that time. The conviction Pentecostalism was primarily intended to be a mission movement was such a prevalent view it superseded for a while the pressures for new Pentecostal groups to become formalised into denominational structures. In the early outpouring of the Spirit in the USA there is documented evidence on the misunderstanding about the use of glossolalia as a cross-cultural missionary communication tool. This thesis investigates if there were similar wrong concepts and unhelpful applications of spiritual gifts for empowerment to cross-cultural mission practice within the PMU.

1.2.12. Evaluation of the PMU during a global crisis

The research methodology incorporates investigation of the PMU archives to assess how the Great War affected the PMU. The War started not long after the initial momentum of British Pentecostalism occurred at Sunderland in

1908. Inevitably the mobilisation of so many young men into the armed forces of many nations, the massive loss of life, the conflict between nations with Pentecostal representatives who previously worked co-operatively together, and travel restrictions to other nations all drastically disrupted the missional capacity of early Pentecostals. Kay comments:

> *It is almost impossible to overestimate the impact of the Great War of 1914-1918. Seen from a narrowly British point of view it was a catastrophe. Not only did it undermine and break up the old social order, including the empire, but it also dealt an enormous blow against orthodox Christian belief and the place of the churches within the life of the nation. The changes that took place in the 1920's and 1930's reflected these convulsions*.[226]

The impact of the Great War on the PMU will be assessed from two main perspectives. Firstly, conscientious objection polarised some Pentecostals and the key missional leadership of Boddy and Polhill within British Pentecostalism. Boddy and Polhill actively supported involvement in the Great War conflict, contrary to the convictions of others who were prepared to be misunderstood, ridiculed and imprisoned for their beliefs. Secondly, a comparison will be made of the numbers of missionaries trained, sent and returning during and just after the War. These statistics of PMU missionaries provide some empirical basis to assess if missionary momentum was lost during this period. There has been an overall perception the PMU went into a period of decline and stagnation after the Great War and it is important to evaluate its validity, and if it is true what the timing of the decline was and identify possible causes.

1.2.13. Post-war diagnostic investigation of the PMU

This thesis evaluates the PMU's development regarding its finance, field personnel and leadership. It is necessary to consider how various factors leading to the formation of Pentecostal denominations and the pressure on those who remained outside of denominational affiliation before the founding of the British AOG affected the missional focus of Pentecostalism. The post-war years up to the AOG's formation in 1924 appear to reveal a shift in agenda to establish the local church rather than promote global missions.

[226] Kay, *Pentecostals in Britain* p. 2

Other post-war global factors need to be accounted for such as internal changes to nations like China, the flu pandemic, economic recession, pressure upon the British government to reward its colonies with home self rule after their support during the War as all heralding change for the effectiveness of overseas mission activity. There were also significant socio-economic changes occurring in Britain that provide an evaluative context to investigate the PMU's condition after the War.

Summary

This methodology provides both a rationale for this microhistory of the PMU and also for the historical period covered. The narrative of the PMU has been chronologically constructed through three distinct periods of pre-war, Great War and inter-war. This narrative method has been selected to purposefully identify the nature and influences on the transitional journey the PMU underwent from non-sectarian faith mission to merger with the AOG. A historical roots methodology has been employed rather than the traditional Pentecostal providential approach to ground the PMU's narrative in its historical context, as this seems the most appropriate way to explain the British PMU's emergence and structure. The faith mission approach of the PMU contrasts with other disorganised attempts by early Pentecostals to engage in cross-cultural mission work and it is only by examining its historical antecedents can the PMU's development be adequately explained. It is believed the methodology outlined in this chapter allows the PMU's history to be explored in a way that enriches a heterogeneous understanding of early Pentecostalism and serves to transition Pentecostal historiography away from the homogenetic debate of seeking to trace it's origins back either to Azusa or Topeka. In order to follow through on establishing a consistent historical roots methodology for this thesis, the next chapter focuses on the social and religious context for the PMU's emergence and historical development.

Chapter 2: Social and religious influences on early British Pentecostal missiological development

Coulter states that the emergence of Pentecostalism must be explored in the context of 'broader cultural and intellectual antecedents'.[227] Before constructing the PMU's historical narrative, contextual factors shaping its formation and missiological development will be assessed. This chapter provides important contextual building blocks to understand both influences and constraints on early British Pentecostalism in its attempts to communicate the gospel to unreached people groups. The social and religious context in Victorian and Edwardian Britain, prior to the emergence of Pentecostalism, will be investigated to discover potential historical roots that influenced the PMU's development. This is in keeping with the previously stated historical roots methodology that seeks to explain the emergence and development of British Pentecostalism within a framework of diverse social, global, economic and political factors. The revivalist nature of early Pentecostalism has perpetuated a perception of a uniquely providential eschatological movement discontinuous with previous ecclesiastical history irrespective of the secular culture it emerged in. This chapter provides a foundation for the PMU's narrative to be unfolded in a context where it was subject to major social, economic and religious cross currents of change that help explain its identity and challenges.

2.1 Social influences affecting early twentieth century

Stuart Hall and Bill Schwarz observe from the 1880's British society was subject to a series of crises that became acute from 1910 to 1926. They argue this new interventionist phase of British history marks a sharp historical break from the liberal *laissez-faire* society of the Victorian period.[228] The close correlation of this crisis period in British society with the timeframe of the PMU's existence cannot be overlooked in understanding its developmental

[227] Coulter, D.M., 'Continuing the Critical Tradition of Pentecostalism' *Pneuma* Vol. 32.2 p. 178
[228] Hall, Stuart & Schwarz, Bill, *State and Society, 1880-1930* pp. 7-8 in Langan, Mary & Schwarz, Bill (eds), *Crises in the British State 1880-1930* (London, Hutchinson, 1985)

challenges. Therefore this section establishes the main socio-economic and political upheavals affecting Britain contemporary to the PMU.

2.1.1. Characteristics of the Edwardian Era

The PMU commenced during Edward VII's reign, which covered the first decade of the twentieth century. Edward came to the throne in 1901 as the second Boer War was concluding. It was Britain's largest imperial war costing £200 million and involved the mobilisation of 295,000 soldiers.[229] It was intended to demonstrate British imperial will but the poorly managed military campaign and headlines of barbarism caused Britain global embarrassment. Lawrence James cites that the French Canadians refused to support Britain in what they perceived as a war of imperial aggression. [230] During the Edwardian era British foreign policy prioritised rebuilding relationships with nations such as France and Russia to counter the perceived threat of German expansion and balance the need of maintaining widely dispersed imperial interests.[231]

According to Donald Read there were still residual elements of Britain's civilising motive in its global politics but both Socialists and Liberals were questioning the necessity and moral justification of Britain's imperial role in Africa and Asia. In 1900 Ramsay MacDonald challenged British patronising assumptions of civilised superiority and therefore its right to imperial territorial expansion.[232] This moral challenge of British imperialism brought into question, by association, the civilising motive of missions at the beginning of the 20th century. The Edwardian period is traditionally termed a Golden Age, a quiet interlude between two wars. Its tranquillity was shattered by the 1914 War, which was a dramatic watershed both in British and global history.[233] However other social commentators perceive this era as when British societal fragmentation commenced with increasing industrial strikes, the movement for women's suffrage, unrest in Ireland and constitutional crises caused by

[229] James, Lawrence, *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire* (London, Abacus, 1998) p. 268
[230] *Ibid.*, pp. 315-318
[231] Ferguson, *Pity of War* pp. 56-76
[232] Read, Donald, *Edwardian England* (London, Harrap, 1972) p. 137
[233] Cecil, Robert, *Life in Edwardian England* (Newton Abbott, Victorian Book Club, 1972) pp. 1-5

discord between the Liberals and the House of Lords.[234] The PMU began life as an imitation of a Victorian faith mission and was confronted with the inevitable need to change to a new context both in Britain and globally as the Edwardian period ended and was closely followed by the traumatic upheaval of the Great War. Martin describes this modernisation period as 'a shift from hierarchy and associated status toward an increasing emphasis on merit and achievement and toward semi-autonomous class culture.' He believes that this had a liberating affect on Pentecostalism and its missionary impetus. He describes Pentecostals as not 'weighed down by sponsorship of a social or ecclesiastical hierarchy or the relation of faith to territorial identity' therefore they treated 'the world as their parish'.[235] Pentecostals were part of a transitional phase believing the Latter Rain movement of the Spirit promoted non-hierarchical egalitarianism. However the PMU leadership of Boddy and Polhill represented old societal values of the British 'Upstairs-Downstairs' culture described by Walsh as reflecting the Edwardian peculiarity of parson and squire relationship.[236] This factor of the PMU leadership's social and ecclesiastical background within a context of broader societal transformation cannot be ignored when considering the PMU's journey from non-sectarian faith mission to denominational mission.

2.1.2. Perceptions of the Great War as a watershed historical event

From the perspective of the inter-war period, Kenneth Latourette regarded the Great War as the most decisive global event hastening transition from the previous era of the nineteenth century.[237] Occidental culture was subject to rapid change and no longer unquestioningly dominant, particularly in Asia. The features of this age were the emergence of a new world order; economic and social change; a ominous dimension of warfare's capability to affect the entire world coupled with new initiatives to seek peace in order to counteract that threat; a shift from European political and economic hegemony; an unprecedented challenge to established religion; either a static position or

[234] Chapman, Mark, *The Coming Crisis* (Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press, 2001) pp. 14-21
[235] Martin, *Evangelical Expansion* pp. 274-275
[236] Walsh, *Hungry People* p. 52
[237] Latourette, Kenneth Scott, *Missions Tomorrow* (New York, Harper, 1936) p. 1

lower support of European Protestant missions.[238] On the eve of the Great War, imperialism limited the actual number of independent nations in the world to just fifty-nine. After the War that number steadily increased with the commencement of de-colonisation.[239]

Nineteenth century challenges to Christian missions were primarily regarded as coming from other historic world religions. At the beginning of the twentieth century there was a realisation Christianity was combating very different global forces of nationalism, secularism and a momentum towards a totalitarian state. The 1917 Russian Bolshevik revolution introduced state control, which denounced religion. This brought Christianity the largest territorial loss in its history at that time.[240] Keegan claims the Great War 'damaged civilisation, the rational and liberal civilisation of European enlightenment, permanently for the worse and, through the damage done, world civilisation also.' He acknowledges pre-war Europe influenced the world through colonialism but believes post-war Europe eliminated confidence in constitutional principles by a move to totalitarianism. He not only refers to Russia but also cites political upheavals in Italy during 1922, Germany in 1933 and Spain in 1936 as indicating this European change to totalitarianism.[241] These issues particularly impaired possibilities of European Pentecostal missionary collaboration.

2.1.3. Post-War socio-economic struggles

Post-World War One Britain was characterised by the politicising of social issues and emergence of rights movements. The Labour party was interested in safeguarding socio-economic rights of workers overlooked during the previous era's industrialisation. Socialist politician James Keir Hardie, a Scottish ex-miner, founded the Labour party in 1906. In 1918 the principle of nationalising British industry was enshrined in clause four of the Labour party's constitution to promote a more egalitarian society. Although the Labour party was unable to introduce nationalisation successfully straight after the

[238] Latourette, *Missions* pp. 98-100
[239] Ferguson, *Empire: How Britain made the Modern World* (New York, Basic, 2004) p. 309
[240] *Op cit.*, pp. 109-113
[241] Keegan, *First World War* p. 8

War, these policies indicate changes of socio-economic thinking occurring in Britain.[242] PMU secretary, Mundell recognised these societal changes enabled the Labour party to win the 1924 national election and MacDonald to become the first Labour party Prime Minister.[243] The struggles of the working class oriented Labour party created a natural affinity with colonial freedom movements that sought to end British imperial control of their nations.[244]

Prior to the Great War the international gold standard was sustainable because Britain was the obvious dominant economic world power. Other nations recognised Britain's hegemony and adjusted their policies in line with London. During the War the gold standard was abandoned and individual nations printed money to finance military costs. After the War there was no dominant hegemony where a single nation could unilaterally determine international economic conditions. In April 1925 Winston Churchill failed to restore sterling's pre-war parity with the gold standard.[245] Britain's policy to restore pre-war confidence in sterling had an economic deflationary effect.

Chapter five explores how the 1920's economic downturn played a big part in the stagnation of British overseas missionary endeavour, including that of the PMU. For most of the inter-war period British wages remained fairly consistent, however between 1921 and 1923 wages went into precipitous decline. This economic slump arose when it was deemed that the scale of real wages had been too high relative to the post-war situation and was a direct causal factor of high unemployment.[246] At the beginning of 1922 the PMU identified the economic issues as large business houses on the verge of bankruptcy, lack of money, retrenching, lowering of prices and wages. These factors impacted missionary societies such as the PMU. A coalminer's strike,

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[242] Millward, Robert, *The Political Economy of Nationalisation in Britain, 1920-1950* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995) pp. 14-15
[243] PMU archives, correspondence to Polhill (23rd January 1924)
[244] James, *British Empire* pp. 323-325
[245] DeLong, J. Bradford, *Slouching Towards Utopia? The Economic History of the Twentieth Century* (University of California at Berkeley, 1997) chapter 14 <http://www.j-bradford-delong.net/tceh/Slouch_Crash14.html> [accessed 18.03.2010]
[246] Thomas, Mark, 'Wage Behaviour in Inter-War Britain: A Sceptical Enquiry' in Grantham, George, & MacKinnon, Mary (eds), *Labour Market Evolution: The Economic History of Market Integration, Wage Flexibility and the Employment Relation* (London, Routledge, 1994) pp. 245-269

a coal trade depression, and coalminers on short time and reduced wages seriously affected Wales. This impacted missionary giving from Welsh Pentecostal assemblies, where many PMU missionaries came from and was a logical PMU support base.[247]

National economic decline coincided with new expectations of social and political reform from the working classes. The inter-war period in Britain is remembered as a time of unrest with rising unemployment, widespread unofficial strikes and new emphasis on worker's rights. There had been worker unrest before the War, and there is a case for stating that the War merely delayed the unresolved industrial struggle of labour versus capital from the Edwardian era.[248] In 1912 there were over 40 million working days lost through unofficial strikes. However this incidence rose during the twenties, so for example in 1921 approximately 86 million working days were lost through industrial action.[249] Mundell, PMU secretary, commented in 1923 on the unrest among British workers stating that there were thousands of striking dockers and transport employees at British ports causing food wastage and considerable price rises. Mundell proposed that the workers were striking independently of the official union leadership.[250]

Working class Christians found affinity with the emerging Pentecostal church in the inter-war period. Early British Pentecostal churches were mainly located in the industrial areas of Northern England and Wales or in poorer urban neighbourhoods where it was easier to recruit members from the working class. Cho's thesis, examining the relationship of Boddy and the early Pentecostal movement, demonstrates most British Pentecostals were working class and felt increasingly disenfranchised from the middle class PMU leadership.[251] Cho also states that Anglicanism was perceived as being more relevant to the privileged classes of British society whereas Pentecostalism

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[247] PMU archives, correspondence to Jameson (10th February 1922)
[248] Read, *Edwardian England* p. 207
[249] Rubenstein, W.D., *Capitalism, Culture and Decline in Britain, 1750-1990* (London, Routledge, 1993) p. 11
[250] PMU archives, correspondence to Jameson (27th July 1923)
[251] Cho, *Boddy* pp. 171-174

was attractive to marginalized people.[252] Polhill was a man of privilege both in social position and wealth. Boddy was a professional clergyman who had sufficient means to travel globally not affordable to most working class Pentecostals. Other Anglican PMU council members were William Glassby, Polhill's estate business secretary, John Leech a distinguished barrister and King's Counsel, Dr. Robert Middleton, vicar of Rugby, Titterington a civil servant and Mundell a London solicitor. It could be argued that the PMU council comprised some very gifted personnel, however it was not reflective of working class Pentecostals. Garrard's article on the rupture between the PMU and William Burton, discussed in chapter 5 of this thesis, cites Hocken's observation 'that there was very likely a question of class involved in the conflict between Burton and Boddy.'[253]

Inevitably British societal changes impacted early Pentecostalism where the working class majority became more vocal and no longer willing to accept the Anglican middle class leadership's non-denominational stance of Pentecostalism. Kay informs that only the Carter brothers, from among the new generation of influential British Pentecostal leaders[254], had regularly attended an Anglican church as children.[255] Moser's letter to Mundell in 1924 reflects that the Pentecostal assemblies were strongly non-conformist and Pentecostal unity would be strengthened if the PMU amalgamated with the AOG.[256] Social commentators, Read and Cecil, state if Edwardian British working classes were inclined to attend church it was more likely to be non-conformist, mainly because the Anglican Church had not adopted positive attitudes towards social and economic reform.[257] These changes highlight contributory factors for the struggles the PMU increasingly encountered because it was founded on pre-war class values and structures more in keeping with Anglicanism and British colonialism.

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[252] Cho, *Boddy* p. 34
[253] Garrard, *Rupture with PMU* p. 27
[254] In 1924 the majority of the initial signatories of the new AOG movement were aged in their thirties, so they were very much a different generation from Boddy and Polhill.
[255] Kay, *Inside Story* p. 67
[256] PMU archives, correspondence from Moser to Mundell (12th May 1924)
[257] Read, *Edwardian England* p. 55 and Cecil, *Edwardian England* p. 181

2.1.4. Indicators of social change through electoral reform

In 1900 the right to vote was limited to only seven million out of a population of 42 million in Britain caused by the household franchise electoral restriction. Only male household heads, over 21 years old, who had been a householder for six months minimum or lived in regular lodgings for over 12 months, could vote. Consequently many working class men and younger men were denied the vote as well as women. In 1900 the Women's Suffrage Bill was heavily defeated in Parliament.[258] The mobilisation of women into industry and agriculture during 1914-1918 temporarily raised their status and provided leverage towards gaining their suffrage. The total of women employed in British industry during the War rose by approximately 800,000.[259] On 6th February 1918 the right to vote for women over 30 was granted.[260] Adrian Hastings states this Representation of the People Act 'turned Britain for the first time from an oligarchy of the more affluent into a parliamentary democracy', as an extra 13 million men and women were given the right to vote.[261] Nevertheless, in 1924 the Suffragette movement contended that younger women remained disenfranchised within society until they also were given electoral rights.[262] The changing social status of British women is an important reflection when considering attitudes towards female missionaries in this era. The phenomena of the 'new woman' commenced in the developed world from about 1875 when middle class women started to have fewer children.[263] These moves to social egalitarianism are mirrored by some early Pentecostal concepts of pneumatological egalitarianism where ethnic, gender or class distinctions became unimportant. This particularly developed through the influence of Azusa Street and the application of Joel's latter rain prophecy indicating the Holy Spirit inclusively fills everyone, irrespective of nationality and background.

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[258] Chandler, Malcolm, *Votes for Women, c.1900-1928* (Harlow, Heinemann, 2001) p. 2
[259] Marwick, Arthur, *The Deluge-British Society and the First World War* (London, Macmillan, 1965) p. 91 & Marwick, Arthur, *'Total War and Historical Changes, 1914-1955'* (Buckingham, Open University Press, 2001) p.35
[260] Marwick, *Deluge* p. 105
[261] Hastings, Adrian, *A History of English Christianity, 1920-1985* (London, Collins, 1986) p. 21
[262] Holton, Sandra, *Votes For Women* (London, Routledge, 2000) p. 281
[263] Hobsbawm, Eric, *The Age of Empire: 1875-1914* (London, Abacus, 1994) pp.192-193

2.1.5. Imperialism and the civilising motive

Victorian era imperialism was motivated by the desire to claim territory before another nation did. Also there was a strong ideological motive expressed by Rudyard Kipling who suggested it was the white man's burden to civilise the world's native population.[264] Latourette terms Kipling as the 'poet laureate' for benevolent imperialism.[265] Even militarism and imperial advancement was valued as allied with the moral obedience of young men fulfilling their duty. James describes the 'British cult of the warrior hero' that 'laid great stress on his Christian faith which, as with Gordon (of Khartoum), was the basis for his superior courage.'[266] British troops were not just idealised as superior in terms of military capability but also for the moral cause of their military actions.

Occidental imperialism incentives often became entwined with the Christian missionary purpose to convert the heathen.[267] Anna Johnston shows how crucially connected Christianity was with the civilising aims of 19th century colonisation. 'Throughout the history of imperial expansion, missionary proselytising offered the British public a model of "civilised" expansionism and colonial community management, transforming imperial projects into moral allegories. Missionary activity was, however, unavoidably implicated in either covert or explicit cultural change.'[268] The explorer, Henry Morton Stanley, wrote in his 1875 diary that he 'often entertained lofty ideas concerning regenerative civilisation and the redemption of Africa'. So on arrival in Uganda he wrote to the *New York Herald* and *Daily Telegraph* appealing for missionaries to come and civilise the local inhabitants.[269] British Christians generally perceived the Empire as being providentially allowed to promote the

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[264] Kipling, Rudyard, 'The White Man's Burden' poem, *McLure's Magazine* (February 1899)
[265] Latourette, *Missions* p. 127
[266] James, *British Empire* p. 331
[267] American Missionary Association, 'The White Man's Duty' editorial, *The American Missionary* Vol. 53.2 (July 1899) demonstrates how Kipling's poem influenced and resonated with Western missionary ethnological prejudices at the end of the Victorian era. <http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/gilded/empire/text7/amermissionary.pdf > [accessed 21.10.2010]
[268] Johnston, Anna, *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800-1860* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003) p. 13
[269] Jeal, Tim, *Stanley: The Impossible Life of Africa's Greatest Explorer* (London, Faber, 2007) pp. 172-173

cause of global Christian missions.[270] Stewart Brown affirms Victorian providential conceptions of Britain's Christianising global role were influential when he states 'Britain was a Protestant state, preserved by providence to represent religious truth, responsible government and liberty of conscience.'[271] Hilary Carey speaks of 'Anglobalization' where the purpose of British colonial mission sought to 'make God's empire contiguous with the British empire.'[272]

This period encompassed by the PMU's history coincides with major changes to Britain's global stature. Britain entered the Great War prosperously positioned as a global economic creditor but emerged from the conflict as a debtor nation. John Stevenson reasons that the War with its huge drain on the nation's resources created a scenario where the unravelling of British imperial control became inevitable.[273] Certainly Butler acknowledges the inter-war period was transitional in how Britain related to its former colonies whereby Britain retained some influence by initiating the process of devolved power.[274] An examination of the PMU during 1908 to 1925 provides a fascinating cross-section of transitional British missionary history from imperialism through the Great War to the commencement of post-colonialism. For individuals like PMU leaders, Boddy and Polhill, products of the imperial culture of Victorian and Edwardian Britain, the existence of the Empire and what it represented was taken for granted. It would be difficult for their leadership mindset to adjust their missionary strategies necessary to be effective in the inter-war period reflective of the new global context and adapt to the clamour for a clearer British Pentecostal identity. Polhill's utopian idealism and Boddy's introverted eschatological views during the War were not helpful in preparing the PMU and British Pentecostalism for social changes and harsher economic realities of the post-war period.

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[270] Strong, Rowan, *Anglicanism and the British Empire, 1700-1850* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007) pp. 285-286
[271] Brown, Stewart, *Providence and Empire* (Harlow, Peason, 2008) pp. 146, 177 & 190
[272] Carey, Hilary, *God's Empire: Religion and Colonialism in the British World, 1801-1908* (Cambridge, CUP, 2011) p. 71
[273] Stevenson, John, *British Society 1914-45* (London, Penguin, 1984) pp.103-106
[274] Butler, L.J., *Britain and Empire: Adjusting to a Post-Imperial World* (London, Tauris, 2002) introduction p. xi

2.2 Missiological precursors to the PMU's faith mission praxis

Pentecostal missions commenced at the end of what is termed the 'Great century in Christian missions'. The missionary vision was embodied in the Student Volunteer movement slogan 'The evangelisation of the world in this generation'.[275] At the beginning of the Great War, Christianity was the most widespread global religion.[276] A model of Western Protestant missions developed during this historical period. Evangelical middle class missionaries had unprecedented access to foreign nations through advances in transportation.[277] The late nineteenth century was the apex for British faith missions. Specifically faith missionaries Hudson Taylor and C.T. Studd were directly linked to British Pentecostal missions through their acquaintance with Polhill, the PMU president.

Walls discusses how the rise of the voluntary mission society in the nineteenth century challenged traditional ecclesiastical structures and revived aspirations in the ideal of non-denominational structures,[278] which connects importantly to Boddy and Polhill's values. This period of missionary history gave rise to the concept of 'faith missions' that were independent from denominational control and derived funds trans-denominationally. Andrew Porter proposes faith missions arose as a response to the mid 19th century decline in missionary support and enthusiasm.[279] Walls outlines how the emergence of faith missions had a revolutionary affect on British ecclesiastical structures by giving new scope for laypeople, particularly women.[280] Faith missions never asserted that other missionary societies operated without faith. The appellation 'faith missions' was coined to characterise the method of financial support. Faith missions were perceived to offer a way of reaching global regions largely unaffected by European influences in the late 19th

[275] Latourette, *Missions* p. 13
[276] McGee, *This Gospel* p. 21
[277] Jones, Charles Brewer, *The View From Mars Hill: Christianity in the Landscape of World Religions* (Cambridge, Cowley, Massachusetts, 2005) p. 89
[278] Walls, *Missionary Movement* p. 249
[279] Porter, Andrew, `An Overview, 1700-1914' in Etherington, Norman (ed), *Missions and Empire* Oxford History of the British Empire Companion Series (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005) p. 56
[280] *Op cit.*, pp. 252-253

century, notably China's interior and parts of Africa.[281] The PMU mainly focused its activities on similar areas of the world such as China, Tibet, Congo and Brazil. McClung utilises the PMU as an early example of Pentecostal focus on unreached nations and frontier mission. He cites Gee's observation that 'particular emphasis of the PMU was always upon China and reaching the closed land of Tibet. A special urgent emphasis was placed upon taking the Gospel to the last few lands that had never heard.'[282]

Walls describes the CIM as the prototype of the faith mission societies that emerged in the 19th century.[283] Fiedler defines a faith mission as any missionary organisation that can trace the origins of its principles back to the CIM.[284] This is an important definition for analysis of the PMU's missiological praxis that was most clearly founded on similar ideals to the CIM. Fiedler comments 'the new Pentecostal piety and theology caused faith missions and Pentecostal missions to quickly part company'. However he adds:

> *The common heritage was strong enough for Pentecostal missions to pattern their work, in many respects on faith missions. This became clear in their adoption of the Bible school pattern for theological training, and in the pattern of mission structures, but also in their common veneration for the indigenous church principle and its high church Anglican apostle, Roland Allen.*[285]

This thesis explores the veracity of these claims with specific regard to the PMU and Polhill's relationship with the CIM through research of CIM archive material.

2.2.1. Hudson Taylor

A very important person to leave his imprint on faith missions was James Hudson Taylor.[286] Taylor was born 21st May 1832 into a Barnsley Methodist family and was influenced by his father's passion for China. His father lamented the lack of new missionaries going to China, as he believed the

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[281] Porter, Andrew, *Religion Versus Empire: British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2004) p. 200
[282] McClung, Grant, *Azusa Street and Beyond* (South Plainfield, Bridge, 1986) p. 17 citing Gee, Donald (1949:48)
[283] Walls, *Missionary Movement* p. 252
[284] Fiedler, *Faith Missions* p. 11
[285] *Ibid.*, p. 394
[286] *Ibid.*, p. 32

Chinese represented a significant unreached population.[287] Missionary activity was restricted to five treaty coastal ports open to Westerners. The treaty port agreement began in 1841 between Britain and China as a result of the first Opium war. Hong Kong was ceded to Britain and the five treaty ports were Shanghai, Canton, Ningpo, Amoy and Fuchow.[288] According to Taylor's son, Howard, the rest of interior China was unreached by the gospel and this became the basis of Taylor's burden.[289]

Taylor heard of Dr. Gützlaff, a German Lutheran who separated from his missionary organisation to reach the Chinese. Gützlaff supported himself as a paid government interpreter in Hong Kong. In 1846 he established the *Chinesische Stiftung* missionary union that trained native evangelists to reach inland China. Gützlaff undertook seven journeys into interior China, during 1831-1835, wearing Chinese apparel to share the gospel. Later it was revealed Gützlaff had naïvely trusted indigenous worker effectiveness and so the mission failed. However Gützlaff planted a seed of mission strategy in Taylor's life that ultimately led to the CIM's establishment and for Taylor to regard him as the CIM's grandfather.[290]

In 1849 the Chinese Evangelisation Society (CES) commenced to implement Gützlaff's strategy.[291] In 1853 Taylor sailed from Liverpool as an accepted CES missionary.[292] When Taylor arrived in Shanghai he became trapped by civil war, using this time for language study. Taylor was accepted and helped by the Shanghai missionary community. In 1854 Taylor left Shanghai's safety to live entirely among the Chinese.[293] During his initial years in China, Taylor made multiple lengthy journeys into the Chinese interior taking the gospel to many cities where Protestant missionaries had not previously visited.[294]

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[287] Taylor, Dr & Mrs Howard, *Hudson Taylor in Early Years: The Growth of a Soul* (New York, Hodder & Stoughton, 1912) pp. 51-52
[288] Neill, Stephen, *Colonialism and Christian Mission,* pp. 132-133
[289] *Ibid.,* pp. 83-87
[290] Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor* p. 31
[291] *Op cit.,* p. 24
[292] Broomhall, Marshall, *The Jubilee Story of the China Inland Mission* (London, Morgan & Scott, 1915) p. 11
[293] *Op cit.,* pp. 201-233
[294] *Ibid.,* p. 293

Taylor identified with the Chinese by wearing their clothes, shaving his head, darkening his hair and eating Chinese food with chopsticks. This enabled him to visit more unreached areas, as he was not recognised as a foreigner until his accent gave him away. However other Europeans and missionaries criticised his decision to emulate the Chinese.[295]

After Taylor's successful eighth journey into the interior, he settled on Tsung-ming Island, where local inhabitants lodged a complaint against him. The British vice-consul warned Taylor the treaty agreement only covered British citizens living in the five ports. If he continued to reside outside the treaty zone he would be fined $500 and possibly deported.[296] Taylor considered a test case appeal to demonstrate Protestant missionaries were discriminated against, especially as Catholic missionaries had no such limitations imposed upon them. While Taylor waited for the British consul, Sir John Bowring, to arrive in Shanghai, he encountered Scottish Presbyterian missionary, William Burns. Burns advised Taylor against his appeal reminding him of God's ability to open the right doors. So Burns and Taylor journeyed together by boat into the interior. Taylor worked with Burns for seven months establishing a mission at Swatow in the South, which was a notorious opium centre.[297] Burns noticed the Chinese more readily accepted Taylor due to his Chinese appearance and decided to follow his example.[298] Burns stayed in Swatow supported by indigenous Christians, however Taylor desired to reach more of China's interior with the gospel, so they parted company.[299]

Howard recounts how a local man, who Taylor tried to convert, stole property from him. Taylor refused to prosecute him and sent a letter conveying his salvation was more important than the recovery of his property. George Müller heard of Taylor's response and was stirred to cover the losses. It created a lifelong link between Müller and the CIM commenced by Taylor.[300] Broomhall records in 1857 Taylor's efforts to reach the interior were frustrated by the

[295] Taylor, *Growth of a Soul* pp. 314-323
[296] Broomhall, *Taylor* p. 71
[297] *Ibid.*, p. 74
[298] *Op cit.*, pp. 338-345
[299] *Ibid.*, pp. 374-383
[300] *Ibid.*, pp. 399-400

second Opium War between the Chinese and Britain.[301] Taylor severed his CES links in 1857 because he disliked how their financial practice constantly placed him in debt.[302]

During 1860 health problems caused Taylor to return to England. In 1865 Taylor felt compelled to form the CIM when he realised existing missions were unwilling to reach out beyond the treaty ports to the 11 unreached interior provinces.[303] He established the CIM on faith mission principles, following Müller's example of not making his needs known, as he felt other missionary societies were tied to traditional methods and strategies. He envisaged active field missionaries would run the CIM. In 1872 the CIM developed a home council to promote its work in England by generating support and missionary recruitment.[304] Later Polhill would become part of this council and model the PMU on his experiences of the CIM structure.

The CIM's achievements practically demonstrated all of China was accessible for missionary work and paved the way for other missionary societies to be established there.[305] Porter remarks the CIM 'not only rapidly became the second largest British missionary venture of all but also was widely imitated and prompted adaptations in the practice of the long-established societies.'[306] Taylor's legacy upon early British Pentecostal missionary activity was substantial as both the PMU and CEM were among its imitations. Taylor believed missionary work should be done in total reliance upon God. So he exemplified a successful model of faith mission both at a personal and organisational level. Particularly Taylor encouraged CIM missionaries to seek empowerment derived from being filled with the Spirit. In 1892 Taylor advocated: 'The supreme want of all missions in the present day is the manifested presence of the Holy Ghost.'[307]

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[301] Broomhall, *Jubilee Story* p. 16
[302] Broomhall, *Taylor* pp. 412-439
[303] Fiedler, *Faith Missions* p. 32
[304] Malcomson, Keith, *Pentecostal Pioneers Remembered* (Longwood, Xulon, 2008) pp. 57-58
[305] Neill, *Missions* p. 284
[306] Porter, *Religion Versus Empire* p. 194 - the CMS was the largest British missionary society.
[307] Taylor, Howard, *Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission* (London, Lutterworth, 1949) p. 512

McGee attributes the CIM vision as providing the scaffold to enable British Pentecostals to work together in mission.[308] The CIM was part of the faith mission movement emphasising revivalist urgency that the gospel should be preached in every nation before Christ returned. Anderson states Pentecostal mission history is 'wedded to this pre-millennial conviction'.[309] This means the essential missional philosophy of early Pentecostals flowed from the same stream of faith mission principles and revivalist emphasis as Taylor's CIM. This thesis compares the PMU and the CIM to determine any commonality of beliefs and missionary principles.

2.2.2. The Cambridge Seven

It is necessary to examine the Cambridge Seven, as they were part of the CIM, and explain how the CIM and PMU are linked. The Victorian mission phenomenon of the Cambridge Seven cannot be ignored within any investigation of the historical roots of British Pentecostalism as Polhill, one of the Seven, founded the PMU. The Cambridge Seven comprised Stanley Smith of Repton and Trinity College, stroke of the Cambridge eight's boat, oldest son of a Mayfair surgeon; Montagu Beauchamp of Repton and Trinity, a baronet's son; Dixon Hoste a gunner subaltern in the Royal Artillery, a major-general's son; William Cassels of Repton and St. John's, a Church of England curate; Cecil Polhill-Turner of Eton and Jesus College, an officer in the Queen's Bays (2nd Dragoon Guards); his brother Arthur Polhill-Turner of Eton, Trinity and Ridley Hall; lastly Charles Studd the Eton, Cambridge and England cricketer.

D.L. Moody's evangelistic meetings in Britain were influential upon the Cambridge Seven. Hoste became a Christian indirectly through Moody's ministry, while still in the army, by the witness of his brother who was a student at Cambridge.[310] Smith was the first of the Cambridge students to respond in November 1882. Then Beauchamp and Arthur Polhill responded to Moody's ministry at Cambridge. Cassels considered going as a missionary

[308] McGee, *American Pentecostalism* p. 144
[309] Anderson, *Spreading Fires* p. 25
[310] *The Times*, 'Obituary: Mr D.E. Hoste' (May 11th 1946) p. 7

with the Church Missionary Society (CMS) but when he heard they did not operate in China's interior, he applied to the CIM.[311] Taylor shared a meal with Smith and completely changed his future by inspiring him to become a missionary in China.[312]

Broomhall states Polhill initially resisted his younger brother's Christian beliefs but accompanied him to hear Moody in London although he remained unresponsive. In 1884 he visited his bachelor uncle, British resident at the Württemburg royal court in Stuttgart, who had named him his heir.[313] Polhill made his Christian commitment on his return from Germany. This was no trivial matter for Polhill as his uncle, Sir Henry Barron, was a Roman Catholic. Polhill believed if he became an Evangelical missionary Barron would likely disinherit him.[314] In January 1885 the Polhills asked Smith and Studd to speak in Bedford. Polhill requested a personal interview with Taylor in London for advice about his call to China. Afterwards he and his brother became members of the Cambridge Seven.[315]

Broomhall describes Studd as the best known of the Seven given his fame as a very gifted cricketer. Studd played for the Cambridge University team that defeated Australia. He played for England in the historic game creating the Ashes and in 1883 toured Australia with the team that retrieved the Ashes.[316] In 1887 Studd gave £25,000 of his inheritance money to various Christian causes.[317] The following year Studd donated the remainder of his inheritance to the Salvation Army. Grubb portrays Studd's determination to live by faith without reliance on personal wealth.[318]

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[311] Broomhall, Marshall, *W.W. Cassels: First Bishop in Western China* (London, CIM, 1926) pp. 36-37
[312] Broomhall, *Assault on the Nine* pp. 338-339
[313] *Ibid.*, p. 352
[314] Pollock, *Cambridge Seven* pp. 35-47
[315] *Op cit*., p. 355
[316] *Ibid.*, pp. 332 & 340
[317] *Ibid.*, p. 425
[318] Grubb, Norman, *C.T. Studd: Cricketer and Pioneer* (Guildford, Lutterworth, 1970) pp. 64-69

The Cambridge Seven gave a higher profile and added impetus to the missionary cause in British society.[319] The CIM held three great farewell meetings for the Cambridge Seven in Cambridge, Oxford and London.[320] Grubb describes the Cambridge meeting was attended by 1200 people and is recorded as being the most remarkable missionary meeting ever held at the University. Similarly the Corn Exchange in Oxford and the Exeter Hall in London were packed to capacity as people were captivated by the willingness of these capable young men to renounce their careers and wealth to become missionaries.[321] Porter states 'The decision of the Cambridge Seven to volunteer for China in 1885 was a source of widespread satisfaction, a highly visible missionary coup confirming beyond doubt the appeal, significance and status of the mission vocation.'[322] Daniel Bays believes the Cambridge Seven's profile enabled the CIM to recruit lower middle and middle class Evangelicals more effectively.[323]

The Cambridge Seven sailed for China in 1885. In accordance with CIM principles they adopted Chinese appearance in both clothing and hairstyle. Broomhall explains Taylor originally intended the Cambridge Seven to go to Szechuan province. They were all classed as Anglicans and it was CIM policy for missionaries of the same denominational affiliation to work together. However after four months in Shanghai, Taylor decided that it was more prudent to split the Cambridge Seven up into smaller groups.[324] This resulted from consulate advice about the wisdom of so large a group travelling together given the volatile nature of the country.[325]

Norman Grubb narrates that Studd and the Polhills initially travelled 1,800 miles by boat up the Yangtze and Han rivers to Han-Chung-fu.[326] During their journey Studd and the Polhills prayed for the gift of xenolalia and encouraged

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[319] Grubb, *Studd* p. 42
[320] *The Times*, 'Missions to China' (Feb 5th 1885) p. 6 reports the London farewell service and how the Cambridge Seven raised the profile of missions.
[321] *Op cit.*, pp. 49-51
[322] Porter, *Religion Versus Empire* p. 249
[323] Bays, Daniel, *A New History of Christianity in China* (Chichester, Wiley-Blackwell, 2011) p. 69
[324] Broomhall, *Assault on the Nine* pp. 373-374
[325] Broomhall, *Cassels* p. 53
[326] *Op cit.*, pp. 52-55

other missionaries to seek the daily renewal of the Spirit enabling empowerment for service. Smith, Hoste and Cassels proceeded to Shansi via Peking. Later Beauchamp was sent to Shansi to join these three.[327] In Peking they inspired missionaries to pray for Spirit-baptism and a spiritual outpouring throughout China. They regarded this fullness of the Spirit as Pentecostal power necessary for missionary service and purity of life.[328] Arthur Polhill worked in North Szechuan using mission stations as evangelistic bases to reach densely populated areas. He stated 'What China wants is the simple Gospel in power of the Holy Ghost, without which it is indeed in vain.'[329] This combination of pneumatological expectation and missionary fervour particularly expressed by the Cambridge Seven is an important antecedent for the PMU's mission philosophy shaped by Cecil Polhill, one of the Seven.

After Studd was invalided home from China in 1894 he ministered on American campuses and prayed for students to receive Spirit-baptism. Grubb reveals that Studd's letters from this period employed terminology of expecting people to receive the gift of Spirit-baptism with Studd himself being 'drunk with the Spirit'.[330] Fiedler explains Spirit-baptism was terminology used by Holiness evangelists in this era, such as Moody, to challenge believers to a second step of faith into a deeper spiritual experience without it having the Pentecostal theological connotation of Spirit-baptism accompanied by glossolalia.[331]

Smith ministered in North China where he developed as a proficient linguist apparently as fluent at preaching in Chinese as he was in English. In 1902 Smith separated from the CIM, caused by his eschatological views, commencing an independent mission in East Shansi. Smith acknowledged the principle of 'eternal' punishment but disagreed that it necessarily implied 'everlasting'. He stated the torments of hell would not last forever and 'the

[327] Broomhall, *Jubilee Story* p. 166
[328] Broomhall, *Cassels* pp. 56-57
[329] Broomhall, *Evangelisation of the World* p. 29
[330] Grubb, *Studd* pp. 108-115
[331] Fiedler, *Faith Missions* pp. 213-214

revealed consummation of things was universal reconciliation'.[332] Johnston explains the CIM official view of everlasting punishment for the lost rendered Smith's position as heretical.[333] Smith stayed an independent missionary until his death at Tse-Chow in 1931.[334] The first four single male PMU missionaries sent to China in 1910 were initially based at Smith's mission in order to commence language study.[335] Frank Trevitt, one of the four, communicated how Smith assisted them with language acquisition and cultural adaptation.[336] Smith favourably responded towards tongues being the Pentecostal sign of Spirit reception resulting from the PMU missionaries' influence.[337] Also in 1910 Polhill and Small visited Smith's mission at Shansi.[338] In 1915 Smith applied to the PMU for his independent mission and co-workers to come under its jurisdiction. Polhill was aware of Smith's ultimate reconciliation views and informed Smith those views were contrary to the PMU's position and therefore the PMU could not entertain Smith's proposal.[339] Smith's views influenced one of the four PMU missionaries, John McGillivary, to accept and promote the same ultimate reconciliation beliefs.[340]

Hoste worked with the famous indigenous Chinese pastor Hsi Shengmo in Shansi until 1896. Hoste was known for his wise, judicial and prayerful leadership. He was appointed acting CIM general director in 1901. Two years later he was formally appointed as Taylor's successor and led the CIM for over 30 years.[341] Hocken proposes Hoste's appointment and personal connection with Polhill benefited the PMU's work in China[342] but this does not fit evidence from the CIM minutes during the Great War years examined by this thesis.

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[332] Smith, Stanley, *A Treatise on Eternal Punishment and Ultimate Restoration* (Bedford, 1901) – held in special CIM archive collection at London SOAS
[333] Johnston, R.F., *Letters to a Missionary* (London, Watts, 1908) pp. vii-viii
[334] Pollock, *Cambridge Seven* p. 108
[335] Boddy (ed), 'China: Letter from Mr. Cecil Polhill' *Confidence* Vol. 4.1 (January 1911) p. 19
[336] Boddy (ed), 'Brothers Trevitt, Bristow, McGillvary and Williams' *Confidence* Vol. 4.1 (January 1911) p. 21
[337] Boddy (ed), 'The Pentecostal Missionary Union' *Confidence* Vol. 8.7 (July 1915) p. 138 Bristow reports Smith was filled with the Spirit by speaking in tongues in 'A Letter from Brother P. Bristow' *Confidence* Vol. 4.3 (March 1911) p. 69
[338] Boddy (ed), 'Pentecostal Items' *Confidence* Vol. 4.1 (January 1911) p. 4
[339] PMU minutes, minute no. 9 (20th July 1915)
[340] PMU archives, correspondence from McGillivary to Mundell (10th August 1925)
[341] *The Times*, 'China Inland Mission: Last of the Cambridge Seven Retires' (June 14th 1935) p. 14
[342] Hocken, *Polhill* p. 129 fn. 79

During his time as a CIM missionary, Cecil Polhill temporarily worked in Shansi but moved northwest because Tibet was his passion. Tibet was classified as forbidden territory totally closed to Christianity. Polhill worked in Hanchung and Chung-king during 1886 and witnessed a spiritual outpouring on both missionaries and Chinese believers. Broomhall says Polhill observed 'the fire of the Holy Ghost is taking possession of them', which fuelled Polhill's desire that all may be filled with the Spirit with spiritual gifts functioning throughout China.[343] Austin describes Polhill as 'a restless wanderer, edging towards Tibet and Pentecostalism, settling for a time in Xinjiang, then moving to Darjeeling, India, then back to Sichuan on the Tibetan border'.[344] Austin also described Polhill as 'the most adventurous of the Cambridge Seven'.[345] Polhill is said to have gone 'Pentecostal' and moved to join Annie Royale Taylor, the 'lone wolf' at the Tibetan borders. She was an intrepid explorer of Tibet who went beyond her CIM colleagues into Xinjiang and closer to Lhasa than any other foreigner.[346] During the 1890's Polhill and his wife joined Annie Taylor firstly in Kansu, secondly Qinghai, then at Darjeeling in North India. Austin states they differed over strategy because her idea was to reach Lhasa herself by small incremental stages where as Polhill believed it was better to convert Tibetans to proclaim the gospel in Lhasa.[347] Polhill established contacts with some Tibetans at Kansu. He also passed on a message to the Dalai Lama by means of other travellers.[348]

After Polhill's marriage to Eleanor Marston[349] in 1887 at Paoning by Bishop Cassels[350] they crossed the Yellow River to Sining, 30 miles from the Tibetan frontier. The Polhills lived among Tibetans and learned the Tibetan language in order to proclaim the gospel with signs following.[351] Then the Polhills moved, a forty-day journey, to Sungpan also on the Tibetan border. In 1892

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[343] Broomhall, *Evangelisation of the World* p. 189
[344] Austin, *China's Millions* p. 208
[345] *Ibid.*, p. 238
[346] *Ibid.*, p. 383
[347] *Ibid.*, p. 450
[348] *The Times*, 'Obituary: Mr Cecil Polhill' (March 11th 1938) p. 16
[349] Eleanor Marston was born 1860 at Devizes, England and became a CIM missionary in 1884.
[350] Robeck, *Azusa* p. 288
[351] Taylor, Hudson, *China's Millions* (London, Morgan & Scott, 1890) p. 140

the Polhills and their two sons were seriously assaulted during a riot.[352] Polhill states the resentment stemmed from them being superstitiously associated with causing a regional drought.[353] A mob surrounded their house to attack them. It would have been worse but for a Chinese Christian, Wang, and his servant's courage. The local magistrate attempted to appease the mob, by allowing these two men to be beaten instead of the Polhills.[354] The Polhills were escorted safely to the nearest mission station where colleagues looked after them following their traumatic treatment.[355]

In 1896 the Polhills moved to Darjeeling where Taylor met them and placed a team of young missionaries under their supervision, known as the CIM Tibetan band. In 1897 The Polhills moved to Ta-chien-lu in China to open a centre from where mission work could be pioneered to Tibetans in North West Szechwan.[356] For some years approximately ten CIM missionaries evangelised eastern Tibet from here.[357] Polhill's continual attempt to be near Tibet demonstrates his deep missionary fervour for this unreached nation. Susie Rijnhart commented on the quality work of the CIM Tibetan band led by Polhill during her visit to Ta-chien-lu.[358] When the Boxer rebellion occurred in 1899 the Polhills were evacuated to the coast after the Cheng-tu-fu authorities in Szechwan agreed to spare their lives by just one vote.[359] The Polhills were invalided home to England and advised against returning to China.[360]

This brief examination of the Cambridge Seven's calibre and expectations of pneumatological empowerment indicates the missionary pedigree and theology that inspired and influenced the PMU. Polhill, the founder and president of the PMU, carried a certain iconic missionary status within the early Pentecostal movement as one of the acclaimed Seven. It provides

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[352] *The Times*, 'The China Inland Mission 1893 annual report' (June 1st 1893) p. 4
[353] Polhill, Cecil, 'Tibet' chapter in *The Chinese Empire* by Marshall Broomhall(ed), (London, Morgan and Scott, 1907) p. 336
[354] Broomhall, *Jubilee Story* p. 283
[355] Broomhall, *Cassels* pp. 156-157
[356] Dawson, E.C., *Heroines of Missionary Adventure* (Whitefish, Kessinger, 2005) pp. 100-102
[357] Sörensen, Theo, *Work in Tibet* (Tatsienlu, CIM, 1920) p. 15
[358] Rijnhart, Susie Carson, *With the Tibetans in Tent and Temple: Narrative of Four Year's Residence on the Tibetan Border and of a Journey into the Far Interior* (Boston, Adamant, 2001) p. 395. After Rijnhart lost her husband and son in Tibet she managed to reach the safety of Polhill's house.
[359] *The Times*, 'Obituary: Mr Cecil Polhill' (March 11th 1938) p. 16
[360] Pollock, *Cambridge Seven* pp. 108-109

insight into factors stimulating Polhill's particular desire to motivate Pentecostal missionary activity in an area of China and India close to Tibet. Polhill had rubbed shoulders with influential faith missionaries through his involvement with the CIM. This history of the Cambridge Seven shows how Polhill particularly had leanings towards Pentecostalism and to channel that spiritual empowerment for mission to include unreached areas.

2.2.3. Brethren Faith missions

Brethrenism significantly influenced early British Pentecostals. The effect of Darbyism on missional urgency due to expectations of Christ's imminent return will be examined later. However other aspects of Brethrenism also left an imprint on early Pentecostal missiology. An understanding of Brethren attitudes to eschatology, protocols of financial support, aversion to organised structures and female involvement in leadership are apparent in the emergence of British Pentecostalism.

Anthony Norris Groves pioneered Brethren missions and non-church faith based missions among Arabic people groups. Groves, a self-employed dentist, applied to the CMS but severed his connection because he was reluctant to be denominationally ordained.[361] Larsen states Groves' 'innovative mind generated fresh ideas on the proper way to undertake missionary enterprises. He was one of the first to declare missionaries should culturally identify with the people they were attempting to evangelise. His unconventional thinking was a factor causing his eventual disillusionment with missionary societies.'[362] Groves conflicted doctrinally and philosophically with missionary societies. In 1829 he worked as an independent missionary in Baghdad and then later in India. He merely retained his Bible, his notes and a mat as personal possessions during his travels. Müller sent him out as a missionary from Bristol. Groves longed to see the establishment of a national

[361] Fiedler, *Faith Missions* p. 25
[362] Larsen, Timothy, 'Living by Faith: A Short History of Brethren Practice' *Emmaus Journal* Vol. 12.2 (Winter 2003) p. 74

Indian church led from the outset by indigenous leaders without the necessity of foreign support.[363]

Groves believed the Spirit would be outpoured upon their missionary work to empower their apostolic methods with apostolic results. At one point he believed in the restoration of spiritual gifts to aid global evangelism but by the end of his life reverted to cessationism. Nevertheless Groves inspired a young Indian evangelist called John Arulappan. After Groves' death, Arulappan was instrumental in the 1860 revival that included glossolalia.[364] Arulappan raised up an apostolic team that evangelised and planted churches, lived by faith and were led by the Spirit. Malcomson asserts these Indian believers, who functioned in Pentecostal power, fulfilled Groves' vision for an indigenous church in India.[365] In January 1908 Norwegian Pentecostal leader Thomas Barratt arrived in India, invited and financed by Groves' son, Anthony H. Groves. He was a tea planter in the Nilgiri hills of South India. Through Groves' sponsorship Barratt saw many Christian and Missionary Alliance (C&MA) missionaries filled with the Spirit. Importantly for links the PMU established in India, Barratt visited Mukti and affirmed it as a genuine Pentecostal revival.[366]

Müller, a Prussian born in 1805, is another well-known Brethren leader who influenced early Pentecostals, particularly in terms of what is referred to as 'faith missions'. After his conversion in 1825 Müller read missionary articles stimulating his passion for foreign missions.[367] In 1827 he unsuccessfully applied to be a missionary in Bucharest. When the London Jew's Society accepted him as a worker, he relocated to London in 1829 to study Hebrew. During his training he was seriously ill and encountered God in such a way that he surrendered himself more completely to God's will. He also felt God

[363] Dann, Robert Bernard, *Father of Faith Missions: The Life and Times of Anthony Norris Groves (1795-1853)* (Waynesboro, Authentic, 2004) pp. 239-240
[364] Groves, Henry, *Memoir to Anthony Norris Groves* (London, James Nisbet, 1869) pp. 601-602
[365] Malcomson, *Pentecostal Pioneers* pp. 30-33
[366] Anderson, *Spreading Fires* p. 85
[367] Pierson, Arthur, *George Möller of Bristol* (London, James Nisbet & Co, 1899) p. 245

revealed to him the imminent return of Christ rather than believe the dominant post-millennialism of that era.[368]

He was challenged by Groves' willingness to give up his dentistry career to become a missionary. Müller later married Groves' sister, Mary. They established a thriving church in Bristol, which included the Scriptural Knowledge Institution to help finance overseas missionary work. Müller believed it was wrong for home based missionary society leaders to govern a missionary's activities. Instead, the missionary should be free to do whatever they perceived to be God's Will for their calling.[369] Müller's philosophy and support of the CIM, was influential in the establishment of the faith mission movement.[370]

In 1836 the Müllers opened their first children's home in Bristol. By 1870 they had established five children's homes caring for 2,000 children, all run on faith principles. It is estimated 100,000 children were looked after by these homes. It was only after 1875 Müller travelled overseas again.[371] In the next 17 years Müller ministered in 42 countries, travelled over 200,000 miles and influenced an estimated three million people with his conviction of living by faith and being led by the Spirit. Pierson comments on these extensive worldwide missionary tours, 'they would of themselves have sufficed for the work of an ordinary life'.[372] Fiedler proposes Müller 'played an important role in the formative phase of the faith mission movement', as Taylor borrowed the faith principle from Müller's example.[373] It is the inspiration of Müller's faith principles and influence on faith missions that links him to PMU praxis. The PMU was founded on faith mission principles and it is necessary to discover the origins and inspiration of these mission ideals.

Brethrenism pioneered a simple approach to living by faith and establishing a New Testament pattern of church government in overseas missions.

[368] Pierson, *Möller* pp. 246-247
[369] Larsen, *Living by Faith* p. 77
[370] Austin, *China's Millions* p. 96 indicates Müller became the CIM's largest donor in its early years.
[371] Malcomson, *Pentecostal Pioneers* pp. 35-37
[372] *Op cit.*, p. 257
[373] Fiedler, *Faith Missions* p. 55

Malcomson upholds this legacy impacted early Pentecostals and particularly the PMU through the Brethren roots of Myerscough, Burton and Wigglesworth.[374] However Gee states 'Contrary to popular ideas he (Myerscough) was not a member of the Plymouth Brethren'.[375] Counsell adds Myerscough had a Methodist background.[376] Burton's Brethren influences are apparent in his dispute with the PMU, when he opposed women in leadership, criticised hierarchical denominational structures and attacked Boddy's Anglican practice of baptising infants. These issues are covered in chapter five of this thesis.

Fiedler proposes faith missions mainly developed as a reaction to millions of unreached peoples overlooked by classical missions. Faith missions were birthed in revivalist movements focused on evangelism of unreached peoples, holiness and eschatology.[377] The Brethren influence upon faith missions and Pentecostalism affected ideas about denominational and missionary organisations. Larsen states Brethrenism upholds 'denominations are a hindrance to the unity for which Christ had prayed' and insist 'God never desired to see denominations arise, and therefore these structures were not born of the Holy Ghost but of human schemes.'[378] Faith missions fundamentally gravitated towards non-denominationalism and this factor could indicate why some early Pentecostals were denominationally averse. The other significant Pentecostal faith mission was Burton's CEM, which remained separate from the emerging denominationalism of British Pentecostals after the Great War. Even when the newly formed British AOG and PMU merged in 1925 the CEM retained its autonomous status as a faith mission. Overall the pattern of global Pentecostal missionary activity developed into denominational based missions but Fiedler indicates British Pentecostalism originated from faith missions.[379] Before the formation of the British AOG the PMU strongly reflects non-sectarian faith mission principles flowing from influences of the CIM, Cambridge Seven and Brethrenism. Early Pentecostals

[374] Malcomson, *Pentecostal Pioneers* pp. 38-39
[375] Gee, *Men I Knew* p. 67
[376] Counsell, William, *Fire Beneath The Clock* (Nottingham, New Life, 2003) p. 21
[377] Fiedler, *Faith Missions* p. 125
[378] Larsen, *Living by Faith* p. 85
[379] *Op cit.*, pp. 118-119

adapted these principles with pneumatological distinctives but the essence of PMU praxis can be traced back to the 19th century.

2.3 Exploration of theological roots and influences upon the PMU

This section examines the pneumatological & eschatological 'Latter Rain' concept that promoted missiological urgency among early Pentecostals. Other religious influences specific to shaping early British Pentecostal missionary activity will also be examined.

2.3.1. Eschatology

The reason for examining eschatology in the scope of this thesis is not to validate a particular eschatological scheme but to evaluate eschatological influences on early Pentecostals and their missiology. Mark Chapman believes the vacuum left by the gradual social breakdown and shift of values from Victorian Britain was the crisis context in Edwardian Britain for the rediscovery of eschatology, which became accentuated by the Great War.[380] Glenn Balfour proposes no singular eschatological position defines classical Pentecostalism; however distinctive eschatological beliefs such as imminent futurist eschatology, pre-millennialism and the significance of Israel are strongly associated with Pentecostalism.[381]

Modern missions began in the Enlightenment era when post-millennialism dominated eschatology. The best-known proponent of post-millennialism was Jonathan Edwards a theologian of the American great awakening. Worldwide missionary work was motivated by the eschatological conviction that it added to the evolving process of establishing Christ's millennial Kingdom on earth. Evangelicals viewed this epoch flowing from persistent mission as a time of peace and glory.[382] This post-millennial vision of a Christianised world merged with British imperial utopian ideals to represent

[380] Chapman, *Coming Crisis* pp. 7-28
[381] Balfour, Glenn, 'Pentecostal Eschatology Revisited' *JEPTA* Vol. 31.2 (2011) pp. 127-129
[382] Bebbington, David, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730's to the 1980's* (Abingdon, Routledge, 2005) p. 62

Anglican Church missiology in particular.[383] Post-millennialism was characterised by an overly optimistic and prejudicial Westernised worldview.[384] It was popular when the Church was deemed to be most successful in Christianising unreached global regions, particularly in the nineteenth century momentum of missionary activity associated with the civilising motive.[385]

Early Pentecostal missiology was influenced by eschatological shifts occurring towards the end of the nineteenth century when postmillennial expectations of a transformed world were challenged by premillennial emphases, particularly through 'faith' missions.[386] Fiedler parallels in missiology the shared eschatological passion of faith missions and Pentecostalism.[387] Eschatology has a determining effect on missionary motivation and praxis. Both individual and organisational eschatological approaches to millennialism have influenced Evangelical and Pentecostal missionary activity. William Faupel maintains eschatology was the overarching theme that shaped early Pentecostalism.[388] D.J. Wilson agrees 'for most Pentecostals the future determines the present, their view of eschatology governs their view of current events'. Wilson concedes Pentecostal eschatology significantly influenced responses to world events but believes it has been less effective on stimulating mission.[389] Wilson's view probably holds true that eschatology has lessened in its motivational impact on current Pentecostalism; however eschatological issues profoundly influenced the era of the PMU's existence both in the priority of missiological urgency and interpretation of global events as missional opportunities.

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[383] Fanning, Don, *Eschatology and Mission'* (Lynchburg, VA, Liberty University, 2009) p. 2 <http://works.bepress.com/don_fanning/16/> [accessed 26.02.2010]
[384] Fiedler, *Faith Missions* pp. 272-274
[385] Erickson, Millard, *Christian Theology* (Grand Rapids, Baker, 1983) pp. 1206-1207
[386] Stanley, Brian, 'The Future in the Past: Eschatological Vision in British and American Protestant Missionary History' *Tyndale Bulletin* Vol. 51.1 (2000) p.101
[387] *Op cit.*, p. 119
[388] Faupel, William, *The Everlasting Gospel: The Significance of Eschatology in the Development of Pentecostal Thought* (Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) p. 114
[389] Wilson, D.J., *Pentecostal Perspectives on Eschatology* in Burgess and McGee (eds), Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements (Grand Rapids, Zondervan, 1988) p. 264

In 1830 John Nelson Darby, founder of the Plymouth Brethren, developed a dispensational approach to pre-millennial eschatology known as Darbyism. Dispensationalism identifies various time periods signifying a distinct divine purpose for those eras. God's purposes were viewed as progressive through set ages or dispensations. Dispensationalists refer to Jesus' words in Luke 21: 24 when He spoke of the 'times of the Gentiles' as signifying set timeframes in God's purposes.[390] The current 'Church age' was regarded by many as the sixth epoch, culminating with the final 'Kingdom age' of Christ's millennial reign.[391] A Pentecostal providential methodology that perceives God's involvement in patterns of human history is linked to dispensational eschatology. Bebbington relates this back historically to British Evangelicalism stating 'All alike saw the historical process as subject to the divine sovereignty. That was why all alike could look with confidence to the future. Optimism was expressed in doctrinal form through belief in a millenarium.'[392] Many early Pentecostals developed an interpretive matrix of Biblical prophecy and eschatology through a dispensational approach.

Dispensational eschatology appealed to early Pentecostals who regarded traditional churches as tainted by spiritual apostasy. The use of apocalyptic imagery depicting God's impending judgement to encourage evangelistic urgency and missional response closely aligned with the revivalist nature of early Pentecostalism.[393] It may be regarded as unusual that many Pentecostals accepted dispensational eschatology because typically dispensationalists took a cessationist view. Early Pentecostals, such as Seymour, overcame this dilemma of how to harmonise their pneumatology with a dispensational eschatology by explaining the Spirit's outpouring heralded the end of an age through the latter rain motif.[394] Tim Walsh explains 'espousal of the "Latter Rain" amounted to significantly more than a nuanced

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[390] Pentecost, Dwight, *Things To Come* (Grand Rapids, Zondervan, 1964) p. 129
[391] Baer, Jonathan, 'American Dispensationalism's Perpetually Imminent End Times' *Journal of Religion* Vol. 87.2 (Chicago, Chicago University Press, April 2007) p. 249
[392] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism* pp. 61-62
[393] Macchia, Frank, 'Pentecostal and Charismatic Theology' in Walls, Jerry (ed), The *Oxford Handbook of Eschatology* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2008) p. 284
[394] Sloos, William, *The Conflict between Dispensationalism and Early Pentecostalism and the Emergence of the Latter Rain Motif* <http://williamsloos.blogspot.com/2008/04/conflict-between-dispensationalism-and.html> [accessed 05.02.2011]

addition to an inherited eschatological schema: it endowed the Pentecostal cause with a unique and fortuitous place in providential dealings.'[395]

Amillennialism is an eschatological position averse to a literal millennial reign of Christ on earth after the second coming. It maintains Scriptural prophecies relating to the Kingdom are being spiritually fulfilled in the Church age between Christ's first and second coming. Amillennialism is similar to post-millennialism in that Christ comes after what is termed the millennium. It interprets Biblical prophecy regarding the millennium as being fulfilled by the Church, the spiritual successor to literal Israel.[396] Early church fathers such as Origen and Augustine promoted allegorical methods of interpreting the Bible that gave rise to the amillennial position.[397] The amillennial and post-millennial views tend to focus missionary activity on present societal transformation and realisation of the Kingdom now.[398] Amillennialism became more popular after the Great War.[399] Historicist eschatology expects prophetic fulfilment to occur within the Church age. Early Pentecostals generally believed in imminent futurist eschatology as embodied in pre-millennialism.

Pentecostals reckoned the early church lived in the light of a belief in the imminent return of Christ and they perceived the renewed outpouring of the Spirit in the early part of the twentieth century as indicating the near return of Jesus and the end of a dispensational era.[400] Pentecostals are unique among pre-millennialists for their interpretation that the Spirit's outpouring signified the latter rain as fulfilment of end time prophecy.[401] Dispensational pre-millennialism advocated by Cyrus Schofield had a pessimistic view on the effectiveness of global missionary activity in this present age. A larger segment of pre-millennialists believe it is vital for mission work to keep

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[395] Walsh, Tim, 'Eschatology and the fortunes of Early British Pentecostalism' *Theology* Vol. 113.871 (January/February 2010) p. 37
[396] Pentecost, *Things To Come* p. 372
[397] *Ibid.*, p. 381
[398] McGee, *This Gospel* pp. 27-28
[399] Erickson, *Theology* p. 1213
[400] Kay, *Pentecostalism* p. 247
[401] Wilson, David J., 'Pentecostal Perspectives on Eschatology' in Burgess, Stanley (ed), *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal Charismatic Movements* (Grand Rapids, Zondervan, 2002) p. 601

expanding so everyone might have an opportunity to respond to the gospel. Early Pentecostals tended to accept this second futurist pre-millennial view of an imminent fulfilment of Biblical prophecy[402] facilitating a stronger missionary impetus, especially towards unreached peoples.[403] Pentecostals largely embraced applied faith mission pre-millennial eschatology where the motive was not speculative interpretation of prophecy but urgent sacrificial missionary action in anticipation of the *Parousia*.[404] PMU men's training superintendent, Wallis, expressed concerns some Pentecostals allowed pre-occupation with imminent eschatology to distract them from practical engagement with global missions.[405]

Pre-millennial eschatology rendered the missional task of ensuring people groups in neglected parts of the earth would hear the gospel before Jesus returned as of paramount urgency for Pentecostals.[406] The eschatology of early Pentecostals impacted missiological priorities in that the missiological task became to prepare the nations for cataclysmic end times through evangelism and therefore social upliftment was deemed less important in Pentecostal missiological praxis.[407] When Mundell wrote to a new missionary in China at the time of the Great War he stated it was necessary for believers to know 'dispensational truth'. He clarified this by expressing his belief that the age of Gentiles was culminating and the Lord's return was imminent.[408] The early Pentecostal majority view of a pre-tribulation rapture enabled them to combine a pessimistic worldview of wars and global upheaval with an optimistic message that Jesus was coming soon to take the Church into its glorious eternal future.[409] This eschatological stance is particularly pronounced during the Great War years and will be further examined in that

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[402] Poloma, Margaret, 'The Pentecostal Movement' in Stephen Hunt (ed), *Christian Millenarianism: Themes and Perspectives* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2001) <hirr.hartsem.edu/research/pentecostalism_polomaart5.html> [accessed 26.02.2010]
[403] McGee, *This Gospel* pp. 26-27
[404] Fiedler, *Faith Missions* pp. 276-277
[405] Boddy (ed), 'Missionary Matters' by Wallis, H.E., *Confidence* Vol. 6.10 (October 1913) pp. 201-202
[406] Klaus, Byron, 'The Holy Spirit and Mission in Eschatological Perspective' *Pneuma* Vol. 27.2 (Fall 2005) p. 335
[407] Anderson, *Spreading Fires* pp. 46, 219-221
[408] PMU archives, correspondence to De Vries (28th February 1915)
[409] Wilson, *Pentecostal Perspectives* p. 601

period of British Pentecostal missionary activity. Fiedler explains that faith mission eschatology proclaiming Christ's imminent return 'left little room for an explicit ecclesiology', which he adds was compounded by their inter-denominational character.[410] This weakness can be applied to the PMU, as one of the issues affecting British Pentecostalism after the War was the perceived need for a clearer ecclesiological identity that was not satisfied by the PMU's emphasis on global missional urgency and a non-sectarian home base.

2.3.2. Seymour and the Azusa Street revival

William Seymour was an important figure in the early Pentecostal movement who indirectly influenced the commencement of British Pentecostalism. Seymour was the African American leader of the Azusa Street mission in Los Angeles largely regarded as the birthplace of 20th century global Pentecostalism. Seymour was converted in a Methodist church but left Methodism after a couple of years. Methodism was predominantly amillennial in its eschatological doctrinal position, whereas Seymour subscribed to a pre-millennial viewpoint, upholding the literal return of Christ to establish a thousand year reign on earth.[411]

Seymour and offshoots from Azusa Street believed God was restoring spiritual empowerment back to the Church that had been absent for centuries. The timescale of the last century in the second Christian millennium also had significance for them that time was running out to evangelise the world before Christ's return. The epithet of latter rain employed for this revival, borrowed from Joel 2: 23, further suggested this. The first rainfall in Israel was preparatory for the early harvest and the later rain for the final harvest. The early Pentecostal pioneers viewed their experiences as a latter rain revival leading to a worldwide ingathering of converts before Christ's second coming.[412] If the Spirit outpoured on the New Testament church was the early rain then it logically followed for them that the recent outpouring of the Spirit

[410] Fiedler, *Faith Missions* p. 278
[411] Robeck, *Azusa* pp. 28-29
[412] Malcomson, *Pentecostal Pioneers* p. 22

was the latter rain connected to eschatological events indicated by Joel's prophecy. Robeck remarks that the two Pentecostal outpourings were regarded as 'like bookends on the Church age'.[413]

An important aspect of the Azusa Street mission revival and its influence upon global missions was its racial integration and gender inclusiveness. The believers at Azusa Street were a multi-ethnic group. The church's leadership team represented full racial integration and an equal gender split of men and women. They celebrated this as fulfilment of Scriptural promise that in the last days the Spirit would be outpoured on all flesh. This aspect made the Azusa Street mission socially unique at that time. There was an inherent expectation that a church inspired by the Spirit should be multi-cultural and inclusive.[414]

Within three years of the Azusa Street revival commencing in 1906, Apostolic Faith missionaries were sent out to at least three African countries and six Asian countries.[415] For three years Azusa Street was the most important sending centre of Pentecostal missionaries. However Anderson explains many early Pentecostal missionaries, who could not speak the indigenous language, shifted the strategy of missional urgency through the failure of xenolalia to target existing Evangelical faith missionaries to receive Spirit-baptism. There was a developing network of Spirit filled missionaries from faith missions, such as the CIM and Simpson's C&MA,[416] enabling the more effective advance of global Pentecostalism over a longer period. Anderson describes a revival among C&MA missionaries where many of them became Pentecostal, even though the C&MA leadership rebuffed Pentecostal theology that glossolalia was the initial evidence of Spirit-reception.[417] Simpson was not a cessationist but disconnected tongues from Spirit-baptism.

> *We believe that the gift of tongues or speaking in tongues did in many cases in the Apostolic Church accompany or follow the baptism of the Holy Spirit. We believe also that other supernatural or even miraculous*

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[413] Robeck, *Azusa* pp. 235-236
[414] Anderson, *Spreading Fires* pp. 49-50
[415] *Ibid.*, p. 52
[416] Pardington, George Palmer, *Twenty-five wonderful years, 1889-1914; a popular sketch of the Christian and Missionary Alliance* (New York, Christian Alliance, 1914) pp.36-39 reveals Simpson believed in Spirit baptism from an Evangelical perspective of enabling missionary enterprise.
[417] *Op cit.*, p. 54

> *operations on the part of the Holy Spirit through His people are . . . possible according to the sovereign will of the Holy Ghost Himself through all the Christian age. But we hold that none of these manifestations are essentially connected with the baptism of the Holy Ghost, and that the consecrated believer may receive the Spirit in His fullness without speaking in tongues or any miraculous manifestation whatever, and that no Christian teacher has the right to require such manifestations as evidences of the baptism of the Holy Ghost.* [418]

Pardington summarises Simpson's view of Spirit reception as a crisis experience heralding a deeper life of holiness and consecration.[419]

Anderson concludes the global spread of Pentecostalism was enabled as much through faith mission networks, as it was mission initiatives sourced from Azusa Street.[420] This reinforces the hypothesis that the PMU's connections with faith missions, such as the CIM, challenges traditional Pentecostal historiographies of discontinuity and abrupt emergence from revival centres, such as Azusa Street.

2.3.3. Parham and the Apostolic Faith message

Parham was another important early Pentecostal who embraced pre-millennialism. Parham became well known in 1901 when students at his training college in Topeka began to speak in tongues. Parham sought to be non-denominational by promoting what he called the 'Apostolic Faith' message. He left the Methodist church due to his specific eschatological persuasions. Parham was pre-millennialist but also upheld an annihilationist view regarding hell. Parham ardently supported Zionist aims for the Jews to have a homeland in Palestine. He promoted an interpretation of Biblical prophecy indicating a series of events relating to Israel would occur in end times.[421] Parham proposed a correlation between Christ's second coming and the renewed reception of glossolalia. He taught Spirit-baptism especially equipped believers to fulfil God's end time global missionary purpose through xenoglossic tongues being an end-time missionary tool dispensing with the

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[418] Correspondence between A.B. Simpson and R.H. Glover 13th April 1914 cited in Wilson, Michael, 'Contending for Tongues: W.W. Simpson's Pentecostal Experience in North West China' *Pneuma* Vol. 29.2 (July 2007) p. 291
[419] Pardington, *C&MA* pp. 53-55
[420] Anderson, *Spreading Fires* p. 54
[421] Robeck, *Azusa* pp. 40-43

need for language acquisition.[422] McGee indicates that Parham believed glossolalia served three purposes: to signify an end times outpouring of the Spirit; as initial evidence to verify Spirit baptism; and provide linguistic expertise for missionaries to take the gospel to unreached nations.[423] Yong and Richie suggest Parham's greatest legacy to modern Pentecostalism was his emphasis linking the Spirit's outpouring with missionary purpose and eschatological urgency rather than to glossolalia.[424]

Blumhofer proposes Parham's 'fascination with tongues to facilitate foreign missions' logically flowed from his urgent eschatology.[425] Unfortunately Parham's influence and pre-occupation with xenolalia misled many early Pentecostals into missionary work with a misplaced reliance upon supernatural language acquisition as attestation of that call. McGee's article demonstrates how early Pentecostal missionaries such as Alfred Garr in Calcutta realised that the xenolalic aspect of Parham's doctrine was flawed and Pentecostals needed to readjust any doctrinal importance placed on glossolalia with regard to missionary purpose.[426] The British PMU accepted the Latter Rain as an eschatological event indicating spiritual empowerment for missionary urgency but rejected Parham's views on xenolalia. Xenolalia was a factor involved with the American PMU discussed in chapter three of this thesis. Although Parham's xenolalic views were quickly discredited, other aspects of his Pentecostal beliefs were embraced within classical Pentecostalism. Parham's view of glossolalia being the initial evidence of Spirit baptism was an important doctrinal distinctive of classical Pentecostalism that when the British AOG commenced it wanted to safeguard in its Statement of Fundamental Truths.[427]

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[422] Robeck, *Azusa* p. 236
[423] McGee, Gary, *The Calcutta Revival of 1907 and the Reformulation of Charles F. Parham's `Bible Evidence' Doctrine* (2002 lecture) p.6
[424] Yong & Richie, *Global Pentecostalism* p. 246
[425] Blumhofer, Edith, *The Assemblies of God* Vol. 1 (Springfield, Gospel Publishing, 1989) p. 84
[426] McGee, *Calcutta* pp. 6-7
[427] Kay, *Pentecostals in Britain* p. 58

2.3.4. Pneumatological precursors

This thesis upholds there were a number of continuationist proponents who created a pneumatological platform for the emergence of Pentecostalism.

2.3.4.1. Wesleyan Methodism

John Wesley, an 18th century Anglican, maintained believers could receive a second blessing of sanctifying grace subsequent to new birth, which Skuce believes created a direct link to Pentecostalism.[428] These Wesleyan ideas developed the concept of sanctification as a crisis experience and perfectionism or entire sanctification should be a goal for believers while on earth. There is some debate regarding the extent of its influence on Pentecostal roots. Synan argues the holiness movement arising from Methodism was perhaps the most important immediate precursor to Pentecostalism,[429] whereas Robert Anderson and Blumhofer maintain the Keswick movement played the more crucial role.[430] There were many denominational streams converging into early Pentecostalism and the strengths of influence vary geographically.

Synan proposes Methodism influenced British Pentecostalism when John Wesley's colleague, John Fletcher, termed the second blessing as Spirit-baptism and linked both sanctification and empowerment to that experience.[431] Fletcher believed Christians were still living in the full dispensational age of the Spirit and challenged those who asserted it was presumption to believe in it for the present time as faithless. He strongly refuted cessationism where the Spirit was only given for the apostolic age.[432] Fletcher believed in a Spirit baptism experience beyond justification but this was not understood as a bestowal of spiritual gifts, which he restricted to early Christianity.[433] Fletcher expected fresh manifestations of the Spirit and stated

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[428] Skuce, Stephen, 'Wesleyan Pneumatology' *JEPTA* Vol. 32.1 (2012) p. 21
[429] Synan, Vinson, *The Century of the Holy Spirit* (Nashville, STL, 2001) p. 2
[430] Althouse, Peter, 'Wesleyan and Reformed Impulses in the Keswick and Pentecostal Movements' *Pneuma Foundation* (1995) <pneumafoundation.com/article.jsp?article=/Keswick-PAlthouse.xml> [accessed 08.03.2010]
[431] *Ibid.*, p. 2
[432] Gilpin, John, *The Works of the Rev. John Fletcher* Vol. 3 (New York, Waugh & Mason, 1833) pp.181-183
[433] Streiff, Patrick, *Reluctant Saint?* (Peterborough, Epworth, 2001) p. 208

reliance on previous experiences of the Spirit was like depending on stale supplies of manna.[434] Fletcher wrote to Charles Wesley in 1776 that he was seeking an outpouring of God's Spirit inwardly and outwardly and 'he longed to feel the utmost power of the Spirit's dispensation.'[435]

2.3.4.2. Edward Irving

Irving, a Scottish leader of a growing London church, was a pre-millenarian who expected an outpouring of the Spirit to precede Christ's imminent second advent. Irving believed a revival of the Spirit where gifts such as prophecy, healing and glossolalia occurred was an important eschatological indicator.[436] Irving commenced meetings in his church to intercede for the Spirit's outpouring and restoration of spiritual gifts.[437] In 1827 Irving first taught a continuationist position where spiritual gifts should still be operative within the Church. Irving was critical of the dominant cessationist position because he felt it was without Scriptural warranty. He reckoned the gifts should still operate the same as they functioned in Acts. His argument was based on sanctification being as much a supernatural working of the Spirit as the use of gifts. Irving felt it was inconsistent to accept an inward work of the Spirit without the outward gift of power. Similarly to Wesley and Fletcher he believed a dearth of the Spirit's activity was caused by unbelief. However Irving went further than Wesley stating it follows God would still give the Holy Spirit to everyone who would ask Him.[438]

He believed in Spirit-baptism as the second blessing and used the term 'standing sign' in relation to speaking with tongues. Irving discerned a difference between the Spirit's work of bringing people to faith in Christ and Spirit-baptism. Irving expressed Spirit-baptism as 'the consequence of union, and not the antecedence or the sustenance of it'.[439] Irving provides historical precedence exemplifying spiritual gifts were in use during other eras of church

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[434] Horne, Melvill, *The Letters of the Rev. John Fletcher* (New York, Carlton & Phillips, 1852) p. 39
[435] *Ibid.*, pp. 266 & 272
[436] Brown, *Providence and Empire* pp. 64-71
[437] Malcomson, *Pentecostal Pioneers* p. 29
[438] Strachan, Gordon, *The Pentecostal Theology of Edward Irving* (London, Longman & Todd, 1973) p. 15
[439] *Ibid.*, p. 125

history. Certainly Gee saw the Irvingites as part of church history disproving the experiential argument of cessationism.[440]

Irving challenged existing Church structures and practices. Irving used the opportunity of giving the London Missionary Society (LMS) anniversary sermon to attack the effectiveness of missionary societies. He stated the 'lame and partial success which has attended modern missions by the way of conversion, compared with those of former times, should have humbled us to revise the principle of which we have proceeded.' He further added 'Missions required the rediscovery of the nobleness of missionary character'. Irving clarified this as being an 'independence of all natural means and indifference to all human patronage, its carelessness of all earthly rewards and contempt of the arithmetic of the visible and temporary things'. Irving urged missionaries to depend only on God's Spirit for their personal sustenance, patronage and reward.[441] Irving focused the need of existing missions to be revised on faith principles and reliance on the Spirit with a primary evangelistic purpose[442] correlating to missionary praxis utilised later by both the CIM and PMU.

2.3.4.3. The Keswick Convention

The Keswick movement emerged from a series of 'higher-life' conferences held in the British Lake District town of Keswick from 1875. Keswick adherents taught eschatological urgency required people to experience Spirit-baptism, so as to be supernaturally empowered for evangelism. The Keswick leaders disagreed with the Wesleyan holiness view that Spirit-baptism was a second work of grace leading to sanctification. Peter Althouse maintains 'early Pentecostal understanding of sanctification was not simply a version of Wesleyan perfectionism, but was, in fact, a view emanating from the Keswick understanding of consecration and surrender to the Holy Spirit.'[443] Keswick supporters believed sanctification was a gradual process beginning at conversion, but progressive throughout a believer's life. Keswick's emphasis

[440] Gee, Donald, *Concerning Spiritual Gifts* (Springfield, Gospel Publishing House, 1928) pp. 10 & 11
[441] Irving, Edward, *For Missionaries After the Apostolical School: A Series of Orations* (London 1825) pp.119-129 quoted by Porter, *Religion Versus Empire* pp.192-193
[442] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism* p. 94
[443] Althouse, *Wesleyan*

that Spirit-baptism endued power for evangelism and enabled miracles rather than sanctified believers was helpful to Pentecostalism.[444] This carried over into early Pentecostal missiology because it placed evangelism and going to other nations in the Spirit's power to reach the lost as its highest priority.[445]

Keswick doctrine was central to Moody's ministry. He is quoted as saying: 'Get full of the Holy Spirit' as the first step in preparing for missionary work. Keswick was a major driving force in late nineteenth century Evangelical missionary activity particularly for the CIM and its imitators.[446] Taylor estimated two thirds of CIM personnel became missionaries resulting from Keswick's influence.[447] Both Moody and Keswick influenced PMU leaders, Polhill and Boddy. Cho's thesis on Boddy links Keswick's significance specifically with British Pentecostal historiography. He believes Keswick's increased emphasis on the Spirit's work created a pneumatological focus, which became highlighted in Pentecostalism. Keswick's premillennial teaching also found expression in early Pentecostalism, so from this viewpoint Cho regards Keswick as a catalyst for Pentecostalism.[448] Perhaps the link with Keswick became diminished because Keswick leaders expressed some of the greatest opposition to early British Pentecostalism.

2.3.4.4. The Welsh revival

There were numerous revivals in Wales but the 1904-1905 Welsh revival impacted Pentecostalism. The Keswick convention had a role in instigating this revival as two conventions were held in Wales just prior to its commencement. Keswick influenced Welsh revival leaders, such as Evan Roberts and Seth Joshua. The Welsh revival is of particular interest to an examination of early British Pentecostalism as it immediately preceded the Pentecostal outpouring at Sunderland in 1908, adding a unique flavour to

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[444] Klaus, *Eschatological Perspective* p. 326
[445] Anderson, *Pentecostal Missiology* p. 36
[446] Newberry, Warren Bruce, *Major Missiological Motifs in North American Classical Pentecostal Missions* (PhD dissertation, University of South Africa, 1999) p. 65 <http://www.gts.edu/~wnewberry/Newberry_thesis_original_.pdf> [accessed 20.11.2009]
[447] Harford, Charles, *Keswick Convention* (London, Marshall, 1907) p. 201
[448] Cho, *Boddy* p. 42

British Pentecostal development that is not so evident in global Pentecostalism.[449]

The Welsh revival emphasised the Spirit's presence and power in congregational gatherings that enabled local community transformation. An estimated 87,000 conversions occurred in the South Welsh mining communities. The lengthy meetings were characterised by prayer, spontaneity, visions and singing in the Spirit. Roberts taught that Spirit-baptism, as a personal subsequent experience from salvation, was a precursor for revival. According to Anderson the Welsh revival was declared to be an end time Pentecost, a latter rain that would be a global outpouring of the Spirit.[450] Although the Welsh revival was short-lived and controversial, it left a legacy of missional revival expectation inherited by Pentecostals a few years later. Some key characters in the British Pentecostal movement were directly influenced by the Welsh revival.[451] The Jeffreys brothers were products of the Welsh revival. Gee was converted in London through Joshua's preaching. Boddy visited the Welsh revival and shared a pulpit with Roberts. Walter Hollenweger proposes Boddy linked Pentecostalism with the Welsh revival.[452] This is confirmed by Boddy's own testimony 'The Welsh Revival was surely intended by the Lord as a preparation for this further Outpouring'.[453] Polhill also refers to an instance when he attended a Welsh revival meeting that impassioned him to seek for Spirit-baptism.[454] Both key PMU leaders visited Welsh revival meetings and many PMU missionaries came from Welsh Pentecostal assemblies that grew out of the seeds of the preceding Welsh revival. This link between the PMU and the Welsh revival demonstrates again the importance of tracing early British Pentecostalism through an historical roots method. It reveals British Pentecostalism flowed out of Evangelical revivalism and was not just an American originated product.

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[449] Cho, *Boddy* p. 47
[450] Anderson, *Spreading Fires* p. 28
[451] Hocken, *Polhill* pp. 118-119
[452] Hollenweger, Walter, *The Pentecostals* (London, SCM, 1978) p.184
[453] Boddy (ed),'The Pentecostal Movement' *Confidence* Vol. 3.8 (August 1910) pp. 192-193
[454] Polhill, *Flames of Fire* No.33 (November 1915) p. 1

2.3.4.5. Nexus of eschatology, pneumatology and missional urgency

During the 1906 Pentecostal revival at Akron, Ohio, Claude McKinney interpreted people being 'slain in the Spirit' and glossolalia as indicating Jesus' imminent return.[455] This combination of pneumatological experience and eschatological expectation was commonplace amongst early Pentecostals and was a key theological motivation on the urgency of global missionary endeavour. Harry Boer proposes four aspects of the link between missions and early Pentecostalism's interpretation for the outpouring of the Spirit: firstly, temporary linguistic endowment for evangelistic purposes; secondly, a symbolic demonstration that the gospel was universal; thirdly, spiritual empowerment for missionary witness; fourthly, an eschatologically qualified missionary task.[456]

At the Sunderland International Pentecostal Congress of 1909 there was a definite link between Spirit-baptism and missionary calling when it was stated: 'Every true Pentecost means missionary service to the ends of the earth.'[457] Gee similarly wrote 'No Movement can rightly claim the title of Pentecostal if it is not essentially missionary in character.'[458] Bundy highlights the connection of pneumatology and missiology for early Pentecostals when he states 'the globality of the spiritual experience and the crossing of cultural and linguistic barriers by persons fully devoted to God was a key component of Pentecostal theology and historiography.'[459]

The pneumatocentric nature of missions was a key development in early Pentecostalism. Early Pentecostalism had a definite missional priority that the Spirit's empowerment was for the purpose of sending people to communicate the gospel in unreached global regions. The Spirit's work to mobilise and empower missionaries was largely more important to them than organised missionary structures. The emphasis was getting the missionary task done

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[455] Robeck, *Azusa* p. 231
[456] Boer, Harry, *Pentecost and Missions* (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1975) p. 49
[457] Boddy (ed), 'Constructive Work of The Congress' *Confidence* Vol. 2.6 (June 1909) p. 129
[458] Gee, *Uttermost Part* p. 5
[459] Bundy, *Apostolic Mission* p. 5

not on reflecting how the task may be carried out.[460] Early Pentecostals sympathetically related to the 1910 Edinburgh world mission conference message of missional urgency but were less tolerant towards the mission methodology presented by the various commissions. One PMU missionary stated 'What we need in our missionary methods is more of the divine pattern and less of human organisation.'[461] It signifies early Pentecostalism prioritised an acted out missiology rather than a codified one. If, as they believed, Jesus could return at any moment then it was not important to build infrastructure such as orphanages, schools and hospitals, the only thing that really mattered was Spirit empowered evangelism.[462] The problem with early Pentecostal crisis eschatology was that while it promoted an immediacy of missional impetus, it neglected the development of a longer-term vision for a healthy home ecclesial structure to resource sustainable cross-cultural missions.

Early Pentecostals linked the challenge of eschatological urgency with Spirit empowerment for global missions. This dependency upon the Spirit represented a unique missiological perspective discontinuous with the accepted civilising strategy that prevailed through the 'Great Century of Mission.' Klaus perceives this return to first century apostolic patterns of Christianity by Pentecostals was distinctive in the missionary landscape during the early twentieth century.[463] Pentecostal mission was motivated by particular pneumatological and eschatological beliefs. Dale Irvin maintains Pentecostals saw their movement as an end time revival that was a breach with previous Christian history.[464] However the faith mission movement also linked eschatology and pneumatology to their missional motivation, but without the Pentecostal emphasis on glossolalia as a primary evidence of Spirit-baptism.

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[460] Anderson, *Pentecostal Missiology* p. 31
[461] Boyd, *Chinese Rainbow* p. 3
[462] Klaus, Byron, *Pentecostalism and Mission* (Presentation to the American Society of Missiology, June 17, 2006)
[463] Klaus, *Eschatological Perspective* p. 334
[464] Irvin, Dale, 'Pentecostal Historiography and Global Christianity: Rethinking the Question of Origins' *Pneuma* Vol. 27.1 (Spring 2005) pp. 35-39

Summary

Macchia believes the downside of early Pentecostal theology was that it overlooked church history between the former rain of the apostolic fathers and the latter rain of their context.[465] Such an underlying Pentecostal worldview towards other Christian denominations and missionary agencies created challenges and tensions for early Pentecostal missionaries to work co-operatively alongside other missionaries on the field. The PMU's pragmatic attempts to inspire global missions in an era of comity cannot be meaningfully considered if a Latter Rain historiographical framework of rupture and discontinuity is narrowly applied. This chapter demonstrates that early Pentecostal missiology, as exemplified by the PMU, was influenced by many theological streams and any understanding of it must incorporate the complex diversity of these influences upon its evolving identity, beliefs and praxis. This dissertation's hypothesis proposes that the PMU provides an alternative viewpoint of early Pentecostal mission rooted and continuous in the historical context of 19th century faith missions and revival theology. This argument of British Pentecostalism's multiple historical roots demonstrates the necessity for credible research into the PMU and the development of its missiology.

[465] Macchia, *Pentecostal and Charismatic Theology* p. 289

Chapter 3: PMU's formation as a Pentecostal faith mission during pre-war years (1909-1914)

This chapter examines the PMU's early phase of co-ordinating Pentecostal missionary work. This research explores who initiated the formation of the PMU in 1909 and the basis of its structure with regard to Polhill's CIM links. Sections of this chapter focus on the PMU's attitudes to denominations, doctrinal distinctives and challenges, missionary training and gender. This early phase of the PMU's existence is a period of tension where emergent Pentecostalism is seeking to define its identity. PMU initiatives to replicate itself organisationally in North America will be investigated. Those initiatives experienced resistance from Pentecostals who argued that Pentecostalism should be a spontaneous and organic pneumatological non-denominational movement. The PMU also resisted denominationalism, especially prior to the Great War, yet it expressed the need for organised Pentecostal missionary activity.

This chapter establishes the PMU's identity as a non-sectarian Pentecostal faith mission and demonstrates its connectivity with other ecclesiastical traditions and faith missions, especially the CIM. The final part of this chapter evidences the PMU's influence upon early Pentecostalism as a global mission movement through its connections with European and American Pentecostal initiatives to organise collaborative missionary enterprise. Although the PMU failed to replicate itself, it upheld a model of how Pentecostalism could outwork an organised structure of missiological praxis without compromising Pentecostal values of Holy Spirit empowerment and New Testament methods.

3.1 Arrival of Pentecostalism in Britain and PMU's formation at Sunderland

Histories narrating the commencement of British Pentecostalism have emphasised Boddy's role and largely ignored Polhill's direct link with the Azusa Street revival. This section redresses the neglect of Polhill and the PMU in the narrative of early British Pentecostalism.

3.1.1. The PMU pioneer leaders

This section incorporates brief biographical detail of the PMU founder leaders providing an insight of influential people that shaped its ethos and vision. Wakefield states that the PMU's formation 'made clear the dominance of Polhill and Boddy'.[466] The Anglican roots of both key PMU leaders, Boddy and Polhill, supplies a fundamental understanding of their attitudes towards issues such as baptism, establishment of Pentecostal denominations and patriotic responses to the Great War. These issues linked to their Anglican heritage provide a context to explore why they became increasingly sidelined in their leadership within British Pentecostalism, particularly after the War.

3.1.1.1. Alexander Alfred Boddy

Boddy's maternal great-great grandmother was Methodist revivalist John Wesley's wife. Boddy's father, an Anglican rector in Manchester, published *The Christian Mission,* a book using the Moravian missionary movement and William Carey as examples to inspire believers to engage in mission. Boddy was raised in a spiritually devout family with a strong revivalist missionary heritage. In 1876 Boddy was influenced by the Keswick convention to turn from his career path of becoming a solicitor to train for Anglican Church ministry.[467] In 1880 he became curate alongside his father at Elwick, Durham. His father died in 1881 but Boddy remained as curate.[468] Joseph Lightfoot, the Bishop of Durham, ordained Boddy in 1881. Three years later Lightfoot sent Boddy as curate to Monkwearmouth, Sunderland. When the previous parish priest died in 1886 Boddy became the vicar. Boddy set about rebuilding the parish ministry but also travelled extensively to Russia, Italy, Turkey, Palestine, Egypt, North Africa and Canada. He wrote several travel books and in 1885 became a Royal Geographical Society member. In 1891 he married Scottish clergyman's daughter Mary Pollock. In 1892, following a missionary to Ceylon's visit, Boddy's spiritual fervour increased, displayed in his pastoral leadership and his support of the Anglican based CMS.[469] The CMS was a lay society established for the promulgation of the Gospel to unreached nations

[466] Wakefield, *Boddy* p. 136
[467] Kay, *Boddy* p. 46
[468] 1881 Census, RG11 Piece 4905 Folio 23 Page 7
[469] Malcomson, *Pentecostal Pioneers* pp. 118-119

and run by a British home committee. This committee was formed to collect and disburse missionary revenue; select and train missionary candidates; assign missionaries to mission stations and maintain superintendence of mission stations. The CMS was criticised by some Anglican clergy because it appeared to conduct itself as a pseudo-ecclesiastical body sending out missionaries. Bishop Blomfield believed that the missionary agency should be the Church itself.[470] Although the PMU was established as a non-denominational agency mirroring CIM principles, it does appear that the CMS home committee ethos influenced the PMU home council method of governance. The PMU also became increasingly controversial in the post-war years for its apparent ecclesiastical function of arbitrating on doctrinal issues and subverting the role of the local church as the sending agency.

When the Welsh revival commenced in 1904 Boddy unsuccessfully invited Roberts to preach at Sunderland. Boddy travelled to Rhondda to meet Roberts and witness the revival, instilling within him a desire to see God work more powerfully.[471] In 1905 Boddy invited his supportive Bishop, Handley Moule, to speak at the new church hall opening service, followed by a week's meetings emphasising revival.[472] In 1906 Boddy heard of the Spirit's outpouring at Azusa Street. Malcomson describes how when Boddy heard of similar occurrences in Oslo, he visited Norway in 1907 and experienced a deeper work of the Spirit. Boddy persuaded Barratt to minister at some meetings in Sunderland, where a number of people received Spirit-baptism including Mary Boddy. Boddy himself did not speak in tongues until December 1907. Boddy held annual Whitsun conventions at Sunderland from 1908 to 1914 influencing many into the Pentecostal experience. Boddy visited Europe and North America to promote this pneumatological renewal.[473] During the Great War Boddy visited frontline troops in France and Belgium and investigated the 'Angel of Mons' stories.[474]

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[470] Stock, Eugene, *The History of the Church Missionary Society* (London, CMS, 1899) pp. 385-389
[471] Wakefield, *Boddy* p. 76
[472] Blumhofer, *Boddy* p. 31
[473] Malcomson, *Pentecostal Pioneers*, pp. 121-125
[474] These matters were reported by Boddy in July 1915 – January 1916 editions of *Confidence.*

In 1921 Boddy tended his resignation from the PMU on health grounds. His resignation was not accepted.[475] This thesis examines possible doctrinal causes underlying Boddy's attempted resignation, as PMU minutes show he desired to discuss a doctrinal matter with other council members.[476] Boddy remained as the vicar at Sunderland until in 1922 he moved to the village parish of Pittington, near Durham. Boddy finally resigned from the PMU early 1924, unable to travel to London for meetings due to his advanced years and not having a curate to assist him.[477]

3.1.1.2. Cecil Polhill

Cecil's father was Frederick Polhill, Conservative MP for Bedford[478] and High Sheriff for Bedfordshire in 1875.[479] Frederick assumed the additional surname of Turner during 1853, in compliance with the testamentary injunction of Lady Frances Page-Turner. This occurred as a result of his marriage in 1852 to Emily Frances, daughter of Sir Henry Winston Barron and Anna-Leigh Guy, daughter and heiress of Sir Gregory Page-Turner. Frederick's children all took the surname Polhill-Turner. Frederick's marriage to Emily restored the fortunes of Howbury Hall, Renhold, which had been damaged by fire in 1847. The greater part of the fortune, which the Page-Turners brought to Howbury Hall, came from Emily Frances' brother Sir Henry Page-Turner Barron, who died without issue in 1900. He designated his nephew, Cecil Henry Polhill-Turner, the tail-male heir of his English estates.[480]

After Cecil's education at Eton and Cambridge he was destined for a military career in keeping with being the second born son of English gentry. In 1881, the same year that his father died, Cecil was a lieutenant in the Bedfordshire militia. He transferred to the 2nd Dragoon guards stationed in Belfast and

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[475] PMU archives, correspondence to Boddy (26th January 1921)
[476] PMU minutes, minute no. 2 (8th February 1921)
[477] PMU minutes, minute no. 5 (8th February 1924)
[478] Hansard's list of Bedford MPs 1660-1983 shows Cecil's grandfather Frederick Polhill was MP twice 1830-1832 and 1835-1847; his father was MP 1874-1880. <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/constituencies/bedford> [accessed 18.04.2010]
[479] Broomhall, *Assault on the Nine* p. 333
[480] Renhold All Saints Parish Church, *'The Polhill Family History'* <http://www.all-saints-church-renhold.org/history/polhill.htm>[accessed 18.04.2010]

Aldershot.[481] In 1900 when Polhill returned from his work with the CIM in China to recuperate from serious illness, he inherited his maternal uncle's lucrative estate, estimated to have given him an income of £16,000 p.a.[482] In 1903 Polhill inherited Howbury Hall after his unmarried older brother Frederick's death,[483] however in 1904 Polhill's wife and youngest son Kenneth also died.[484] Polhill never remarried focusing his time and resources on spiritual revival and the global spread of the gospel.

Polhill returned to China on a one-year assignment to re-open mission work in Tibet for the CIM. Afterwards when Polhill sailed from Shanghai, he stopped off in Los Angeles to visit George Studd, brother of C.T. On January 24th 1908 Studd and Polhill attended the Azusa Street Mission. They attended several meetings as part of their interest in this revival movement. Robeck quotes from Studd's diary entry for 2nd February 1908, when Studd and Polhill attended Azusa Street, a special offering was taken to help pay the mortgage. Apparently this caused some dissension, as the Mission had never taken a formal offering before. Some were offended believing it expressed lack of faith on Seymour's part. These critics, such as Frank Bartleman, had left denominations and were resistant to any steps taken by the Azusa Mission towards becoming a formal organisation they regarded would quench the Spirit. In March 1907 the Azusa Mission set up an incorporated trust known as the 'Apostolic Faith Mission' with 5 initial trustees. The Azusa Street property was purchased for $15,000 with a deposit of $4,000. Studd's diary records Polhill gave £1,500 to clear the Azusa Street Mission mortgage. On the 5th February Polhill left Los Angeles returning to England; however the day before he left he experienced Spirit-baptism.[485] Polhill became a distinctive character in the new emerging British Pentecostal movement because of his missionary experiences and direct link with the Azusa revival.

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[481] *The Times*, 'Obituary – Mr Cecil Polhill' (11th March 1938)
[482] Usher, *Polhill* p. 39
[483] Anderson, Allan, *To The Ends of The Earth* (Oxford, University Press, 2013) p. 69 mistakenly states that Polhill returned to manage his estate after his father's death.
[484] Hocken, *Polhill* p. 118
[485] Robeck, *Azusa* p. 289-292. Usher, *Polhill* p. 41 substantiates this donation for the redemption of the Azusa Street Mission mortgage by providing the same figures gleaned from Polhill's account records. Malcomson, *Pentecostal Pioneers* pp. 132-133 claims that Polhill returned to Azusa in 1908 to pay off the last instalment of the mortgage and he just gave one tenth of the whole price of the property.

3.1.2. PMU's formation and an examination of its missionary principles

Gee sets the PMU's formation in the context of existing missionary societies' antipathy towards missionary candidates who were Pentecostal. He suggests Pentecostal missionaries desired to go to the mission field under the auspices of a Pentecostal organisation.[486] The PMU commenced at All Saints Vicarage Sunderland on January 9th 1909. It was administered by a council, which constitutionally numbered between 3 and 9 members excluding the president. Initially the PMU appointed Polhill as honorary secretary and treasurer.[487] Polhill resigned from those positions in October 1909 when nominated as PMU president. It was felt Polhill could better utilise his expertise in this role.[488] Throughout the majority of the PMU's 16-year history, Polhill was president and it was he who modelled it on the CIM, which he served both as missionary and London council member. Polhill's leadership in the PMU closely mirrors Taylor's leadership style exerted over the CIM as general director, where it was expected such a leader would have missionary field experience and be a respected father figure to missionaries.[489] Kay states PMU policies were reflective of Polhill's 'missionary priorities and convictions, learnt in the CIM'.[490] McGee agrees that Polhill shaped the PMU after Taylor's CIM.[491]

Usher links the PMU's formation with Polhill's Hamburg conference presentation on the importance of overseas mission just a month previous.[492] The PMU demonstrated Polhill's passion for world mission, particularly his burden for China and Tibet. When the PMU was first formed its primary objective was to reach Tibet.[493] The PMU was a faith mission where directors did not guarantee fixed amounts of support to workers, but sought to share

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[486] Gee, *Uttermost Part* p. 7
[487] PMU archives, correspondence to Moser (14th February 1921)
[488] PMU minutes, minute No. 5 (October 14th 1909) & Boddy (ed), 'The PMU' *Confidence* Vol. 2.6 (October 1909) p. 219
[489] Austin, *China's Millions* p. 103
[490] Kay, *Four-Fold Gospel* p.1
[491] McGee, *American Pentecostalism* p. 128
[492] Usher, *Polhill* p. 53
[493] Polhill, Cecil (ed), 'Tidings from Tibet and other lands' *Flames of Fire* (November 1916) p. 6
Parry, Ruth, *Impossible to Imagine* (Martley, Crossbridge, 2010) highlights how in the post Second World War era the British AOG were still following PMU objectives in Yunnan, of reaching Tibet from Kalimpong in India and developing the Congo Kalembe Lembe field when experienced field missionaries were redeployed from China.

equitably available funds. According to McGee the PMU was the 'first organized and successful' Pentecostal missionary agency. He also states Polhill was the primary formative influence upon the PMU and substantially underwrote its financial expenses.[494] Usher has estimated during the full period of the PMU's existence Polhill donated in excess of £11,000 to it, which is in itself an expression of his missionary zeal.[495] This thesis endorses that Polhill played a significant role in commencing the PMU, shaping its praxis and ensuring its sustainability.

Gee remarks Polhill and Boddy will 'ever be honourably associated with the commencement of the PMU.'[496] The first time Boddy and Polhill met was when Polhill attended the first Whitsuntide conference at Sunderland.[497] Some regard the PMU as the joint contribution of Boddy and Polhill with Malcomson mistakenly claiming Boddy was the instigator of the PMU perhaps because it was formed at Sunderland.[498] However Andrews concurs with McGee that Polhill was the founder, chief financial contributor, and main driving force behind this missionary enterprise, which is endorsed by this thesis. Andrews maintains before any Pentecostal denomination existed in Britain it is significant the first organisational initiative among fledgling Pentecostals focused on world missions.[499] Kay has singularly attributed the PMU's success to Polhill's experience, skills, energy and funds.[500] Gee summarised Polhill's zealous objective was to reach all nations with the gospel empowered by the Spirit.[501] Although Boddy may be regarded as the main figure in early British Pentecostalism this thesis proposes that Polhill's missionary background, his understanding of the CIM's praxis and his personal resources all enabled him to shape the PMU's structure and vision.

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[494] McGee, Gary, 'Polhill, Cecil H.,' entry in Anderson, Gerald (ed), *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions* (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1999) pp. 541-542
[495] Usher, *Polhill* p. 53
[496] Gee, *Uttermost Part* p. 7
[497] Boddy (ed), 'The Pentecostal Movement' *Confidence* Vol. 3.8 (August 1910) p. 197
[498] Malcomson, *Pentecostal Pioneers* p. 124
[499] Andrews, *Regions Beyond* p. 88
[500] Kay, *Fourfold Gospel* p. 64
[501] *Op cit.*, p. 8

Gee states Polhill and Boddy had much in common both culturally and spiritually, although Polhill was not a clergyman. Gee believed their complimentary abilities benefited the new Pentecostal missionary movement. Boddy had a cultured platform personality and was a competent master of ceremonies. Gee was critical of Polhill's ability to convene meetings stating he was dreary and bored audiences. Gee had sufficient opportunity to observe Polhill's platform ability because Polhill utilised him as a convention pianist. However Gee concedes Polhill had tremendous passion and consecration, especially in the use of his own wealth to finance overseas mission, evangelism and hiring expensive conference facilities. Gee concedes Polhill's vision was not just narrowly focused on overseas mission. Polhill saw potential in the Jeffreys brothers by funding their evangelism and enabling George Jeffreys to train at Preston.[502] Missen acknowledges Polhill's generosity with his wealth to Christian causes, especially in the realm of missions.[503] These characteristics of Polhill's leadership had a determining affect on the development of the PMU. However any potential leadership role to influence early British Pentecostal ecclesiology was not a priority for Polhill, as he remained consumed by his passion for mission.

3.1.2.1. The PMU's denominational position

Although by 1925 the PMU became fully absorbed into a Pentecostal denomination this research clarifies that the PMU was initially formed as a non-sectarian mission society. The PMU resembled the CIM in its non-denominational faith affiliation accepting Pentecostal missionary candidates from various ecclesiastical traditions. According to Kay 'The PMU was the sole expression of any institutional form of unity within the Pentecostal movement during its earliest phase' and its leaders only countenanced such a union for 'the purpose of sending out and helping and advising missionaries.'[504] By July 1908 it is estimated 32 Pentecostal centres had commenced in Britain but the PMU did not encroach upon the autonomy of these independent groups that associated with them for missional purpose.

[502] Gee, *Men I Knew* pp. 73-75
[503] Missen, *Sound of a Going* p. 60
[504] Kay, *Fourfold Gospel* p. 9

These early Pentecostal gatherings tended to be home meetings where individuals initially still belonged to other churches or were groups who felt obliged to leave existing churches. Boddy and Polhill were Anglicans and sought to dissuade Pentecostals from becoming a separatist movement. Boddy wrote that he did not feel it was the Lord's leading to establish a new Church, but the Pentecostal experience was to bless individuals where they were.[505] Blumhofer believes separation became inevitable as Pentecostalism provoked dissention from prominent British Evangelicals.[506] Nevertheless there was deep resistance towards denominationalism or any form of human organisation among early Pentecostals. Arthur Booth-Clibborn, son-in law of William Booth, commented Pentecostalism was 'a world-wide Movement not a world-wide organisation.' He made clear his antipathy to denominationalism when he added: 'Were this revival to be organised or centralised it would quickly go wrong, because carnal unity quickly becomes a dead uniformity.'[507] These voices for Pentecostalism to remain an organic work of the Spirit with no singular dominant organisational control were influential in the pre-War phase of British and global Pentecostalism.

However some ignored calls for Pentecostalism to remain a non-denominational revival. Kay demonstrates all four early British Pentecostal denominations had some connection with Sunderland.[508] William Hutchinson, a former Baptist minister, was filled with the Spirit at Sunderland in 1908 opening an independent mission church in Bournemouth the same year. In 1911 he commenced the first British Pentecostal denomination called the Apostolic Faith Church.[509] Many Pentecostals distanced themselves from Hutchinson's movement when it emphasised directive prophetic messages.[510] In 1910 Hutchinson visited Penygroes and ordained Daniel Powell Williams the overseer of the Penygroes assembly. In 1914 Williams was classified as

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[505] Boddy (ed), 'Unity Not Uniformity' *Confidence* Vol. 4.3 (March 1911) p. 60
[506] Blumhofer, *Boddy* p. 33
[507] Boddy (ed), 'Salvation Conferences in London and Sunderland' by Arthur Booth-Clibborn in *Confidence* Vol. 3.6 (June 1910) pp. 144-145
[508] Kay, *Sunderland's Legacy* pp. 183-199
[509] Anderson, Allan, *Introduction to Pentecostalism* (Cambridge University Press, 2004) p. 92
[510] Hathaway, Malcolm, 'The Role of William Oliver Hathaway and the Apostolic Faith Church in the Formation of British Pentecostal Churches' *JEPTA* Vol. 16 (1996) p. 44

‘apostle’ during a London Apostolic Faith convention. In 1916 a second Pentecostal Apostolic denomination commenced as the ‘Spoken Word’ movement when the Welsh Apostolics broke away from Hutchinson. The Apostolic Church, led by Williams, emphasised an ecclesia based on a hierarchy of apostles, prophets and other leaders appointed through ecstatic utterance.[511] In 1915 the Elim Pentecostal denomination commenced through the ministry of Jeffreys and his Elim Evangelistic Band in Northern Ireland. The Elim governmental structure was similar to Methodist polity.[512]

There remained a significant number of independent Pentecostal churches in Britain resisting the pull towards denominationalism, which were the PMU’s logical support base. The PMU’s independent denominational status coupled with the point Usher makes regarding Polhill’s experience and CIM affiliation initially secured the PMU a place within mainstream Protestant missions.[513] These factors of non-polity preference afforded the PMU a unique opportunity in its early years to work credibly alongside other missionary societies. Blumhofer argues that the non-polity stance caused British Pentecostalism to be regarded as a missional force rather than as a sect longer than in America.[514] However, post-War Pentecostals, requiring a clearer identity, challenged the PMU’s non-denominational status. Gee commented that the PMU constitution showed ‘a praiseworthy attitude of tolerance for various convictions as to church government; but some of the earliest members of the council later felt themselves to resign.’[515] Gee’s observation, based on awareness of some of the tensions that had arisen among various PMU council members, represented the view of many emerging Pentecostal leaders that a non-sectarian stance had not worked for the PMU and was untenable as a position for British Pentecostalism moving forward in the inter-war years. The PMU’s non-polity stance was also jeopardised by the CIM’s decision to become distanced from Pentecostalism including the PMU, which this thesis examines in chapter four.

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[511] Kay, *Pentecostals in Britain* p.18
[512] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism* p. 196
[513] Usher, *Polhill* p. 54
[514] Blumhofer, *Boddy* p. 37
[515] Gee, *Pentecostal Movement,* p. 75

3.1.2.2. The PMU's doctrinal position

The PMU essentially embraced the CIM's doctrinal position of belief in the Bible's inspiration and authority, the Trinity, sinful fall and depravity of humankind, humanity's need for regeneration, incarnation, deity and atoning work of Christ, justification by faith, resurrection of the dead, eternal life of the saved, eternal punishment of the lost and sanctification of believers which was designed to accommodate a non-denominational position.[516] The PMU added a belief in Spirit-baptism with Scriptural signs.[517] It was the PMU attitude to the Pentecostal position on tongues as initial evidence of Spirit-baptism that was probably its most distinctive doctrine setting it apart from other faith missions. This basic nature of the PMU's doctrinal statement suited the PMU leadership prior to the War because it avoided the need for clarification on issues such as water baptism, which was sensitive among the Anglican contingent. However after the War this generalised PMU doctrinal statement no longer served the purpose of regulating doctrinal difficulties that arose as the British Pentecostal movement tried to find its identity. When the PMU leadership sought to exercise control over doctrinal issues with missionaries and other council members they were placed in difficulty by the basic nature of their doctrinal constitutional position.

Polhill promoted speaking in tongues as evidence of the Spirit's empowerment of a believer but cautioned 'It is not for us to emphasize the accompanying sign of tongues more than do the Scriptures'.[518] Barratt and Jeffreys, two important Pentecostal pioneers in Europe, did not always insist on glossolalia as the initial evidence of Spirit-baptism. The German Mühleim Pentecostal Association did not prescribe tongues as the sole evidence and did not differentiate between the initial salvific event and Spirit-baptism. According to Harold Hunter, Howard Carter at one time dissented from initial evidence and Gee used the term 'sign'.[519] Boddy's original view is implied by his own experience, as he believed he received an inflow of the Spirit during

[516] CIM Practice and Principles (PMU archives, Donald Gee Centre, Mattersey Hall, Doncaster, UK)
[517] PMU Principles, No. 6 *Soundness of Faith*
[518] Polhill, Cecil, 'What is the Baptism in the Holy Ghost and Fire?' *Flames of Fire* Vol. 1 (October 1911) p. 1
[519] Hunter, Harold, 'Aspects of Initial Evidence Dogma: A European-American Holiness Perspective' *AJPS* Vol. 1.2 (1998) p. 186

his visit to Norway in March 1907 and received the gift of tongues in December 1907. In other words he believed it was possible to receive the Spirit subsequent to conversion without the gift of tongues. Later he adjusted his position and proposed a distinction between the seal of tongues and a continuous gift of tongues. Boddy believed the seal of tongues was a sign of the Spirit's indwelling and the continuous gift of tongues was for private devotions or utterance in public meetings.[520]

Boddy's own position was articulated at the German conference of December 1908. He believed in Spirit-baptism accompanied by the sign of tongues but did not prescriptively insist it was the only way of Spirit-reception for everyone.[521] Boddy believed the emphasis should be for people to seek the Divine person of the Spirit not the apostolic sign of tongues.[522] He saw tongues as the sign of the Spirit's entrance into a person and love as the continuance of the Spirit abiding in a person.[523] Kay maintains the German Pentecostals influenced this modification in Boddy's pneumatology of love being the abiding evidence of Spirit-baptism.[524] Boddy opposed the term *Pentecost* being used as an unscriptural 'shibboleth' because the apostles never spoke of getting one's Pentecost or living in Pentecost.[525]

In 1916 the PMU published a statement regarding glossolalia as a sign of Spirit-baptism, unanimously agreed to and signed by its members.

> *The members of the P.M.U. Council hold and teach that every believer should be baptised with the Holy Ghost, and that the Scriptures show that the Apostles regarded the speaking with Tongues as evidence that the believer had been so baptised. Each seeker for the Baptism with the Holy Ghost should therefore expect God to give him [sic] a full measure of His sanctifying grace in his heart, and also to speak with Tongues and magnify God as a sign and confirmation that he is truly baptised with the Holy Ghost."* [526]

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[520] Kay, *Boddy* p. 52
[521] Boddy (ed), 'Tongues As A Sign' *Confidence* Vol. 2.2 (February 1909) p. 33
[522] Boddy (ed), 'The Baptism in the Holy Ghost With the Sign of Tongues' *Confidence* Vol. 2.5 (May 1909) p. 122
[523] Boddy (ed), 'Tongues' *Confidence* Vol. 3.11 (November 1910) p. 261
[524] Kay, *Boddy* p. 53
[525] Boddy (ed), 'The Place of Tongues in the Pentecostal Movement' *Confidence* Vol. 4.8 (August 1911) p. 180
[526] Boddy (ed), 'Pentecostal Missionary Union' *Confidence* Vol. 9.12 (December 1916) p. 197

Boddy added his own editorial clarification that every person who receives Spirit-baptism may speak in tongues, but recipients needed to give ongoing proof through their lifestyle. Boddy remarked that the PMU statement referred to tongues as a sign of Spirit-baptism or infilling. He differentiated with tongues as one of the nine gifts of the Spirit, which is not for everyone.[527] Kay suggests 'Polhill and Boddy's continental view of tongues' would be a factor that undermined their Pentecostal credentials.[528] Although later Pentecostals have alleged this doctrinal factor of Boddy and Polhill's watering down the pneumatological holy grail of tongues being the sole initial evidence played a part in weakening their role in leading the British Pentecostal revival; it seems to be a position that conveniently ignores other 'mainstream' Pentecostal personalities similarly wavered at some point on the issue.

Because faith missions primarily focused on evangelism, sacramental theology was less important in their missiological praxis. Faith missions tolerated a two-fold concept and practice of water baptism.[529] Polhill served the inter-denominational CIM, which permitted different views of water baptism, similarly the PMU position was not insistent on any specific baptismal method whether immersion or sprinkling. The PMU was birthed through influential leaders who had prior traditions, particularly Anglicanism in the case of Boddy and Polhill. Boddy did not baptise by immersion but followed Anglican traditions of infant baptism.

Barratt recognised the difficulty of water baptism for early Pentecostals and encouraged unity in the Spirit to overcome doctrinal differences. He pleaded for latitude enabling individuals to maintain various baptismal practices without judgment or criticism from either side. Polhill was quoted as endorsing Barratt's viewpoint that Pentecostalism should accommodate diverse persuasions regarding water baptism.[530] However in 1916 when Barratt established the first Pentecostal church in Oslo he emphasised believer's

[527] Boddy (ed), 'Pentecostal Missionary Union' *Confidence* Vol. 9.8 (August 1916) p. 137
[528] Kay, *Four-Fold Gospel* p. 57
[529] Fiedler, *Faith missions* p. 336
[530] Boddy (ed), 'An Urgent Plea for Charity and Unity' *Confidence* Vol. 4.3 (March 1911) p. 63

baptism by immersion and in 1919 made it a condition of membership.[531] This reveals other significant European Pentecostals moved towards a more dogmatic position in order to establish a clearer Pentecostal identity. The PMU however expressed concern at Margaret Clark's missionary practice when she insisted her Indian workers and other denominational missionaries should practice adult baptism by immersion. Boddy suggested she should exercise more discretion regarding the baptismal views of others.[532] The issue of paeda-baptism arose again later in the conflict between Burton and the PMU, particularly in Burton's criticism of Boddy.[533] Garrard finds it 'surprising that the other members of the PMU council did not make more of the occasion when it was raised by Burton.' Garrard attributes their reluctance to concerns that Boddy would withdraw from the PMU.[534] This observation may have some validity, however a more likely explanation is that the PMU was non-sectarian at this stage and contained a strong Anglican representation on its council.

The next paragraphs feature a doctrinal controversy that affected the PMU from 1914 and in the post-war period but was not overtly referred to in *Confidence.* James Breeze was a businessman who led churches in Southport and Liverpool and was an original PMU council member serving from 1909 to 1915. He promoted the Pentecostal movement as being a Latter Rain outpouring.[535] His resignation from the PMU arose from a dispute over eschatological emphases in his teaching. Breeze was involved with PMU treasurer William Sandwith, Rowland Sandwith and Max Wood Moorhead in a conference at Bracknell in October 1914. Breeze emphasised the need for believers to prepare for the union of a pure Bride with Christ at the second coming.[536] Polhill and Boddy criticised Breeze's Bride teaching, which also became known as the Bracknell teaching. They believed it was a carnal doctrine proposing that believers could experience physical sensations preparing believers for union with Christ through the laying on of hands and

[531] Matre, *Norwegian Pentecostal* p. 56
[532] PMU minutes, minute no. 2 (10th April 1911)
[533] Covered in chapter five of this thesis
[534] Garrard, *Rupture from the PMU*, p. 27
[535] Boddy (ed), 'Fifth Sunderland Convention' *Confidence* Vol. 5.6 (June 1912) p. 127
[536] PMU archives, correspondence from Breeze to Mundell (2nd September 1914)

prayer. Boddy opposed the Bracknell teaching, without naming it, through a *Confidence* article when he differentiated the Church as the Bride of Christ from the individual. He warned:

> *Dangerous secret teaching is abroad, encouraging individual physical marital sensations. There is no Scripture for the reception of Christ as the Bridegroom (by the laying on of hands) as a necessary preparation for translation. Let our readers beware of any teaching, which is secret, and reject with horror anything, which exalts strange sexual emotions on this line*.[537]

The PMU raised the issue of the Bride teaching at its council meeting and invited Breeze and Sandwith to reply to these concerns.[538] Breeze and Sandwith refused to discuss it under the aegis of the PMU council and suggested members of the PMU met informally with the four men associated with the Bracknell teaching to resolve differences.[539] The PMU posed five doctrinal questions pertinent to the Bride heresy for Breeze and Sandwith to answer. The main criticism appears to be that the Bride heresy added an extra Gnostic type experience for Christians to receive Christ as the Bridegroom beyond the basics of salvation, sanctification and Spirit-baptism, which was imparted through the laying on of hands. Sandwith believed the PMU were behaving unjustly in their enquiry of his doctrinal position, which he maintained was a Biblical portrayal of a believer's union with Christ and authentically the Spirit's work.[540] The PMU were satisfied Sandwith's doctrine was that of a Scriptural based spiritual union.[541]

Breeze repudiated the charges of carnality associated with his teaching[542] claiming precedence for belief in Jesus being a personal bridegroom in the writings of John Tauler, Madame Guyon, Nicholas of Basel and Henry Suso.[543] He argued the PMU adopted double standards in attacking his doctrinal position. Breeze maintained the essential nature of the PMU was non-denominational; therefore the PMU had no justification for excluding any

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[537] Boddy (ed), 'Pentecostal Items' *Confidence* Vol. 7.12 (December 1914) p. 237
[538] PMU minutes, minute no. 2 (19th November 1914)
[539] PMU archives, correspondence from Breeze to Mundell (29th October 1914)
[540] PMU minutes, minute no. 10 (10th December 1914)
[541] PMU minutes, adjourned meeting (11th December 1914)
[542] PMU archives, correspondence from Breeze to Polhill (7th November 1914)
[543] PMU archives, correspondence from Breeze to Mundell (16th November 1914)

doctrinal positions except with regard to the distinctive Pentecostal belief of glossolalia as evidence of Spirit-baptism. He cautioned the PMU council against becoming a board that arbitrated on theological issues, as it would destroy its primary purpose as a missionary union.[544] In another letter, he again warned judgment on PMU council members' personal doctrinal positions should be excluded from the PMU's remit in order to prevent division. He made reference to two major disagreements between Anglicans and other Pentecostals, namely the method of water baptism and attitudes to the War, to illustrate his point that the PMU council lived in a doctrinal glasshouse and therefore should not throw any accusatory stones.[545]

This same heresy surfaced again among the PMU just after the War. In July 1919 two PMU missionaries, Grace Elkington and Betty Jones returned to the UK from India where they had been working since 1910.[546] Both women were asked to attend a PMU hearing on 28th February 1920 exploring their espousal of the 'Bride' heresy. At this disciplinary hearing the two women affirmed their beliefs in the Bride teaching, which deemed it appropriate for believers to seek spiritual encounters where they had physical sensations as if Jesus had kissed them. The two women confirmed they had personally experienced such manifestations. The PMU denounced this as unscriptural doctrine. When the women refused to renounce their beliefs, their connection with the PMU was severed with immediate effect.[547]

Harry Small, a PMU council member based at East Wemyss, was a close friend of Polhill accompanying Polhill on some of his travels to China. This close relationship did not prevent the PMU on 3rd June 1920 passing a resolution resulting in Small's expulsion.[548] This was due to his repeated avoidance in clarifying doctrinal irregularities about the 'Bride teaching'. During the disciplinary hearing of Elkington and Jones, Small abstained from voting and expressed sympathy with their doctrinal position. He then refused

[544] PMU archives, correspondence from Breeze to Polhill (7th November 1914)
[545] PMU archives, correspondence from Breeze to Mundell (11th November 1914)
[546] Boddy (ed), 'Pentecostal Missionary Union' *Confidence* Vol. 12.3 (July-September 1919) p. 50
[547] PMU minutes, minute no. 9 (28th February 1920)
[548] PMU minutes, minute no. 1 (29th May 1920); minute no. 11 (10th June 1920); minute no.6 (22nd June 1920)

to explain himself even though Mundell sought to deal with Small in a 'brotherly manner'.[549] The PMU instructed Small that he should: firstly, disassociate from individuals who held to the bride teaching; secondly, repudiate his own belief in it; and thirdly, denounce and oppose it as heresy.[550]

Although Mundell gave repeated opportunity for Small to clarify any misunderstanding and take advantage of the PMU council's desire to give him the benefit of the doubt, Small chose to ignore the situation.[551] In 1921 the PMU refused to accept donations from churches and leaders who promoted or were in sympathetic approval of the Bride heresy. They defined the Bride doctrine as the pursuit of physical manifestations from a physical Christ. The timing of this doctrinal limitation for acceptance of donations was due to disciplinary measures the PMU took against its own council members and missionaries who supported this heresy.[552] This episode of the Bride controversy demonstrates that the initial simple doctrinal position the PMU took, largely borrowed from the CIM, was not adequate to deal with later challenges and developments within Pentecostalism. It gives insight into the pressures that the PMU faced to develop its structure while risking the charge of overly regulating the dynamic spirituality of Pentecostalism.

This conflict sheds light on the PMU's dilemma in this transitional phase of early British Pentecostalism. The PMU had been established as a non-sectarian faith mission that sought to prioritise missionary activity but it also had a sense of responsibility as the only quasi-denominational body representing independent Pentecostals to safeguard Pentecostalism from potential doctrinal errors. The problem was that the PMU council started to act as a doctrinal guardian for nascent Pentecostalism in Britain, while it seemingly ignored the issue of paeda-baptism that many Pentecostals disagreed with. This issue is one of many during the brief history of the PMU that highlights tensions among PMU council members indicating contributory

[549] PMU archives, correspondence to Polhill (4th March 1920)
[550] PMU minutes, minute no. 3 (12th April 1920)
[551] PMU archives, correspondence to Small (19th May 1920)
[552] PMU minutes, minute no. 3 (7th March 1921)

factors to the demise of the PMU in the 1920s. Commenting on microhistory Giovanni Levi states 'groups define themselves according to conflicts and solidarities'[553] and this situation reflects the polarising dynamics occurring within the PMU leadership as Pentecostalism sought to frame its emerging identity. The tension for the Anglican PMU leaders, such as Polhill and Boddy, is that their position of authority within the PMU appeared to grant them control and ability to determine what constituted doctrinal orthodoxy and inadvertently sent a message that other emerging Pentecostals didn't have the freedom and scope to formulate doctrine without censure. Boddy was able to influence the independent cluster of British Pentecostal churches as editor of *Confidence* and Polhill maintained important social and financial influence within the early years of British Pentecostalism. However after the War Polhill and Boddy were not able to influence British Pentecostalism to the same extent, particularly as Boddy's personal circumstances changed and Polhill's energies were absorbed in maintaining the survival of the PMU with diminishing support.

3.1.2.3. The PMU's missionary training

The PMU was concerned from the outset that their missionary candidates received training before going to the mission field in accord with CIM practice. Within six months of the PMU's establishment a London men's training home was opened and a female equivalent opened soon after. Church leaders were encouraged only to send those adjudged to be their best workers to apply as missionary candidates for training.[554] Titterington, one of the PMU training superintendents, described his role as providing training of candidates who had received Spirit-baptism, and desired to offer themselves for foreign mission field service. Candidates were first admitted for a probationary period before final acceptance for training, in order to assess their suitability for work abroad. He maintained it was necessary for missionaries to have a strong character and disciplined spirit, be easy to get on with, possess sufficient mental ability and perseverance to acquire a foreign language. He suggested

[553] Giovanni, 'On Microhistory' in Burke, *Historical Writing* p. 109
[554] Boddy (ed), 'The Pentecostal Missionary Union' *Confidence* Vol. 2.11 (November 1909) pp. 253-254

it was desirable candidates should live and study for a time together for an average of a two year period, so a fair and accurate judgment could be made before sending them as missionaries.[555]

PMU training involved the following disciplines: Bible study, lectures and practical evangelism. The aim of the PMU training was to provide students with Biblical knowledge and understanding of fundamental doctrine. The students sat weekly tests based on current subjects and end of term examinations. One lesson a week was allocated in the curriculum to elementary New Testament Greek. Students from the women's home also attended this class. Greek was regarded as a preparatory foundation subject for subsequent language study, essential in the mission field, as few PMU students had undertaken prior language study. Instruction was given in homiletical preparation and delivery. Experience was gained in evangelistic work through taking gospel services, lodging-house meetings, Sunday school outreach, and, during summer time, open-air work.[556]

Evidence from the PMU records reflects home-based training did not include specialised missionary subjects equipping candidates for ministry in a cross-cultural context. PMU missionaries were not allowed into pioneer contexts when they arrived on the mission field. They were usually placed with experienced field missionaries either from the PMU or other faith missions so they could learn language and culture. The PMU principles explain new missionaries were classed as probationary missionaries for at least the first year on the field and that could be extended for a second year at the PMU leadership's discretion. During that time PMU missionaries were subject to a senior missionary. In some cases, especially in the formative years, that could be an experienced missionary with a separate associate organisation. If PMU missionaries proved satisfactory during their probationary period they would be classified as junior missionaries. Junior missionaries, after three years on the field and passing all necessary language examinations, would then be termed as full missionaries. If missionaries proved unsuitable during their

[555] Polhill (ed), 'PMU Men's Training Home, London' *Flames of Fire* No. 26 (April 1915) p. 6
[556] Polhill (ed), 'PMU Men's Training Home, London' *Flames of Fire* No. 26 (April 1915) p. 6

probationary period the PMU would seek the best way to retire them from the field.[557]

Anderson assumes from a quotation in *Confidence* made by Polhill in 1909 that the PMU had difficulties with its early missionaries caused by a lack of training. 'In less than a year PMU chairman Cecil Polhill referred to problems his organisation had with new missionaries. He said that some training was an absolute necessity as previous experience had shown the mistake and undesirability of immature workers, however zealous and spiritual, going forth to a heathen land.'[558] It is clear from the context Polhill was making a generalised observation about earlier Pentecostal missionaries and not specific PMU missionaries, as the first two PMU missionaries Kathleen Miller and Lucy James in India were the only ones the PMU sent out prior to training being established. They possessed previous ministry experience including one of them being a missionary in India. They were also sent out to work in established missions alongside proven missionaries. The same article positively endorses them and refers to Miller being part of a revival in Cuttack. Polhill's statement actually demonstrates the PMU offered training and preparation for its candidates rather than follow the model of rash impulsive missionary responses of earlier independent Pentecostals. The PMU regarded other candidates who applied to them were not ready to be sent out at that point, evidencing the PMU were not prepared to cut corners just to get numbers of missionaries out on the field quickly.[559]

In another of Anderson's articles that employs the pejorative terminology of 'Cultural Blunders' Polhill is portrayed as instituting the PMU training programme as if it was an after thought due to previous problems caused by insufficient training.[560] Anderson creates the impression that PMU missionaries were inept due to some delay in the PMU's initial training strategy. However Anderson amends previous views in his more recent publication *To the Ends of the Earth* when he informs that the very first PMU

[557] PMU Principles, No. 5 *Missionary Candidates*
[558] Anderson, *Christian Missionaries and Heathen Natives* p. 2
[559] Boddy (ed), 'The Pentecostal Missionary Union' *Confidence* Vol. 2.11 (November 1909) p. 253
[560] Anderson, *Signs and Blunders*

council meeting resolved to open a men's training home. It opened in July 1909 and by November 1909 there were 11 male PMU missionary candidates in training. The women's' training home opened in January 1910, under what Anderson terms as 'the capable leadership of Eleanor Crisp'.[561] When the PMU was inaugurated it was done so with the intent of training missionaries from the outset,[562] which Gee affirms was implicit in the PMU's formation.[563] At the Sunderland International Pentecostal Congress of June 1909, the PMU announced a strategy of immediately commencing a two-year training programme for missionary probationers.[564]

The training home superintendents carried some influence in determining the PMU's effectiveness, as they were responsible for adequately preparing field missionaries. Hocken remarks Polhill had unhappy experiences with the training home principals he recruited.[565] Alex Moncur Niblock, the first PMU men's training home superintendent, had missionary experience in India.[566] After Niblock attended the first Sunderland conference he commenced Pentecostal meetings in his London home, which was then further used for training purposes from July 1909. This men's training home in Paddington had 11 students from Scotland, England, Holland, Denmark and Persia.[567] According to PMU missionary, Percy Bristow, the students regarded Niblock as a spiritual father and very practical in his teaching.[568]

Niblock was only in charge of the men's training home for nine months when he was asked to stand down by the PMU due to financial mismanagement. PMU minutes record Niblock was unable to operate within necessary budget constraints and those extra costs would be born by council members such as Polhill. The PMU minutes demonstrate wider difficulties relating to Niblock's

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[561] Anderson, *Ends of the Earth* p. 69
[562] Boddy (ed), 'The PMU Resolution 6' *Confidence* Vol. 2.1 (January 1909) p. 14
[563] Gee, *Pentecostal Movement* p. 60
[564] Boddy (ed), 'The PMU' *Confidence* Vol. 2.6 (June 1909) pp. 129-130
[565] Hocken, *Polhill* p. 126
[566] Malcomson, *Pentecostal Pioneers* pp. 156-158
[567] Boddy (ed), 'The Pentecostal Missionary Union' *Confidence* Vol. 2.11 (November 1909) p. 253
Usher, *Polhill* p. 46 follows Gee's error in *Uttermost Part* p. 8, which records the first PMU training home was run by Myerscough at Preston and then transferred to London under Niblock's leadership.
[568] Boddy (ed), 'The Edinburgh Conference' *Confidence* Vol. 3.1 (January 1910) p. 18

lack of communication and co-operation with the PMU council. The PMU removed the male students to alternative premises for training, which meant Niblock was effectively dismissed from his role because training no longer occurred in his property. Polhill met with Niblock to try and repair the strained relationship. Following a frank exchange between them, Niblock conceded his failure to manage the training home. He also felt his cause had not been helped by his lack of involvement on the council and this reflected in a growing sense of isolation from them. Polhill rebuffed these claims upholding it was inappropriate for Niblock to be part of council discussions. Boddy tried to broker reconciliation by acknowledging Niblock's self-admitted shortcomings but still felt there was a role for him within the PMU. Niblock suggested he could still give lectures at the new training centre. Boddy proposed, as Niblock was no longer involved in the training, he could become a PMU council member. Polhill, supported by the PMU council, squashed these proposals. Boddy reluctantly let the matter drop but hoped there would be a time when it could be reconsidered.[569] This issue reflects that Polhill's leadership in the PMU was very influential.

Following failure to find a suitable place in London or Glasgow, the PMU invited Myerscough to train the male students temporarily at Preston. Polhill proposed Myerscough should be on the PMU council, despite what he previously stated about Niblock's conflict of interest being both on the council and in charge of men's training.[570] Myerscough was a Lancashire estate agent based in Preston, who attended the 1909 Sunderland conference. The church he led in Preston had global missionary significance for the British Pentecostal movement.[571] Bill Counsell states there is sufficient evidence to demonstrate Myerscough 'amply discharged his responsibility'. The quality of graduates produced from the Preston PMU training school is an impressive accolade to Myerscough's ability as teacher and mentor.[572] Products of the Preston school were Burton and James Salter (Congo mission pioneers), Jeffreys, Percy Corry and E.J. Phillips (leaders of the Elim Pentecostal

[569] PMU minutes, minute no. 6 (21st March 1910)
[570] PMU minutes, minute no. 6 & 7 (18th July 1910)
[571] Counsell, *Fire Beneath The Clock* pp. 21-23
[572] *Ibid.*, p. 33

movement)[573] and China PMU field superintendent William Boyd. Myerscough resigned from the PMU in June 1915 after he clashed with the PMU leadership. Gee also links Myerscough's resignation with Polhill re-establishing a training home for men in London. Initially this new home was not classified as the official PMU training home allowing the existing senior students at Preston to graduate.[574]

Tensions in the PMU council occurred when Anglican representatives Boddy and Polhill nominated Wallis, another Anglican minister, to succeed Myerscough at the Preston men's training home. This appointment faced opposition from some PMU council members who had been absent when this matter was previously discussed.[575] Wallis wanted to live in London and maintain his Anglican membership instead of being committed to the Pentecostal work at Preston. He stated if the PMU did not open a London training school he would take another appointment, thus Polhill looked for suitable premises as a London training home.[576] This led to an extraordinary PMU meeting from which Myerscough voluntarily withdrew. The PMU overturned the previous decision to appoint Wallis as superintendent of a new London training home but consented to Polhill proceeding with arrangements on a personal basis.[577] Hocken observes this compromise outcome resulted from neither party wanting to admit defeat but also pragmatically understanding that a publicised rift would be disastrous for the PMU.

In 1913 there was an anomalous situation where the official PMU's main training home was in Preston but the PMU president was privately financing another training home in Hackney under the superintendence of Wallis.[578] Myerscough proposed to resign from the PMU, linked by Breeze to the concurrent existence of two training homes.[579] He finally resigned along with Breeze and Sandwith based on their perception that the PMU was too heavy-

[573] Boulton, *George Jeffreys* p. 13
[574] Gee, *Men I Knew* p. 68
[575] PMU minutes, minute no. 3 (13th May 1913)
[576] PMU minutes, minute no. 3 (6th March 1913) & minute no. 1 (15th April 1913)
[577] PMU minutes, adjourned meeting minute no. 13 (14th May 1913)
[578] Hocken, *Polhill* pp. 127-128
[579] PMU archives, correspondence from Breeze to Mundell (17th November 1913)

handed in deciding where students attended church and determining where missionaries were deployed in the field, such as Corry and Clelland in India.[580] In particular Sandwith accused Polhill of pressing his own agenda on PMU decisions.[581]

Wallis, an MA graduate from Queen's College, Cambridge, believed missionaries should be thoroughly trained before going out to the field. He envisioned qualitative training to produce a new calibre of missionaries so the PMU would have capacity to meet the growing need of field superintendents.[582] Wallis ran the London training home until early 1915 when he suddenly resigned while Polhill was overseas. Breeze implies Wallis' resignation was due to leanings towards Hutchinson's apostolic teaching that emphasised dependence on directive prophecy.[583]

In 1915 Polhill felt he could legitimately and formally hand over responsibility for the London training home back to the PMU.[584] Edward Titterington, a foreign office civil servant and an educated man with an MA, took over as honorary superintendent. He married one of Mrs Crisp's daughters, Ethel, and during their honeymoon Wigglesworth took temporary charge of the PMU training.[585] Titterington's tenure as PMU training superintendent was short lived due to constraints of the War. In 1916 his government work caused his relocation to Norway where he served as vice-consul.[586] After the War Titterington rejoined the PMU council but was disappointed not to resume his superintendent's role.[587] The PMU were uncertain regarding the length of Titterington's unavailability and needed to re-open the men's training home after the War. Titterington's return was delayed after the War due to deployment of British troops in Northern Europe after the Russian

[580] PMU archives, correspondence from Breeze, Sandwith and Myerscough (20th May 1915)
[581] PMU archives, correspondence from Sandwith to Mundell (22nd May 1915)
[582] Boddy (ed), 'Missionary Matters' *Confidence* Vol. 6.10 (October 1913) pp. 201-202
[583] PMU archives, correspondence from Breeze to Mundell (16th January 1914)
[584] PMU minutes, minute no. 7 (26th July 1915)
[585] PMU archives, correspondence from Mundell to Swift (17th July 1915)
[586] PMU archives, correspondence to Leigh (27th May 1916)
[587] Boddy (ed), 'The Pentecostal Missionary Union' *Confidence* Vol. 13.2 (April-June 1920) p. 28

revolution.[588] In April 1919 the PMU appointed Joseph Hollis for a term of office and felt to replace him with Titterington would be dishonourable.[589]

Hollis and his wife had previous missionary experience in Bolivia. Hollis believed more importance should be given to developing the home base for Pentecostal missions. He acknowledged the role of a home council to advise and appoint missionaries but felt particularly they had a pivotal role to promote and link interest in the home churches to frontline missionaries. He believed the benefit of training was to stimulate evangelism, relate well to co-workers, be safeguarded from over-dogmatism and learn how to teach balanced truth.[590] Mr and Mrs Hollis provided language acquisition support to PMU missionary Elsie Radbourne (later Mrs Jameson) as she learned Spanish while still a student in the women's training home.[591]

In 1920 Hollis clashed with a male student called Chase, which resulted in Mundell and Polhill conducting an investigation.[592] At the beginning of 1921 Polhill informed Hollis and his wife that their pre-agreed temporary term of office as superintendent was completed and were expected to vacate the men's training home. This apparent insensitive handling of the situation caused upset between Hollis and the PMU and even resulted in one of the students resigning from the PMU on the principle of how Hollis had been treated.[593] Mundell regarded the appointment of Hollis as disastrous and attributed it to the PMU council's laxity. Mundell had unspecified concerns with Hollis' teaching and standards on holiness.[594] Mr and Mrs. Hollis returned to South America as Apostolic church missionaries.[595] It was in this post-war context of financial constraint[596] and ongoing failed leadership of the training

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[588] PMU archives, correspondence from Titterington to Mundell (3rd February 1919)
[589] PMU archives, correspondence 16th June 1919, 30th June 1919, 6th July 1919 and 11th August 1919 relates to training leadership issue. PMU council member William Glassby thought Titterington should replace Hollis.
[590] Boddy (ed), 'The Pentecostal Missionary Union' *Confidence* Vol. 12.2 (April-June 1919) p. 31
[591] PMU minutes, minute no. 3 (6th July1920)
[592] PMU archives, correspondence to Hollis (31st May 1920)
[593] PMU minutes, minutes no. 3 & 4 (11th January 1921)
[594] PMU archives, correspondence to Glassby (23rd January 1924)
[595] PMU archives, correspondence to Moser (12th January 1921)
[596] PMU minutes, minute 3 (26th June 1922)

home that the PMU transferred its responsibility for the Hampstead training college to emerging Pentecostal leader, Howard Carter.[597]

In comparison the women's training home was commenced in January 1910 and run by one of the earliest Pentecostals, Eleanor Crisp, who already had a proven track record of spiritually mentoring young women through the Hackney YWCA. She administered the training home, gave Bible studies and instructed students in character development. She became a highly respected Pentecostal convention speaker throughout Britain often ministering alongside Boddy, Polhill and Wigglesworth. Crisp was the solitary female member of the PMU council. Through her influence many young women were sent out as PMU missionaries.[598] Gee described her as radiating competent leadership of the training home with strict discipline, shrewd counsel and proven ministry gift. Gee proposed her leadership was evidenced in the way her students such as Ethel Cook, Edith Knell, Maria Hodgetts and Maggie Noad[599] became effective long-term Pentecostal missionaries.[600] Even when health issues forced Crisp to step down from her training role in January 1922[601] she remained strongly involved with the PMU's work until she died in October 1923.[602]

The PMU temporarily appointed Florence Morrell,[603] Miss Green[604] and Anna Lewini[605] to run women's training when Crisp was unable to fulfil her role. However a case can be made that the PMU never succeeded in replacing Crisp as female training home superintendent, because her successors were always viewed as temporary appointments. This meant Crisp, who should have retired earlier on health grounds, held onto the role longer than was probably appropriate. It can only be conjectured how this influenced the

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[597] PMU minutes, minute 5 (10th July 1922)
[598] Malcomson, *Pentecostal Pioneers* pp. 182-185
[599] Missen, *Sound of a Going* p. 62 records Noad was awarded a Knight of the Order of Prince Leopold by the Belgian government for her services in the Congo
[600] Gee, *Men I Knew* pp. 34-35
[601] PMU archives, correspondence to Polhill (4th January 1922)
[602] Boddy (ed), 'Mrs Crisp: A Mother in Israel' *Confidence* No.136 (Jan-Mar 1924) pp. 115-116
[603] PMU minutes, minute no. 6c (15th April 1918) & minute no. 3 (5th July 1917)
[604] PMU minutes, minute no. 8 (18th April 1921) & minute no. 12 (18th July 1921)
[605] PMU archives, correspondence to Crisp (21st February1922) & Carter (23rd February1922)

effective preparation of PMU female missionaries after the War and led to the closure of the women's PMU training programme.

The PMU followed the CIM model of training for its missionary candidates. It was accused by Gee of a disproportionate emphasis on training individuals as missionary candidates while there was no similar provision for emerging local church leaders.[606] However the PMU left a legacy of competent training that saw many missionaries sent out and several early Elim Pentecostal leaders equipped, when many early Pentecostals were disparaging of the necessity of any formal training believing that spiritual empowerment and eschatological urgency rendered it unimportant. Chapter five informs that the Hampstead facility was handed over to Howard Carter, when the PMU could no longer afford to maintain its training capacity. Although Carter transitioned Hampstead into a Bible College, Pentecostal missionaries could continue to be trained there. Hampstead became the AOG training college, which subsequently relocated to Kenley and then to the current Mattersey campus.

3.1.2.4. The PMU's gender position

The early 20th century signified many changing attitudes towards women in Western society. Women played a full part in promoting the Pentecostal movement globally and certainly this was true in cross-cultural missionary activity. Azusa Street particularly promoted equal rights of women in ministry as the Spirit's anointing nullified previous gender discrimination. Anderson claims the records of early Pentecostal missionary agencies reveal there were more women than men on the mission field.[607] Kay states the PMU 'was a prime example of a mission which depended on previously neglected forces such as women and poorly educated men'.[608]

The CMS abandoned its policy of discouraging single women candidates in 1887, which exemplifies changes in Evangelical attitudes towards the role of

[606] Gee, *Pentecostal Movement* pp. 90-91
[607] Anderson, *Spreading Fires* p. 272
[608] Kay, *Four-Fold Gospel* p. 61

women in missionary work.[609] Faith missions promoted fresh attitudes towards the role of female missionaries. Stanley reckons that the success of the CIM in the 1880's was not merely due to the impact of recruiting university students such as the Cambridge Seven, 'but also to its willingness to recruit single women, who accounted for 45% of all candidates in the decade.'[610] The CIM counted married women as full missionaries in their own right and classified single women missionaries as having equal status with male counterparts.[611] CIM female missionaries were actively expected to preach. The CIM's work practically demonstrated female missionaries could successfully pioneer in unreached interior provinces of China to establish new mission stations. Faith based mission societies attracted the recruitment of independent minded young women as full-fledged missionaries. An implication of this attitude to women among faith mission organisations was that it elevated women's training to equivalent standards for men. It also affected engagement and marriage policies of missionary societies. They could not allow married women to gain missionary status without compliance to the same standards of training. If a single member of a faith mission wanted to marry someone who was not a member of the same organisation, the intended partner was required to go through the full acceptance procedures of the missionary society, otherwise the missionary was expected to resign.[612]

Diana Chapman is critical of Polhill's attitude towards the authority of women. She concedes Polhill permitted women to minister at Sion College and at the London conventions but believes Polhill allowed his Anglicanism to influence a more restrictive approach to women's role in Christian ministry. Chapman bases her conclusions on two letters to Mundell that she argues indicates Polhill's views.[613] In the first letter Polhill borrowed from the CIM's example of male predominance on its council to state what the PMU required was 'the

[609] Stanley, Brian, *The Bible and the Flag* (Leicester, Apollos, 1990) p. 81
[610] *Ibid.*, p. 83
[611] Fiedler, *Faith missions*, p. 382
[612] *Ibid.*, pp. 292-293
[613] Chapman, Diane, 'The Rise and Demise of Women's Ministry In the Origins and Early Years of British Pentecostalism in Britain' *JEPTA* Vol. 12.2 (April 2004) pp. 238-239

help of men who can give regular attendance'.[614] Polhill's other letter referred to the practice of praying for people to receive Spirit-baptism stating: 'The only instance Scripture gives of the laying on of hands for the baptism, was by elders, and there is no instances of women having done so.'[615] Polhill then states his disquiet with the thought that Pentecostal praxis allowed for even quite young girls to be included in the ministry of laying on of hands. It implies Polhill was concerned novices or young believers should not be part of this ministry. Chapman uses these two brief quotations as definitive in demonstrating Polhill's negative attitude towards women and ministry. These quotations align with Polhill's practice in the appointment of senior positions within the PMU. It is true that, with the exception of Crisp, all other PMU council members were male and Polhill did not appoint any female field superintendents. Some might say Polhill appointed Crisp onto the PMU council as a de facto entitlement resulting from her role; however he did not accord the same position to her male counterpart, Niblock, the first superintendent of the men's training home.[616] Certainly Burton saw Crisp's appointment on the PMU council as providing her with leadership authority over men. Within 11 days of her appointment Burton wrote 'I cannot believe that God led the PMU to put a woman on the Council since it is written "I suffer not a woman to usurp authority over a man".'[617] When compared with Burton's application of 1 Timothy 2: 12 to Crisp's appointment, Polhill and the PMU's position towards women in ministry and leadership is seen to be more inclusive.

Polhill's attitude towards women must be interpreted in the cultural and social context of his day, when women were still struggling to gain suffrage. Polhill followed the CIM faith mission model regarding the status of women missionaries being equivalent to the men and requiring the same standards of training and support.[618] Fiedler asserts 'Although all faith missions followed Hudson Taylor in taking women to be missionaries in their own right, not all of

[614] Polhill, *'Letter to Mundell'* (8th February 1921)
[615] PMU archives, correspondence from Polhill to Mundell (25th July 1921)
[616] PMU minutes, minute no. 4 (13th October 1913) indicates Crisp's appointment onto the PMU Council was proposed by Boddy and seconded by Polhill.
[617] PMU archives, correspondence from Burton to Mundell (24th October1913)
[618] PMU Principles no. 13

them followed Taylor in giving women independent responsibility, not immediately controlled by men.'[619] PMU women missionaries were encouraged to take initiative in pioneering new stations and ministries. Kay agrees 'Although no women became field directors, they did have charge of outstations and could exercise a supervisory role in conjunction with their husbands as Mrs McLean had done in Yunnan.'[620] There is evidence the PMU valued advice from female missionaries such as Fanny Boyd, Ethel Cook and Jessie Biggs over key decisions. The PMU implemented Boyd's recommendations regarding deployment of missionaries in Yunnan. When Cook was on furlough the PMU sought her input on three key issues such as handing over the men's training home to Carter,[621] reconsideration of the Woods as missionaries[622] and rates of allowances to missionaries in China.[623] Biggs' opinion was sought regarding Likiang-fu and was deemed influential upon James Andrews' appointment there.[624]

When the issue of the PMU's position on gender is approached from its praxis then it has to be judged as affording many younger women pioneer missional opportunities. The PMU archives reveal throughout the PMU's history they had 60 missionaries who at some point held full missionary status, of which 35 were women and 25 were men. Of another nine who only held associate PMU missionary status, seven were women – Grace Agar, Thyra Beruldsen, Christina Beruldsen, Ada Buchwalter, Mary Lewer, Florence Morrell and Dora Graves.[625] This thesis proposes that the PMU organisationally valued the role of women missionaries more highly than was typical of early 20th century British society. Although it can be argued that Azusa upheld the equality of women more than the PMU, the Azusa Street revival did not directly produce a missionary society similar to the PMU and therefore the comparison is not appropriate. This section demonstrates how even in its attitude on gender that

[619] Fiedler, *Faith missions* p. 293
[620] Kay, *Four-Fold Gospel* p. 61
[621] PMU archives, correspondence to Moser (3rd July 1922)
[622] PMU minutes, minute no. 3 (8th December 1922)
[623] PMU minutes, minute no. 12 (12th January 1923)
[624] PMU archives, correspondence to Moser (13th October 1923)
[625] Andrews, *Regions Beyond* p. 97 refers to 60 missionaries sent out by PMU. Andrews follows Kay's research, *Four-Fold Gospel* Appendix 3. Kay counted two female missionaries twice who served in both India and China but omitted the Taylors in Japan.

the PMU was mirroring CIM values rather than pursuing a fresh Pentecostal perspective arising from pneumatalogical inspired egalitarian convictions. Although the closure of the women's training home in 1922 impaired opportunities for women to prepare for missionary work, Howard Carter did open up female Bible Colleges in Scarborough and Louth during the 1930's.

3.1.3. Comparison between the PMU and the CIM

This next section investigates the link between Polhill as PMU founding president and CIM missionary and council member. This relationship provides some obvious keys as to why and how the PMU was formed. Gee, Hocken and Missen mistakenly state Polhill retained his place on the CIM council until his death in 1938,[626] as from 1915 Polhill resigned from the CIM and only later restored his CIM links.[627] The PMU was a totally separate mission entity from the CIM. When CIM historian Broomhall compiled his CIM Jubilee report, the PMU was not referred to as an associate agency with the CIM; however this was published the same year as the CIM distanced itself from the PMU.[628] Nevertheless when British PMU missionaries initially went out to China they relied heavily upon the experience and favour of CIM missionaries. Anderson observes 'The early PMU co-operated with the CIM, followed CIM policies and used Polhill's CIM contacts whenever possible.'[629] The PMU hosted Pentecostal meetings on CIM mission stations with some CIM missionaries seeking Spirit reception. Malcomson agrees the CIM created the pattern and policy of Pentecostal missionary activity in both China and India,[630] which suggests the British PMU, was a Pentecostal clone of the CIM. It will be important to compare the PMU with the CIM in its missionary praxis.

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[626] Gee, *Men I Knew* p. 73, Hocken, *Polhill* p. 10 & 25 unedited version, PMU archives, Missen, *Sound of a Going* p. 60

[627] Polhill's resignation from the CIM is discussed in Chapter 4. It can only be surmised that other than the one reference to his resignation from the CIM in Flames of Fire, Polhill remained silent about his breach with the CIM and so subsequent commentators were unaware of it. Gee was writing later when Polhill visited China to link with former CIM colleagues. Hocken and Missen have probably been influenced by Gee.

[628] Broomhall, *Jubilee Story* Appendix 1 pp. 357-365

[629] Anderson, *Spreading Fires* p. 124

[630] Malcomson, *Pentecostal Pioneers* pp. 60-61

Taylor established CIM principles that differed from many other mission organisations.[631] First of all the CIM was interdenominational not undenominational. The CIM was not a church 'but a voluntary union of members of various denominations agreeing to band themselves together to obey the Saviour's last command in respect to China'.[632] CIM candidates were accepted as missionaries irrespective of denominational affiliation, provided they had sound fundamental doctrine. The CIM's theology was conservative and candidates signed a simple doctrinal statement. Protestant missions were becoming professional and closing opportunities to pioneer evangelists. However the CIM was willing to accept candidates who had a strong missionary calling whatever their formal academic achievements. The CIM leadership was field based. Taylor believed the mission's needs were better grasped and responded to with a prompt and flexible decision making process that could only properly happen on the mission field. CIM missionaries wore Chinese apparel so they were contextually and culturally relevant. The CIM's primary aim was widespread evangelism. However Broomhall qualifies this 'Though the Mission has ever been an evangelistic agency, one of its great ambitions, as stated in its *Principles and Practice,* has been to build up a self-supporting Church.'[633]

CIM missionaries could undertake other activities such as pastoral care of churches and education but they were always subservient to the central purpose of evangelism. Neill distinguishes the CIM's diffusion policy to preach the gospel to all people from the alternative concentration policy of other missionary societies in China. This policy emphasised that missionaries should concentrate their efforts on reaching the scholarly class through Christian education.[634] Bays highlights the CIM as a rare exception to the dominant Western civilising agenda that characterised Protestant mission activity in China after 1860.[635] The PMU encouraged their missionaries to prioritise evangelism rather than social amelioration imitating the CIM's

[631] Taylor, Hudson, *Principles & Practice of the China Inland Mission* (London, CIM, 1903)
[632] Austin, *China's Millions* pp. 104-105
[633] Broomhall, Marshall, *By Love Compelled* (London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1936) p. 77
[634] Neill, *Missions* p. 283
[635] Bays, *Christianity in China* p. 69

diffusion policy. For example when Arthur Richardson went to the Congo, the Belgian district commissioner expected that the PMU would do similar work to the Moravian mission such as education and enable locals to acquire practical skills like carpentry. The PMU instructed Richardson that its primary objectives were spreading the gospel to the unconverted and establishing Christians in the Word and Spirit's power. Richardson was to avoid social aspects of the gospel, with the exception of doing some basic education in the context of children's ministry.[636]

Another example of this clash within the PMU's praxis regarding social activity is found in the work of Yunnan PMU worker Alice Waldon. In 1924 the local Yunnan-fu authorities permitted Waldon to retrieve a little girl called Peach from the slave girl prison and put her in a CMS hospital because she was so ill. After Peach recovered, the authorities granted Waldon guardianship of her. PMU missionaries supplied towels and toiletries to other girls in the slave prison. They could have freed others by purchasing them but believed it would be misunderstood and encourage corruption in those who ran the slave prison. So the missionaries continued to influence the authorities to release more girls to them through the transformation they saw in the development of Peach. Waldon had a burden to open a home for girls retrieved from the slave prison.[637] It is important to include this detail because Waldon's activity appears a deviation from normal PMU practice of pioneer evangelism in following a community action mission model. Later William Glassby, William Boyd and Albert Wood consorted to publish a booklet on this ministry to the Yunnan-fu slave girls. There were unsuccessful attempts to seek the co-operation of mission agencies in Yunnan-fu to establish a ministry that would change the plight of these girls.[638] In 1925 PMU superintendent, Boyd, was instructed that the slave girl ministry was not in accord with PMU aims and should only continue under the covering of another organisation specific for this ministry.[639] In 1925 Boyd raised the issue of Florence Ives permitting a

[636] PMU minutes, minute no. 10 (10th April 1922)
[637] A.A. Boddy (ed), 'The Pentecostal Missionary Union' *Confidence* No. 139 (November-December 1924) p. 159
[638] PMU minutes, minute no. 6 (13th February 1925)
[639] PMU archives, correspondence to Boyd (14th March 1925)

cripple boy to live in the PMU mission station, as he felt her time was too taken up as a carer that it affected her evangelistic work.[640] The PMU's missiological priorities align it with the CIM and other faith missions who were strongly influenced by pre-millennial eschatology. Evangelicals who became pre-occupied with pre-millennial urgency, such as F.B. Meyer, associated the social gospel with the failed civilising missionary activity of post-millennialism.[641]

When PMU missionaries Frank Trevitt, Amos Williams, Percy Bristow and John McGillvary went to China they were based with Smith, one of the Cambridge Seven. He encouraged them to wear Chinese apparel, so they would fit in culturally. This is an example of the PMU missionaries adopting the CIM's cross-cultural missionary praxis. Smith no longer wore the pigtail and the PMU missionaries similarly decided not to adopt the pigtail.[642] At this time Smith was independent from the `pigtail mission' as the CIM was frequently nicknamed; perhaps his discarding of the pigtail was symbolic of his breach with the CIM.

Every missionary was willing to go to the field, in dependence upon God for the supply of their temporal needs; with the clear understanding the CIM did not guarantee any income. No solicitations for funds or collections were permitted.[643] The CIM would not accumulate debt and would only forward received funds to missionaries. Taylor records that for 28 years the CIM had sufficient funds to meet needs. All expenses both at home and on the field were met from voluntary contributions. There were some missionaries who had private funds who went out at their own expense and did not receive support.[644]

The PMU mirrored the CIM's faith mission principles. PMU policy enshrined the faith mission ideal with the following words:

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[640] PMU minutes, minute no. 6 (29th May 1925)
[641] Stanley, *Future in the Past* p. 114
[642] Boddy (ed), 'The Pentecostal Missionary Union' *Confidence* Vol. 4.1 (January 1911) p. 21
[643] Taylor, *Principles & Practice* p. 1
[644] Taylor, *Retrospect* p. 127

> *Every member of the mission is expected to recognise that his [sic] dependence for the supply of all his needs is on God, who called him and for whom he labours, and not on the human organisation. While candidates, therefore, when approved, may be assisted in their outfits for the voyage, may have their passage money paid for them, and may be supported in whole or in part by the funds of their mission, their faith must be in God and their expectations from Him.*[645]

Crisp explained PMU missionary candidates were grounded in faith mission principles during their training. Crisp ran the women's training home entirely on faith principles, with no one receiving any salary. Each student was admitted on the understanding the PMU were not responsible for candidates' support, maintenance, or expenses, either in the training home, or on the mission field. Crisp stated 'In most cases when a girl gives herself to God for foreign-service, it is all she has to give, so of necessity she has to begin at once with us to exercise faith in God for her supplies.'[646]

Usher compares the two organisations' principles concluding Polhill used the CIM arrangements as an almost verbatim 'template' for the PMU.[647] The fact a copy of the CIM *Principles and Practice* from September 1903 was kept as part of the PMU archives[648] indicates the validity of Usher's hypothesis. In the very first *Principles and Practice of the CIM* (1867) no statement of faith was included. In 1885 the CIM fundamental truths were listed as the inspiration of Scriptures, the Trinity, the fall of man and his state by nature, the atonement, the eternal salvation of the redeemed, and the everlasting punishment of the lost.[649] Polhill was familiar with this version from his period of missionary service with the CIM. Polhill made one key doctrinal insertion in the PMU version. Under Article 6 entitled 'Soundness of Faith', he added the words 'Sanctification and the Baptism of the Holy Ghost with the Scriptural signs'.[650] The PMU desired missionary candidates who experienced a Pentecostal reception of the Spirit, but the wording does not specifically state glossolalia was the accompanying evidence of Spirit-baptism.

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[645] PMU Principles, No. 4 *Support*
[646] Boddy (ed), 'PMU Training & Testing Home for Women' *Confidence* Vol. 5.9 (September 1912) p. 212
[647] Polhill, *Principles of the Pentecostal Missionary Union for Great Britain and Ireland* (1916)
[648] Taylor, *Principles & Practice*
[649] Fiedler, *Faith Missions* p. 210
[650] Usher, *Polhill* p. 54

Aside from the obvious difference that the PMU was Pentecostal, emphasising the doctrine and experience of Spirit-baptism and drawing its personnel from existing Pentecostal centres, or from those who had come into a Pentecostal experience, there were other main differences. Taylor established at the core of CIM praxis the localisation of its leadership on the mission field. Taylor favoured missionaries having freedom to develop their work without interference but with the courtesy of consultation. The CIM was field-directed, with home councils established in various nations to represent the mission, not as a ruling body or means of primary governance.[651]

PMU policy, as enshrined in its Principles, drawn up and printed in 1913, did not dissuade initiative on certain issues, but ultimately executive decisions lay with the PMU council. The PMU principles clarify administrative control for policy, personnel and finance belonged to the council. PMU policy allowed for direct discussion with missionaries and consultation through field superintendents. However following an appeal or consultation process in any matter, the PMU council had final authority.[652] The PMU discouraged its missionaries from operating on the basis of direct, personal guidance from God, and sought to exercise supervision over its workers. As early as 1911, this was reflected by the addition of a question to the form all missionary candidates were required to sign. The form challenged prospective missionaries as to their willingness to submit to the authority of those placed over them.[653] Anderson refers to Polhill's retention of authoritarian control over the PMU.[654] This clause in the PMU principles was probably designed to counter the individualistic impulsiveness of earlier Pentecostal missionaries and safeguard Polhill's substantial financial contribution to the PMU. However chapter five demonstrates this model of home council governance was one of the causal factors for Burton separating himself from the PMU. Certainly McGee describes Polhill's policy in these terms: 'Attempting to curb the propensity of Pentecostal missionaries to be led too freely by the Spirit in the course of their work created friction within the ranks, and represented an

[651] Broomhall, *Assault on the Nine* pp. 381-382
[652] PMU Principles, No. 3 *Constitution*
[653] Andrews, *Regions Beyond* p. 98
[654] Anderson, *Spreading Fires* p.124

anomalous policy among European Pentecostal mission efforts – usually driven by congregational church polity without bureaucratic structures- and those of North American agencies.'[655]

Although the CIM embraced Groves' faith mission principles, his scheme had a greater simplicity than that of the CIM. Groves believed a missionary was called to help plant a church but the indigenous people would determine its structure. The missionary was not to establish any organisation beyond this. However the CIM faced the challenge of supervising missionaries from many diverse denominational backgrounds. Inevitably CIM missionaries pioneered churches in China that reflected their own denominational loyalties. Eventually the CIM grouped their workers into different provinces giving certain denominational missionaries supervision of those areas. Accordingly the churches in different Chinese provinces reflected denominational influences of the CIM missionaries based there.[656] The PMU followed CIM praxis by stating that the missionary in charge could adopt a form of church government they deemed Scriptural,[657] which reveals the PMU in its earliest format was not promoting a particular ecclesiastical polity. Similar to the CIM, the PMU was challenged as to how it might distribute and delegate its work in China. In the 1920's the Dutch PMU missionaries believed the CIM model provided a precedent for the Likiang mission station to be handed over exclusively to the Dutch without British involvement or interference.[658] Chapter five reveals how the PMU ensured those expectations were squashed by the controversial appointment of a British missionary in charge.

According to John Andrews, finance was another area the PMU differed from CIM praxis. Andrews is careful to indicate similarities in that the PMU also operated as a faith mission by not guaranteeing fixed support levels and individual missionaries were not allowed to promote their own financial needs. Andrews believes the organisational difference is that the PMU made its financial needs known through publications such as *Confidence* and also at

[655] McGee, *American Pentecostalism* p. 128
[656] Dann, *Father of Faith Missions* p. 519
[657] PMU Principle No. 11
[658] PMU archives, correspondence to Boyd (7th April 1924)

mission conferences, which could be deemed as soliciting funds.[659] The PMU took the pragmatic view that prayerfully they needed to trust God but He would provide through His people who should be properly informed about its missionary activity and needs. There is a narrow line between financial transparency for the sake of accountability and actively promoting financial need, which was against the ethos of earlier faith missions, such as the CIM. The CIM simply produced an annual financial report as part of its answerability as a missionary society. The PMU annual report of 1921 reaffirmed its commitment to being a faith based mission where apart from putting out collecting boxes it had no organised connection with local churches to gain funding. They believed it was acceptable to make pressing missionary needs known but not to advertise for money.[660]

Missen criticised the PMU for carrying faith principles to extremes while ignoring the capacity of what the home church could realistically give to support the PMU.[661] Missen's observations reflect how the economic conditions of the inter-war period exposed the PMU's priorities to promote global missionary activity at the expense of a developed British Pentecostal congregational polity that could sustain an effective global missionary endeavour. McGee believes the wealth of the PMU president distorted the PMU's faith mission principles in that it could always fall back on his resources if necessary. 'While the PMU emphasized the role of faith in its operation, Polhill generously contributed to its expenses from his personal fortune.'[662] However Hocken makes it clear Polhill would not freely underwrite excess expenditure.[663]

The PMU adhered to CIM policy of missionaries requiring a medical examination declaring they were healthy enough to cope with the rigours of working in adverse tropical climates with attendant diseases. Anderson states that this policy was pragmatic in preventing potential health issues and high

[659] Andrews, *Regions Beyond* pp. 99-100
[660] PMU archives, PMU annual report (December 1921)
[661] Missen, *Sound of a Going* pp. 60-61
[662] McGee, *American Pentecostalism* p. 128
[663] Hocken, *Polhill* p. 22 unedited version, PMU archives

mortality rates among missionaries with weak constitutions. He also added 'To some early Pentecostals, who eschewed medical science, such a policy would have been anathema.'[664]

Gee states PMU principles were largely formulated on the CIM model.[665] Although the PMU commenced on a similar faith mission basis to the CIM neither organisation remained static. Following Taylor's death the CIM became more fundamentalist in doctrine and less tolerant towards Ecumenicalism and Pentecostalism. According to Bundy the changes of theological perspective within the CIM actually caused missionaries to migrate to Pentecostal and Holiness mission agencies.[666] The PMU was increasingly affected by the perceived need among British Pentecostals to discover a clearer defined identity. Chapter four discusses how Pentecostal doctrinal distinctives and the desire of some Pentecostal missionaries to promote Pentecostalism among the ranks of faith missionaries created tensions for faith mission organisations such as the CIM to continue co-operating with Pentecostals.

This section has examined the nature of the PMU's connection with the CIM to demonstrate that the CIM and faith mission principles were key antecedent roots for the PMU and early British Pentecostal missiology. It also provides key information to critically analyse whether it was this determined allegiance to a non-sectarian expression of Pentecostal missionary activity by the PMU leadership that ultimately proved fatal to the PMU's inability to survive other than to be incorporated within a denominational expression of Pentecostalism. The next section of this chapter explores how the PMU promoted this unique adaptation of faith mission within global Pentecostalism.

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[664] Anderson, *Spreading Fires* p. 277
[665] Gee, *Pentecostal Movement* p. 47
[666] Bundy, *Apostolic Mission* p. 227

3.2 The PMU's influence of global Pentecostalism as a mission movement

The PMU attempted to collaborate missionally with emerging Pentecostal groups in Europe and North America and establish the non-sectarian faith mission model amongst global Pentecostals. This section is not included to complete the PMU narrative for this period but explores doctrinal views of the role glossolalia played in Pentecostal missiology and also how ecclesiastical polity variances disrupted the potential for global Pentecostal collaboration in the purpose of mission to unreached peoples.

3.2.1. The PMU's connections with European Pentecostals

The CIM roots were closely linked to European pietism through Taylor's faith mission allies Gützlaff and Müller. So it is unsurprising to discover the PMU also had connections with the pietistic flavour of early European Pentecostalism. In the embryonic phase of European Pentecostalism its leaders connected with each other. This section refers to the main early European Pentecostal leaders contemporary with Boddy and Polhill and attempts between these leaders to form a collaborative European Pentecostal association with a view to seeking indicators explaining why the British PMU remained an isolated instance of an organised European Pentecostal missionary union.

3.2.1.1. Thomas Ball Barratt– Norway

Barratt was born July 22nd 1862 in Cornwall.[667] His father became a mine engineering manager in Norway when Barratt was still young. Barratt was educated in Taunton, England but returned to Norway to assist his father in the mines and later trained as a Methodist church minister.[668] In 1885 he became the assistant pastor of the Oslo Methodist Episcopal church, an American controlled church.[669] Bundy proposes Barratt's experiences of Methodist ecclesiastical structures influenced his missiology and ecclesiology

[667] Barratt, Thomas, *When The Fire Fell* (Oslo) p. 4
[668] Harper, Michael, *As At The Beginning* (London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1965) p. 29
[669] Bundy, *Barratt* p. 24

even after he turned to Pentecostalism.[670] These ecclesiological influences explain differences that arose between Barratt and the two Anglican leaders of the PMU when the British formed their own mission organisation.

In 1905 Barratt was commissioned by his bishop to seek funds in America to finance the church's ministry in Oslo, but failed in the purpose for his trip. During Barratt's time in America he heard about the Azusa Street revival[671] but he never went there. He received the Spirit without glossolalia in October 1906, which he termed 'anointing' of the Spirit. He then spoke in tongues a month later while staying in Simpson's New York missionary home, which he referred to as his baptism.[672] Harper records Barratt returned to Oslo and due to criticism of his Pentecostalism he resigned his position and formed a Pentecostal church. Barratt led the Philadelfia church in Oslo where Pentecostalism spread to 50 locations in Norway during 1907.[673] According to Hunter, in the early years, Barratt made a claim of xenolalia during the initial experience of Spirit-baptism.[674] However Barratt himself wrote glossolalia were not intended to usurp the requirement for language study[675] and that a missionary calling 'must not be guided by the language given'.[676]

Following his personal Spirit-baptism, Barratt had opportunities to present the Pentecostal experience in other nations. Bundy refers to Barratt as the founder of European Pentecostalism[677] and Van der Laan describes Barratt as the apostle to European Pentecostalism, probably due to his influence of other European Pentecostal leaders.[678] Harper limits the sphere of Barratt's Pentecostal apostleship to Northern Europe.[679] Swedish pastor, Lewi Pethrus, visited Barratt in Oslo determined to receive Spirit-baptism. Jonathan Paul from Germany and Boddy from England also came to Oslo. Bundy maintains

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[670] Bundy, *Barratt* pp. 20-21
[671] Barratt, Thomas, *The Truth about the Pentecostal Revival* pp. 3-4
[672] Van Der Laan, *Sectarian* p. 56
[673] Harper, *Beginnings* pp. 29-32
[674] Hunter, *Initial Evidence* p. 197
[675] Barratt, *Revival* p. 34
[676] Barratt, *Latter Rain* p. 87
[677] *Op cit.*, p. 37
[678] *Op cit.*, p. 56
[679] *Op cit.*, p. 33

Barratt was an influential leader in the global Pentecostal movement until his death in 1941.[680]

Harper discloses Barratt ministered in Denmark and saw the Danish Pentecostal Movement's establishment through the conversion and Spirit-baptism of actress Anna Larssen.[681] His status as prime mover of the European Pentecostal movement was recognised in 1939 when he was unanimously appointed as president of the European Pentecostal Conference held in Stockholm.[682] Bundy connects Barratt to the PMU's formation in Sunderland proposing Barratt suggested to Polhill in 1908 that Pentecostalism should promote missionary activity in unreached parts of the world through an 'informally structured international cooperative collegial Pentecostal Missionary Union'. Bundy maintains Polhill usurped this idea and formulated the British PMU, which Barratt became unhappy with because he was excluded from further dialogue regarding this initiative.[683] Bundy's argument has to be questioned on the basis of why would Polhill, as an experienced mission practitioner, need to plagiarise Barratt's missionary ideas? Barratt felt the PMU was prejudiced against sending Norwegians, so he founded in 1913 the *Norges Frie Evangeliske Hedningemisjon* (NFEH). Barratt recognised British Pentecostal missionaries had wider access to global regions but was disappointed the British PMU became too nationalistic and not a true reflection of his concept of an international mission alliance pooling resources of local congregations. Barratt proposed European Pentecostal missionary comity to avoid competition, duplication and wasted resources.[684]

Bundy suggests Barratt's concept of a European transnational Pentecostal Missionary Union was antithetical to strong nationalism in Germany and England prior to World War 1.[685] Barratt's ideals of a collaborative European

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[680] Bundy, *Pentecostal Church in Norway* p. 66
[681] Harper, *Beginnings* pp. 33-34
[682] Gee, *Men I Knew* p. 15
[683] Bundy, David, 'The Ecumenical Quest of Pentecostalism' *Cyberjournal for Pentecostal-Charismatic Research* Vol. 5 (February 1999) <http://www.pctii.org/cyberj/cyber5.html> [accessed 10.03.2010] and Bundy, *Apostolic Mission* pp. 232-233
[684] Bundy, *Apostolic Mission* p. 230
[685] *Ibid.*, p. 245

Pentecostal missionary partnership would have encountered many difficulties to overcome differences of polity and nationalism represented by early European Pentecostals. The Great War would have been even more devastating and disruptive to the cause of Pentecostal missionary activity if Barratt's ideals had been implemented. Kay is critical of Bundy's proposition that the British PMU leaders had narrow nationalistic objectives. 'Perhaps most questionable is his characterisation of Alexander Boddy and Cecil Polhill as nationalists who hijacked Barratt's idealistic notion of a spiritual alliance supporting generalised mission.' Kay also adds the arrangements the PMU implemented 'were entirely practical and intended to reflect the languages which missionaries were capable of speaking.' Kay suggests Barratt's idealism of a transnational PMU would have been impractical: 'A missionary organisation composed of polyglot missionaries would have been a nightmare to organize'.[686] This view is vindicated by later tensions the PMU encountered when seeking to incorporate Dutch Pentecostal missionaries within its ranks.

Hämäläinen explains Barratt and Pethrus became opposed to any organised form of missionary work other than that which originated from the local church. Such was their influence that Nordic Pentecostalism closed its missionary training programmes and followed a mission pattern of congregational modality, whereas the PMU established a missionary model of sodality in British Pentecostalism.[687] Bundy states Barratt sought to implement the self-supporting, self-governing and self-theologising mission theory within Pentecostal praxis. He combined this missiology with his uncompromising congregational ecclesiology.[688] Bundy postulates the British PMU principles that gave the PMU council ultimate authority and allowed missionaries to adopt forms of church government which they believed to be most scriptural, conflicted with Barratt's ideals of the indigenous church defining its ecclesiastical structure.[689] Bundy reveals Barratt also inspired Scandinavian Pentecostalism towards a missiology incorporating social action and avoided

[686] Kay, William, 'Review Article of Visions of Apostolic Mission: Scandinavian Pentecostal Mission to 1935' *Glyndŵr University Research Online* p. 3 <http://epubs.glyndwr.ac.uk/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1014&context=theo> [accessed 15.02.2011]
[687] Hämäläinen, *Finnish Pentecostal* p.33
[688] Bundy, *Pentecostal Church in Norway* p. 76
[689] Bundy, *Apostolic Mission* p. 231

the dichotomy that affected the PMU.[690] However Scandinavian Pentecostal missions were neither historically influenced by the civilising motive of British missions, nor is there evidence that they were positively influenced by Allen's missiology that broke with the paternalism associated with the social action of Victorian missionary praxis. It also misses the point that the PMU commenced as a missions facilitating agency in a context when Pentecostalism was seen as a non-sectarian revivalist movement not as an ecclesiastical modality.

3.2.1.2. Lewi Pethrus– Sweden

Pethrus was only 22 when he met Barratt in Oslo. However from the time of his personal experience of Spirit reception he became a significant Pentecostal leader of a large church in Stockholm. When he returned to Sweden he preached the Pentecostal message and many of his church members received the Spirit utilising glossolalia. In 1913 the Baptist Union expelled Pethrus and his church resulting from his Pentecostal emphasis. In the period covered by this thesis Pethrus established autonomous local assemblies in Sweden but remained absent from European and International Pentecostal conferences until Amsterdam in 1921.[691] Consequently the PMU had no direct connection with Swedish Pentecostalism to establish collaborative mission initiatives with them. However some in post-war Britain felt that the Swedish focus on developing the home church base was preferable to the PMU's pre-occupation on overseas mission to the detriment of growth and identity of the British Pentecostal movement. Gee regarded the subsequent floundering of British Pentecostalism in comparison with the success of the Scandinavian Pentecostal movement was partially caused by Boddy's failure to break with Anglicanism and throw himself fully into the mature development of Pentecostalism.[692] Pethrus and Swedish Pentecostalism provided a successful alternative for critics to unfavourably compare post-war British Pentecostalism.

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[690] Bundy, *Pentecostal Church in Norway* p. 92
[691] Van Der Laan, *Sectarian* pp. 57-58
[692] Gee, *Men I Knew* p. 22

3.2.1.3. Jonathan Paul – Germany

Germany produced a number of early Pentecostal leaders such as Emil Meyer, Emil Humburg and Carl Voget. The most prominent was Jonathan Paul, a Lutheran minister who received a 'second blessing of sanctification' in 1890. He was Secretary of an orthodox Evangelical movement, called the *Gemeinschaftsbewegung*, which sought to counter modernism in the German church. Although Paul was criticised for apparent theological leanings towards perfectionism, he was a successful pioneer evangelist. When Paul heard of Pentecostal occurrences at Azusa Street and Oslo he desired to investigate further.[693] In March 1907 Paul met Barratt in Oslo to ascertain whether the Pentecostal revival was a genuine work of the Spirit. When Paul returned to Germany he received the Pentecostal experience. During an evangelistic campaign he held in the Ruhr over 2,000 people were converted. Paul conducted a successful conference at Mülheim where over 5,000 people attended and his profile grew as a prominent leader of the German Pentecostal movement.[694]

Paul's Pentecostal experience elicited strong reactions from the *Gemeinschaftsbewegung*. His opponents called for a meeting in Berlin on 15th September 1909 with the express purpose of denouncing Pentecostalism. 56 participants signed the Berlin declaration opposing Pentecostalism as being connected to spiritualism and allowing for unscriptural women's ministry. Hollenweger depicts the Berlin declaration as the German Evangelicals bill of divorcement from Pentecostalism.[695] This damaging statement pronounced Pentecostalism as being from below and not from above.[696] Van der Laan maintains the young German Pentecostal movement withstood this opposition through support from other European Pentecostal leaders such as Polman and Boddy.[697] At the 1909 Mülheim European Pentecostal leaders meeting Barratt formulated a Pentecostal response to the Berlin declaration. Polhill funded Barratt's apologetical publications entitled *Pentecost with Tongues-*

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[693] Gee, *Men I Knew* p. 60
[694] Harper, *Beginning* p. 33
[695] Hollenweger, *Pentecostals* p. 231
[696] Synan, *Spirit* p. 76
[697] Van Der Laan, *Sectarian* p. 60

From Heaven not Below and *The Truth about the Pentecostal Movement*.[698] Polhill was also financially generous to German leaders such as Paul and Meyer enabling them to attend Sunderland conferences.[699] On the 2nd February 1914 the *Mülheimer Verband* was formed intended to be an association not a denomination under the leadership of Humburg and Paul. The Great War soon followed and the German Pentecostal movement struggled to recapture the success of the first seven years prior to the War.[700]

The Great War acutely damaged these early supportive links between European Pentecostals. Gee encountered Paul in January 1921 at the first World Pentecostal conference in Amsterdam. Gee remarks the effects of the War through food shortages in Germany and Paul's personal family losses had taken their toll. Gee observed the German Pentecostal leaders based at Mülheim-Ruhr had become unhealthily introspective. Consequently new Pentecostal groups emerged sidelining Paul from his pre-War role as the foremost German Pentecostal leader.[701]

Hollenweger highlights other doctrinal factors restricting the Mülheim movement from playing a greater role in spreading Pentecostalism. Paul defended infant baptism and felt rebirth was not a necessary prerequisite for baptism. Paul did not believe glossolalia was the only or initial evidence of Spirit-baptism. He believed speaking in tongues was a spiritual gift to be desired but did not see it as the standing sign of infilling.[702] Both these viewpoints set him apart from the majority of Pentecostals. At the German conference of December 1908 both Pastors Paul of Germany and Polman from Holland differentiated between tongues as being the seal signifying all were Spirit filled and the gift of tongues that may not be exercised by all believers.[703] Paul explained he had been baptised in the Spirit twenty years before he actually spoke in tongues, but conceded to Boddy that glossolalia

[698] Bundy, *Apostolic Mission* p. 207
[699] Usher, *Polhill* pp. 48-49
[700] Simpson, *Jonathan Paul*, pp. 179-181
[701] Gee, *Men I Knew* pp. 71-72
[702] Hollenweger, *Pentecostals* pp. 236-239
[703] Boddy (ed), 'Tongues As A Sign' *Confidence* Vol. 2.2 (February 1909) pp. 33-35

should not be dismissed as a sign of Spirit-baptism.[704] The early years of Pentecostalism indicate that the German Pentecostals could have been an important group for the PMU to co-operate with in global missions but the War destroyed all possibility of that beyond 1914. The War's impact on Pentecostal missions will be more broadly discussed in chapter four, however this damaged link with German Pentecostals illustrates some of the difficulties caused to European Pentecostal missionary collaboration.

3.2.1.4. Gerritt Polman–Holland

Polman was originally from the Reformed Church but joined the Salvation Army in 1890. It was through Booth-Clibborn that Polman came into contact with Alexander Dowie at Zion City. In 1903 Polman married Wilhelmine Blekkink, who grew up in the Dutch East Indies. Polman and his wife studied for two years at the Zion City ministerial training school.[705] They returned to Amsterdam intending to start a church affiliated to Dowie but then Dowie died and Polman started an independent church at the beginning of 1906. When they heard of Spirit-baptism occurring in America and England they prayed for a similar spiritual visitation in Amsterdam.[706]

Polman believed the Spirit's primary work was to promote expansion of God's Kingdom rather than personal edification or narrow self-interest. He wrote 'The Holy Spirit is a Missionary Spirit and therefore must every baptised Christian be a missionary at home or abroad.'[707] Polman was keen to work together with other Pentecostals from Britain and Germany. Polman emphasised an ecumenical work of the Spirit to promote spiritual unity, therefore nationalism was contrary to the Pentecostal blessing. The gift of the Spirit was universal and no people group could claim superiority.[708] Although the Great War polarised British and German Pentecostals, Polman remained neutral managing to stay in communication with both sides. In England he

[704] Boddy (ed), 'Germany' *Confidence* Vol. 3.10 (October 1910) p. 233
[705] Van Der Laan, *Dutch Pioneer* p. 14
[706] Van Der Laan, *Pentecostal Movement in Holland:* pp. 32-33
[707] Welch, J.W. (ed), 'Pentecostal Work in Holland' *The Weekly Evangel* No. 211 (20th October 1917) p. 13
[708] Joireman, Sandra, *Church, State and Citizen: Christian Approaches to Political Engagement* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2009) p. 157

visited German POWs and similarly in Germany he visited British POWs. In 1921 he hosted a European conference at Amsterdam in an attempt to heal the fractured wounds of European Pentecostalism.[709] Polman actively encouraged missionary co-operation between European Pentecostals and was fully supportive of the PMU. Polman was not sectarian in his Pentecostal beliefs possessing an ecumenical desire to see all churches built up not just a church.[710] Polman was an ally of Boddy in seeking to preserve the unity of Christians and existing churches rather than commencing a separate denominational identity for Pentecostalism.[711]

Before the War the PMU was an expression of a faith mission that avoided denominationalism, however pressures came on the PMU to become aligned to a clearer Pentecostal distinctive identity. Chapter five explores these tensions in the post-war period and includes a section investigating why the relationship between the Dutch and the British PMU changed.

3.2.1.5. European Pentecostal comity

The desire for comity was expressed through European Pentecostal leaders speaking at conferences in the various countries represented, the establishment of an International Pentecostal Council (IPC) and collaboration in the PMU's work. The Sunderland conference became known as an international convention and particularly enabled Pentecostal leaders from Northern Europe to come together.[712]

Barratt realised European Pentecostals represented a diversity of former denominational backgrounds and was keen to safeguard unity among them. In 1908 he proposed the concept of a spiritual alliance between European Pentecostals. Barratt had no thought of imposing a European Pentecostal bureaucratic infrastructure on the developing national identities of European Pentecostals. He was looking for European Pentecostal leaders to co-operate

[709] Van Der Laan, *Dutch Pioneer* pp. 15-16
[710] Hocken, Peter, *The Challenges of the Pentecostal, Charismatic and Messianic Jewish Movement* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2009) p. 21
[711] Van Der Laan, *Sectarian* p. 208
[712] Anderson, *Introduction to Pentecostalism* pp. 91-92

in spreading the gospel into unreached areas. A German pastor, Meyer, hosted a conference of 50 European Pentecostal leaders at Hamburg in December 1908 to discuss Barratt's idea. Bundy believes the initiative largely failed due to Boddy's hesitancy and concerns.[713] Frank Matre believes early Pentecostals wanted to avoid all organisational forms and retain the movement as an apostolic revival. This fear of organisation seems to have been deeply embedded in Pentecostal psyche from the outset, as if the Spirit may become restricted by practical organisation.[714] Bundy says British Pentecostals remained resistant to Barratt's proposals even when he amended his spiritual alliance terminology to that of 'association'.[715]

Early Pentecostal leaders met at conferences held in Sunderland, Amsterdam and Mülheim. Although Barratt had no intention of creating an Episcopal system of governance for Pentecostalism,[716] in 1912 he proposed a consultative IPC should meet annually with the purpose of protecting European Pentecostalism from excesses in teaching and practice. It would create a forum for support and encouragement, as Pentecostals became more distanced from mainstream denominations. The first meeting was held at Sunderland on 31st May 1912 hosted by Boddy. Barratt from Norway was present, also Polhill from England, Polman from Holland, Paul, Schilling and Humburg from Germany and Joseph King from USA. They issued a statement defining the Pentecostal experience as baptism where the Spirit indwells a believer in His fullness with a two-fold evidence of the experience being an inward work to develop the fruit of the Spirit and an outward manifestation equivalent to the Day of Pentecost.[717]

The second IPC meeting was held in Amsterdam at the end of 1912 and then met just another two times at Sunderland. Only Boddy, Polhill, Paul and Polman attended all the meetings. One of the War's consequences was disruption of this European forum. In 1921 an international conference at

[713] Bundy, *Ecumenical Quest*
[714] Matre, *Norwegian Pentecostal* p. 55
[715] Bundy, *Apostolic Mission* p. 230
[716] Bundy, *Pentecostal Church in Norway* p. 67
[717] Boddy (ed), 'A Consultative International Pentecostal Council' *Confidence* Vol. 5.6 (June 1912) p. 133

Amsterdam was revived but by then Boddy and Polhill's influence was waning and Gee represented British Pentecostals.[718] Bundy believes the 1921 European council was unsatisfactory because of prevailing differences between British and German representatives. The meeting proved so difficult that European Pentecostals never met as a council again until 1939.[719]

At the December 1908 Hamburg conference Polhill used the example of the Shanghai mission conference to demonstrate how love enabled various missionary organisations to work together and that could also happen among European Pentecostals.[720] When German pastor Voget visited the PMU's training facility he advised Polman against opening a training base in Amsterdam but rather to support expansion of the PMU's facility to become the continental mission-training centre.[721] In 1909 when Boddy visited Germany he proposed the development of a German PMU equivalent.[722] European Pentecostals provided missionary personnel and resources for the work of the PMU, particularly in China and Tibet. Among the first PMU missionaries to go to China were Arie and Elsje Kok, Polman's co-workers in Amsterdam. They left Amsterdam in 1909 to attend PMU training in London. They had a strong call to Tibet and left for China in 1910. After a period of language acquisition they pioneered a mission station at Likiang on the border of Tibet.[723] PMU correspondence reveals some financial co-operation between the British PMU and German Pentecostals in the Likiang mission work.[724] In 1914 Polhill reported on British and German Pentecostal partnership to raise money for purchasing land to build a mission station in Likiang-fu. Remarkably this was after hostilities between Britain and Germany had commenced. German Pentecostals donated a sum equivalent to £180 after Polman's visit to Berlin.[725]

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[718] Van Der Laan, *Pentecostal Movement in Holland* pp. 34-35
[719] Bundy, *Ecumenical Quest*
[720] Boddy (ed), 'The Conference in Germany' *Confidence* Vol. 2.1 (January 1909) p. 5
[721] Boddy (ed), 'The PMU Training Home' *Confidence* Vol. 2.10 (October 1909) p. 219
[722] Boddy (ed), 'The PMU' *Confidence* Vol. 2.10 (October 1909) p. 227
[723] Van Der Laan, *Sectarian* pp. 179-180
[724] PMU archives, correspondence to Kok & Edell (19th June 1914)
[725] Boddy (ed), 'Pentecostal Missionary Union' *Confidence* Vol. 7.11 (November 1914) pp. 218-219

Although there were various attempts for European Pentecostals to work collaboratively in global mission enterprises, cultural, ecclesiastical and national interests obstructed the success of those endeavours. This needs to be set in its pre-War context where Europe was subject to political division and a climate of distrust. The Great War was a devastating blow for any potential missional accord among European Pentecostals as they started to find their identity beyond those first few years prior to the War.

3.2.2. Assessment of the North American PMU

The North American PMU initiatives have been investigated through the lens of North American Pentecostal development but they have not been integrated into research of early British Pentecostalism's contribution to global missionary enterprise. This research provides another example of the British PMU imitating the CIM in its faith mission strategy, even if it was unsuccessful. Fiedler proposes the CIM was the first British faith mission to create a North American branch in 1888.[726]

3.2.2.1. Context for establishment of the American PMU

This section explores the context of North American Pentecostalism as to why the British PMU offered an alternative to typical unstructured Pentecostal mission initiatives there and the problems the PMU encountered in replicating a North American equivalent. Although the PMU encouraged similar equivalents in both the USA and Canada, there was considerable resistance to organised missionary societies amongst new Pentecostal adherents in America. There was a perception Spirit filled believers should just go by faith to be missionaries in other nations. They did not require specific calling, training or even language acquisition, as they had all they needed through the Spirit's empowerment. Consequently in the early years of American Pentecostalism there was a high attrition rate among idealistic new missionaries going to other cultures and failing to make any evangelistic impact. McGee draws attention to the problems unbridled Pentecostal missionary fervour produced when it was concluded the use of glossolalia

[726] Fiedler, *Faith Missions* p. 130

automatically implied a cross-cultural missionary calling. Inevitably individuals who went as missionaries on this misguided basis made acute mistakes.[727] Simpson, the C&MA President, also lamented attempts of inexperienced and, in some cases, self-appointed Pentecostal missionaries to evangelise foreign lands. He saw the consequence of inadequate training, leadership and support as creating many casualties where missionaries were left ineffective, broken and stranded in remote countries.[728]

McGee proposed two main factors why early American Pentecostals were conceptually resistant to establishing mission agencies for supervision of workers, their support and overall missionary strategy. He cited the eschatological expectation of Christ's imminent return serving as a deterrent to any delay in going to evangelise heathen nations. The second reason proposed was the reaction to organised church and religion by independent Pentecostals who had been ostracised by former church affiliations. Many mission societies were deemed hostile to Pentecostalism and it was not seen as problematic to bypass the need of a supervisory mission agency because missionaries would live by faith and be led by the Spirit.[729]

Robeck describes various categories of early Pentecostal missionaries and suggests care is warranted not to make generalisations about all early Pentecostal missionaries. Robeck describes the first group of missionaries as itinerant evangelists who travelled widely without targeting particular people groups to work amongst. Robeck puts Bartleman and Daniel Awrey in this bracket. The second category Robeck refers to comprised veteran missionaries working for existing missionary societies but drawn to places like Azusa Street, Akron and Alliance to be baptised in the Spirit. They returned back to the mission field but as Apostolic Faith or independent Pentecostal missionaries. There were also some long-term Pentecostal missionaries who had no previous cross-cultural mission experience. Many of the early

[727] McGee, *Lupton* pp. 1-2 citing Thomas G. Atteberry, *Tongues* (Apostolic Truth, December 1906), pp. 7-8
[728] Simpson, A.B., *The Eleventh Annual report of the Christian and Missionary Alliance* (May 27, 1908) pp. 11-12
[729] McGee, *Lupton* p. 3

Pentecostal missionaries sent out from revival centres, such as Azusa, were untrained short-term evangelists who went to communicate the gospel in other nations utilising glossolalia. According to Robeck the majority of early independent missionaries only averaged between six months and one year on the mission field.[730]

3.2.2.2. Xenolalic missionary tongues

It is important to investigate the impact of xenolalia on early Pentecostalism, particularly when North American versions of the PMU commenced, whether that praxis percolated through to affect the British PMU. Xenolalia describes glossolalia when the tongue spoken is identifiable as an existing language but not naturally known to the user.[731] Anderson has critically reviewed various claims of xenolalia used in a mission context during the period of 1906-1916.[732] The precedence given for xenolalia is Acts 2 on the Day of Pentecost, when people from other parts of the known world heard the 120 disciples speaking in languages they were familiar with. This is the only Scriptural instance of xenolalia recorded. Max Turner suggests Pentecost was exceptional rather than normative in the New Testament and, as such, it could be paralleled by some exceptional cases of recognised xenolalia reported in the 20th century. He argues that neither Luke nor Paul present tongues as an evangelistic sign-gift.[733] William MacDonald charges Turner's position, as inevitably leading to the unacceptable conclusion there are two types of New Testament glossolalia.[734] The wider issue of xenolalia that impacted early Pentecostalism relates to the assertion there was a cross-cultural communication aspect to the impartation of tongues. The doctrinal issue of xenolalia brought confusion to early Pentecostal cross-cultural missional practice, particularly in America. The rationale was xenolalic utterances under the inspiration of the Spirit were not just a brief phenomenon but intended to

[730] Robeck, *Azusa* pp. 243, 263-266
[731] Spittler, R.P., 'Glossolalia' in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* Burgess, & McGee (eds), (Grand Rapids, Zondervan, 1988) p. 326
[732] Anderson, *Spreading Fires* pp. 57-65
[733] Turner, Max, 'Spiritual Gifts Now and Then' *Vox Evangelica* 15 (1985) pp. 45-46
[734] MacDonald, William, 'Biblical Glossolalia – Thesis 4' *Enrichment Journal (*Winter 2005) summary

allow missionaries to proclaim at will the gospel in an unlearned foreign language.[735]

This allegedly began during 1901 with the emergence of Parham and the Apostolic Faith movement in Topeka, Kansas. In 1900 Frank Sandford preached in Topeka and Parham subsequently visited Sandford's holiness commune at Shiloh, Maine. Sandford shared Parham's British Israelite theory and was committed to world evangelism. Sandford undertook a world trip after hearing Moody's passion for missions, concluding that existing missionary practice was inadequate and ineffective, therefore it was necessary for a renewed apostolic ministry of empowerment for signs and wonders. This required the restoration of New Testament spiritual anointing and use of spiritual gifts such as glossolalia. Sandford believed the gift of tongues was to enable missionaries to communicate the gospel to other people groups without language study so the world could be evangelised quickly.[736] Through Sandford, Parham heard about alleged instances of xenolalia being used by missionaries. Parham believed this missionary usage of tongues had eschatological significance. He perceived it was a supernatural means of evangelising the world before Christ's premillennial return. Potential acquisition of the ultimate world evangelism tool through reliance on the Spirit was appealing to Parham so he set up a centre at Topeka encouraging students to believe for Spirit-baptism including xenolalia.[737]

Anderson argues Parham's unusual assertion of 'missionary tongues' influenced early Pentecostal missionary endeavour.[738] Seymour and other Pentecostals initially followed Parham's view of missionary tongues. The Apostolic Faith newspaper claimed recipients of the Spirit at Azusa Street spoke in actual foreign languages that identified the location of their mission calling. Robeck proposes that by 1907 Seymour was less inclined towards Parham's xenolalic emphasis. Seymour's uncertainty was not necessarily

[735] McGee, *This Gospel* pp. 44-45
[736] Robeck, *Azusa* pp. 41-43
[737] Goff Jr., J.R., 'Parham, Charles Fox' in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movement* pp. 660-661
[738] Anderson, *Spreading Fires* p. 14

whether tongues could be actual languages but more to do with the lack of provenance of missionaries utilising this gift as a reliable alternative to acquiring language through study. Seymour was dissatisfied with xenolalia, as mission field results revealed their ineffectiveness. The main criticisms of supposed xenolalia are generalised identification of language used, such as Chinese rather than Mandarin, and lack of credible people present who could expertly identify languages.[739]

If someone spoke in tongues and it was 'identified', the person speaking in tongues felt a sense of calling and willingness to go, then money would be raised for them to be sent. They could travel on a one-way ticket to the mission field within days, as they believed the Lord would return before they needed to come back again. There was no consideration of furlough or how to establish long-term missionary support. There was no time for theological or missionary preparation, language acquisition or development of cross-cultural awareness. Other missionary organisations and subsequent Pentecostal missiology had to address the problems caused by these spontaneous early attempts at Pentecostal cross-cultural missionary work.[740] This thesis shows how in contrast the PMU adapted CIM praxis of training, language acquisition and cross-cultural awareness alongside its belief in empowerment derived from Spirit baptism.

Anderson states belief in the restoration of missionary tongues had been around for at least two decades before the beginning of Pentecostalism in the Holiness and Evangelical movements.[741] Wacker argues the modern concept of missionary tongues commenced in Scotland in the 1830's.[742] McGee confirms this when he refers to the incident of Mary Campbell's claim to possess languages for missionary purpose accompanying Spirit-reception.[743] This incident of Campbell speaking in tongues was investigated by Irving and

[739] Robeck, *Azusa* pp. 236-237
[740] *Ibid.*, pp. 239-241
[741] Anderson, *Introduction to Pentecostalism* p. 190
[742] Wacker, Grant, *Heaven Below* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 2001) p. 45
[743] McGee, Gary, '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. 9.1 (2006), pp. 102-103

is frequently regarded as instrumental in stimulating the occurrence of Pentecostal phenomena at Irving's Regent's Square church in London.[744]

McGee highlights that Levi Rakeshaw Lupton (1860-1929), who established an American version of the PMU, was influenced by this missional interpretation for the use of spiritual tongues. Lupton believed the Spirit's empowerment for witness was specifically linked to the function of speaking in tongues. He viewed these as new languages for missionaries to utilise in cross-cultural evangelism and the language given indicated the place where the missionary calling was to be outworked.[745] McGee is uncertain how long Lupton held this view, since many Pentecostals renounced this belief by 1910. Prior to Boddy's involvement with Lupton in the formation of the American PMU there is evidence Lupton advocated xenolalic missionary tongues.[746]

In June 1907 during the Alliance camp meetings the *Washington Herald* reported on what they referred to as Lupton's 'gift of tongues sect'. In response to the charge that linguists stated tongues were mere gibberish, Lupton is reported as believing 'somewhere on earth are people who speak these tongues and the converts who receive "the gift" are bound to seek out and convert the people speaking the language.'[747] McGee argues supportive evidence of Pentecostal missionaries who could use glossolalia as a cross-cultural communication gift is non-existent and missionaries who held this xenolalic view only experienced disillusionment.[748] Despite early Pentecostal missionaries reliance on xenolalia, they demonstrated empowerment of Spirit-baptism for witness in the context of missional urgency.[749]

When American William Simpson arrived at the C&MA Wuhu station, by the Yangtze River, he informed his superintendent language study was

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[744] Newberry, *Pentecostal Mission Theology* pp. 20-21
[745] McPherson, *Lupton* p. 143
[746] McGee, *Lupton* pp. 9-10
[747] *Washington Herald*, 'Get Gift of Tongues – Religious Fanatics Claim to have Gift of Strange Utterances' (Sunday 16th June 1907) p. 1 <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045433/1907-06-16/ed-1/seq-1.pdf> [accessed 22.12.2009]
[748] McGee, *This Gospel* p. 45
[749] Klaus, *Eschatological Perspective* p. 334

unnecessary because he trusted God to supply the language. The superintendent made a pact with Simpson that if by noon he spoke Chinese then he could skip language study; however if Simpson was not empowered with xenolalia, he would acquire the language the traditional way. Simpson recounts 'I prayed the Lord to guide and He led me to submit.'[750]

The British PMU view of xenolalia differed from early American Pentecostals. In 1909 Boddy referred to mistakes made by early Pentecostal missionaries in their misguided zeal and failure to preach supernaturally in the language of indigenous peoples. However he remained upbeat about Pentecostalism being a missionary movement as he saw the evidence of many missionary candidates willing to train for their calling to challenging places.[751] The clearest denouncement of xenolalia providing the basis of an individual's mission call came from Boddy. He maintained people who went as missionaries on the mere basis of xenolalia exposed themselves to hazards of going to the mission field prematurely ahead of God's purpose. Boddy maintained that if someone sincerely believed they had the gift of xenolalia it should be thoroughly tested to ensure they had acquired a complete and reliable linguistic capability useful to them in a cross-cultural context. Boddy was dismissive of evidence that anyone had a xenolalic ability to converse effectively in a cross-cultural setting.[752]

McGee cites an intriguing instance where three of the Cambridge Seven sought for xenolalic missionary tongues when they arrived in China during 1885.[753] As Studd and the Polhill brothers travelled by boat up the Han River, they set aside their Mandarin language books to pray for the xenolalic gift of Mandarin. When they arrived at Hanzhong they encouraged two CIM female missionaries to do the same. They then realised the error of their ways and

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[750] Wilson, Michael, 'Contending for Tongues: W.W. Simpson's Pentecostal Experience in North West China' *Pneuma* Vol. 29.2 (July 2007) p. 282
[751] Boddy (ed), 'Seven Hallmarks of Heaven upon the Pentecostal baptism with the Sign of Tongues' *Confidence* Vol. 2.8 (August 1909) p. 181
[752] Boddy (ed), 'The Pentecostal Baptism' *Confidence* Vol. 6.1 (January 1911) p. 5-8. Dyer in *'Pentecostal & Charismatic Studies'* pp. 211 & 218 attributes this source to Polhill, however Confidence editor, Boddy, wrote this article. This is confirmed by Boddy, Alexander, *The Pentecostal Baptism* 3rd issue with additions (Donald Gee archives)
[753] McGee, *Taking the Logic a Little Further* pp. 105-106

disciplined themselves to becoming fluent through language study. Taylor wrote what is interpreted as a rebuke against engaging in activity that would hinder the Chinese from hearing the gospel. Broomhall cites Taylor instructed new missionaries 'If I could put the Chinese language into your brains by one wave of the hand I would not do it'. Taylor recognised that new missionaries spending time with a language teacher learned more than just language, they also learned culture and idiom.[754] Austin states that after this misguided attempt by some of the Cambridge Seven to seek for Pentecostal tongues, the CIM upgraded its language requirements.[755] This incident demonstrates there was a wider expectancy of missionary tongues predating Pentecostalism.

When the British PMU laid down its missionary principles there was no hint of any belief in xenolalia as supernatural cross-cultural communication ability. It is clear Polhill was committed to missionaries learning languages in order to be cross-culturally effective. During the PMU missionaries' probationary period in the field they were expected to study and pass examinations in the relevant language of the mission context they were working in. Missionaries only received full status if after three years of service they passed required language exams.[756] PMU missionaries in China were only allowed to minister at outstations on their own once they passed their second examination.[757] Crisp remarked at the 1912 Sunderland conference that she hoped God would give supernatural languages to those going as missionaries. This desire did not interfere with her ensuring her own students diligently applied themselves to language acquisition.[758]

Kok, a PMU missionary, found early Pentecostal predilection with xenolalia created barriers for genuine Pentecostal missionaries who saw the Spirit's infilling as a necessary empowerment for missionary work. Kok was dismissive of so called Pentecostals who rejected language study as human

[754] Broomhall, *Assault on the Nine* pp. 375-376
[755] Austin, *China's Millions* p. 228
[756] PMU principles No. 5 *'Missionary Candidates'*
[757] Boddy (ed), 'The Pentecostal Missionary Union' *Confidence* Vol. 10.3 (May-June 1917) p. 43
[758] Malcomson, *Pentecostal Pioneers* p. 184

activity and spent years on the mission field without being effective. He saw them as a disruptive influence upon mission work.[759] Later on when challenged by the linguistic difficulties of reaching so many different tribal groups on the Tibetan border he stated 'the missionary ought to learn a number of the tribal languages as long as the Holy Spirit does not use the gift of tongues for evangelistic purposes.'[760]

3.2.2.3. The PMU's expansion in North America

When Boddy went to America in June 1909 just after the British PMU's commencement, he discovered some American Pentecostals seeking a more structured and practical approach to Pentecostal missions. On Boddy's return to England, he met with Polhill to apprise him of the newly formed American PMU at Alliance, Ohio.[761] Polhill donated money to the American PMU in October 1909 and in April 1910.[762] The process of how the American PMU commenced at the Alliance camp meetings is described by Boddy in the previous issue of *Confidence*. McPherson described Boddy's ministry as 'the real sensation' of the Alliance camp meetings. He seemed shocked that Boddy, an Anglican vicar, received support from the Bishop towards his Pentecostalism.[763] Boddy regarded the American PMU's establishment as 'perhaps the most memorable occurrence' during his visit to the Alliance camp and it was on similar lines to that of the British PMU.[764]

Prior to this in 1907 the leaders who gathered at the Alliance camp meeting formally recognised the need for a Pentecostal missionary affiliation whereby proper missionary preparation would be encouraged. The apostolic leader of the Alliance meeting, Lupton, claimed to have received a vision to establish an 'Apostolic Faith' association.[765] Robeck describes Lupton as a Quaker minister and prominent early Pentecostal missionary leader in America. In November 1906 Lupton considered going to Azusa Street to discover more

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[759] Boddy (ed), 'China- Brother Kok on the Missionary Life' *Confidence* Vol. 5.4 (April 1912) p. 92
[760] Boddy (ed), 'On the Tibetan Borderland' *Confidence* Vol. 8.2 (February 1915) p. 39
[761] Boddy (ed), 'Across the Atlantic' *Confidence* Vol. 2.9 (September 1909) p. 200
[762] Usher, *Polhill* p. 44
[763] McPherson, *Lupton* p. 133
[764] Boddy (ed), 'Across the Atlantic' *Confidence* Vol. 2.8 (August 1909) pp. 174-175
[765] Robeck, *Azusa* p. 234

about the Spirit's outpouring but instead attended a Pentecostal meeting in Akron, Ohio. These meetings included Ivey Campbell speaking about her Pentecostal experience at Azusa Street. Within the first month 40 people were filled with the Spirit accompanied by speaking in tongues. Lupton commenced his own meetings in Alliance to seek for Spirit-baptism. After Lupton used glossolalia he was dismissed from the Quakers and channelled his Pentecostal fervour into missionary enterprise through his faith home, training college, annual camp meeting and a periodical called 'The New Acts'.[766] Robeck explains that Lupton ran his missionary training centre as an Apostolic Faith school combining Bible study and practical mission principles for a period of one to three years.[767] By 1911, 75 Pentecostal missionaries were overseas resulting from Lupton's training programme. Anderson claims Lupton's missionary training home was 'probably the first significant American Pentecostal centre for the training and sending out of Pentecostal missionaries.'[768] Boddy admitted British Pentecostalism did not have an equivalent missionary potential and desired to partner with this group to establish a more formalised American PMU.[769]

Boddy used Lupton's personality to draw leaders together to initiate the possibility of an American PMU. McGee believes Lupton was a leading advocate for a missionary agency with limited organisational structure.[770] Its credibility was strengthened when a missionary to West Africa pleaded for a missionary board that could supervise overseas missionaries. Problems were highlighted of missionaries who felt isolated and worked independently of any support or supervision.[771] Lupton and the leadership at Alliance responsibly sought to address missionary issues of calling, accreditation and sending out from local churches.[772]

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[766] McGee, *Lupton* pp. 8-11
[767] Robeck, *Azusa* p. 231
[768] Anderson, *Spreading Fires* p. 263
[769].Boddy 'Across the Atlantic' in *Confidence* Vol. 2.8 (August 1909) p. 175
[770] *Op cit.*, p. 3
[771] *Ibid.*, pp. 6-8
[772] *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16

Boddy advised the Americans against forming a home organisation that became another church denomination. He exhorted them regarding the urgent need of a missionary union for the purpose of sending out Pentecostal missionaries to heathen lands. The identified need was particularly to safeguard against impostors going out as missionaries. The first response was to defer the American PMU's commencement for a year, but Boddy pressed them for immediate action. The American PMU was inaugurated on June 23rd 1909 led by Lupton and John Boddy. It was agreed to set up a general missionary council where each centre could have a representative but then from the general council an executive of seven members would be nominated to oversee the American PMU. An annual meeting held at Alliance would be the forum for re-election of council members.[773] The establishment of the American PMU attracted stern criticism, as it was perceived to be controlling the work of the Spirit. An article in 'The Gospel Witness' edited by Harry Van Loon in Los Angeles, verbally attacked those who formed the American PMU describing them as self-appointed leaders who had been satanically deluded.[774] Also an article in *Pentecostal Testimony* warned against organised forms of Pentecostalism as being a sect, specifically denouncing the American PMU. It cited 700 Pentecostals attending a conference in Chicago, representing 25 States, protesting against the American PMU and its leader Lupton who they gave no credence to.[775]

McGee questions whether the American PMU was purely an American enterprise or if there was an intention for it to be closely related to the British PMU.[776] McGee adjudges the primary sources as being too limited to answer that question. In addition the very short duration of the American version's existence makes exploration difficult whether any actual possible co-operative practice between the two would have occurred. Boddy's own record shows the two organisations were totally independent from each other. There is no

[773] Boddy (ed), 'Across the Atlantic' in *Confidence* Vol. 2.8 (August 1909) pp. 174-175
[774] McGee, *Lupton* pp. 16 –17 and *This Gospel Shall Be Preached* p. 75. Harry Van Loon was a protégé of William Durham who promoted Durham's 'Finished Work' doctrine through *The Gospel Witness*. Miller, *Canadian Azusa* p. 22 informs Harry Van Loon initially endorsed the PMU but then believed it created division with those who were not affiliated.
[775] Durham, William (ed), *Pentecostal Testimony*, Vol. 1.5 (Chicago, July 1910) pp. 9-10
[776] McGee, *Lupton* p. 17

suggestion of Boddy or Polhill having any role on the American PMU board or either of them acting as an international PMU president. Also when the American PMU failed there are no British PMU minutes acknowledging any intent or responsibility towards being involved. The only brief allusion to the fact anything was amiss for the American PMU is found in the PMU minutes July 18th 1910. Boddy vaguely mentioned the American PMU had been discredited in some American newspaper articles and felt it could have a negative impact on the British PMU by association, if anyone in Britain read the articles.[777]

3.2.2.4. The Canadian PMU

George Fisher, a Pentecostal pastor in Toronto and member of the C&MA,[778] held a Pentecostal camp meeting at Stouffville, Ontario[779] close to Toronto from June 10th –20th 1909 just prior to the Alliance meeting, when the American PMU was established. This was intended to be a union meeting of all Canadian Pentecostal missions.[780] The Garrs gave a missionary report on their work in China and India. Alfred Ward[781] also spoke and pressed Canadian Pentecostals to create a Canadian PMU, following the British model. Ward prioritised overseas missions similar to most early Pentecostal leaders.[782] Boddy was in attendance at Stouffville and encouraged them in this direction.[783] Fisher became the Canadian PMU chairperson and Ward the secretary. The object of the Canadian PMU was 'to co-operate in all possible ways with Pentecostal workers who may go to mission fields independently, or as representing local Pentecostal missions in Canada.' [784]

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[777] PMU minutes, minute no. 7 (18th July 1910)
[778] He was at Alliance, Ohio when the American PMU commenced.
[779] For 25 years Stouffville was the location for Mennonite camps. It was the first time a Pentecostal meeting was held there. Boddy (ed), *Confidence* Vol. 2.7 (July 1909) p. 146
[780] Piper, William Hamner (ed), *The Latter Rain Evangel* Vol. 1.6 (March 1909) p. 12
[781] Alfred Ward was an evangelist and director of the Winnipeg Alliance mission, where he received his Pentecostal experience. In 1911 he was based at Vineland, Ontario.
[782] Craig, *Purdie* p. 112
[783] Boddy (ed), *Confidence* Vol. 2.7 (July 1909) pp. 146-152 refers to Boddy's visit to the Stouffville camp conference devoted to foreign mission but Boddy did not mention the establishment of the Canadian PMU.
[784] Dennis, James Shepard, Beach, Harlan Page & Fahs, Charles Harvey (eds), *World Atlas of Christian Missions* (New York, Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1911) p. 16 <http://www.archive.org/details/MN41422ucmf_2> [accessed 30.05.2010]

The Canadian PMU represented 14 churches but quickly came under fire from other influential Pentecostal leaders, particularly the Hebdens. James and Ellen Hebden emigrated from Mexborough, Yorkshire, arriving in Toronto in 1904 to establish a rescue mission and faith healing home.[785] Two years later Ellen, then James, was filled with the Spirit without contact from other Pentecostals. The Hebdens established the first Canadian Pentecostal mission on Queen St. East, Toronto in 1906[786] and was a key Pentecostal centre in the early days of the Canadian movement. Many pioneer leaders of the PAOC were initiated in the Pentecostal experience while attending the Hebden mission.[787] Miller states the Hebdens were acknowledged leaders of the Latter Rain movement in Toronto for nearly a decade.[788] So the fact the Hebdens refused to become involved with any organisational structure held much sway initially. Ellen Hebden stated she allowed 'absolutely no room for incorporated Presbyteries, Boards, Synods or Pentecostal Missionary Unions with Presidents, Secretaries and Boards to determine whether the local Church with Jesus presiding has properly called a missionary, and whether those sent out by the Holy Spirit are fitted to go. Man *(sic)* rule, prepared sermons, societies not in Divine order, are doomed.'[789] The Hebdens used their publication *The Promise* to challenge ecclesiastical titles such as 'Reverend' and to disown connection with any organisation.[790]

Ward conceded that the formation of the Canadian PMU intended to conform to British and American versions was perhaps premature.[791] In 1906 George Augustus Chambers pastored a New Mennonite Brethren in Christ church and received his Spirit-baptism through attendance at the Hebden mission. He was a close friend of Ward but rejected his friend's calls for the commencement of the Canadian PMU. He followed the influence of the Hebdens by reasoning 'After all God has taken us out of organised churches,

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[785] Sloos, *First Family of Pentecost* p. 196
[786] Hocken, Peter, 'Hebden, James and Ellen' in Burgess & McGee (eds), *Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* p. 374
[787] Miller, *Canadian Azusa* pp. 5-29 narrates the Hebdens story. Anderson *Spreading Fires* p. 157 informs James Hebden became an independent missionary to Algeria in 1910 until 1911.
[788] *Ibid.*, p. 12
[789] Hebden, Ellen, *The Promise* No. 15 (March 1910) p. 1
[790] Hebden, Ellen, *The Promise* No. 2 (June 1907) p.2 and No.4 (October 1909) p. 1
[791] Ward, A.G., *How Pentecostalism Came to Canada* (PAOC archives, Mississauga) p. 8

why bind ourselves up?'[792] Ironically later in 1918 Chambers became the first PAOC general superintendent when suspicions of Pentecostal organisation had diminished in the new post-war era.

The leaders of the Canadian PMU sought to avoid the controversy by keeping it low profile through limited promotion of its activities, even though they felt what they proposed was just a simple structure to facilitate overseas mission.[793] Their concern was any division would impair the credibility of the new Pentecostal movement. Inevitably the Canadian PMU folded within a year due to the lack of active promotion it failed to recruit missionary candidates or attract funding.[794] Within nine months of the Canadian PMU's formation Ellen Hebden announced there were only two assemblies associated with it.[795] Although the Hebden Mission detrimentally affected the establishment of the Canadian PMU, Miller believes it helped promote worldwide missionary outreach, which shaped the PAOC missionary programme.[796] The incident of the Canadian PMU and the Hebdens' antipathy to any structural formation of Pentecostalism reveals how the British PMU presented an alternative paradigm of early Pentecostal missionary praxis to prevailing attitudes among global Pentecostals.

3.2.2.5. Failure of the American PMU

The American PMU also folded the following year after revelations of Lupton's marital infidelity.[797] Unlike Parham who denied any misconduct, Lupton publicly confessed to adultery[798] and was in McGee's terms 'gently yet firmly deposed from leadership by John Boddy'.[799] After Lupton's demise there was a silence drawn over his involvement in the early American Pentecostal development. McGee believes this was not motivated by a desire to protect Lupton but rather to try and preserve the reputation of Pentecostalism.[800] This

[792] Craig, *Purdie* pp. 31-32
[793] Miller, *Canadian Azusa* pp. 20-21
[794] McGee, *American Pentecostalism* p. 129
[795] Sloos, *First Family of Pentecost* p. 197
[796] *Op cit.*, p. 18
[797] Anderson, *Spreading Fires* p. 124
[798] *New York Times*, 'Sect Leader Confesses' (14th December 14 1910) p. 20
[799] McGee, *Lupton* p. 130
[800] *Ibid.*, pp. 192-193

could also explain why there was a cloak of silence drawn over the issue of the American PMU in any of the British PMU minutes or in *Confidence*.

Perhaps the first indicator something could go wrong is in Boddy's own comments on Lupton's character. Lupton was running a college and camp meetings, thus Boddy observed Lupton was a busy man with too many pressing issues.[801] Probably Boddy did not want to lose the momentum of setting up an American equivalent of the PMU while he was there and certainly it added a greater sense of value to his trip to America. In his enthusiasm to set up this new missionary organisation perhaps he lost sight of the prudence suggested by the meeting to defer for a year that could have helped the American PMU receive a better start. McGee informs that Lupton did not have a favourable track record to run a mission organisation as he already experienced failure through a missionary endeavour in Nigeria, under the auspices of the World Evangelisation Company he established in 1904. The mission station, commenced in 1905 by Lupton, collapsed due to inadequate missionary preparation and support basis.[802] Possibly Boddy was unaware of these factors.

Lupton's moral lapse embarrassed Pentecostalism as a credible new missionary force. Lupton's role as a leader in the new Pentecostal movement was too naively accepted. However McGee maintains that Lupton's role in calling for some organisation and regulation of early Pentecostal missionary practice 'represented missiological thinking and planning ahead of its time for most Pentecostals'.[803] The American PMU had a very brief history but it probably paved the way for the establishment of the American AOG in 1914. The British PMU's structured approach had some influence on American Pentecostal missiology. Harold Carpenter states the systematic support of overseas missions represented one of the fundamental motives for seeking to form the AOG. Although there was no formal constitution of the American

[801] Boddy (ed), 'Across the Atlantic' *Confidence* Vol. 2.8 (August 1909) pp. 174-175
[802] McGee, *Lupton* pp. 6-8
[803] *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21

AOG until 1927, in 1914 the first general council selected a missionary presbytery to supervise overseas missionary activity.[804]

Exploration of the North American PMU is not tangential to the main purpose of this thesis. The North American PMU's failure and deep-seated resistance to organised faith mission structures among North American Pentecostals reflects differences in the social and spiritual roots to British Pentecostalism. The fact that the North American PMU versions were short lived due to aversion towards any form of organised religion shows that early British Pentecostalism followed a different trajectory in its development to that in the USA and Canada. It also explains issues that confronted Pentecostal missionary organisation leaders when the Spirit's outpouring was a new experience and excesses of missionary practice had to be avoided without stifling the new movement's missionary fervour. Polhill and Boddy's leadership of the British PMU successfully negotiated the challenges and avoided the failures of the North American equivalents, which reflects well on their pragmatic approach to Spirit empowered cross-cultural missions. Polhill's attitude to the outworking of missions was stated in his presentation at the Hamburg conference: 'In the matter of Foreign Missions, we Pentecostal people ought to be thoroughly business-like and practical.'[805] These early attempts assisting North American Pentecostalism to commence organised mission structures may have been unsuccessful but it does tell the story of British influence even in North America, counteracting the pre-occupation with American dominated narratives of early global Pentecostalism.

Summary

This chapter validates the influence of Polhill in shaping the PMU as a non-sectarian faith mission with similar values to that of the CIM. This is outworked in attitudes towards denominationalism, avoidance of divisive dogma, recruitment and training of missionaries both male and female. It also explores the PMU's attempts pre-1914 to forge collaborative relationships with

[804] Carpenter, Harold, *Mandate and Mission: The Theory and Practice of Assemblies of God Missions* (Springfield, CBC Press, 1988) pp. 99-101
[805] Boddy (ed), 'The Pentecostal Movement and the Foreign Mission Field' *Confidence* Vol. 2.1 (January 1909) p. 16

other Pentecostal groupings in Europe and North America, integrating academic research on the contribution early British Pentecostalism made to global missionary endeavour. The PMU model was ineffective in North America because influential North American Pentecostal leaders of Boddy and Polhill's calibre did not support it through fundamental aversion to organisation. However this narrative redresses overlooked British Pentecostal initiatives to organise global missionary activity. The British PMU became disconnected from European Pentecostals through different priorities and understanding of ecclesiastical structures. Probably the biggest disconnection came with European mainland Pentecostal groups when the Great War commenced. The CIM became internationalised through establishing home bases in many nations; however the British PMU remained an isolated Pentecostal model of non-sectarian faith mission, which left it vulnerable to the affects of the Great War investigated in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Disruption of the PMU during the Great War (1914-1918)

The PMU initially operated in an era of high optimism for global Christian missions benchmarked by expectations and principles espoused at the 1910 Edinburgh world mission conference. Very quickly the nascent PMU was confronted by a much more challenging context for promoting missionary activity, when global conflict commenced in 1914. This chapter outlines factors during the Great War that disrupted the PMU's progress and weakened its capacity to survive in the inter-war period. The Great War happened just a few years after the PMU's inception. The scale of the War sent political, social and economic shock waves across the globe. Inevitably the War seriously challenged the PMU's impetus and continuity. This chapter explores causality of the War not to prove culpability for the conflict but to associate how perceptions of German responsibility fostered the concept of a just war. Some British Christians depicted the Great War as a holy conflict against evil, especially when it encompassed the deliverance of Jerusalem from Turkish control. British Pentecostals faced an unprecedented moral dilemma caused by military conscription and consequences of choosing to be conscientious objectors, because many were not protected by membership of an officially recognised religious denomination. The PMU exemplifies an organisation incorporating diverse views that Christians held towards involvement in the conflict.

During the War years the PMU was censured by the CIM and Polhill resigned from the CIM. Consequently the PMU became disconnected from the world's prototype faith mission. This chapter investigates factors that led to the fractured relationship between the CIM and PMU. This chapter presents evidence that the PMU's demise and amalgamation into the AOG cannot be explained just on the basis of the need to establish a clearer Pentecostal denominational modality in the post-war years. The impact of such a devastating conflict and CIM decisions towards Pentecostalism during the War years had serious consequences for the PMU, countering Gee's

simplistic linear argument that the years 1920 to 1924 were the 'proverbial darkest hour before the dawn'.[806]

4.1 Causes of the conflict and Christian attitudes to the War

It is important to explore proposed causes of the conflict because the Great War occurred between various Christian nations and was morally justified by clergy on both sides. It posed a difficult moral and spiritual dilemma for Pentecostals who generally opposed involvement in armed conflict on the basis of their conscience.[807] Contrary attitudes to the War have been identified as a major divisive factor among early Pentecostals so it is essential to establish the historical basis for this dilemma so that its impact upon the PMU can be assessed.

4.1.1. Causality of the War

Many causes have been documented for the War's commencement. The overall political background in the early 20th century was one of imperial and economic competition between European powers. This created a climate of distrust and inevitable military build up of armies and navies. Both the German and British navies invested heavily into the introduction of Dreadnought class battleships.[808] Britain, Germany and France wanted to secure trade with foreign markets when manufacturing increased after the Industrial Revolution. These rival European nations competed for political and economic expansion into Africa, commonly referred as the scramble for Africa.[809]

The French remained unhappy with the loss of Alsace-Lorraine to Germany after the 1871 Franco-Prussian war. In 1872 Otto von Bismark, German chancellor, politically isolated and weakened France by setting up the Three Emperor's League, an agreement between the three empires of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia. The Three Emperor's League was fragile because of distrust between Austria-Hungary and Russia over the Balkans.

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[806] Gee, *Pentecostal Movement*, p. 111
[807] Hastings, *English Christianity* p. 46
[808] Strachan, Hew, *The First World War* (London, Simon & Schuster, 2003) pp. 37 & 38
[809] Stevenson, David, *1914-1918 – The History of the First World War* (London, Penguin, 2004) p. 5 observes by 1913 exports accounted for 20-25% of British, French and German national output.

When the French occupied Tunisia, Bismarck took advantage of Italian resentment towards France and created the Triple Alliance between Germany, Italy and Austria-Hungary in 1882. European stability changed in 1888 when the original Kaiser died aged 91 and his successor died after just three months reign. His son, Kaiser Wilhelm II, succeeded him and German policy departed from Bismark's effective diplomacy.[810] The new Kaiser dismissed Bismark as chancellor in 1890. According to Stevenson this action meant the alliance architect was no longer in a position to prevent its fragmentation.[811] The Kaiser refused to sign Bismark's *Reinsurance Treaty* with Russia, which allowed France an opportunity to negotiate a Franco-Russian Entente in 1892.[812]

Britain was largely a bystander from European mainland tensions, but became drawn in by issues directly affecting its interests. Stevenson believes one cause of British antipathy towards Germany was when the Kaiser sent a congratulatory telegram to Paul Kruger, the Afrikaner leader, after serious defeats were inflicted on the British during the 1896 Boer war. The Kaiser allegedly incited German soldiers to 'behave like Huns' during the Boxer rebellion in China. Stevenson maintains this German provocation stirred up unnecessary additional problems for Western nations actively involved in China at the time, including Britain.[813] In 1912–1913 Britain hosted a London conference of all major European powers to discuss Balkans tensions. In 1914 Britain proposed another conference but this time Germany and Austria-Hungary refused to attend, appearing to snub British diplomacy and heightening suspicions of their intentions towards the Balkans.[814]

In 1897 Kaiser Wilhelm proposed a new German policy of *Weltpolitik.* This global policy was essentially designed to enable Germany maintain its industrial expansion. However in order to achieve its *Weltpolitik* Germany increased its colonisation programme to access and control sources of raw

[810] Sheffield, *Forgotten Victory* p. 27
[811] Stevenson, *1914-1918* p. 17
[812] Strachan, *First World War* pp. 30-31
[813] *Op cit.,* p. 18
[814] *Ibid.,* p. 4

materials. This change from Bismark's diplomacy to the Kaiser's more assertive stance created concerns for other European nations regarding the true motives lying behind Germany's *Weltpolitik*.[815] In 1898 the German Navy outlined a warship construction programme to provide a fleet of 45 battleships and 32 cruisers by 1920. Initially the plan was devised to offset other imperial fleets but it was later restructured for a more ambitious intent of serving Germany's *Weltpolitik.*[816] According to Immanuel Geiss it was German *Weltpolitik* that escalated European tensions into global conflict. German foreign policy seriously miscalculated the possibility of Britain's neutrality in a European war when it constructed a navy to rival Britain.[817]

Britain and France formed the Entente Cordiale in 1904 with the purpose of laying aside their historic differences over colonial territories in Africa rather than establishing a counter-alliance to Germany. The resolve of Anglo-French rapprochement hardened when Germany became involved in the attempted Moroccan independence from France.[818] Russia entered into an accord with Britain in 1907 after Germany further alienated Russia by supporting Austrian ambitions in the Balkans and Russia reached an understanding with Britain's ally Japan. James believes this treaty afforded Britain with Russian assurances that it would respect British control of India.[819] Britain made concessions to Russia over Persia, Manchuria and Afghanistan.[820] The Triple Entente, an informal coalition between Great Britain, France and Russia, now countered the Triple Alliance. The division of Europe into two formidable armed alliances greatly increased international tension. It only required an incident to ignite the fuse of this incendiary situation and global conflict was virtually inevitable.[821] Keegan describes a 'net of interlocking and opposed understandings and mutual assistance treaties' as the mechanism that led to

[815] McDonough, Frank, *The Origins of the First and Second World Wars* (Cambridge University Press, 1997) p. 8
[816] James, *British Empire* p. 338
[817] Geiss, Immanuel, *Der Lange Weg in die Katastrophe* (Munich, 1990) pp. 128, 187 & 214 cited by Ferguson, *Pity of War* p. xli
[818] Strachan, *First World War* pp. 36 & 37
[819] *Op cit.*, pp. 335-336
[820] Ferguson, *Pity of War* p. 54
[821] Stevenson, *1914-1918* pp. 9-10

the Triple Alliance central powers entering conflict with the Triple Entente nations in 1914.[822]

Strachan identifies the tipping point occurred on June 28, 1914, when Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austria-Hungarian throne, was assassinated in Sarajevo, Bosnia, attributed to Serbian 'Black Hand' nationalist group. Ferdinand's loss as an advocate of restraint in the Balkans further destabilised the region.[823] Keegan explains how the assassination heightened tension when Germany supporting its Austrian-Hungarian ally, advocated decisive action against Serbia. Austria-Hungary issued Serbia an ultimatum, to which Serbia largely acquiesced to avoid conflict. However Austria-Hungary remained dissatisfied with Serbia's refusal to permit their officials to investigate the assassination within Serbia.[824] Austria declared war on Serbia on July 28, 1914. On July 29, the Russian government ordered a partial mobilisation of its forces on the Austrian-border, in support of Serbia. At this point mobilisation did not signify conflict and such brinkmanship was not an inevitable escalation. However the rapid unfolding of events meant any actions were susceptible to misinterpretation of intent.[825] On July 31st the Germans threatened war if the Russians did not demobilise. When asked by Germany what it would do in the event of a Russo-German War, France responded it would act in its own interests and deployed its forces to repulse any German threat. On August 1st, Germany declared war on Russia, and two days later, on France.[826]

Britain did not need to become embroiled in a European mainland war. The British government's stated reason for declaring war on Germany was not related to support of its French and Russian allies, rather because of German strategy to attack France through Belgium. The British government regarded German invasion of Belgium as an aggressive breach of Belgian neutrality

[822] Keegan, *First World War* p. 59
[823] Strachan, *First World War* pp. 9-10
[824] *Op cit.*, pp. 61-64
[825] *Op cit.*, p. 18
[826] *Ibid.*, p. 48

and sovereignty.[827] Britain formally requested Germany not to attack Belgium but the British ambassador in Berlin was informed on the eve of War German armed forces had already entered Belgium and would not be withdrawn.[828] The Germans were historically committed to attacking France through Belgium when the Schlieffen Plan, conceived from 1897 to 1905, strategically recognised violation of Belgian neutrality was the only way for the German army to outflank the French defensive line and win a decisive blow in a war waged on two fronts.[829]

Britain was one of the 1839 Treaty of London signatories guaranteeing Belgian neutrality.[830] In September 1914 British Prime Minister Herbert Asquith gave a famous speech to Parliament proposing the just principles of the War upholding the necessity of Britain honouring international agreement to protect a small nation from being crushed. He avowed Britain would not ignore German violation of international treaties and its own promises towards Belgium.[831] Henig states the British government was drawn into the War as much for the strategic threat posed by the German invasion of Belgium, as it was the violation of international law.[832] Ferguson supports this argument by referring to Edward Grey and Winston Churchill's memoirs conceding Britain participated in the War to stop German hegemony in Europe, as much as to defend Belgian rights.[833] Keegan maintains from 1911 there was an Anglo-French understanding if Germany violated the 1839 treaty then the British would send an expeditionary force to protect the French left flank rather than directly resolve Belgian neutrality.[834] Sheffield proposes Britain entered the War because of a legal obligation to Belgium, a moral commitment to France and German threat to British security, which seems a more appropriate conclusion given Britain's diverse political interests.[835]

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[827] Stevenson, *1914-1918* pp. 31-33
[828] *The Times*, 'The Eve of War' (28th August 1914) p. 7
[829] Keegan, *First World War* pp. 31-34
[830] Ellsworth Jones, Will, *We Will Not Fight* (London, Aurum Press, 2008) p. 15
[831] *The Times*, 'Britain's Just Cause: Vindication by Mr. Asquith' (19th September 1914) p. 9
[832] Henig, Ruth, *The Origins of the First World War* (London, Routledge, 1989) p. 31
[833] Ferguson, *Pity of War* p. xxxix
[834] *Op cit.*, p. 42
[835] Sheffield, *Forgotten Victory* p. 48

The Times produced articles on the War's causes supporting the justice of conflict with Germany. In September 1914 British government dispatches were published concluding without German interference and precipitation of events, the Austrian/Serbian conflict could have been diplomatically resolved and tensions between Germany, France and Russia avoided.[836] The French produced the Yellow Book at the end of November 1914 as a dossier revealing alleged German plans to provoke unrest in North Africa, Russia and Egypt. *The Times* article argued the evidence gathered was proof German leaders not only regarded conflict as inevitable but also engineered it to happen because it was desirable in furthering their expansionist policy.[837] Such propaganda from the British media inevitably created a public impression of the justness of Britain's military engagement.

The Great War's causality is extremely complex with both long term and more immediate causes critically converging to produce the scale of the conflict.[838] Hobsbawm warns against seeking to discover the aggressor stating the conflict's origin 'lies in the nature of a progressively deteriorating international situation, which increasingly escaped from the control of governments'.[839] Provenance of primary culpability for the War is irrelevant for the purpose of this thesis. It is important to establish the prevailing beliefs and political climate at the time determining British attitudes and responses towards the War. This thesis explores these factors not to apportion blame for the War but to show how axiomatically the British nation perceived their part in the conflict as motivated by reason of it being a 'Just War'. It is this aspect of whether British mobilisation was morally justified that created the ethical dilemma for British Pentecostals to consider whether they could become personally involved in the conflict on grounds of conscience.

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[836] *The Times*, 'Antecedents of the War: Responsibility of Germany' (17th September 1914) p. 6
[837] *The Times*, 'The Causes of the War: Official documents issued in France' (1st December 1914) p. 7
[838] Marwick, *New Nature of History* pp. 203-206
[839] Hobsbawm, *Age of Empire* p. 312

4.1.2. A just war

The Church of England largely supported the just war principle. Archdeacon Basil Wilberforce, chaplain to the House of Commons Speaker, claimed killing Germans would be doing God's work. The Bishop of Carlisle saw the War as a holy crusade and British soldiers divinely appointed for the task. The Archbishop of Canterbury chastised households who withheld men from serving the war effort as acting unworthily.[840] Bishop of London, Arthur Winnington-Ingram, proclaimed the Church could best serve Britain by vigorously promoting the conflict as a holy war.[841]

Boddy, reflecting his Anglican affinities, used *Confidence* to defend the British position, even upholding British Foreign Minister Grey's reputation,[842] condemned by socialists such as Ramsay MacDonald.[843] Ferguson regards Grey's commitments to the French as 'indefensibly dangerous' due to Britain's incapability to send a sufficient land force to resist Germany's invasion of France.[844] *Confidence* was unequivocal in portraying Germany as an oppressor and praising Britain's courage for its response to defend vulnerable Belgium. Britain's involvement in the War was seen as a principle of honouring promises made to Belgium. Germany was denounced as the treaty breaker and cruel invader.[845] Boddy gave a strong apologetic of Britain's noble action to defend Belgium. The same issue published an article by Keswick convention speaker, Graham Scroggie, permitting the possibility of a righteous war to protect the weak. He investigated the Old Testament where Israel embarked on conflict for just principles. Scroggie stated Britain reluctantly but with inevitable compulsion had to deal with the bully, represented by Germany, that threatened the innocent child, Belgium.[846] *Confidence* quoted the Bishop of Durham's guidance for prayer regarding the War, which reflected the just war sentiment of the Anglican Church. He stated the conflict was holy and necessary if Europe and the world were to be

[840] Jones, *We Will Not Fight* pp. 42-43
[841] Strachan, Hew *The Oxford Illustrated Guide to the First World War* (Oxford, 2000) p.1116
[842] Boddy (ed), 'The War' *Confidence* Vol. 8.2 (February 1915) p. 28
[843] Ferguson, *Pity of War* pp.180-181
[844] Ferguson, *Empire* p. 290
[845] Boddy (ed), 'The War' *Confidence* Vol. 7.10 (October 1914) p. 191
[846] Boddy (ed), 'The War' *Confidence* Vol. 7.11 (November 1914) pp. 205-207

protected from German nationalistic tyranny. He also cautioned victory should be measured by disarmament of the Teutonic military rather than destruction of German national life and identity.[847] This line of argument was a popular one allowing individuals who struggled with conscience to differentiate between the German people who they had no quarrel with and the German tyrannical military leadership.[848]

PMU correspondence during the early phase of the Great War reflected a sympathetic attitude towards Britain's involvement in what was termed a just war but also viewed the conflict as a terrible devastation that would disrupt missionary work. In September 1914 Britain experienced the immediate consequence of German aggression towards neutral Belgium with the huge influx of Belgian refugees to Britain. Mundell mentioned thousands of Belgian refugees entering England for protection as being 'utterly homeless and penniless; many who have been living in affluence and from good positions are in absolute poverty so that the people of England are finding an outlet for their kindness and sympathy'. These sentiments show how the tangible reality of Belgian refugees in England swayed public opinion towards the necessity of Britain's engagement in a just war. Mundell's correspondence opposed German propaganda that Britain should not be involved in the War as lies. He reiterated the just war principle with the following words 'We all believe that England was forced into this war to protect France and Belgium and Germany has been working for years for an attack against England.'[849] As this statement was contained in official PMU correspondence to one of its missionaries it could be proposed that the 'we all believe' refers to the initial position taken by the PMU on the justice of the War rather than merely represent Mundell's own personal convictions.

Although some Christians argued for Britain's involvement in a just war they also accepted each nation would come under God's judgment, following the

[847] Boddy (ed), 'The War' *Confidence* Vol. 8.1 (January 1915) p. 5
[848] Ferguson, *Pity of War* p. 233
[849] PMU archives, correspondence to Trevitt (26th September 1914)

view of the Bishop of Oxford, Charles Gore.[850] Scroggie believed God was on the allied armies' side but even they were going to be disciplined through the War. Belgium was being punished for her maltreatment of the Congo; Russia for her anti-Semitism; France for her infidelity and Britain for her hedonism.[851] Mundell's words echo this attitude:

> *God however rules over all and as far as Christians see England with the other nations is being brought under God's judgment at the present time for their unfaithfulness and we have nothing whereof we can boast and we are relying only on God's Mercy. We know many dear Christians in Germany and love them all the same.* [852]

Mundell also referred to 'enlightened' British Christians unable to have a vindictive attitude to the Germans or to participate in the War, even though the allies' position in the War was 'righteous'.[853] This section has examined the PMU's Anglican representation just war attitudes. However many Pentecostals took a very different stance towards active involvement in military conflict.

4.1.3. Conscientious objection

The issue of conscientious objection during the Great War is an important one in considering how the conflict impacted the PMU's development. This section will explore how conscientious objection became a bi-product of the British government's introduction of conscription during the War directly affecting the PMU's training and particularly male missionary candidates. Conscription was commonplace in other European nations but it was not a British tradition. Even after hostilities broke out in August 1914, the Cabinet unanimously dismissed Winston Churchill's proposal for compulsory military service. The governing Liberal party opposed the idea, as did large sections of the Labour party. Ferguson states Britain could either choose commitment to France and conscription or a policy of neutrality and no conscription. He argues the Liberal government's preference for commitment to France and no conscription proved fatal. He quotes Lord Kitcheners observation in 1914 'No one can say my colleagues in the Cabinet are not courageous. They have no army and they have declared war against the mightiest military nation in the

[850] Jones, *We Will Not Fight* p. 44
[851] Boddy (ed), 'The War' *Confidence* Vol. 7.11 (November 1914) pp. 206-207
[852] PMU archives, correspondence to Trevitt (26th September 1914)
[853] PMU archives, correspondence to Corry (5th November 1914)

world.'[854] The volunteer campaign spearheaded by Kitcheners famous call to arms poster 'Your Country Needs You', encouraged approximately 1.4 million men to enlist by January 1915. However, the voluntary system soon proved insufficient as the War continued and casualties increased. A report on Lord Derby's voluntary enlistment scheme demonstrates of 2,179,231 single men of military age only 1,150,000 attested. The proportion of married men holding back was lower, 1,152,947 out of 2,832,210.[855]

After both Derby and Asquith's failed attempts to encourage voluntary enlistment, the Cabinet could see no alternative and believed compulsory active service was the only way to win the War. When Asquith formed a coalition government in May 1915, the Conservative party and the Liberal minister of munitions, David Lloyd George, orchestrated a powerful media campaign in favour of universal military service. The British government resisted conscription until January 1916 when recruitment levels were no longer sufficient to replace front line troops who had been wounded or killed. The introduction of two Military Service Acts in January and May 1916 was a turning point in British policy. They ensured all who were eligible to serve 'king and country' were now forced to report for duty. Various categories were exempt such as those whose work was essential to the war effort, religious ministers and those deemed medically unfit for service.[856]

It was unique in conscription history that these Acts provided exemption on conscientious grounds. It was proposed that conscientious objection should be limited to Quakers, who from 1757 had been historically exempted from the militia. Among the main Christian denominations only Quakers were officially pacifist and even a third of eligible male Quakers enlisted during the War. The Quakers did not seek to be a special category, preferring all

[854] Ferguson, *Empire* p. 291
[855] Marwick, Arthur, *A History of the Modern British Isles, 1914-1999: Circumstances, Events and Outcomes* (Oxford, Blacknell, 2000) pp. 38-39
[856] UK Parliament archive, *'Called to Active Service'* <http://www.parliament.uk/parliamentary_publications_and_archives/parliamentary_archives/archives_ww1_conscription.cfm > [accessed 02.10.2009]

legitimate conscientious objectors to be granted exemption from military service.[857]

Conscientious objection was not clearly defined and it was left to those implementing the Act to deal with it on a case-by-case basis. This was important because there were many different reasons for men claiming exemption on conscientious objection grounds. Some were Quakers who fully accepted the historic Quaker rejection of all armed conflict;[858] some were Christians who accepted the just war position but personally felt they could not be involved in any war; some were socialists, humanists or anarchists.

The Defence of the Realm Act (DORA) was used to imprison individuals who had ethical and religious reasons and not just a political agenda for opposing the War.[859] Local authorities were mandated to conduct tribunals to deal with the deluge of applications for exemption from conscientious objectors. Thomas Kennedy states 750,000 men applied for exemption between January and June 1916. The system enabled personal prejudice to override the equitable principle of law, as councillors frequently appointed themselves, with their pro-establishment, 'patriotic' views. Kennedy's indictment of the tribunal system is 'most tribunal members were middle-class, middle-aged, without judicial experience, and notable for their zealous support of the war.'[860] Tribunals had authority to recognise three levels of conscientious objection: exemption without conditions; exemption conditional upon performing alternative civilian work; or non-combatant service in the army. Many men were either refused exemption or granted only non-combatant status. Lord Lansdowne stated in the House of Lords on 26th January 1916 tribunals were empowered to grant absolute exemption to the 'out and out conscientious objector.'[861] Only 300 out of 16,000 applicants for exemption

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[857] Elliott, Malcolm, 'Opposition to the First World War: The Fate of Conscientious Objectors in Leicester' in *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society* Vol. 77 (2003) pp. 82-92 <http://www.le.ac.uk/lahs/downloads/05_7799_vol77_Elliott.pdf> [accessed 08.10.2009]
[858] Jones, *We Will Not Fight* p. 42
[859] Ferguson, *Pity of War* p. 186
[860] Kennedy, Thomas, *The Hound of Conscience: A History of the No-Conscription Fellowship, 1914-1919* (Fayetteville, University of Arkansas Press, 1981) pp. 9 & 90
[861] *Ibid.*, p. 99

attending a tribunal received absolute exemption.[862] During April 1916 Walter Long, cabinet committee chair, instructed tribunals to limit absolute exemption to cases where men were doing work of national importance.[863] It is easy to criticise the British government in its handling of conscientious objectors, however other European nations such as Germany, Austria and Russia had no comparative option of military exemption.

The Times highlighted how the lack of a coherent policy subjected conscientious objectors to potential abuse and injustice. It suggested there was need to define what constituted legitimate conscientious objection. It proposed all conscientious objectors should undertake an arduous substitute disconnected from military service without remuneration. The third proposal was controversial for it stated no conscientious objector should be eligible for public office, as they failed to uphold their first duty as a citizen.[864] It reflects even when concerns were expressed about the rights of conscientious objectors they were still regarded as forfeiting aspects of their citizenship. Some clergymen sent a memorandum to the Prime Minister containing proposals relating to the proper treatment of conscientious objectors. It welcomed the move to transfer responsibility of 1,200 conscientious objectors at that time from military jurisdiction to civil control but warned it was still not a complete solution.[865]

Men rejected by tribunals were automatically regarded as enlisted men, either in the army proper or Non Combatant Corps (NCC). This meant they could be arrested by the civil police and handed over to military custody. Following their conscience, men would disobey an 'order' such as to wear uniform, and then be court-martialled, receiving sentences up to two years served in a civil prison. Upon discharge men would be returned to the army for the cycle to recommence. Some men were maltreated in military custody, and for others, particularly those accustomed to sedentary work, the rigours of prison were

[862] In 1921 the Ministry of Health destroyed all papers relating to individual cases of exemption from National Service, including every tribunal minute book except those of the Central Tribunal.
[863] Kennedy, *Conscience* p. 100
[864] *The Times*, 'A Policy for Conscientious Objectors' (6th July 1916) p. 7
[865] *The Times*, 'Conscientious Objectors' (20th June 1916) p. 5

harsh. Out of 16,300 conscientious objectors, about 6,000 endured imprisonment varying between a few months and three years. 9,100 accepted some form of alternative service such as farming or quarrying. Statistics of conscientious objectors demonstrate 10 died in prison and 73 died as a direct consequence of treatment received either by the prison or military authorities. Some of these deaths include those who died from tuberculosis or the flu virus during their stay in prison. A further 31 conscientious objectors became mentally unstable resulting from the conditions and stress they experienced.[866] Many Pentecostals, including PMU missionary candidates, were caught up in the consequences of conscientious objection, as they were not regarded as part of an officially recognised denomination.

Public opinion generally had little sympathy for conscientious objectors who were stigmatised as unpatriotic and cowardly. The Home Office eventually devised a scheme whereby conscientious objectors could be released from prison conditionally upon accepting places in work camps or centres. Two former prisons, Dartmoor and Wakefield, were adapted for the purpose.[867] Dartmoor was renamed Princetown work centre as the number of conscientious objectors increased. Although prison cell locks were removed, conscientious objectors still perceived themselves to be in a prison atmosphere. The strength of feeling expressed by one Wakefield inmate indicates how conscientious objection polarised the Christian community: 'Every professing Christian who is not a pacifist is a hypocrite'.[868] Understanding these strong attitudes within British society is important when considering how the issue of conscientious objection could potentially separate early Pentecostals holding diverse views regarding personal engagement in military conflict.

Although the First World War began in 1914 it was only until 1916, when conscription was introduced, the issue of conscientious objection confronted

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[866] Jones, *We Will Not Fight* pp. 228-230
[867] National Archives research guide, *First World War: Conscientious Objectors and Exemptions from Service* <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/catalogue/rdleaflet.asp?sLeafletID=25&j=1> [accessed 02.10.2009]
[868] *Op cit.*, pp. 223-226

Pentecostals. Albert Saxby's London assembly was a stronghold for the persuasion of conscientious objection. Booth-Clibborn and Bartleman both ministered in this church and they possessed outspoken pacifist convictions. Booth-Clibborn was born into a Quaker family and his Quaker pacifist roots came out in a book he authored *'Blood against Blood'.* It was a response to the Boer War[869] and influenced many Pentecostals during the Great War.[870] Boddy referred to Booth-Clibborn's book in *Confidence* but did not endorse it.[871] However the American AOG embraced it as their official position on the War.[872] When conscription began, Booth-Clibborn challenged believers to be conscientious objectors. Malcomson states in 1916 the British government officially banned this book[873] because Booth-Clibborn advocated Christians could morally defy governments for pacifist reasons.[874]

Eschatological perspectives of the War are covered in the next section of this chapter. Anderson believes eschatology was a decisive factor influencing the stance of conscientious objection taken by the majority of early Pentecostals. Early Pentecostals interpreted the outbreak of war within the matrix of their pre-millennial beliefs. They believed the Great War signified the commencement of end time events and Christians should play no part in a conflict that would lead to Armageddon. Some early Pentecostals believed in an imminent rapture so they would be removed from the consequences of global conflict.[875] Jay Beaman's research upholds Pentecostal pacifism arose from prevailing pre-millennial and pre-tribulation rapture eschatology. Anticipation of a utopian society perceiving national interest as secondary and Kingdom values combining missionary zeal and redemptive identification with

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[869] Booth-Clibborn, Arthur, *Blood against Blood*, 3rd edition (New York, Cook, 1915) p. 3
[870] Malcomson, *Pentecostal Pioneers* pp. 139-143
[871] Boddy (ed), *Confidence* Vol. 8.1 (January 1915) p. 6. Booth-Clibborn requested Boddy recommend his book, but Boddy qualified it with a comment Christians should hate war but cannot stand by passively when there are acts of aggression towards the innocent. He then pointedly recommended a book entitled *'Britain justified'* by Ballard, Frank.
[872] Anderson, *Spreading Fires* p. 225
[873] *Op cit.*, p. 147
[874] *Op cit.*, p. 92
[875] *Op cit.*, pp. 223 & 224

other people groups as imperative were inconsistent with armed conflict.[876] However this does not account for the fact Boddy held similar eschatological views and yet supported Britain's engagement in the War. Darin Lenz suggests eschatology was also influential upon Boddy's position towards conflict. He maintains Boddy understood the timing of the Spirit's outpouring and the subsequent global war as indicating the cumulative fulfilment of Biblical prophecy.[877]

When conscription was introduced Pentecostals, such as Gee, registered as conscientious objectors. In July Gee attended a tribunal to seek exemption. A clergyman was on the bench and asked Gee whether he was willing to be an overseas missionary. Gee answered the question positively and the tribunal decided he would be exempt from military service if he took up work of national importance.[878] Gee obtained work as a farm labourer occupying him 16-17 hours a day. Although he felt like a social outcast, he knew abuse towards him came from people who were concerned for family members in danger on the frontlines. Gee retrospectively viewed this time as providential in preparing him for Christian ministry.[879]

Kay narrates how Howard Carter refused to serve after he was drafted in 1916. He attended two tribunals in March and April of 1916. In the first tribunal Howard was exempted on grounds he did medical service. He agreed but made it conditional that any wounded person he tended did not return to active service. His request was refused and his grounds of exemption dismissed. Then it was discovered he was a church minister. He was sent to a second tribunal conducted by a civil judge who refused to accept the fresh grounds of exemption because Howard was minister of an unattached non-denominational church in Duddeston.[880] In March 1917 he was imprisoned as a conscientious objector at Wormwood Scrubs, London. On arrival he refused

[876] Beaman, Jay, 'Pacifism among the Early Pentecostals: Conflicts Within and Without' in *Proclaim Peace: Christian Pacifism from Unexpected Quarters*, Schlabach, Theron (ed), University of Illinois (1997) p. 91
[877] Lenz, *Visions* pp. 298-300
[878] Kay, *Inside Story* p. 50
[879] *Op cit.*, p. 336
[880] *Op cit.*, p. 56

to wear uniform and was sentenced to an initial period of 112 days hard labour. He was fed bread and water, had his hair cropped, wore prison clothes and placed in solitary confinement. Nine months later he was transferred to Dartmoor where restrictions were more relaxed, although he still broke up rocks on Dartmoor under warder supervision.[881] Towards the end of 1918 Howard was transferred to an agricultural training centre at Wallingford, Berkshire where young offenders were rehabilitated.[882]

John Carter also declared himself a conscientious objector after he was conscripted. John filed his objection at the same time as his brother but his appeal was heard first. Neville Chamberlain, who later became Prime Minister at the outbreak of the Second World War, was the chairperson at John's tribunal. John was granted absolute exemption, a rare outcome.[883] The War's demands on manpower meant John faced another tribunal, resulting in the cancellation of his previous exemption. He was ordered to do work of national importance in agriculture. In 1918 when John heard his brother had gone to Wallingford he applied to join his brother at the training institute.[884]

Not all early Pentecostal leaders actively promoted conscientious objection. Gee states there was no official or fixed position among early Pentecostals regarding the War.[885] While younger Pentecostals tended to be conscientious objectors, Boddy strongly supported British forces in their armed struggle against Germany. For two months in 1915 Boddy went to the frontline in France where he encouraged soldiers, some who had corresponded with him.[886] Boddy was an honorary worker connected to the Y.M.C.A**.** and granted a permit from the British Expeditionary Force headquarters to work within the war zone.[887] While Boddy was in France he gave instructions and finance for German soldier's graves to be tended.[888] Boddy investigated

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[881] Malcomson, *Pentecostal Pioneers* pp. 314-315
[882] Carter, *Man of the Spirit* p. 46
[883] Jones, *We Will Not Fight* p. 253 confirms Chamberlain sat on a 1916 tribunal panel.
[884] Carter, *Full Life* pp. 36-39
[885] Gee, *Pentecostal Movement* p. 103
[886] Boddy (ed), 'Some Notes from Sunderland' *Confidence* Vol. 8.5 (May 1915) p. 84
[887] Boddy (ed), *Confidence* June 1915 p. 107
[888] Boddy (ed), *Confidence* Vol. 8.8 (August 1915) pp. 145 & 146

reports regarding alleged supernatural phenomena known as the 'angel of Mons'.[889] As a small remnant of British soldiers attempted to retreat from Mons, it seemed inevitable the Germans would advance and overwhelm them. However British soldiers spoke of an angelic being's intervention causing the Germans to turn back. Boddy reported to the *Observer* he had interviewed a number of officers and soldiers who all witnessed the same angelic phenomenon.[890] Some eyewitnesses saw the angelic being for up to three quarters of an hour.[891] Similar incidents were reported from Ypres and other battlefields.[892] Boddy enlarged his research into these battlefield supernatural phenomena to include Russian and French troops who reported battlefield sightings of a white horse, which he connected to end time events recorded in Revelation 6 and 19.[893] This apparent divine intervention on behalf of allied troops seemed to provide evidence the allies were waging a just war. Christians were persuaded God further intervened to bring a favourable end to the War for the allies after a time of intensive prayer in England on the 4th and 5th of August 1918. Mundell wrote it was 'nothing less than marvellous to see how the tide began to turn against the Germans after those days of prayer'.[894]

Lenz states *Confidence* strongly defended the just war doctrine and published any news to do with allied successes and patriotic literature. Boddy also included a statement by Bishop Moule of Durham holding this was a 'Holy War' against the 'unprecedented peril of tyrannous domination by a great single state.'[895] Polhill fully supported Britain's armed offensive against the German aggression into Belgium and France. Polhill idealised war as a means of challenging decadent countries to learn sacrifice and overcome difficulties and for individuals to acquire 'manliness, patriotism, then righteousness, holiness and godliness'. He also saw war as a means of galvanising Christians to make a real contribution to the strength and

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[889] Boddy (ed), 'The Vision at Mons' *Confidence* Vol. 8.9 (November 1915) pp. 165-169
[890] Malcomson, *Pentecostal Pioneers* pp. 125 & 126
[891] Boddy (ed), 'The Angel at Mons' *Confidence*, Vol. 8.10 (October 1915) pp. 191-193
[892] Boddy (ed), 'The Angel at Mons' *Confidence* Vol. 9.1 (January 1916) pp. 5-8 gives more eyewitness accounts of soldiers who saw angelic beings on the battlefields.
[893] Lenz, *Visions* pp. 296-297
[894] PMU archives, correspondence to Mr and Mrs Leigh (18th September 1918)
[895] *Op cit.*, pp. 287-289

efficiency of a country through their integrity and prayerfulness.[896] As Renhold squire Polhill offered £10 to any young local man who volunteered for armed service. The money was given for the purpose of caring for their mother, spouse or children. Polhill stated the British people 'had been compelled to take up the sword in defence of the Belgian people, and also to assist in crushing the power of a treacherous enemy.'[897] Pentecostal meetings conducted by Polhill at Sion College every Friday night were always concluded with patriotic singing of the national anthem.

Gee respected the PMU leaders for maintaining a tolerant attitude towards those who were pacifists.[898] It appears some PMU council members changed their attitude towards military involvement, as the War became more protracted and the effects of conscription challenged the position of Christians everywhere. Mundell wrote:

> *So far as I can see the Christians have only one attitude towards this war, which is clearly set out in our Lord's teaching. 'My Kingdom is not of this world else would my servants fight.' 'They are not of the world even as I am not of the world.' This war is essentially of the world and I hold that no Christian ought on any account take part in actually destroying and killing his fellow man.*[899]

He also stated his personal conviction that if Jesus was alive during the War He would not have been involved in the fighting and this should be the same for every Christian.[900]

Boddy and Polhill's patriotic pro-war stance is regarded as contributing to their non-involvement in the later development of the British Pentecostal movement.[901] Gee, one of the earliest British Pentecostal chroniclers was first to argue the War played a significant role in the decline of the PMU leadership's popularity.[902] It is acknowledged conscientious objection was a factor, but not necessarily the only or most important issue, in the formation of the British Assemblies of God in 1924. John Nelson Parr, one of the prime

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[896] Polhill, 'The Great European War & Great Spiritual Revival' *Flames of Fire* No. 28 (June 1915) p. 1
[897] *The Bedfordshire Times and Independent* (14th August 1914)
[898] Gee, *Pentecostal Movement* p. 103
[899] PMU archives, correspondence to Jenner (8th January 1915)
[900] PMU archives, correspondence to Norwood (8th January 1915)
[901] Anderson, *Spreading Fires* p. 228
[902] Gee, *Men I Knew* p. 22

movers behind establishing an association of independent British Pentecostal assemblies, recognised some Pentecostal ministers and missionaries suffered for their conscientious objection stance during the War.[903] It was believed if they were accredited ministers of a new Pentecostal fellowship of churches containing a pacifist position in its constitution they would be exempt from future compulsory military action.[904]

4.1.4. Eschatological perspectives of the Great War

Eschatology had a major affect on early Pentecostal missiology. The War intensified Pentecostal interest in linking events to Biblical prophecy but not always helpful to the original missional focus. Apocalyptic language regarding the Great War was not limited to Christianity. Ferguson states 'apocalyptic imagery was as frequently employed as patriotic imagery. People recognized Armageddon.'[905] Karl Kraus, an Austrian journalist, wrote a satirical play against the War entitled *Die Letzen Tage der Menscheit,* which means *The Last Days of Mankind.* On the eve of war Grey famously stated: 'The lamps are going out all over Europe. We shall not see them lit again in our lifetime.'[906] James Louis Garvin used eschatological language in his *Observer* editorial August 1914 where he depicted the War as an Armageddon that would herald the end of war.[907]

The wartime apocalyptic atmosphere awakened fresh eschatological speculation among Evangelicals.[908] The War was immediately interpreted by pre-millennialists, including Pentecostals, as indicating Christ's imminent return. The mass carnage of trench warfare was interpreted that the tribulations preceding Christ's return had started. Kay states this eschatological position implied a change to the practical purpose of Spirit-baptism. The Spirit's function was modified from missionary empowerment to preparing the Church for Christ's return. Kay argues that if such eschatology

[903] Parr, John Nelson, *Incredible* (Fleetwood, 1972) p. 26
[904] Kay, *Pentecostals in Britain* pp. 28 & 29
[905] Ferguson, *Pity of War* p. 444
[906] Hobsbawm, *Age of Empire* pp. 327-329
[907] Marwick, *Deluge* p. 88
[908] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism* p. 192

had prevailed within the British Pentecostal movement it would have remained a zealous Adventist sect and forfeited its revivalist missionary momentum.[909]

British Pentecostalism was subject to this eschatological focus through Boddy's editorial influence in *Confidence.* It is hard to calculate the extent of this eschatology's affect on early British Pentecostal missionary impetus because *Confidence* was widely read among the Pentecostal community. This passive eschatology connecting the Spirit's outpouring to the Church's preparation as the Bride for Christ's return was already in place before the War. In 1909 it was the theme of a Sunderland International Pentecostal Congress session where Awrey linked Spirit-baptism with the purpose of adorning the Bride with the character of Christ.[910] However after the War Boddy's influence waned and in 1925 *Confidence* was replaced with the AOG's publication *Redemption Tidings.*

Polhill channelled his eschatological understanding of the War into a call for renewed missionary endeavour when he delivered the opening message at the 1915 London Whitsuntide conference. He addressed the War as both an eschatological event and a missiological opportunity because God had outpoured the Latter Rain for global spiritual revival.[911] Kay acknowledges Polhill was concerned no pre-occupation with tenuous eschatological prediction should 'distract the PMU from the gospel commission'.[912] Walsh maintains Polhill, although later maligned by AOG denominational figures such as Gee, 'was at the forefront of a discernible and decisive shift in eschatological emphasis that altered the fortunes of British Pentecostalism' and 'succeeded in propelling the movement beyond both narrow, parochial concerns and a fatalistic outlook for the future of both church and world'.[913] Walsh's abstract states it was this ability 'to marry dire prognostications with hope, optimism and exuberance' that 'empowered the movement to

[909] Kay, William, *Pentecostalism* (London, SCM, 2009) p. 247
[910] Boddy (ed), 'Sunderland International Pentecostal Congress' Report by Jeffreys, T. M., *Confidence* Vol. 2 No. 6 (June 1909) p. 135
[911] Polhill, *Flames of Fire* No. 28 (June 1915) p. 1
[912] Kay, *Four-Fold Gospel* p. 47
[913] Walsh, *Eschatology* p. 38

consolidate and embark upon a second and more expansive phase of its evolution in the aftermath of the First World War'.[914]

An article in *Confidence* called 'The World in Travail' mentioned eight wars taking place from 1897 to 1917. The Great War was seen as the last birth pain, as referred to in 1 Thess. 5: 2 & 3, which would end with the manifestation of the triumphant Church caught up to meet with Christ. Boddy posed the thought to the *Confidence* readership that the War may end quickly through Christ's return.[915] Mundell wrote to a PMU missionary that the War indicated the nearness of the Lord's return and every Christian needed to be ready at any moment.[916] Boddy published articles on 'The Antichrist and Sin' by Albert Weaver and an article by his wife on Zechariah's apocalyptic horses in the same issue of *Confidence*. In the latter article Mrs Boddy interpreted the War as part of the Devil's spiritual conflict against Christ.[917] An excerpt from the Alliance weekly in *Confidence* warned against the popular connection of the War with Armageddon. It pointed out Armageddon itself was to be a final conflict of world powers united under a satanic leader situated at Megiddo in Palestine. It viewed the current strife as a precursor heralding Jesus' return because it believed Christians would not still be on the earth to witness Armageddon.[918] Mundell observed many Christians anticipated the anti-Christ would be established as a consequence of the War in fulfilment of Daniel 7 and Rev. 13.[919]

Titterington, PMU men's training superintendent, wrote an article entitled 'Prophecy and the War' in *Confidence*. He assessed whether the War had some dispensational or prophetic significance. He concluded that he could not realistically associate the Great War with any specific Scriptural prophecy, however he felt it represented the beginning of apocalyptic sufferings referred to in Matthew 24: 6-8. He also suggested the War would pave the way for the Anti-Christ to be established. Nations had allied themselves for the cause of

[914] Walsh, *Eschatology* p. 31
[915] Boddy (ed), 'The World in Travail' by Paul, Ernest A., *Confidence* Vol. 10.3 (May-June 1917) p. 41
[916] PMU archives, correspondence to Trevitt (26th September 1914)
[917] Boddy (ed), 'The War' *Confidence* Vol. 7.9 (September 1914) pp. 163-171
[918] Boddy (ed), 'The War' *Confidence* Vol. 7.11 (November 1914) p. 207
[919] PMU archives, correspondence to Jenner (8th January 1915)

war and Christians saw in these alliances the potential for a United States of Europe to be founded. These possibilities could lead to the League of Nations becoming the vehicle for the Anti-Christ to exercise power.[920] Titterington speculated the proposed League of Nations at the end of the War contained 'germs of greater evils than those it was designed to remedy' and was humanity's attempt to make God unnecessary in managing world affairs.[921]

Boddy was distinctly interested in seeking out supernatural signs during the War. His inclusion of many *Confidence* articles regarding eschatological issues indicates he believed it was necessary to provide his readers an understanding of the War in the framework of God's plan through human history. The pre-millennial position is strongly proposed in an article he reproduced by Murray 'Bible Prophecies and the Present War'. The article took a dispensational approach identifying seven historical ages arguing for a two stage second coming.[922] A further chapter from this publication regarding the Antichrist was included in *Confidence* March 1916 grappling with various Biblical portraits of the Antichrist. The problem with this teaching is that the author subjectively interpreted it in the historical context of the Great War. The imminent possibility of Jewish resettlement into Palestine resulting from the War was closely associated with the Antichrist becoming more active.[923]

Pentecostals incorporated into their pre-millennialist beliefs an expectation of the inauguration of a Jewish independent state. For many believers the War brought about renewed expectation Palestine would be restored to the Jews, especially as the conflict developed between Turkey and Britain in Palestine. The unfolding events during the War, such as the British retaking of Jerusalem from the Turks and the 1917 Balfour declaration, reinforced belief that the current dispensation was coming to an end.[924] A *Confidence* article entitled 'Signs of the Times' proposed, through a rhetorical question, God intended a bi-product of the War would be the restoration of God's covenant

[920] Boddy (ed), 'The War and Prophecy' *Confidence* Vol. 8.9 (September 1915) pp. 175-176
[921] PMU archives, correspondence from Titterington to Mundell (3rd February 1919)
[922] Boddy (ed), 'How will Christ Come?' *Confidence* Vol. 9.1 (January 1916) pp. 8-12
[923] Boddy (ed), 'The Career of the Antichrist' by M. Murray, *Confidence* Vol. 9.3 (March 1916) pp. 44-47 and part two *Confidence* Vol. 9.5 (May 1916) pp. 88-89
[924] Wilson, *Pentecostal Perspectives* p. 601

with Abraham. This occurrence of the Jews occupying the lands from the Nile to the Euphrates would precede the second coming of Jesus.[925] When Boddy visited France during the War he asserted the Jews would inherit Jerusalem again.

> *Out of this war the Jews will emerge to a position of equality and freedom such as they have not had since the destruction of Jerusalem. It will almost certainly end in their gaining a right to inhabit the Holy Land again-not on sufferance, but as possessors of legal rights and citizenship. So the prophetic Scriptures are on their way to fulfilment.* [926]

Boddy linked the liberation of Palestine from Turkish control to Biblical prophecy. At the end of 1917 the British army took territory in the south of Palestine and were just 20 miles from Jerusalem. Boddy referred to the Jewish communities' gratitude for the new British policy's declared intention to place Palestine back into Jewish control, as stated through the Balfour declaration. He interpreted this as significant because it was the Mohammedan year of 1335 and equated it to Daniel 12: 12 referring to a time period of 1335 days before things would change. Boddy believed this heralded a fulfilment of Biblical prophecy and indicated end time events were very close.[927] In another article Rader combined the restoration of Palestine to the Jews and the anticipated international economic co-operation after the War as all indicating the imminence of end time events such as Armageddon.[928]

Pentecostal eschatological emphases were carried through into overseas missions work. PMU missionaries Kok and Biggs reported how they taught the second coming intensively to Chinese believers in their own language with a series of 40 lectures.[929] Kok interpreted world events as indicating Jesus was coming soon and it would mean the end of all wars, revolutions and strife.[930] At the end of the War Polhill appealed for missionary candidates to fill the PMU training homes particularly when the men's training home was re-

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[925] Boddy (ed), 'Signs of the Times' *Confidence* Vol. 8.4 (April 1915) p. 72
[926] Boddy (ed), 'With our troops in France' *Confidence* Vol. 8.11 (November 1915) p. 209
[927] Boddy (ed), 'Prophetic Items' *Confidence* Vol. 10.6 (November-December 1917) p. 91
[928] Boddy (ed), 'Armageddon' *Confidence* Vol. 11.3 (July – September 1918) pp. 43-48
[929] Boddy (ed), 'News from Likiang' *Confidence* Vol. 9.3 (March 1916) pp. 56-57
[885] Boddy (ed), 'News from Likiang' *Confidence* Vol. 10.6 (November- December 1917) p. 92

opened. He used the return of Christ to motivate people towards missionary training and service.[931]

It is easy to understand how and why Pentecostal Christians interpreted the War in such eschatological language. A *Times* article put the unparalleled nature and scale of World War One into perspective by demonstrating it was uniquely a war of nations rather than armies. By this time the toll of conflict in terms of armament expenditure and particularly unprecedented loss of life were being realised.[932] Men were mobilised from across the globe to participate in the War.[933] The features of the Great War fitted with other eschatological indicators at that time such as the Spirit's outpouring and renewed possibility of Israel being restored as a nation. Wartime pre-occupation with eschatological interpretation of events distracted from missiological urgency and was unhelpful in mobilising Pentecostals towards missional engagement.

4.2 The War's impact on early British Pentecostalism and its missionary activity

Early Pentecostalism was impacted by a conflict that had major catastrophic consequences during the early 20th century, particularly in Europe. The War's effect upon Christian missions cannot be overstated. As CIM historian Broomhall remarked, 'the War in Europe appears to threaten the very existence of Foreign Missions.'[934] Hocken claims 'In the development of the Pentecostal movement in Britain, World War 1 marks a clear watershed'.[935] The War impacted the fledgling development of Pentecostalism and possibly that was most apparent in the PMU's activity. The PMU minutes and

[931] Boddy (ed), 'The Pentecostal Missionary Union' *Confidence* Vol. 12.1 (January-March 1919) p. 11
[932] *The Times*, 'A War of Nations' (14th May 1917) p. 6
[933] James, *British Empire* pp.353-354 states 1.4 million soldiers came from India, 630,000 from Canada, 420,000 from Australia, 136,000 from South Africa, and 129,000 from New Zealand. The African colonies produced 57,000 soldiers, 932,000 labourers for service in the German East African campaign. There were a further 330,000 Egyptian labourers who worked in the Middle East and France campaigns. By 1918 there was nearly a third of a million Chinese, Egyptians and Africans working in France.
[934] Broomhall, *Jubilee Story* p. 352
[935] Hocken, *Polhill* p. 121

correspondence provide an insight into the challenges of running a missionary society during a time of prolonged global conflict.

4.2.1. The Military Service Act's effect on overseas mission

Some PMU students at Preston, such as Burton and Salter, managed to get out to the Congo mission field before the Military Service Act was implemented. They were so remote in the African jungle that they were not affected.[936] Burton would have been a conscientious objector if he remained in Britain, as he commended the anti-war stand of British Pentecostals.[937] He also criticised Britain for maintaining its imperial position by armed force.[938] Many of the PMU missionaries were already located in China, India and the Congo so conscription did not immediately affect them. The effect of conscription on male PMU candidates was severe. Mundell wrote,

> *We have not yet adopted conscription in England, but strong pressure is brought to bear upon all young men, especially the unmarried ones, and very shortly all available and fit men will be gone to take part in the war. Pressure is already being brought to bear upon all young men training for missionaries in England.*[939]

Conscientious objection became a pressing issue for the PMU. Four students at the Men's Training Home, Gibbs, Ring, Richardson and Webster, applied for permission to be exempted from combatant service. In reply to the request from these four, the PMU decided to issue a certificate for each student signed by Polhill and Mundell, stating 'such objection is believed to be genuine and sincere and to be based upon his religious belief.'[940] This letter did not stop Richardson being required to attend a tribunal under the Military Service Act. Richardson asked the PMU's permission to seek exemption on grounds he was soon to be sent as a missionary to Congo.[941] Webster was granted exemption from military service on medical grounds not religious grounds.[942] One of these PMU students did not follow through with his conscientious objection persuasion. Mundell refers to Arthur Gibbs as a

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[936] Gee, *Pentecostal Movement* p. 103
[937] Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering* p. 91
[938] PMU archives, Burton's correspondence with Mundell (24th October 1913)
[939] PMU archives, Mundell's correspondence to Trevitt (19th November 1915)
[940] PMU minutes, minute no. 5 (24th January 1916)
[941] PMU minutes, minute no. 1 (10th March 1916)
[942] PMU minutes, minute no. 4 (24th July 1916)

soldier on the frontline, without any tone of censure towards Gibbs in his correspondence.[943]

In May 1916 the PMU closed the men's training home at London because the Military Service Act enforced all male students to engage in some service work. This act impacted married men aged 18-41.[944] PMU students were referred to as suffering for Christ's sake presumably because they had chosen to be conscientious objectors.[945] The fact PMU students were sent to prisons and work camps could not be published because of censorship.[946] On the 28th June 1918 Mundell informed the Boyds the Military Service Act was extended to include older men in their mid 40's. This caused further disruption to households and local churches.[947] It would appear the PMU encouraged students who were conscientious objectors to seek non-combatant service. One PMU missionary candidate, James Andrews, was imprisoned as a conscientious objector and later admitted he wrongly refused the PMU council's advice in taking up the non-combatant service option.[948]

As the War progressed, overseas missionaries became concerned regarding how the Military Service Act applied to them both in the context where they were and also how it might affect them if they returned to Britain on furlough. James Boyce, a PMU missionary in India, received written confirmation of his exemption from military duty because of his missionary work suggesting the Home Office accepted the PMU as a recognised missionary society.[949] Fred Johnstone, a PMU missionary to the Congo, raised concerns with the PMU if he returned on furlough whether he would be subject to the Military Service Act.[950] Mundell's reply explained the conditions of the Military Service Act on missionaries. Johnstone was entirely involved in missionary work so he was classified as a minister of religion and therefore exempt from being called up

[943] PMU archives, correspondence to Boyd (21st October 1916)
[944] PMU archives, correspondence to Swift & Leigh (26th & 27th May 1916)
[945] PMU archives, correspondence to Boyd (21st October 1916)
[946] Anderson, *Spreading Fires* p. 227
[947] PMU archives, correspondence to Boyd (28th June 1918)
[948] PMU archives, correspondence from Andrews (28th January 1919)
[949] PMU archives, correspondence to Boyce (24th August 1917)
[950] PMU minutes, minute no. 9 (7th November 1916)

to other war related service.[951] By February 1918 Johnstone was back on furlough from the Congo and not affected by the Military Service Act, with freedom to visit local Pentecostal churches.[952]

In 1917 Mundell wrote to Allan Swift, senior PMU missionary in Yunnan, regarding a similar concern. The British Consul General attempted to get details from Swift of all male PMU missionaries in China to see who was available for enlistment.[953] The missionaries declined to be involved and the PMU council affirmed their decision stating the Military Service Act was not binding on active missionaries. The PMU felt even voluntary involvement with the war effort could weaken their exemption from the Military Service Act.[954] The PMU passed a resolution that if any missionaries did voluntary war work their connection with the PMU would be automatically severed.[955] At first glance this may seem harsh but actually it was designed to empower missionaries to resist expectations upon them to comply as volunteers and according to Hocken matched CIM policy.[956] Mundell clarified the PMU's intention was to prevent the authorities taking action against individual missionaries if they did not co-operate.[957]

Mundell wrote to Richardson about restrictions placed upon him by the Home Office from going as a missionary to Africa. Mundell represented Richardson to enquire if the Home Office would grant him special permission to go to Africa. However the Home Office was not willing to relax its position and anyone doing work outside of the Military Service act would be required to submit monthly reports of that work. This was deemed as impractical with regard to Richardson going to Africa. Therefore permission to leave England during the War would not be granted even if the PMU submitted the application rather than the individual.[958]

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951 PMU archives, correspondence to Johnstone (22nd December 1916)
952 PMU archives, correspondence to Johnstone (8th February 1918)
953 PMU archives, correspondence from Consul General to Swift (4th January 1917)
954 PMU archives, correspondence to Swift (30th March 1917)
955 PMU minutes, minute no. 2 (24th May 1918)
956 Hocken, *Polhill* pp. 20-21 unedited version, PMU archives
957 PMU archives, correspondence to Swift (28th May 1918)
958 PMU archives, correspondence to Richardson (4th February 1918)

Later Mundell wrote again to Richardson who trained as a prospective PMU missionary during the early period of the War. This letter explains the restrictions were due to Richardson being a conscientious objector. Mundell enquired about the release of conscientious objectors on Richardson's behalf. He informed Richardson there would be some delay, as soldiers returning from the Front had administrative priority of consideration. Richardson was encouraged to write to the Home Office indicating he had been a missionary in training ready to commence missionary service in Central Africa and the missionary society desired to send him out with a team of other missionaries. Prior to that step Mundell advised Richardson to speak to a local agent who dealt with conscientious objectors to solicit his support for a passport application.[959] Eventually Richardson applied to the Home Office committee dealing with conscientious objectors and they agreed to his passport application if the PMU were willing to send a 6 monthly report to them until army demobilisation was complete.[960]

This section demonstrates how military conscription especially impacted upon male PMU students, field missionaries and polarised opinion on this issue within nascent British Pentecostalism sowing seeds for future moves towards denominationalisation.

4.2.2. Disruption to Pentecostal missions

Besides the challenges of conscription there were other difficulties encountered by the PMU during the Great War. One of the most obvious ways the War affected missionaries was in the area of financial support. Mundell wrote that even in the earliest part of the War many missionary societies felt the conflict's effects and especially overseas missionaries who struggled to get financial support forwarded to them. He recognised the War immediately reduced amounts contributed towards overseas missions due to the extra financial burden upon Britain.[961]

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[959] PMU archives, correspondence to Richardson (10th December 1918)
[960] PMU archives, correspondence to Moser (20th December 1918)
[961] PMU archives, correspondence to Trevitt (26th September 1914)

In the first year of the War the *Confidence* PMU report anticipated the missionary cause would suffer through a drain on finances and inflationary pressures on basic costs through shortages. The report appealed to its American readership to consider helping support British Pentecostal missionaries.[962] It can be speculated that if the North American PMU had not been so short lived it could have served as an alternative vehicle to channel resources through during the War. The next PMU report recorded a diminished missionary income from the previous month and they required £160 per month just to balance the budget.[963] Letters to missionaries in 1915 indicate financial shortages delayed new missionaries being sent out.[964] By July 1915 Mundell recognised the War would be protracted.[965] Nevertheless the PMU report at the end of 1915 announced five new missionaries going out to China, William Boyd, Alfred Lewer, David Leigh, Nellie Tyler and Rose Waters. This took the number of PMU missionaries from 20 to 25.[966] By the end of 1915 another two PMU missionaries had gone out, Boyce to India and Pieter Klaver to China.[967]

At the beginning of the War Mundell wrote the harvest had been good, there were no food shortages and prices had not increased.[968] By the final year of the War that position had totally changed. In 1918 Johnstone returned on furlough from the Congo and was perturbed by the cancellation of meetings and low financial support. Mundell reprimanded Johnstone for his failure to grasp the problems caused by the War back in Britain. Many ministers cancelled meetings because they could not guarantee church offerings due to poverty or have extra people such as missionaries stay with them because they did not have enough food for themselves. The PMU women's college was restricted to just two and half pounds of meat per week for all the residential women. Thus the diet at the college was predominantly

[962] Boddy (ed), 'PMU report' *Confidence* Vol. 7.9 (September 1914) p. 177
[963] Boddy (ed), 'PMU report' *Confidence* Vol. 7.10 (October 1914) p. 197
[964] PMU archives, correspondence to Johnstone (23rd April 1915)
[965] PMU archives, correspondence to Trevitt (2nd July 1915)
[966] Boddy (ed), 'PMU Report' *Confidence* Vol. 8.11 (November 1915) pp. 217-218
[967] Boddy (ed), 'PMU Report' *Confidence* Vol. 9.1 (January 1916) pp. 17-19
[968] PMU archives, correspondence to Trevitt (26th September 1914)

vegetarian.[969] In early 1920 Mundell wrote there was still economic uncertainty with escalating food costs.[970]

Another less obvious pressure on missionary finance was to do with foreign currency exchange rates. The China missionaries' monthly support shrunk as a result of the dollar's falling value. Also income tax went up in Britain causing living costs to double.[971] When the War ended *Confidence* explained financial difficulties affecting China missionaries were due to falling exchange rates creating the need for an extra £42 per month on top of the usual £76 per month just to sustain the existing work.[972] In 1920 Mundell wrote that the PMU used Mexican dollars to achieve the best possible exchange for missionaries in China.[973] There was some temporary relief in 1920 when the Shanghai dollar exchange rate stabilised for a time.[974]

Just after the Armistice, Mundell revealed that problems with PMU funds had existed for two years because the War impinged upon both missionary giving and foreign exchange rates. Mundell explained the PMU was readjusting the way money reached the missionaries in that they would pay their support in the local currency rather than the devalued dollar. The Johnstones encountered delay in returning to the mission field, even after the War ended, due to the difficulty of obtaining passage to Africa. The P & O gave preference to colonial soldiers and their families in getting berths on ships so that they could return home.[975]

Another setback from the Great War in terms of mission development was the fractured relationship between the different European nations. Hastings refers to the Great War damaging the 'supranationality' of missions because the maintenance of a spirit of internationality within missions was virtually

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[969] PMU archives, correspondence to Johnstone (8th February 1918)
[970] PMU archives, correspondence to Klaver (9th March 1920)
[971] PMU archives, correspondence to Lewer (17th July 1918)
[972] Boddy (ed), 'The Pentecostal Missionary Union' *Confidence* Vol. 12.1 (January-March 1919) p. 12
[973] PMU archives, correspondence to Greenstreet (11th March 1920)
[974] PMU archives, correspondence to Moser (28th May 1920)
[975] PMU archives, correspondence to Johnstone (29th November 1918)

impossible.[976] Hastings demonstrates the seriousness of the breach in the cause of global missions when he observes before 1914 Germany had been Britain's major Protestant partner.[977] This was also true of early Pentecostalism as in particular from 1908 until 1914 the British Pentecostals worked very closely with German Pentecostals under Paul's leadership. Just prior to the outbreak of War the PMU had a student, Miss Kegel, who they desired to send urgently to India and were intending to send on itinerary to Germany to raise her support. They met with pastors Paul and Humburg to discuss this matter in June 1914.[978]

The first statement Boddy made about the War in *Confidence* was his regret they would be separated from Paul and other German believers.[979] Lenz emphasises Boddy did not prioritise the armed conflict but rather published two sermons, recently presented by German Pentecostal leaders at the annual Whitsuntide conference. Lenz believes this was intentional on Boddy's part to remind both British and German Pentecostals of their common identity as Spirit filled believers.[980] Initially there was still some communication between Boddy and the German leaders. *Confidence* included letters and reports of the German pastors, particularly when Paul lost his youngest son in the fighting.[981] However it was inevitable nationalistic loyalties would create a barrier especially as the War became longer and more tragic with huge loss of life on both sides.[982] After the War ended, *Confidence* reported Paul lost his wife and both sons during the War, indicating some communication and concern still existed.[983]

Travel restrictions were another significant consequence of the War upon Pentecostal missions. Correspondence with Jenner and Cook indicates the War disrupted travel by ship. Many of the P & O liners had been used for the

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[976] Hastings, 'The Clash of Nationalism' in Stanley (ed), *Missions, Nationalism and the End of Empire* p. 22
[977] Hastings, *English Christianity* p. 218
[978] PMU minutes, minute no. 4 (4th June 1914)
[979] Boddy (ed), 'The War' *Confidence* Vol. 7.9 (September 1914) p. 163
[980] Lenz, *Visions* p. 287
[981] Boddy (ed), 'Pentecostal Items' *Confidence* Vol. 8.9 (September 1915) p. 178
[982] Boddy (ed), 'Letter from Pastor C.O. Voget' *Confidence* Vol. 7.10 (October 1914) p. 191
[983] Boddy (ed), 'Pentecostal Items' *Confidence* Vol. 13.1 (January – March 1920) p. 12

war effort, so fewer ships were available to passengers.[984] If passage was obtained it was more complicated, for example the Swifts were delayed in going to China, as they had to sail round by Bombay. Mundell's letter to Corry relates how the War impeded the passage of new missionaries.[985] Previously missionaries going to the Far East had the option of travelling through Europe by train and then through Russia on the Trans-Siberian railway. The impact of the War in accelerating revolution in Russia meant by 1917 the option of travelling on the Trans-Siberian railway to Asia would no longer be available.

Italy's entrance into the War hindered new missionary Boyce, going out to India by passage on an Italian steamship in 1915.[986] Mundell referred to the dangers of German submarines sinking passenger steamers.[987] Boyce's passage to India was delayed resulting from a submarine scare while they sailed through the Mediterranean.[988] Mundell wrote to Crisp regarding travel options for some female students preparing to go to the Asian mission field. There were P & O liners still going via the Mediterranean representing a quicker option. However the route taken by the Japanese shipping company round the Cape was regarded as safer for shipping due to the War. It was also a slightly cheaper option.[989]

Some female trainee missionaries were not sent to China during the War because the Government was not issuing passports or allowing ships to sail unescorted.[990] Even after the Armistice there were delays for prospective missionaries getting to the mission field. In December 1918 Mundell gave instructions to Morrell at the women's training home for those students waiting to go overseas. Four female candidates were granted permission by the PMU to apply for passports but the aftermath of the War meant there would still be delay in getting travel restrictions lifted.[991]

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[984] PMU archives, correspondence to Jenner (8th January 1915)
[985] PMU archives, correspondence to Corry (5th November 1914)
[986] PMU archives, correspondence to Norton (9th December 1915)
[987] PMU archives, correspondence to Johnstone (24th June 1916)
[988] Boddy (ed), 'India' *Confidence* Vol. 9.3 (March 1916) p. 60
[989] PMU archives, correspondence to Crisp (9th December 1916)
[990] PMU archives, correspondence to Leigh (18th September 1918)
[991] PMU archives, correspondence to Morrell (10th December 1918)

The War had a mixed effect upon the PMU's missionary training capacity. In July 1915 Polhill was already concerned many young people were deferring to train as missionaries until the War was over.[992] Although the PMU was forced to close the men's home from 1916 the women's home had a full complement.[993] During the War the number of female missionary candidates remained stable. On the 10th July 1917 Mundell wrote an urgent letter to Crisp advising the agreed decision of Polhill that the women's college should be temporarily closed following an air raid, however it re-opened by the end of August 1917.[994]

Research reveals the War indirectly impacted missions through missionaries feeling isolated from the home nation. The War adversely affected the PMU's capability to supervise its missionaries. The PMU council relied on correspondence with missionaries by letter and occasionally when urgent through cable. Communication was prone to delay with letters going missing if ships were sunk and also misunderstandings through letters crossing in the post. The whole situation was susceptible to weakened and strained relationships. The PMU was less able to respond promptly and decisively in its covering relationship of field missionaries. The PMU could not send people out to visit missionaries or raise people up to be supervisors. During the War years the PMU archives show a loss of 13 field missionaries, three were deaths and ten were resignations. Although there was growth in new missionaries being sent out by the PMU at the beginning of the War, China was the only field that saw an actual increase in missionaries. India and Japan saw a reduction in numbers of PMU missionaries and a few years prior to when the PMU amalgamated with the AOG those fields no longer had PMU personnel operating there.

On 20th November 1918 Mundell wrote to Swift in Yunnan and mentioned the intent of Polhill to apply for his passport and passage to India and China in January 1919. The War years totally curtailed opportunities for PMU leaders

[992] Polhill (ed), 'Reapers or No Reapers: The Harvest' *Flames of Fire* No. 29 (July 1915) pp. 1-2
[993] PMU archives, correspondence to Leigh (27th May 1916)
[994] PMU archives, correspondence to Crisp (10th July 1917)

to visit missionaries so it can be surmised how eager Polhill was to travel once the Armistice had been signed on the 11th November 1918.[995] Polhill did well to get his passport and passage to the Far East so quickly, as Boddy had his passport request deferred to go to America and Canada.[996] Polhill's visit to India and China lasted for most of 1919; however there is veiled criticism in Boyce's *Confidence* report on India that it was still insufficient. Boyce was pleased to see Polhill but remarked openly that a true picture of India could not be gained unless someone spent the whole year there. Although Boyce conceded Polhill did not have that length of time to spend in India, it exemplifies the strains missionaries felt from lack of personal supervisory care during the War years. Boyce's report shows his loneliness as he highlighted he was the only British male PMU missionary in India at that time. [997] Prior to the War the PMU recognised the need to appoint married overseers for the missionaries in India and China.[998] Their failure to appoint an overseer particularly for India was exposed as a weakness by the protracted conflict.

The PMU policy for married couples to supervise mission fields proved difficult to implement, which the War compounded even further. Mundell explained the PMU were not able to appoint a married couple to superintend the work in India chiefly because of the War.[999] Also several missionaries remained out on the mission field longer than was advisable as they were unable to return home on furlough. Some had physical symptoms of burnout and health issues attributable to them remaining on the field for longer periods. This was exemplified with Kok's health problems. It was thought he would return home in the spring of 1919 but his health was deteriorating so rapidly that furlough became more urgent. In the meantime the PMU organised for the Koks to go to the Swifts in Yunnan for support and respite.[1000] After the War it was

[995] PMU archives, correspondence to Swift (20th November 1918)
[996] Boddy (ed), 'Pentecostal Items' *Confidence* Vol. 12.3 (July – September 1919) p. 49
[997] Boddy (ed), 'PMU Report from India' *Confidence* Vol. 12.4 (October-December 1919) pp. 64 & 65
[998] Boddy (ed), 'Pentecostal Missionary Union' *Confidence* Vol. 6.9 (September 1913) p. 185
[999] PMU archives, correspondence to White (26th May 1916)
[1000] PMU archives, correspondence to Swift (20th November 1918)

evident many missionary furloughs were overdue but PMU finances were not available to cover travel costs.[1001]

Polhill's report of his mission trip to India and China indicated some of the War's impact, even after the Armistice. As he sailed through the Mediterranean the crew were on constant lookout for mines. When they arrived at Port Said a large contingent of British soldiers was still garrisoned there. As Polhill journeyed through the Suez Canal he observed much evidence of the conflict on the Sinai Peninsula such as sandbags, barbed wire fences and entrenchments. On board there were many servicemen going to India to take up opportunities to run tea estates, jute mills and banks because business had been so badly crippled by the War.[1002]

It may be thought that World War One was predominantly a European war, however it was inevitable conflict would spread because the European nations were imperial powers. The Germans realistically anticipated if Britain joined the War in 1914 it would be the first crucial step to transforming it from the European theatre into a global conflict. In 1914 The British Empire embraced 348 million people and 9 million square miles.[1003] Strachan demonstrates how Europeans ruled the African continent with the exception of Ethiopia and Liberia. Britain, France, Belgium and Germany were all principal nations controlling African interests. The other colonial powers in Africa were Italy, Portugal and Spain of which only Spain remained neutral in the Great War.[1004] Johnstone highlights how the War encompassed Africa when he wrote:

> *This terrible European war has not just affected Europe but Congo, for we cannot get any mail and we have had to dispense with many of our workmen. There has been trouble in the Cameroons as the Germans have been fighting with the Belgians there. Many of the station goods and provisions are blocked and cannot get up country, and everything seems at a standstill.*[1005]

[1001] Boddy (ed),), 'The Pentecostal Missionary Union' *Confidence* Vol. 12.4 (October – December 1919) p. 63
[1002] Boddy (ed), 'The Pentecostal Missionary Union' *Confidence* Vol. 12.2 (April to June 1919) pp. 31 & 32
[1003] Stevenson, *1914-1918* p. 106
[1004] Strachan, *First World War* pp. 67-69
[1005] Polhill (ed), 'Letter from Fred Johnstone' dated 11th October 1914 in *Flames of Fire* No. 23 (January 1915) p. 8

According to Strachan Asia was impacted because the biggest overseas German base was in China and the German navy was a threat to both the British fleet at Hong Kong and the Japanese fleet.[1006] Stevenson informs Japan allied with Britain in August 1914.[1007] Taylor records the mass mobilisation of Japanese troops and also European reservists from Germany and France stationed there in Kobe and Yokohama, again demonstrating it was more than a European conflict.[1008] On 24th August 1917 correspondence was sent to Jenner in China referring to China's declaration of war against Germany.[1009]

During the War Turkey created an outrage through the genocide of Armenians. Ethnic cleansing has been frequently used by nations to eliminate another people group for whatever reason has been perceived a threat. Stevenson maintains that the Sultan of Turkey declared the War a 'jihad' and forms the context behind Turkey attacking its Armenian Christian population, who could potentially support the Russians and British.[1010] In a seven-month period during 1915 600,000 Armenians were estimated killed in Turkey and 500,000 deported to Iraq where only 90,000 survived. A further 400,000 Armenians perished when Turkey invaded the Russian Caucasus in 1918. *Confidence* reported on this issue for two reasons. Firstly the Turks were Muslim Ottomans and would be regarded as ominously persecuting Christian Armenians. Boddy was quick to use the term martyrdom with regard to the Armenians killed by Turkey. Secondly there was a strong inference the Germans were complicit in the matter because the Kaiser had done nothing to restrain his ally in this genocide of over a million Armenians. This incident again stirred up the notion of the conflict being a holy war particularly as British troops were engaged in fighting Turkey for Palestine.[1011]

[1006] Strachan, *First World War* p. 71
[1007] Stevenson, *1914-1918* pp. 107-108
[1008] Boddy (ed), 'Letter from W. Taylor' in *Confidence* Vol. 7.10 (October 1914) p. 200
[1009] PMU archives, correspondence to Jenner (24th August 1917)
[1010] *Op cit.*, pp. 115-116
[1011] Boddy (ed), 'Is This the Worst Martyrdom in Christian History?' *Confidence* Vol. 9.1 (January 1916) pp. 12-15

Having seen how globally widespread the War's impact was, it inevitably led to major global changes so that the PMU operated in a very different and much more challenging mission context during the latter phase of its existence. These are all integral factors that must be accounted for in the struggles the PMU underwent in the post-war period.

4.2.3. Global changes

There were many significant changes to nations and delineation of imperial control as a result of the War. The empires of Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary and Turkey were broken. Ferguson declares the War became 'a turning point in the long-running conflict between monarchism and republicanism' with three European monarchies coming to an end and others severely reduced in their influence.[1012] The War enabled Canada, New Zealand, Australia and South Africa to become autonomous nations. German African colonies were reallocated to British, Belgian and French control. Britain held continuous territory from Cairo to Capetown. The Great War triggered the Bolshevik revolution leading to the creation of the Soviet Union. It propelled the United States onto the world stage as a major power. Japan, an Asiatic nation, was included in the Peace conference and became a permanent member of the League of Nations. The power of European domination was diminished and even Britain held on to its overseas imperial possessions with a weaker grip. The Indian National Congress increased pressure on Britain to reduce its control over India. Latourette comments the recession of Occidental dominance over Asia where two thirds of humankind lived would inevitably have a profound repercussion on Western Christian missionary activity.[1013]

The War did not end neatly on the 11th of November 1918. A year later Field Marshall Sir Henry Wilson wrote to Lord Esher that there were still over 20 minor wars continuing in the world. Particularly Russia was engaged in civil war following the Bolshevik revolution. Poland remained a disputed territory and Turkey fought with Greece and Britain to re-establish itself. Middle

[1012] Ferguson, *Pity of War* pp. 434-435
[1013] Latourette, *Missions* pp. 114-118

Eastern Arabic peoples were expecting to receive territory and diplomatic recognition, instead the November 1917 Balfour declaration recognised the Zionist movement's rights in Palestine. The Sykes Picot Agreement signed by Britain and France divided the Ottoman empires' Middle Eastern territories between them. After the War Britain retained the mandate for Iraq and Palestine while France gained the mandate for Syria and Lebanon.[1014]

During the War 9 million soldiers lost their lives and 20 million were wounded. Globally a further 30 million people perished in just six months during 1919 as a result of the flu pandemic,[1015] including Mrs Boyce who died in India on 12th November 1918, the day after the War ended.[1016] It was believed the Great War was going to be the war that ended all wars. In effect it left a bitter legacy that became the breeding ground for a second global conflict just two decades later. The Great War shaped Europe and the entire 20th century world and cannot be excluded from any consideration of early Pentecostal history.

The War was a watershed in African development. There was a climate of revivalism where new religious movements, advocating the power of prayer and engaging indigenous African peoples, replaced the traditional role of colonial missionaries. The War loosened the control of European missionaries, especially German missions involved in Africa. Another bi-product of the War was a revised global attitude relating to the moral concept of 'Christianised Europe' that could fight such a brutal war with immense loss of life. The concept of white men having superior morality based on their Christian heritage was repudiated by the carnage of the War. This new perception towards Europeans was also reinforced by the experience of thousands of Africans enlisted to fight in Europe. They witnessed and took part in the killing of Europeans during the War. They were exposed to different cultural ideas and experiences revising perceptions of their colonial rulers.[1017] Burton reported that indigenous Africans who were involved in the East

[1014] Strachan, *First World War* pp. 327-332
[1015] Strachan, *Guide to First World War* p. 101
[1016] Boddy (ed), 'The Pentecostal Missionary Report' *Confidence* Vol. 12.1 (January-March 1919) p. 11
[1017] Strachan, *First World War* pp. 101- 103

African campaign returned with a 'brutal, swaggering, murderous spirit'.[1018] This observation should be evaluated with an awareness of Burton's personal antipathy towards the War conditioning his remarks. It may also indicate his concerns for stability in the Congo because it was prone to inter-tribal conflict. Any flare up of violence in the Congo could endanger missionary personnel and disrupt missionary work.

The Great War changed the insular independent liberal nature of British society. Britain entered the War unprepared militarily and psychologically. The British army only numbered 250,000 regular troops dispersed all over the Empire. In the mobilisation for War the whole country had to change rapidly and this required unusual state intervention such as conscription. Britain moved from a nation governed by laissez-faire principles to state controlled mobilisation because the stakes were high. British society experienced the horror of apocalyptic conflict where new destructive mechanised weapons, poisonous gas and aerial bombardment were employed. It was assumed allied victory would enable Britain to resume from where it left off prior to 1914. In 1918 most people thought a return to peace meant a resumption of the pre-war way of life.[1019] Yet consequently from the War Britain incurred debts equivalent to 136% of its gross national product, a fifth of it owed to other nations such as the USA. Britain experienced annual inflation of 22% and unemployment rising to 11.3% in 1921, levels not seen in more than a century, with associated widespread labour unrest. The poverty of returning soldiers and their families contrasted with the wealth of the upper class, as in November 1920 the cost of living nearly trebled its pre-war levels.[1020]

The 1915 Whitsuntide conference speakers Polhill and John Leech believed that the Pentecostal movement had been providentially raised for this historical context of conflict and idealistically forecasted the post-war era would be missionary utopia. They optimistically believed a great revival would take place opening up new possibilities for mission work. They based these

[1018] Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering* p. 105
[1019] Bedarida, Francois, *A Social History of England, 1851-1990* (London, Routledge, 1991) pp. 170-175
[1020] Ferguson, *Pity of War* pp. 395-396

missional expectations on the eschatological interpretation that unfolding world events of conflict and the latter rain outpouring heralded Christ's imminent return.[1021] Certainly the War changed the world irrevocably and therefore transformed the global mission landscape in a way not anticipated. Postmillennial confidence of societies permeated by Christian influence had been severely undermined by Christian nations engaging in the scale of slaughter during the War. The quest to construct new Christian nations modeled on Western civilization became incongruous and no longer compelling. According to Stanley 'the war decisively impelled mainstream Protestants in a direction that contributed ultimately to the dilution of the global missionary imperative. This was the case even with some who believed in the premillennial return of Christ'.[1022] In reality the War had an inestimable curtailing effect on the momentum of British Pentecostal overseas missionary work. The PMU faced many problems after the War, particularly financial and relational, which can be attributed to the compounding disruptive effect of the War. Although the PMU never wavered in its commitment to publicise the cause of global missions through *Flames of Fire* and *Confidence* during the War years, inevitably British Pentecostal churches and believers were distracted with acute problems nearer to home.

4.3 Breakdown of relationship with the CIM

During the War the PMU became disconnected from the CIM, the world's prototype faith mission. This was a key event affecting the essential identity of the PMU and cannot be ignored in the transition of the PMU from non-sectarian faith mission to denominational mission department. The first archival evidence of difficulty in the relationship between the PMU and the CIM arises in the China council minutes 4th June 1914. Miss Pilson, a CIM worker, submitted her resignation because she disliked the CIM's links with Polhill's PMU in Yunnan. The CIM China council members decided they needed more information to evaluate her concerns. In the same council meeting a further concern was raised about connections between the CIM

[1021] Polhill (ed), 'The Great European War and Great Spiritual Revival' *Flames of Fire* No. 28 (June 1915) pp. 1-2 and Leech, John 'Wars and Rumours of Wars' pp. 4-5
[1022] Stanley, *Future in the Past* p. 110

and the PMU. Another CIM missionary, Fullerton, commenced a relationship with a Miss Rönager, a PMU missionary, which led to Fullerton embracing Pentecostalism.[1023] The combination of both these issues clearly alerted the CIM leadership to re-assess its previously tolerant attitude towards Pentecostalism and specifically its relationship with the PMU. Pentecostalism became an important ongoing agenda item for various CIM councils during 1914 and 1915.

In June 1914 Hoste convened a sub-committee meeting of the China council to consider both Rönager's application to become a CIM missionary following her engagement to Fullerton and the CIM's position regarding the PMU. The sub-committee received correspondence from CIM workers in Yunnan-fu which revealed whilst the station leaders, Mr and Mrs Allen, were sympathetic to the PMU, Miss Peet and Miss Pilson on the other hand were strongly opposed to the PMU. The September 1914 China council minutes show this sub-committee wrote to the home councils to gain their opinion on the CIM's relationship with the PMU. The China council stepped back from total criticism of Pentecostalism, even though it was concerned about its beliefs and practices. Nevertheless it proposed the CIM could not be too closely associated with the PMU as it would create additional administrative problems and constitute a controversial departure from its own beliefs and methods that could polarise its own workers and support base. Consequently the China council felt it could not proceed with Rönager's application. The CIM leaders met with Fullerton in Shanghai and realised he had strong leanings to Pentecostalism.[1024] Inevitably the CIM's decision regarding his fiancée led to Fullerton submitting his own resignation from the CIM in October 1914.[1025] When Fullerton requested the PMU accept him as a missionary Polhill communicated with Hoste regarding the issue and did not permit the PMU to take any decisions until he heard back from Hoste revealing his desire to work

[1023] CIM Shanghai council minutes, 97th session, (4th June 1914) p. 7
[1024] CIM Shanghai council meetings, 98th session (10th September 1914) pp. 5-9
[1025] CIM Shanghai council meetings, 99th session, (5th December 1914) p. 12

closely with the CIM.[1026] Fullerton and Rönager became independent missionaries in China.[1027]

The London CIM council met 12th October 1914 to consider Hoste's correspondence regarding the CIM's relationship with the PMU, the issues leading to the China council's concerns and its recommendations. This was a very awkward meeting for Polhill, as both the president of the PMU and a member of the CIM London council. Polhill was given opportunity to explain his own position and then excused himself from the meeting. The London council confirmed the China council recommendations with a few slight amendments. When Polhill was informed of the London CIM council's decision, he requested it was recorded that he was not party to it.[1028] Polhill wrote a cordial letter to the China council on 13th October expressing his own viewpoint that 'the baptism or filling of the Holy Spirit is usually given in a way that is manifest to others, without definitely laying down the rule that it must be speaking in tongues: there is usually some manifestation – it may be in other tongues or it may be in the mother tongue.' He also urged the CIM to defer its decision to prohibit Pentecostal meetings on its premises.[1029]

The CIM China council deferred its decision about Pentecostalism until its next meeting allowing opportunity for the North American CIM councils to meet and provide feedback. Frost, the North American director, sent a report of the conclusions reached by the Philadelphia and Toronto councils accompanied with a critique of Pentecostal doctrine. The China council designated two of its members, Hoste and Stark, to draft a statement of the CIM's attitude to Pentecostalism to be adopted by all CIM home councils and missionaries.[1030] In April 1915 the China council issued a final draft statement regarding its view on Pentecostalism. The CIM conceded the possibility of present day manifestations of glossolalia but believed excesses of Pentecostalism were unscriptural. The London CIM council added 'we believe

[1026] PMU council minutes, minute no. 1 (19th November 1914) and minute no. 1 (10th December 1914)
[1027] PMU council minutes, minute no. 1 (20th July 1915)
[1028] CIM London council meetings, 'Pentecostal Missionary Union' (12th October 1914)
[1029] CIM Shanghai council meetings, 99th session, (7th December 1914) pp. 17-19
[1030] CIM Shanghai council meeting, 100th session, (13th April 1915) pp. 26-29

that to claim such manifestations as an essential sign of the fullness or baptism of the Holy Spirit is unscriptural.'[1031] The statement concluded the CIM would not have any connection with Pentecostalism due to its irregularities of belief and practice. The CIM took an unambiguous and consistent position towards Pentecostalism, while seeking to dialogue graciously with any of its workers involved in Pentecostalism.[1032]

In this timeframe of the CIM deliberations the PMU archives reveal the relationship between the CIM and PMU was further jeopardised by the activities of William Simpson, an American missionary based in Kansu, China. Simpson had been forced to resign from the C&MA over his zeal to proselytise other missionaries into the Pentecostal experience. Correspondence from Hoste to Polhill discloses CIM concerns that Simpson had apparently recruited two PMU missionaries Trevitt and Williams in an agenda to influence all CIM personnel in Kansu towards Pentecostalism. The PMU was linked through association with a maverick Pentecostal who transgressed the ideal of missionary comity regarding territory worked by existing mission societies. The correspondence implicated Polhill himself as possibly having a Pentecostal propaganda motive for a proposed trip to Shanghai in 1915 and was further associated as one of Simpson's character references.[1033] Anderson maintains Polhill's failure to distance himself from Simpson damaged Polhill's standing with Hoste and the CIM.[1034] It certainly did not help the CIM reach any conciliatory decision regarding the PMU.

Miss Pilson's resignation was unaffected by the CIM stance towards Pentecostalism. She felt the CIM council's decisions were unheeded at Yunnan-fu, as the Allens were still taking Chinese converts to PMU meetings and associating closely with Pentecostal beliefs.[1035] The CIM were willing to

[1031] CIM London council meeting, (7th June 1915) p. 264
[1032] CIM Shanghai council meeting, 100th session, (14th April 1915) p. 29
[1033] PMU archives, correspondence from Hoste to Polhill (4th January 1915)
[1034] Anderson, *Spreading Fires* pp.131-132
[1035] CIM Shanghai council meeting, 101st session, (23rd June 1915) pp.12-13

challenge the Allens to sever links with the PMU but were unhappy with Miss Pilson's impatience in not allowing them opportunity to resolve issues.[1036]

On July 15th 1915 Polhill tended his resignation from the CIM, which was formally accepted by the CIM London council on July 30th 1915. He resigned because of his support for Pentecostalism and the attitude expressed by the CIM towards Pentecostalism in its 7th June 1915 decision. The London council agreed to Polhill's letter being sent to Hoste and saw Polhill's resignation as 'inevitable under the circumstances' and recorded the regard in which they held Polhill. There was an opening left for the relationship to be renewed should Polhill modify his position.[1037]

Austin believes the CIM's decision to expel Pentecostals from among its ranks was based on their dislike of perceived exclusive insistence tongues were essential evidence of Spirit-baptism by Pentecostals. The CIM decided not to dismiss personnel just on the basis of speaking in tongues but that Pentecostals were uncooperative and intolerant with others who did not share their beliefs.[1038] Bundy maintains Taylor's successors in the CIM leadership took an anti-Pentecostal stance in accord with the Keswick holiness movement and reacted against many CIM missionaries becoming Pentecostal.[1039]

In 1915 Polhill issued a statement expressing his difficulties as a member of both the PMU and CIM. He explained that it was PMU policy not to work in a place, other than provincial cities, where the CIM already operated unless invited. He distanced himself from Pentecostal missionaries distributing literature and undertaking evangelism in towns where the CIM were already existent. Polhill gave assurance he was unaware of any direct PMU missionary activity violating this policy of comity. He rebuffed specific examples given by the CIM that PMU missionaries had improperly entered towns in both the Hunan and Shansi provinces by stating they had only done

[1036] CIM Shanghai council meeting, 102nd session (10th September 1915)
[1037] CIM London Council minutes, *Letter from Cecil Polhill* (30th July 1915)
[1038] Austin, *China's Millions* p. 451
[1039] Bundy, *Apostolic Mission* p. 82

so with prior invitation from CIM mission station leaders. He reinforced the PMU's position by insisting they had no intention of changing their co-operative policy with the CIM. Polhill emphasised he was not responsible for independent Pentecostal missionaries and deplored their discourtesy towards the CIM.[1040]

In June 1915 the PMU received a letter from Mr Packer, a CIM worker at Yunnan-fu, stating that he had informed Allan Swift he would no longer administer the PMU missionary accounts and allowances. His letter reflects that up to this time the PMU and CIM had worked very closely together in Yunnan; it demonstrates the practical impact of the CIM's decision on the PMU China field.[1041] During 1919 the PMU received an application from a CIM missionary, Mr Coates, to transfer to the PMU at Yunnan. The PMU was careful to notify the CIM London council of this development and requested their observations regarding his suitability.[1042]

As much as the PMU sought to work co-operatively with other missionary agencies this relational breakdown with the CIM highlights the difficulties early Pentecostals faced in implementing the missionary ideal of comity, even with other closely allied faith missions. Polhill's desire to see the organisations he was involved with working closely together was frustrated by CIM policy. Polhill unequivocally upheld his allegiance to his own Pentecostal position even though it distanced him from his CIM colleagues.[1043] McGee observes Polhill's 'identification with the Pentecostal movement proved embarrassing to evangelicals'. McGee evidences his statement by referring to Evangelical author Pollock's book on the Cambridge Seven ignoring Polhill's Pentecostal involvement.[1044]

Hoste's attitude towards Pentecostalism, in allowing the resignation of one of his Cambridge Seven colleagues during his leadership, can be discovered in

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[1040] Polhill, *Flames of Fire* Vol. 29 (July 1915) p. 9
[1041] PMU minutes, Minute No. 3 *'Mr Packer'* (23rd June 1915)
[1042] PMU archives, correspondence to Wood (23rd September 1919)
[1043] Polhill, *Flames of Fire* Vol. 29 (July 1915) p. 9
[1044] McGee, *American Pentecostalism* p. 134 and ch. 7 n. 115 p. 280

his comments about the heterogeneous ethnic and denominational nature of the CIM. Hoste allowed for liberty of belief and practice within the CIM but logically argued it was not appropriate for CIM members to use such liberty to change the essence of the mission's values. Hoste wrote in the context of understanding co-operation within the CIM: 'the one whose views have altered is perfectly free to join some other organisation in harmony with those views, or to work independently. He [*sic*] cannot, in reason, expect that the convictions of those abiding by the original understandings of the mission should be sacrificed on his account.'[1045] Hoste perceived Pentecostalism was intolerant to the convictions of others within the CIM and therefore a threat to the mission's practical working unity. Hoste regarded his role was to guard the CIM ideal of diversity in unity but realised heterogeneity was a fragile balance to maintain. Ironically because Polhill set up the PMU in the CIM's image he faced similar challenges in preserving the PMU's unity. There was also a separatist momentum within the CIM driven by North American director Frost's fundamentalism opposed to ecumenical missiology. Although the British CIM fully participated in the 1910 Edinburgh mission conference, by 1915 Frost forced the CIM to withdraw from the Continuation committee.[1046] Stanley reports that from 1915 the CIM progressively withdrew from involvement in ecumenical missions finally withdrawing from the National Christian council of China in 1926.[1047]

This breach with the CIM was not referred to in PMU minutes, which highlights their limitations to construct the PMU's narrative. The only reference within PMU archives to this separation is within Polhill's own published article in Flames of Fire. It appears strange that there is no official record of Polhill's PMU colleagues discussing the strategic impact of the CIM leadership's decision upon the PMU. It can be conjectured that the PMU council perceived it as more of a personal issue impacting on Polhill's position with the CIM. Perhaps it was not raised as an agenda item out of sensitivity to the PMU president's awkward position and to avoid embarrassment.

[1045] Thompson, Phyllis, *D.E. Hoste: A Prince With God* (London, CIM, 1947) pp. 218-219
[1046] Austin, *China's Millions* p. 447
[1047] Stanley, *Future in the Past* p. 115

Summary

The PMU existed for only five years when the Great War commenced. The War brought an unprecedented challenge to early British Pentecostals in that widespread national military conscription had never been enforced before. The PMU's Anglican leadership were supportive of the War and this polarised them from emerging Pentecostal leaders who suffered as conscientious objectors. The apocalyptic atmosphere of the Great War did not galvanise fresh missionary momentum, if anything it produced more of an introspective ecclesiological response, preparing believers for Christ's return through ability to interpret eschatological signs of the times.

The War affected PMU missionary personnel as for four years they were effectively disconnected from their home base. Missionaries were isolated and unable to return on furlough. PMU recruitment and training was severely disrupted and resulted in a lack of new missionaries to reinforce existing field personnel. During the War the PMU also became disconnected from the CIM, which had a direct bearing on its identity as a non-sectarian faith mission and for missionaries working in China. The War represents a huge setback to the PMU's progress and consequently the PMU was not in a healthy condition to meet fresh challenges and opportunities in the inter-war period. Early British Pentecostal historiographies appear to demonstrate the PMU's decline occurred in the post-war years, however this chapter provides evidence indicating it faltered during the War. This period of the PMU's history is not easily explained by a purely providential approach. However contextualising the PMU's struggles through the War years by a consistent historical roots methodology creates a more sympathetic understanding that the PMU was not unique among missionary agencies in experiencing acute operating difficulties. It can be argued that the affect of the War was a far more significant factor on the development of early British Pentecostalism than the PMU leadership's resistance to embrace a clearer Pentecostal denominational identity.

Chapter 5: Momentum for Pentecostal denominations and amalgamation of the PMU into the British AOG during post war years (1918-1925)

This chapter examines various factors why the PMU was particularly vulnerable to post-war developmental stagnation and identifies triggers leading to its amalgamation into a Pentecostal denomination when it was originally formed as a non-sectarian expression of a Pentecostal faith mission. This investigation avoids a narrow myopic review of the PMU by incorporating a broader assessment of other Pentecostal mission initiatives such as the CEM, the formation of a Dutch Pentecostal mission society and the American AOG's commencement. Later British AOG commentators have focused the discussion regarding the PMU's post-war struggles as a subjective apologetic for the emergence of the AOG. This thesis provides a more reflective historiography that encompasses a composite assessment of the PMU.

5.1 Stagnation of the PMU's growth

This first section establishes evidence for the PMU's difficulties and the specific nature of post-war issues discovered in the PMU archives.

5.1.1. Economic factors

The economic cost of the global conflict was immense. The British public carried the fiscal burden of it for a long period afterwards. The sizeable government expenditure was financed through increased taxation by a factor of nearly six and also through government borrowing which had an inflationary effect on the British economy. Sterling's purchasing power dropped by 66% of its pre-war value. The War debt was prolonged by the need to pay pensions and benefits to widows and servicemen. Unemployment rose dramatically to over two million in the early part of the 1920's. Britain was a nation beset by post-war disillusionment.[1048]

[1048] Kay, *Inside Story* pp. 63-64

It is over simplistic to state the PMU's growth stagnated in the early 1920's. There is an obvious cause to many of the difficulties encountered by the PMU through the War's effects. The PMU struggles are indicated by the closure of the women's training home in 1922 due to lack of finances and other pressing issues at the time.[1049] Ernest Moser's treasurer's report in 1922 indicates serious financial implications facing the PMU because decreasing local church support was undermining the viability of sending out new missionaries. He attributed PMU financial difficulties to Pentecostal churches distributing their missionary support with other societies beyond the PMU not just as a general economic consequence.[1050] However the PMU was not alone in striving to sustain growth in this period. Stanley refers to a decline, which appears to have affected most of the denominational mission societies in the inter-war years.[1051] Fiedler states the 1920's were financially difficult for all missions because the War eroded the economic base for mission support.[1052] Even the CIM, that increased its annual income from £156,217 in 1919 to £184,116 in 1920, came under financial pressure. The 1920 CIM annual report highlighted the problem of exchange rate losses reaching their worst point eradicating the benefit of any income increase. The CIM addressed the problem through personal sacrifice, deferring expenditure and delaying missionary furloughs.[1053] Broomhall explains the problem related to increased costs of silver where in 1915 £1,000 realised 8,590 Chinese ounces of silver whereas in 1920 £1,000 only realised 3,112 Chinese ounces of silver.[1054] In 1921 the American AOG missionary treasurer reported they had not escaped the worldwide financial problems when mission giving decreased to the point where funds were inadequate to meet the needs of field missionaries.[1055]

[1049] Malcomson, *Pentecostal Pioneers* p. 185
[1050] PMU minutes, minute no. 12 (27th March 1922)
[1051] Stanley, *Bible and the Flag* p. 84
[1052] Fiedler, *Faith Missions* p. 84
[1053] *The Times*, 'China Inland Mission Annual Report' (20th August 1921)
[1054] Broomhall, *Love Compelled* p. 80
[1055] US AOG General Council minutes, 'Report of the Missionary Treasurer for Year Ending September 1st 1921' pp. 44-50

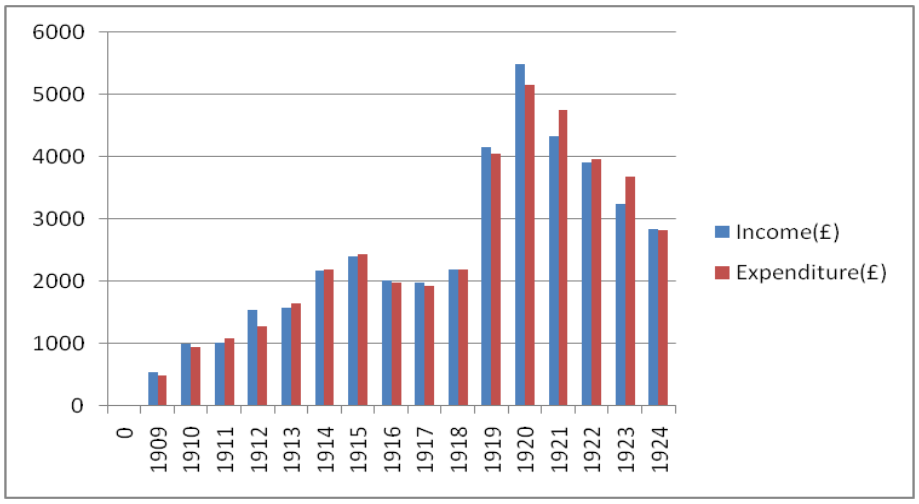

Fig.1 PMU Income & Expenses (1909-1924)

The graph (Fig. 1)[1056] shows steady growth of both income and expenditure for the PMU up to 1915. The years 1916-1918 show a slight drop and levelling off of both income and expenditure due to the War. This did not cause problems for missionary allowances during the War, as training and passage expenses were lower from 1916. The men's training home closed and movement of missionaries was restricted. Initially after the War both income and expenses increased, with income keeping pace with the renewed activity of training and sending new missionaries and need to bring existing missionaries home on furlough. The years 1921-1923 were particularly difficult with PMU expenses being greater than income levels and represented a decline in both levels of income and expenses from the high of 1920. By 1924 the PMU managed to balance its budget but only at the cost of sacrificing its training programme. The next graph (Fig. 2) shows the PMU managed to maintain missionary allowances at a similar level after the War but this does not account for inflationary pressures or variable foreign exchange rates. Passage expenses were higher in the post-war period largely due to the need of bringing missionaries home on furlough leave.

[1056] The figures are based on PMU annual audited accounts.

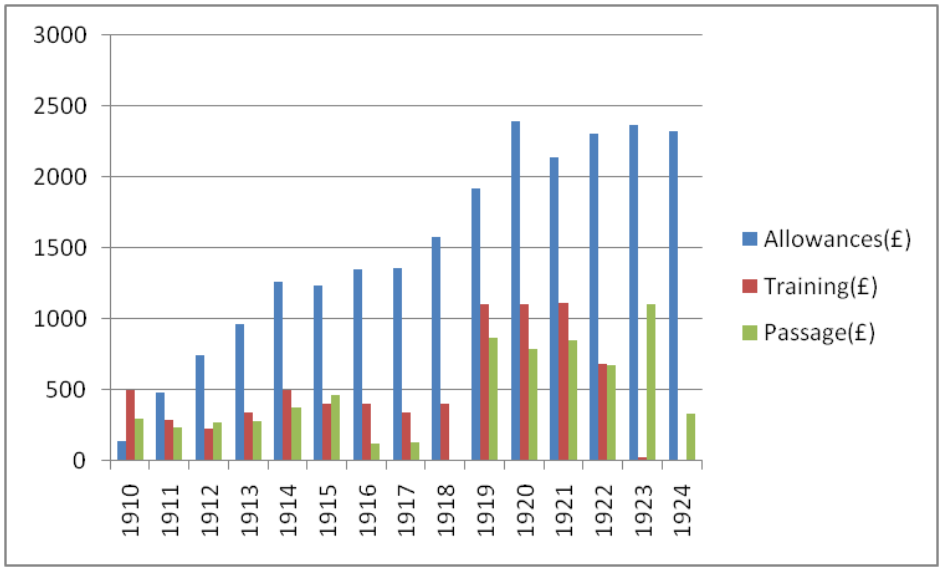

Fig. 2 PMU Expenses breakdown into costs of Missionary Allowances, Passage & Training (1910-1924)

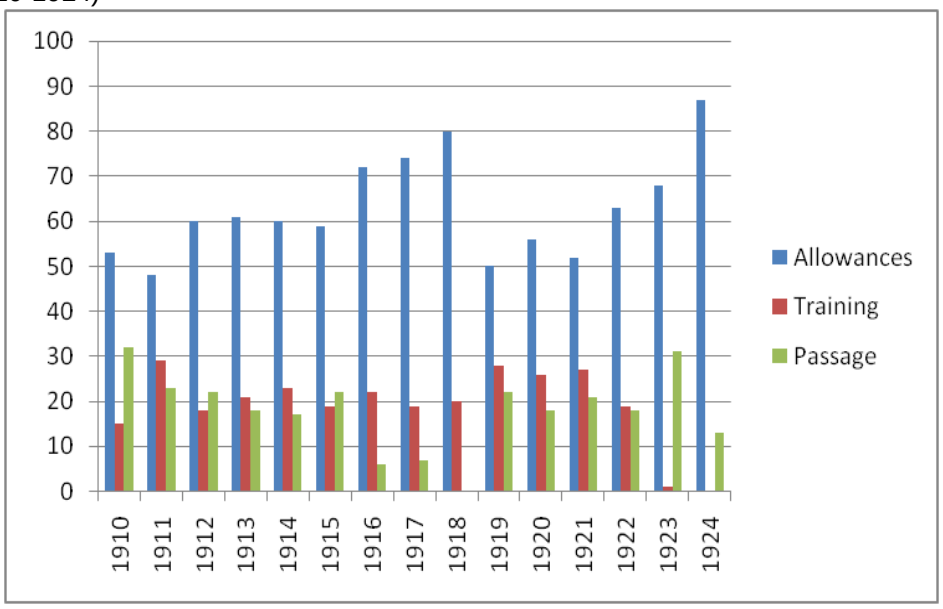

Fig. 3 Breakdown of PMU Expenses as % of costs between 3 main items

This graph shows missionary allowances grew as a percentage of the overall PMU costs during the War due to the fall in costs of passage and furlough, as missionary movement was totally restricted. From 1922 to 1924 the missionary allowances grew again as a percentage of the overall PMU budget this time through the necessity of removing all training costs to balance expenditure with falling income.

Titterington provided the PMU council with a comparative analysis of how exchange rates affected values of the allowances received by PMU missionaries in China, Congo and Brazil. The values of respective amounts

remitted to the Congo and Brazil missionaries were considerably higher than those received by missionaries in China. Exchange rates distorted the values of allowances so PMU missionaries in China were no longer receiving sufficient amounts to sustain themselves and employ indigenous workers.[1057] The PMU experienced the difficulty of post-war exchange rates hindering field missionaries' functionality.

Mrs Boyd, in Yunnan, illustrated how much their missionary support had dropped in real terms through post-war sterling devaluation. In 1919 she stated a sovereign[1058] was only worth five dollars whereas prior to the War its value was 12 dollars. It directly affected the mobility of PMU missionaries, as they were forced to become more static and less able to visit outstations.[1059] The poor sterling exchange rate combined with doubled train fares in China meant missionaries were limited in their capacity to travel.[1060] PMU field superintendent Swift stated maintenance of previous levels of missionary support was no longer viable due to the affect of detrimental exchange rates. He forecasted a future of curtailing new missionary activity and lower standards in the way missionaries operated on the field, unless levels of monthly support increased.[1061] The PMU struggled to retain its indigenous workers, who looked for other employment because missionaries could no longer pay them. In 1919 detrimental exchange rates pushed the cost of employing native workers in China up to 30 shillings a month. PMU missionaries were concerned at losing their best native evangelists and believed support of indigenous workers should be a priority for British churches.[1062]

After consulting Cook during her furlough, the PMU decided all missionaries would receive a monthly remittance of $50 whatever the exchange rate. Moser argued that although it previously appeared PMU missionaries in the Congo and Brazil were better off than missionaries in China, there were other

[1057] PMU minutes, minute no. 12 (12th January 1923)
[1058] A sovereign was a gold coin nominally worth £1 and there used to be 20 shillings in a £.
[1059] Boddy (ed), 'The Pentecostal Missionary Union' *Confidence* Vol. 12.1 (January-March 1919) p. 14
[1060] Boddy (ed), 'The Pentecostal Missionary Union' *Confidence* Vol. 12.2 (April-June 1919) p. 34
[1061] Boddy (ed), 'The Pentecostal Missionary Union' *Confidence* Vol. 12.1 (January-March 1919) p. 12
[1062] Boddy (ed), 'The Pentecostal Missionary Union' *Confidence* Vol. 12.1 (January-March 1919) p. 15

factors to consider. The Congo missionaries sent to London for their supplies and travel costs were far higher than those in China.[1063]

Multiple contributory factors impacted the PMU's financial viability in the early 1920's. These factors can be identified within various PMU source documents. The 1910 Sunderland conference offering amounted to £188 and 12 shillings and jewellery was sold for £11 and 10 shillings giving a combined total of £200 and two shillings.[1064] In 1910 the total PMU income was £990 and nine shillings, which meant Sunderland contributed over 20% of the total PMU annual income that year.[1065] After the War the Pentecostal conferences at Sunderland were not recommenced, also Wigglesworth no longer held Easter conventions at Bradford when the focus of his ministry moved overseas after his fallout with Polhill and resignation from the PMU.[1066] Polhill's London Whitsuntide conference continued but no longer attracted the same attendance and was perceived as not being sufficiently 'Pentecostal' in its tone.[1067] In 1924 the venue for PMU meetings changed from Sion College to Fetter Lane reducing both attendance and offerings by 50%.[1068] The lack of significant Pentecostal conferences during the inter-war period was a loss to the PMU of one of its main opportunities to promote its work and develop its support base. Hocken attributes the PMU's decreasing financial support to the widening gap between the Pentecostal assemblies and PMU leadership.[1069]

The serious inter-war economic situation brought pressure on global financial institutions, which had implications for missionary organisations switching amounts of currency to accounts in other parts of the world. The PMU lost financial reserves for the China mission field held in the French owned 'Banque Industrielle de L' Indo China' when the bank went into liquidation

[1063] PMU minutes, minute no. 6 (23rd January 1923)
[1064] Boddy (ed), 'PMU' *Confidence* Vol. 3.7 (July 1910) p. 172
[1065] Boddy (ed), 'PMU annual accounts' *Confidence* Vol. 4.6 (June 1911) p. 143
[1066] PMU Council minutes, minute No. 2 (16th November 1920)
[1067] PMU archives, correspondence to Glassby (28th April 1924)
[1068] PMU archives, correspondence to Polhill (4th April 1924)
[1069] Hocken, *Polhill* p. 136

after it failed to meet its liabilities.[1070] The PMU account losses when this bank closed were $1500 (worth approximately £200 at that time) of which included $200 of funds held on behalf of an independent mission.[1071] Polhill personally intervened with a financial gift to ensure missionaries did not suffer as a result of the bank's failure.[1072] At the financial year-end 1923/1924 the PMU treasurer reported income generated through collecting boxes had increased but there had been overall decline through subscriptions and donations. Even during the difficult economic climate the PMU still sent out five new missionaries in 1923 and facilitated furloughs for Boyd, Biggs, Richardsons and Leighs.[1073]

5.1.2. Personnel factors

This section explores personnel issues such as missionary retention and furlough from the mission field to assess why these became more acute difficulties in the post-war period. After the War the PMU needed to bring home many fatigued missionary personnel.[1074] Travel became more expensive and increasingly difficult, so transportation of missionaries back on furlough and sending out new missionaries created extra financial expense additional to the need for covering regular missionary support. The expedient removal of missionaries on furlough meant experienced missionaries who knew the language and culture were not there to give field leadership to new missionaries and team development. The backlog of missionaries needing furlough after the War not only had financial implications but also disrupted development of new missionary enterprise. New missionaries could not be expected to pick up the nature and level of work previously undertaken by experienced missionaries. Jessie Biggs regarded shortage of experienced field personnel limited their ability to respond to calls for help in Yunnan

[1070] PMU archives, correspondence to Moser (22nd September 1921)
[1071] PMU archives, correspondence to Polhill (22nd September 1921)
[1072] PMU minutes, minute no. 4 (27th April 1923). At the end of 1925 Wood wrote to the amalgamated PMU/AOG council that some restitution had been made for the debt incurred by the failed bank in the form of gold bonds. PMU minutes, minute no. 5 (25th November1925)
[1073] Boddy (ed), 'The Pentecostal Missionary Union' *Confidence* No. 137 (April-June 1924) p. 133
[1074] Boddy (ed), 'The Pentecostal Missionary Union' *Confidence* Vol. 12.4 (October-December 1919) p. 63

settlements. She depicted their inability to respond as a source of concern, especially as others perceived that inactivity implied indifference.[1075]

When PMU missionaries returned on furlough they were expected to visit British churches to revive flagging interest and support for the PMU. The inter-war period was a time of industrial strikes disrupting missionary furloughs. Local churches no longer held missionary meetings due to high levels of unemployment and poverty lowering their capacity to give to overseas missions. In April 1921 several missionary deputations were affected because of railway and miners strikes. Scharten, who expected to come from Amsterdam, was informed to delay her visit to Britain.[1076] Similarly Leigh remained in Bury, as the 1924 railway strike affected his itinerary.[1077]

Another major issue facing the PMU was missionary field personnel retention. If the PMU had not experienced such a high turnover of missionaries then it could have grown significantly. Whether the PMU could financially support such field personnel growth post-war is highly debatable, as it struggled to sustain its support of existing missionaries in that period. Anderson highlights the attrition rate problem within the PMU's history stating: 'There was a high fall-out of missionaries; many died on the field from diseases, but others disappear from the pages of the newsletters without explanation.'[1078] Certainly some of the PMU attrition rate can be attributed to key missionaries feeling undervalued and restricted by the tight controls of the home-based leadership. Kok resigned from the PMU in 1918 because he lost confidence in the PMU management.[1079] Similarly Swift resigned, citing his reason that the PMU leadership did not satisfactorily deal with important correspondence.[1080]

[1075] Boddy (ed), 'Pentecostal Missionary Union' *Confidence* No.124 (January-March 1921) p. 15
[1076] PMU archives, correspondence to Scharten (19th April 1921)
[1077] PMU archives, correspondence to Moser (21st January 1924)
[1078] Anderson, *Christian Missionaries and Heathen*
[1079] Kok, *'Letter to Mundell'* (13th May 1919)
[1080] PMU archives, correspondence from Swift to Polhill (26th January 1918)

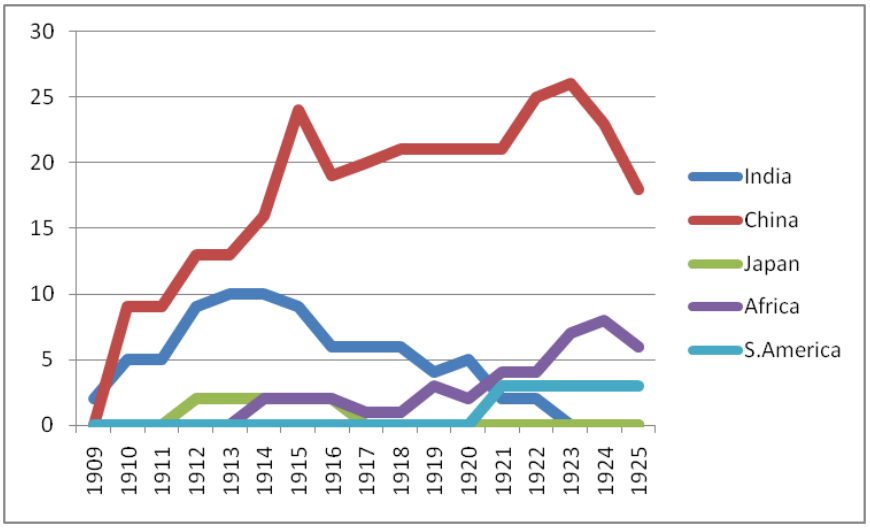

Fig. 4 PMU Field Missionaries (1909-1925)[1081]

The decline in overall numbers of PMU field missionaries started post-1922. Fig. 4 shows some variations in this trend, as numbers of missionaries in India declined during the War and missionaries in the Congo increased post-war up to 1924. The PMU no longer had trained personnel to replace missionaries who were on furlough or left the field for other reasons, as the women's training home had closed and the men's training home came under Carter's independent jurisdiction. PMU correspondence clarifies the PMU decided against sending new missionaries following the closure of their training homes, except if prospective missionaries could cover their own expenses.[1082] In correspondence to Carter, Mundell grieved over the PMU's enforced closure of the men's training home due to the dire financial position. It was projected this measure would save the PMU £1000 p.a.[1083] Mundell believed it was not God's will the PMU could no longer recruit, train and send out new missionaries.[1084] It highlights finances were a decisive restrictive factor on numbers of PMU missionaries. Polhill and Mundell continued to give generously but they could not halt or reverse the overall trend of decline.

The PMU maintained a policy of missionaries returning to the UK every eight years, extended to ten years if missionaries were healthy.[1085] Missionaries experienced burnout, health problems and general discouragement. Some

[1081] The graph represents both full and associate status field missionaries but does not account for missionaries on furlough.
[1082] PMU archives, correspondence to Orrell (12th September 1923)
[1083] PMU archives, correspondence to Jameson (10th April 1923)
[1084] PMU archives, correspondence to Carter (27th June 1922)
[1085] PMU archives, correspondence to Swift (14th March 1920)

missionaries on furlough challenged PMU policy and attended a council meeting to express their viewpoint. Polhill argued unless missionaries developed serious health issues or were working in extreme conditions they should only require furlough after a minimum of eight years service.[1086] Later this principle was modified in line with the missionaries' proposal to a minimum of seven years service.[1087] Mundell proposed that the PMU remove the timeframe clause from its furlough policy. He believed each missionary and their context required individual consideration as missionaries were different in their physical constitution and also some missionaries could find respite from adverse climatic conditions on the field without the need for home furlough.[1088]

The India mission field suffered the worst impact of missionary attrition. The PMU had ten missionaries active at the beginning of the War, which declined to only two new missionaries on the field afterwards. The attrition rate on the India field relates to several facts: Firstly missionaries were widely dispersed throughout the sub-continent and this did not allow for mission field team development. Secondly missionaries lacked field supervision so when problems arose the missionaries took individual action creating tensions with the PMU council. Thirdly some were missionaries who transferred their previous missionary experience to working with the PMU. They had not been primarily trained by the PMU and perhaps had not imbibed the PMU's missionary ethos and praxis. This lack of inherent identity with the PMU's operating culture could account for some missionaries being less willing to work co-operatively with the PMU.

This thesis proposes another factor be considered regarding the causality of difficulties the PMU encountered in India. Largely the PMU implemented faith mission principles primarily focused on evangelism and church planting to the exclusion of social ministries. Yet in India the Pentecostal revival of the Mukti Mission and its offshoots such as Norton's ministry largely outworked and

[1086] PMU minutes, minute no. 5 (23rd January 1923)
[1087] PMU minutes, minute no. 2 (5th September 1923)
[1088] PMU archives, correspondence to Moser (19th May 1924)

defined its mission through social action[1089] and it was to this type of ministries the early PMU missionaries were sent. PMU missionaries were being orientated in ministries operating on a different basis fundamentally contradicting PMU missionary principles. This must have created a missiological identity crisis for PMU missionaries serving in India. It is very likely this lay behind some of the misunderstandings between the PMU council and its field personnel. PMU minutes frequently refer to concerns at the unsatisfactory nature of the work of some of its female missionaries. Yet the women would not experience many preaching opportunities in the Indian culture and so social ministry was the most obvious way for them to reach out to the community around them. Unfortunately the criticisms levelled at the PMU missionaries in India mentioned in minutes and correspondence are generalised. However it must have been very difficult for female missionaries to break out from the mission ethos they had been orientated in and commence new independent PMU initiatives reflecting a contrary mission methodology inherited from praxis developed in a Chinese cultural context.

The PMU India field's demise happened during the War years and restrictions encountered through the War meant the PMU were powerless to retrieve it. After the War the PMU hoped through an amended strategy of focusing resources at a single mission station, the appointment of Boyce as field superintendent and deployment of new missionaries the work in India could be revived.[1090] Boyce was worn out by the loss of his first wife and the extensive evangelism he poured himself into after her death. Boyce was emotionally low and felt isolated. He compared how other missions in India successfully opened schools and orphanages with his own lack of financial and personnel resources to do anything significant.[1091] When Boyce remarried he transferred to another missionary society. His resignation thwarted any remaining PMU intentions to develop the India mission field and left the PMU with problems as to the deployment of new missionaries already trained for

[1089] Burgess, Stanley, 'Pentecostalism in India: An Overview: An Overview' *AJPS* Vol. 4.1 (2001) p. 88 and Anderson, *Spreading Fires* pp. 80-81
[1090] PMU archives, correspondence to Polhill (11th February 1920)
[1091] Boddy (ed), 'The Pentecostal Missionary Union' *Confidence* Vol. 12.4 (October-December 1919) pp. 64-65

India. At the end of 1923 Polhill went to Bombay to attend a special mission conference to seek fresh opportunities to work with European and Indian organisations, particularly as India afforded another potential opening into closed areas of Tibet.[1092] By 1932 the British AOG revived the India mission field with 14 resident missionaries.[1093]

This section on personnel explains that the PMU came under increasing pressure from many factors detrimentally undermining the effectiveness of its missionary field workers. The increasing low morale of the PMU personnel and failure to retain experienced missionaries was a decisive factor in stalling the PMU's momentum after the War. The PMU's personnel issues were symptomatic of an organisation that no longer had sufficient capacity for resilience to manage setbacks.

5.1.3. Leadership factors

The PMU had difficulties in various areas of its leadership, appointment of field superintendents, training home superintendents and its council composition.

Although some PMU missionaries in China resigned, the PMU were able to retain sufficient missionary experience there to consolidate the field and even develop new outstations. The PMU never appointed field directors but devolved some supervisory responsibility to senior missionaries at various times. Later they went some way towards appointing a field director when Swift[1094] and then Boyd[1095] were designated as field superintendent at Yunnan-fu with limited responsibilities for deployment of field personnel. This enabled a sense of team to be built where work among missionaries was co-ordinated and mission outstations were not neglected. There was an accountability and support network built up between missionaries. Missionaries were not left for long seasons in isolation at a mission station, as

[1092] Boddy (ed), 'The Pentecostal Missionary Union' *Confidence* No. 135 (October-December 1923) p. 110
[1093] Gee, *Uttermost Part* p. 16
[1094] Boddy (ed), 'The Pentecostal Missionary Union' *Confidence* Vol. 12.1 (January-February 1919) p. 12
[1095] PMU archives, correspondence to Boyd (3rd November 1920)

they were carefully deployed in rotation to avoid that. This was possible because of the model used to develop two main mission stations at Yunnan-fu and Likiang-fu in China where missionaries could then outreach into other places. It also allowed for new missionaries to be helped and supported by others until they acquired enough language and cross-cultural principles to be confident enough to go out with other missionaries or indigenous workers to new areas.

The role of field superintendent was a fairly new one for the PMU. The PMU council maintained a good relationship with the Swifts and Boyds to resolve teething issues and bring clarity in the demarcation of the role of field superintendent. When Lizzie Williams was home on furlough with her sister Maggie Trevitt, they requested the PMU council allocate them to a fixed mission station where their potential health problems would be lessened due to the nature of the accommodation and local climate. Apparently Mrs Williams suffered from being based at the Amicheo outstation. The PMU council initially refused to get involved in what they deemed a field superintendent's prerogative to deploy personnel where he saw fit. However the PMU realised these women were close to breaking point following a long time on the field that included the stress of being widowed and suffering illness. The PMU chose to send an informal recommendation to Boyd rather than precipitate any resignations.[1096]

In 1921 the PMU commended Boyd for initiating a Yunnan PMU field workers conference. Nevertheless he was instructed to limit business aspects of this conference and keep its focus for encouragement and spiritual input. He was cautioned any group of PMU field missionaries holding a business conference would not be officially recognised by the PMU. The PMU only recognised the authority of the superintendent to make day-to-day decisions on the field. Mrs Boyd made the following suggestions as operating procedures for new missionaries in Yunnan: firstly, each new missionary after a stay in the capital for six months would be placed with an experienced missionary at one of the

[1096] PMU archives, correspondence to Williams (7th July 1921)

outstations but not as a full active worker rather to continue language studies for a while; secondly, a resident missionary was essential for the undertaking of tribal work. The PMU endorsed these recommendations.[1097]

After Boyd's wife died and he took furlough in the UK, the role of superintendent was temporarily delegated to Leigh. In 1923 the PMU sent Mrs Trevitt back to China to work at Yunnan-fu, which was viewed as both helpful to her re-integration and also as practical support to the acting superintendent. The problem was Leigh made his own arrangements with Douglas Williams to help him while Boyd and Cook were on furlough and the PMU council failed to communicate with him. The PMU council accepted its part in creating this confusion and resolved to communicate in future with the acting superintendent when it received proposals from missionaries respecting their deployment and duties.[1098] The PMU also received a letter from China field based missionaries raising concerns that the superintendent seemed to have full control over them without any scope for consultation. They requested senior missionaries have opportunity to nominate candidates as superintendents to the PMU council in the event of a vacancy. The PMU instructed in important matters the superintendent should consult with senior missionaries before making a decision. They accepted senior missionaries could make recommendations to the PMU council for consideration of suitable candidates for superintendent.[1099] This issue of devolved leadership to field superintendents for the PMU in the China field were part of the PMU's pre-war goals and were implemented probably too late to affect the decline that impacted the PMU's overall effectiveness.

The PMU developed two new mission fields after the War: the Kalembe field in Central Africa and the Amazon region in Brazil. The Kalembe field was the more successful of the two new ventures because it developed on the same principles as in the China field, where a mission station and a missionary team working out of it was established. The Amazon region was a brave new

[1097] PMU archives, correspondence to Boyd (23rd September 1921)
[1098] PMU minutes, minute no. 8 (27th July 1923)
[1099] PMU minutes, minute no. 6 (29th February 1924)

attempt for British Pentecostals to commence pioneering in a region not historically connected with Evangelical mission work. In 1932 Gee described the work in the Matto Grosso as heroic but unsuccessful. Nevertheless, former PMU missionary, Lily Johnson was still working for the British AOG at Pernambuço in Brazil.[1100] These factors demonstrate the PMU's willingness to initiate new enterprises even in the post-war period.

The PMU's stagnation was not through lack of intent and vision but rather through shortages of financial support and training resources to send new missionaries to further develop existing opportunities. In 1923 Williams portrayed the strategic vision was still in place to expand the work of each outstation in Yunnan when he wrote: 'Most of our stations are centres from which to extend out, each station commanding a district in itself, so we really need more than one worker to cope with the need at each station.' He also stated the Amicheo station was no longer operative, as they had no workers or funds to run it, even though it was a significant centre from which to reach tribal groups.[1101]

Another contributing factor was the PMU council composition that determined the PMU's vision and missionary operations. Tension between Anglican elements of the PMU and Pentecostal members was never far from the surface. This perception of discord between factions on the PMU council began even during the War years but increased after the War. Back in 1915 PMU student Harold Webster protested it was against his conscience to follow the PMU's instruction all students should attend an Anglican church every Sunday. This clash occurred after the PMU moved its men's training facility from Preston to London.[1102] Mundell defended the policy by stating this church was the only evangelistic option close to the training home.[1103] The PMU instructed Webster to comply by attending the local Anglican church,[1104] although they suggested a Pentecostal meeting could be held in the vicinity of

[1100] Gee, *Uttermost Part* p. 20
[1101] Boddy (ed), 'Pentecostal Missionary Union' *Confidence* No. 132 (January-March 1923) p. 76
[1102] PMU minutes, minute no. 1 (22nd February 1915)
[1103] PMU archives, correspondence to Myerscough (27th February 1915)
[1104] PMU minutes, minute no. 1 (3rd May 1915)

the training home.[1105] Myerscough, Sandwith and Breeze regarded this issue as indicative of Anglican bias within the PMU.[1106] These issues created and reinforced perceptions the PMU leadership was no longer in touch with its home base support of predominantly independent Pentecostal churches. A few months later, following student complaints, the PMU relaxed this rule. Although students were expected to regularly attend a church every Sunday morning they were free to select it themselves.[1107]

Gee highlighted the PMU council's composition as not representing mission interests of either independent Pentecostal assemblies or missionaries who had been sent out and were supported from these Pentecostal local churches. Gee critically concluded the PMU had so impaired its Pentecostal character in the post-war period, in terms of its council composition, that he attributed it directly to lower levels of financial support. Gee asserted that British Pentecostals had acquired a greater level of self-consciousness and were willing to vocalise their discontent towards anything they regarded as a weakening of Pentecostal values. Gee was a prominent apologist for the British AOG's dogma that glossolalia is the initial evidence of baptism in the Spirit[1108] and the perception that the PMU leadership was increasingly less than convincing on advocating such a Pentecostal distinctive would no doubt influence his judgement on their legacy. There was increased concern that British Pentecostal foreign missionary interests needed a collective leadership to demonstrate vitality and vision more in keeping with the Spirit's empowerment.[1109] Gee has been an influential voice both in British and Global Pentecostalism, widely regarded as a statesman figure[1110] and referred to as the 'apostle of balance'[1111] for his avoidance of extreme views and particularly in seeking to understand the role of Pentecostalism within a broader ecclesiology and supporting the charismatic renewal within traditional

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[1105] PMU minutes, minute no. 1 (29th March 1915)
[1106] PMU archives, Resignation letter of Breeze, Sandwith and Myerscough to Mundell (20th May 1915)
[1107] PMU minutes, minute no. 4 (20th July 1915)
[1108] Kay, *Pentecostals in Britain* p. 59
[1109] Gee, *Pentecostal Movement* pp. 126-127
[1110] Carter, John, *Pentecostal Statesman* (Springfield, AOG, 1975)
[1111] Malcomson, *Pentecostal Pioneers* p. 343

denominations in the middle of the twentieth century.[1112] Kay describes Gee as 'the best historian of the Pentecostal movement in Britain in the first half of the twentieth century'.[1113] So it is unsurprising that his views regarding the PMU and its leadership have been influential. Although Gee personally knew Boddy and Polhill, it would be when their leadership was waning post-war. His commentaries on British Pentecostalism were written later when the AOG was well established and Pentecostal perspectives had taken on a greater degree of denominational dogma.

Blumhofer argued Boddy and Polhill's status as socially respected Anglicans meant they did not represent the majority of British Pentecostals.[1114] There is evidence of elements within the PMU council itself starting to express doubts whether original leaders such as Boddy had compromised classic Pentecostal doctrine. Moser, PMU treasurer, criticised Boddy's ambiguity on Pentecostalism, even commenting 'if the paid clergyman makes a compromise between the truth of Pentecost and his church he will sooner or later relinquish the truth.'[1115] Moser believed because Boddy originally signed papers indicating his accord with the PMU position on Spirit-baptism, he was duplicitous in weakening the importance of glossolalia. Moser's letter specifies Boddy resigned from the PMU on the grounds that he disagreed with the PMU doctrinal position respecting Spirit-baptism.[1116] According to Malcomson Moser 'stood uncompromisingly for Pentecostal truth' and this placed Moser in opposition to PMU Anglican members.[1117] In 1921 Mundell wrote to Boddy relieved that he had withdrawn his resignation from the PMU. Boddy indicated his resignation was linked to the PMU altering its doctrinal position that glossolalia was a chief sign of Spirit-baptism. However Mundell challenged the validity of Boddy's claim by quoting the doctrinal statement from 5th December 1916 minutes to demonstrate the consistency of the PMU position.[1118]

[1112] Kay, *Pentecostals in Britain* p. 192
[1113] *Ibid.*, p. 13
[1114] Blumhofer, *Boddy*, p. 33
[1115] PMU archives, correspondence from Moser to Mundell (18th November 1921)
[1116] PMU archives, correspondence from Moser to Mundell (17th November 1920)
[1117] Keith Malcomson, *Pentecostal Pioneers Remembered* (Longwood, Xulon, 2008) pp. 154-155
[1118] PMU archives, correspondence to Boddy (16th February 1921)

The PMU council comprised aging members who no longer had the health or energy to pour into the PMU's future development. Through the 1920's many council members were unable to regularly attend PMU meetings through health issues or finances not being available for their travel expenses to London. Council members like Andrew Murdoch, John Leech and Myerscough had become involved in other Pentecostal organisations such as the Apostolic Faith, Elim or CEM. Other council members resigned through conflict, such as Wigglesworth, who actively contributed to the distinctive Pentecostal and faith elements of the PMU. Boddy's attendance of the PMU council meetings, after his move from Sunderland to Pittington, lessened. Polhill was frequently absent from PMU meetings because of extensive trips to India and China.

Wigglesworth was a plumber from Bradford, who was filled with the Spirit and spoke in tongues at the Sunderland convention of October 1907. He became widely known as a Pentecostal healing evangelist and remains an immense hero of faith among Pentecostals today. Wigglesworth was a member of the PMU council from 1915 until 1920. In 1920 Polhill requested Wigglesworth to resign from the PMU and abstain from public ministry for a certain period. This occurred after Polhill received documents accusing Wigglesworth of impropriety. Wigglesworth had been a widower for seven years and developed a friendship with a woman called Mrs Amphlett. She and another woman wrote a complaint about Wigglesworth after he spoke of the spiritual affinity he felt towards her. In October 1918 Wigglesworth submitted to meet at Bradford with three elders. They dismissed the charges against him believing that the two women were motivated to damage his ministry. In 1921 Wigglesworth wrote that one of his accusers subsequently admitted that she had been wrong.[1119]

Wigglesworth made Polhill aware of the incident and repented of his folly that placed him in this vulnerable position. Polhill decided to involve PMU council members in a further meeting to discuss the matter. Wigglesworth maintained

[1119] PMU archives, correspondence from Wigglesworth to Mundell (Bradford, 29th December 1921)

that he had not committed any sin of adultery or fornication. He perceived that Polhill was siding with his accusers in pursuing a further investigation. Wigglesworth stated Polhill was not the strong character he had previously esteemed him to be, implying that Polhill was under pressure to take further action.[1120] Wigglesworth was unwilling to meet with the PMU council, which conveyed defensiveness and created an impasse. Wigglesworth offered to meet up with Polhill but only in private.[1121]

Wigglesworth regarded that the accusation against him had already been dealt with in a Scriptural manner but submitted his resignation in writing to Mundell. Wigglesworth maintained that Polhill had overstepped the true nature of what had occurred. Wigglesworth also regarded some members of the PMU council, namely Crisp and Titterington, opposed him.[1122] Polhill had received written accusations against one of his council members, so he could not dismiss it as just a Bradford local church issue. If he ignored this matter then there was the potential that a very public scandal would ensue that could destroy Wigglesworth's ministry and also damage the PMU. Polhill sought to contain the situation by confronting Wigglesworth and safeguarding his ministry. Cartwright's research concludes that Wigglesworth's fallibility is revealed but also a measure of his humility to recover after his stumble.[1123] Polhill protected Wigglesworth during the PMU council's discussion of his resignation by restricting comments to a bare minimum.[1124] Polhill stated Wigglesworth would continue to act in the same friendly manner as before to the PMU.[1125] Mundell reassured Wigglesworth that no particulars were given by Polhill to the council and his resignation was therefore accepted without further investigation.[1126]

[1120] PMU archives, correspondence from Wigglesworth to Mundell (Bradford, 18th October 1920)
[1121] PMU archives, correspondence from Wigglesworth to Polhill (Bradford, 21st October 1920)
[1122] PMU archives, correspondence from Wigglesworth to Mundell (Bradford, 21st October 1920). Crisp and Titterington were alienated against Wigglesworth due to his friendship of Hollis who he endorsed to take Titterington's role in the men's training home.
[1123] Cartwright, Desmond W., 'The Real Wigglesworth' *JEPTA* Vol. 17 (1997) p. 92
[1124] PMU archives, correspondence from Polhill to Mundell (15th November 1920)
[1125] PMU minutes, minute No. 2 (16th November 1920)
[1126] PMU archives, correspondence to Wigglesworth (22nd November 1920)

Wigglesworth still donated substantial funds to the PMU from ministry gifts received on his overseas travels after his resignation. Even two years later Mundell tried to broker reconciliation between Polhill and Wigglesworth but it proved difficult, as Wigglesworth was overseas for long periods.[1127] However there is further correspondence between Wigglesworth and Mundell demonstrating that he softened in his attitude towards Polhill. Wigglesworth broke his vow never to write to Polhill by writing to welcome him home after a missionary trip.[1128] One key outcome from this situation was that Wigglesworth concentrated on overseas ministry with the PMU issuing ministry certificates for Wigglesworth to enable travel permits for his ministry.[1129] However it shows the difficulty for the PMU seeking to operate as a moral guardian of early Pentecostalism in the absence of an overseeing denominational structure. The PMU sought to protect itself from a potential scandal by operating above the authority of the local church leadership at Bradford, which in itself would be controversial to early Pentecostals if they had been aware of this. Polhill's desire to protect whether it was genuinely on behalf of Wigglesworth or the PMU meant that for ordinary working class Pentecostals one of their heroes was no longer part of the PMU. This unexplained departure of Wigglesworth from the PMU would create an impression that it was less representative of working class Pentecostals.

Mundell's 1920's correspondence reflects lower morale among PMU council members grappling with a situation of financial constraint rather than exciting growth and new missionary personnel being sent out. In June 1922 Mundell seemed at his lowest point regarding finances because missionary allowances had been delayed and missionaries would suffer. He was concerned about council member attendance and recruitment of appropriate personnel for the PMU council.[1130] Moser opposed future PMU council appointments from an Anglican background. He commented it was better for the PMU Anglican element to diminish with Boddy's withdrawal. He expressed strong opinions that further Anglican personnel appointments would lose

[1127] PMU archives, correspondence to Wigglesworth (7th July 1923)
[1128] PMU archives, correspondence from Wigglesworth to Mundell (Bradford, 2nd May 1923)
[1129] PMU archives, correspondence to Wigglesworth (16th December 1921)
[1130] PMU archives, correspondence to Polhill (16th June 1922)

support for the PMU.[1131] Polhill unilaterally appointed Robert Middleton, an Anglican vicar, onto the council as vice-president, after a personal interview with Middleton without reference to other PMU council members. Moser was procedurally dissatisfied with this appointment rather than being against Middleton personally.[1132]

> *I should abstain from voting on this question. I agree that Dr M. [Middleton] is a very useful man in all our business matters, but I do think his being prominent in the Church and also coming into more prominence on our council will conduce to estrange more Pentecostal people from the work and support of the P.M.U. the result being that our work will become more difficult to carry on.*[1133]

Moser expressed concerns about Middleton's doctrine of baptismal regeneration that he stated was implicit in his Anglican clerical status, which presumably applied to Boddy also.[1134] These issues are connected to Moser offering his resignation from the PMU as treasurer and council member at the end of 1922.[1135] However Middleton had criticised the Keswick movement after he felt the 1905 convention settled for only 'a partial baptism of the Holy Ghost'. He personally desired a fulfillment of the first Pentecostal blessing.[1136] This seems to indicate Middleton amenability to Pentecostalism.

Some Pentecostal local assembly leaders perceived the PMU had deviated in its doctrine and purpose. In 1921 Pentecostal church leader, Ben Griffiths, criticised the PMU for clinging to historic practice instead of stepping out into what they were called to do.[1137] Mundell retorted the PMU was distinctly called to the purpose of training and sending out Spirit filled missionaries not to establish assemblies. Griffiths accused the PMU of being an end in itself and falling short of God's glory. Mundell conceded the PMU had made mistakes but had been purely motivated in its objectives. Griffiths also referred to false doctrine in the PMU ranks. Mundell rebuffed this charge by

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[1131] PMU archives, correspondence from Moser to Mundell (5th November 1921)
[1132] PMU archives, correspondence from Moser to Mundell (7th June 1922)
[1133] PMU archives, correspondence from Moser to Mundell (4th June 1922)
[1134] PMU minutes, minute no. 12 (7th November 1921)
[1135] PMU minutes, minute no. 2 (26th June 1922)
[1136] Barratt, Thomas, *To Seekers after the Promise of the Father* (Bedford) p. 26
[1137] Gee, *Pentecostal Movement* p. 30 refers to Griffiths as Peniel chapel leader in London, who hosted the first AOG conference in August 1924 but was not part of the new AOG movement. Peniel chapel on Kensington Park Road was a Presbyterian church until 1917 then it became classified as an undenominational church. According to 1911 census Griffiths was born in Wales and his occupation was dairy proprietor.

stating neither the PMU nor the Sion College meetings allowed false doctrine to be promulgated. They had taken appropriate action against erroneous beliefs citing disciplinary measures against two PMU missionaries.[1138]

The emergence of other Pentecostal denominations with differing doctrinal and church governmental views brought challenges to the PMU. Many Welsh Pentecostal churches joined the Apostolic Faith movement and were no longer participating in itineraries or supporting PMU missionaries. Garfield Vale was a prospective PMU missionary and pastor's son from Gorseinon, but when he applied to the Welsh Apostolic churches they were not prepared to support him.[1139] The PMU was deeply concerned Apostolic Faith teaching encouraging directive prophecy, should not infiltrate its ranks. In 1922 two students, Maud Scott and Spencer May, were asked to account for their alleged leaning towards the Apostolic church. At the next PMU meeting the two students were exonerated of any leanings towards it. Scott's home church had joined the Apostolic denomination but she personally had no affinity with it.[1140] Scott's Apostolic church was unwilling to support her under the PMU's auspices so the PMU would not endorse her as a field missionary.[1141]

This narrative highlights that the PMU struggled to manage all the challenges that came its way because its own leadership structure was fragmented and lacked cohesion. The PMU's non-polity preference and its leadership composition never truly represented its constituent local Pentecostal church support base. These tensions of early British Pentecostal identity particularly surfaced in the PMU's leadership because of its failure to keep pace with the changes in British Pentecostalism in the post-war period. Also this narrative exposes the consequences of the PMU's inability to appoint and adequately empower field leadership early enough within its development.

[1138] PMU archives, correspondence to Griffiths (1st March 1921 & 13th October 1921)
[1139] PMU archives, correspondence to Vale, Garfield (3rd April 1922)
[1140] PMU minutes, minute no. 4 (10th July 1922)
[1141] PMU minutes, minute no. 6 (15th August 1922)

5.2 Examination of the Congo Evangelistic Mission (CEM) and its relation to the PMU

This thesis incorporates research into the CEM because PMU student, Burton, who went to Africa as a missionary independently from the PMU, established it specifically as a Congo focused Pentecostal faith mission. The CEM represents a comparative model of early British Pentecostal missions and became a potential rival to the PMU, as scarce resources of personnel and finances were diverted from the same Pentecostal centres that traditionally supported the PMU. The emergence of the CEM during the same period as the PMU's demise is not an unconnected issue. An understanding of the CEM and its development is important if the issues of why the CEM apparently thrived at a time when the PMU struggled when both were early expressions of British Pentecostal missionary organisations reliant on the same support base of local churches. This section explores how a disaffected PMU student successfully launched a brand new Pentecostal mission enterprise in the Congo that started to eclipse the PMU's profile among Pentecostals.

5.2.1. Burton's early years

Burton (1886-1971) had a family missionary heritage with one uncle, a Brethren church planter in Switzerland, and another aunt, who served the CIM for 20 years. Apparently Burton's parents dedicated him to God for work in Africa even before he was born.[1142] When Burton was only six years old, African American evangelist, T.L. Johnson visited and prayed for him to be sent to Africa.[1143] Burton became a Christian while working on the construction of a new tramway in Batley, Yorkshire. He responded after hearing evangelist Dr. Torrey's preaching in London.[1144] Burton's employment took him back to Preston where he joined Myerscough's church. Burton felt indebted to Myerscough's teaching and encouragement. In 1910 Burton was filled with the Spirit and spoke in tongues. The non-denominational church in Preston attracted many Christians who were filled with the Spirit and

[1142] Womersley, *Burton* pp. 21-22
[1143] Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering* p. 2
[1144] *Op cit.*, pp. 25-28

ostracised from other churches. After Burton's Spirit-baptism he became known as the 'Tramp preacher' because he walked round Lancashire and West Yorkshire to preach the gospel.[1145]

Burton was known as a strong unorthodox personality, however Myerscough accepted Burton into the PMU training school at Preston. On 18th June 1911 Myerscough ordained Burton as a church minister and laid hands on him for the purpose of taking the gospel to Africa. The ministry certificate Myerscough signed was from the Preston Christian assembly rather than on behalf of the PMU.[1146] Burton explored different avenues to become a missionary in Africa. He travelled to Liverpool to offer his services to Karl Kumm, the founder of the Sudan Union Mission (SUM). Burton considered going to West Africa but Evangelical missions refused him to work with them in Nigeria because of his forthright adherence to Pentecostal distinctives.[1147] C.T. Studd interviewed Burton at Wigan in October 1912 inviting him to join his Sudan team despite Burton's Pentecostal background, as long as Burton was tolerant towards others. Burton was critical of Studd's preaching and felt he would not be in harmony with Studd's team. Burton chose not to accompany Studd to Africa[1148] preferring to go with Africa Inland Mission (AIM).[1149]

Charles Hurlbert of AIM drafted a legal agreement with the PMU identifying the mission's willingness to accept students from the Preston training home as missionary candidates.[1150] Burton signed a form accepting AIM's doctrinal basis[1151] and AIM accepted him as a candidate along with another Preston student, James McNeill. At the last moment McNeill became engaged and decided against going with Burton to Africa.[1152]

[1145] Womersley, *Burton* pp. 29-30
[1146] *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32
[1147] PMU archives, correspondence from Burton to Mundell (18th December 1912)
[1148] *Op cit.*, p. 33
[1149] PMU archives, correspondence from Burton to Mundell (3rd October & 5th December 1912)
[1150] PMU minutes, minute no. 3 (19th April 1912)
[1151] PMU archives, correspondence from Burton to Mundell (7th November 1912)
[1152] PMU archives, correspondence from Burton to Mundell (11th & 18th November 1912)

In 1913 Polhill approached the Mennonite Kongo Inland Mission (KIM) to ascertain whether Burton and Johnstone could work with them as associate missionaries.[1153] This mission was not Pentecostal but took a neutral stance regarding glossolalia.[1154] Although Burton was willing to accept the KIM doctrinal principles overall,[1155] this period became a catalyst for tensions between Burton and the PMU regarding where he should go. The PMU would not allow a probationary missionary to pioneer a new mission field. They were expected to serve with existing PMU missionaries initially but if as with this case with Burton, there was no existing PMU work, the PMU would place missionary candidates with another missionary society that was tolerant or sympathetic towards Pentecostalism. Burton felt the PMU were overly restricting his options so he issued an ultimatum to the PMU stating, 'Can I be led by what God tells me or by what the PMU propose to plan? If the former then we will proceed as hitherto but if the latter then I must decline.'[1156]

His criticism of the PMU leadership, sent to each PMU council member commenced with a complaint regarding the relocation of the PMU training home to London and the removal of Johnstone from Preston to London to complete his studies. Burton disagreed with Boddy's Anglican paedabaptism[1157] as he advocated total immersion for professing believers. Burton antagonised PMU council members by stating Boddy, regarded as the father of British Pentecostalism, was not 'an elder in the Church of God'.[1158] He also reacted to Polhill's directive leadership of PMU students, which Burton perceived as setting aside God's personal guidance.[1159] Burton disliked organised missions that he felt impinged upon and controlled individual faith[1160] indicating Brethren influences upon his views of ecclesiastical structures and hierarchical clerisy.[1161] Nevertheless Burton had

[1153] PMU minutes, minute no. 10 (25th June 1913)
[1154] PMU archives, correspondence from Alma Döering to Burton (2nd August 1913)
[1155] PMU archives, correspondence from Burton to Mundell (21st August 1913)
[1156] PMU minutes, minute no. 5 (13th October 1913)
[1157] PMU archives, correspondence (16th October 1913)
[1158] PMU archives, correspondence from Burton to Mundell (24th October 1913)
[1159] PMU minutes, minute no. 13 (20th November 1913)
[1160] PMU minutes, minute no. 14 (20th November 1913)
[1161] PMU archives, correspondence from Breeze to Mundell (22nd October 1913)

been willing to go as a missionary with AIM, which involved his agreement with clause five stating:

> *The Missionaries shall recognize and submit to the authority of the General Director of the Mission or his Authorized Deputy in the District where the Missionaries are working on all matters of policy in connection with the Government of the country and the Natives, study of the Native languages, furloughs, marriages and choice of stations.*[1162]

This stipulation was far more rigorous than anything that the PMU included in its principles.

Sandwith, who Garrard terms as Burton's friend,[1163] described Burton as self-willed and that it was difficult to retain confidence in him.[1164] Breeze believed there was a misunderstanding between the Preston students, particularly Burton and Johnstone, who perceived the PMU's role was merely to advise not dictate. However Burton's letter was strongly worded, as Breeze was both 'shocked and grieved'. Breeze wrote, 'it is a most deplorable exhibition and I cannot for a moment think was incited by the Holy Spirit for carrying out the mind and will of the Lord in making such a personal attack upon elders who are worthy of our love and esteem.' Breeze concluded Burton's outburst distressed him 'beyond all expression especially coming from one who been looked upon as the most brilliant, intellectually and spiritually of all the students'.[1165] Womersley, himself a celebrated Pentecostal missionary to the Congo, remarks that at this point even Myerscough could no longer support his son in the faith. This is verified by Breeze's correspondence although Myerscough did feel Burton had some legitimate grievance in the way Johnstone had been ordered to London.[1166] The PMU decided it was unable to send Burton as one of its missionaries.[1167]

Later Burton recalled his encounter and discussion about African missions with a young man in the streets of Preston as decisive to their respective futures.[1168] The young man was Jimmy Salter (1890-1972) another student at

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[1162] PMU archives, agreement between AIM and PMU (3rd December 1912)
[1163] Garrard, *Burton's Early Years* p. 11
[1164] PMU archives, correspondence from Sandwith to Mundell (12th November 1912)
[1165] PMU archives, correspondence from Breeze to Mundell (21st October 1913)
[1166] Womersley, *Burton* pp. 32-33
[1167] PMU minutes, minute no. 2 (10th February 1914)
[1168] Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering* p. 6

the Preston training school. Salter was a different character to Burton both in upbringing and temperament. Salter was an orphan and been disadvantaged in his early life. When the PMU accepted Salter in 1913 as a missionary candidate, it was recommended he attend Bible study and attain greater proficiency in English subjects.[1169] Before Burton resigned from the PMU he requested that the PMU consider sending Salter to accompany him to Africa because he recognised Salter as a man of insight.[1170] Womersley observes that although these men were contrasting individuals, they both recognised God had put them together in a lifelong friendship to serve the African continent.[1171]

5.2.2. Burton's African mission

Burton sailed to Durban on June 5th 1914, just before the outbreak of War. Burton then proceeded by train to Johannesburg staying with a jeweller called Charles Heatley. Heatley had received Spirit-baptism in South Africa under the ministry of American Pentecostal missionary John G. Lake. While Burton acclimatised to Africa, he found many ministry opportunities in South Africa as the Pentecostal experience was spreading and many new churches were being established.[1172]

Burton gained further invaluable missionary experience by spending three months in Basutoland, learning from Mr and Mrs Edward Saunders on their mission station and was impacted by their great missionary vision for all African peoples. Saunders supported Pentecostal missionary outreach from South Africa into East and Central Africa, which later included the CEM. During his time in South Africa Burton demonstrated linguistic ability as he acquired some Sotho, Zulu and Afrikaans.[1173]

By 1913 Congo was opened up as a mission field by AIM and Studd's Heart of Africa Mission, later known as WEC. They entered Congo from the North

[1169] PMU minutes, minute no. 10 (25th January 1913)
[1170] PMU archives, correspondence from Burton to Mundell (19th September 1913)
[1171] Womersley, *Burton* pp. 34-35
[1172] *Ibid.*, pp. 32-37
[1173] *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40

East via Sudan. Burton's intent was to enter Congo from the South and reach Mwanza. Johnstone advised Burton to base any pioneer mission work at Mwanza because it was a strategic vantage point to reach a largely populated area.[1174] Salter requested the PMU release him to go and join Burton in Africa. The PMU informed Salter they could not send him out as an official PMU missionary to work with Burton so it became his choice.[1175]

In June 1915 Salter joined Burton in South Africa. The War delayed Salter from obtaining a British passport so he sailed to South Africa without one. When Salter arrived the authorities allowed him to stay as long as he obtained a passport in Pretoria. Burton and Salter left for Congo with two other Pentecostal missionaries, an American called Joseph Blakeney and George Armstrong, a retired builder. Burton and Salter realised as independents they would not get permission to work in Congo so it was better they went into the country under the nominal cover of the Pentecostal mission. Blakeney and Burton went first as Burton could speak French to gain permission with the government and customs officials. Then Armstrong and Salter joined them as they were permitted to establish a mission station in Mwanza. They took over seven weeks to negotiate 450 miles heading north by train and river steamer. During the trip Armstrong died and a Belgian officer warned Burton that he was risking all their lives with malaria and war torn tribal areas ahead. When the three men arrived at Mulongo, Salter and Blakeney were much weakened through fever. Mr. Zentler, the missionary they were to meet, had left. Zentler was of German nationality and so had been interned by the Belgian authorities at Stanleyville. However Zentler made arrangements for the local chief and his own Christian worker to take care of them. The next day they crossed the Congo River and arrived at Mwanza.[1176] The missionary team was reduced to Burton and Salter when Blakeney told them he was leaving, as he needed medical help back in civilisation. They gave him what funds they had to allow him to reach South Africa. The faith and unity of Burton and Salter's relationship withstood even this setback and eventually they

[1174] Counsell, *Beneath The Clock* p. 61
[1175] PMU minutes, minute no. 9 (19th November 1914)
[1176] Womersley, *Burton* pp. 45-55

established a mission work in Congo resulting in over a 1,000 churches being founded by the CEM during the next 50 years.[1177] After a few months at Mwanza the work was strengthened by the arrival of a group of emancipated slaves from Angola led by a former slave raider called Shalumbo. Shalumbo became the first African evangelist in Burton's mission. Shalumbo came from a district 200 miles north of Mwanza and in 1921 the Johnstones, former PMU missionaries, opened the first mission station in these Bekalebwe villages.[1178]

5.2.3. Formation of the CEM

Initially the mission in Congo was registered as the 'Pentecostal Mission of South and Central Africa' (PMSCA).[1179] Burton and Salter accompanied members of this mission to the Congo of which one had died and another returned home. So by default Burton and Salter were initial field directors until the mission sent out new workers. Womersley records Burton and Salter changed the name of their work in Congo to CEM in 1919.[1180] The real Pentecostal breakthrough for the CEM occurred in 1920 when the Spirit was outpoured on the majority of 160 believers gathered at a special conference. This event was known as the 'Luban Pentecost' and is regarded as a decisive moment in the CEM's work.[1181]

Womersley maintains the CEM organisation was different to other missionary societies, as the work was not directed and controlled by a home council thousands of miles remote from the context and culture. He says the CEM believed that approach was unscriptural and reflects the difference of opinion Burton had with Polhill and the PMU. Womersley states it was the CEM founders, Burton and Salter, who felt missionaries should determine the direction and strategy of the mission.[1182] Counsell links CEM policy to Burton's viewpoint many missions had 'been handicapped by the fact that a home council has had the direction of the work. Men in their armchairs and

[1177] Womersley, *Burton* p. 61
[1178] Burton, *When God Changes a Man* p. 111 tells the story of Shalumbo.
[1179] The PMSCA was commenced in 1910 by the Bethel assembly in Newark, New Jersey, USA
[1180] *Op cit.*, pp. 151-152
[1181] Malcomson, *Pentecostal Pioneers* p. 237
[1182] *Op cit.*, p. 155

their offices have dared to direct the operations of a mission, in a field, which they have never seen and under conditions of which they know nothing.'[1183]

Burton's negative views expressed towards Polhill and the PMU were not equivalent to attitudes some early American Pentecostals had towards accommodating organisation in a pneumatological understanding of missions. Before Burton went to the Congo he still approached non-Pentecostal missionary societies to seek to work with them. Burton himself set up the CEM missionary society, which meant he expected other missionaries to conform to a Pentecostal missionary structure. When Burton went to Africa and realised the challenges of working in a cross-cultural context he understood the importance of a strong home base support. As Burton faced the enormity of the task and isolation of the mission field, he chose to develop a field missionary led organisational structure to progress the Congo work.

The CEM established a home mission executive but this was primarily for motivating interest and support in the home churches, recruitment of candidates, channelling finances to the mission and developing comity with other groups. When the work in the Congo formally separated from the PMSCA Burton requested Salter, who was in England during 1919, to form the CEM in Britain. Salter promoted the vision for the Congo mission at the London Kingsway Hall conference, establishing it as a key missionary pioneer enterprise amongst early Pentecostals. Salter recruited important Pentecostal leaders at that conference to form the CEM council for the purpose of being a reference and advisory committee. Myerscough was a logical member as he was both Burton and Salter's spiritual mentor at Preston. Joseph Walshaw, a Halifax solicitor, was named CEM president. Other members were Parr, Moser and Jeffreys. Womersley states British Pentecostal churches embraced the CEM because of its successful accomplishments. When the Burtons returned to the mission field in 1922 Salter took the permanent role as CEM home director with Burton continuing as field director.[1184]

[1183] Counsell, *Beneath the Clock* p. 60 citing Burton, *God Working With Them* p. 254.
[1184] Womersley, *Burton* pp. 156-157

The involvement of other PMU personnel such as Myerscough and Moser on the CEM's advisory committee must have caused some ripples in the PMU, especially as a leader who believed that the PMU was controlling and unscriptural established the CEM. When the PMU suffered financially in the aftermath of the War, the CEM's establishment in 1919 exacerbated its struggles in that many Pentecostal churches no longer automatically directed missionary finance to the PMU. Pentecostal churches were motivated to support this effective new model of missionary work in Congo. During Burton's furlough in 1921/2 he visited 80 Pentecostal centres and later wrote to Salter 'we have the sympathetic interest of the Spirit filled saints in Great Britain.'[1185] Inevitably this diversion of missionary funding to CEM unintentionally compounded problems encountered by the PMU.[1186] Hocken observes the existence of another British Pentecostal mission, with leaders of heroic stature, provided an alternative missionary focus, especially when the PMU's Pentecostal pedigree began to be questioned.[1187] James Andrews perceived northern assemblies neglected to support China field missions due to their pre-occupation with Burton's Africa mission.[1188]

During the inter-war period the PMU and CEM commenced a dialogue regarding the future of the PMU's work in Africa. Before the CEM's formation in 1919, Wigglesworth conversed with Salter respecting the possibility of PMU missionaries being sent to Africa in connection with the PMSCA. Wigglesworth announced Pentecostal missionaries such as Burton, Salter and Fisher were all part of this mission. The Johnstones and Richardsons were willing to go out with PMSCA. Wigglesworth said this proposal had the merits of PMU missionaries going out under the protection of this incorporated mission with grants of territory from the government yet still left missionaries free to work under the PMU's general direction. The PMU agreed to invite Salter to attend the next meeting to discuss these possibilities.[1189]

[1185] Burton's correspondence to Salter (19th April 1924)
[1186] Kay, *Inside Story* p. 58 and Missen, *Sound of a Going* p. 61
[1187] Hocken, *Polhill* p. 133
[1188] PMU archives, correspondence from Andrews to Mundell (1st March 1927)
[1189] PMU minutes, minute no. 11 (5th May 1919)

Salter confirmed PMU missionaries could work nominally under the PMSCA's covering without losing their own identity and ultimate ability to establish a station in a new territory. Salter explained that the Belgian government and local tribes would not recognise multiple missionary societies applying for territory and it was advantageous if Pentecostal missionary groups could work together. Salter also gave assurance the mission placed no restrictions whatsoever upon the ministry of female missionaries. The PMU were appreciative of Salter's offer and agreed this was the right way forward for the PMU to work in Africa.[1190] However at the next PMU council meeting Wigglesworth reported Burton and Salter were themselves experiencing difficulties working with PMSCA, as its leadership sent American missionaries to work with Burton and Salter without consultation or proper support of these workers. This development nullified the agreement previously made by Salter with the PMU.[1191] Burton and Salter informed the PMU they had resigned from PMSCA and would notify them once their new independent mission was properly constituted and able to assist the Kalembe context.[1192]

Mundell requested that Salter clarify the position about a possible working relationship between the newly formed CEM and PMU. Salter had opportunity to raise questions about the PMU or potential difficulties relating to their future relationship and working together for the same missionary objective.[1193] Salter apparently altered his manner towards the PMU. Letters were received from him where he was critical of the PMU 'making several damaging and unwarranted remarks respecting the work of the PMU'.[1194] The PMU received a full apology from Salter and felt the way was cleared for them to work co-operatively with CEM.[1195]

This relationship could also have been strained by the Johnstones' defection to the CEM, when they were due to establish a new PMU station in Congo along with the Richardsons. In fact the Richardsons successfully pioneered a

[1190] PMU minutes, minute no. 1 (14th May 1919)
[1191] PMU minutes, minute no. 1 (12th June 1919)
[1192] PMU minutes, minute no. 1 (22nd July 1919)
[1193] PMU archives, correspondence to Salter (2nd September 1919)
[1194] PMU minutes, minute no. 6 (18th August 1922)
[1195] PMU minutes, minute no. 2 (25th September 1922)

mission station in a brand new area of Congo at Kalembe Lembe. However when the Richardsons became ill and needed to take furlough, the PMU began a dialogue with CEM where it contemplated handing over the PMU work to CEM, including mission station buildings and personnel, if Burton had an experienced missionary couple that could become superintendents at Kalembe.[1196] Burton answered that the sphere of their work was already too large for them to take on the Kalembe station but CEM were willing to consider taking Maggie Noad and Mary Anderson as missionaries and later on when the Richardsons returned to the Congo they could apply to be CEM missionaries through the CEM council.[1197]

In 1924 the PMU corresponded with Dr Anet, a Roman Catholic missionary in Congo, based at the Protestant mission bureau for Congo in Brussels. Anet was supportive of the Kalembe work even sending written endorsement to the Belgian governor for the PMU to be officially recognised. Mundell apologised for problems caused by individual Pentecostal missionaries in their conduct but suggested the PMU had credibility. Particularly he mentioned Polhill's past record as a missionary and that his wife had died as a consequence of trauma caused by the Boxer rebellion. He also stated the PMU was a separate mission to the English Pentecostal station at Katanga. However he verified the leaders of that mission, Burton and Salter, were highly regarded and known to the PMU.[1198]

After the first phase of the merger between the PMU and AOG in 1925, following Richardson's death, Myerscough made a fresh proposal for the CEM to take over the Kalembe Lembe field.[1199] There were ongoing problems to get Kalembe recognised by the Belgian authorities, which insisted all future missionaries could speak and correspond fluently in French. A special meeting at Kingsway Hall agreed it was preferable for Kalembe to be run by the CEM.[1200] Mundell stated CEM was operating within 200 miles of Kalembe

[1196] PMU minutes, minute no. 8 (15th August 1922)
[1197] PMU minutes, minute no. 7 (12th January 1923)
[1198] PMU archives, correspondence to Dr. Anet (4th April 1924)
[1199] PMU minutes, minute no. 2 (12th June 1925)
[1200] PMU archives, correspondence to Noad (19th June1925)

and therefore it was practical for CEM to supervise Kalembe.[1201] Burton agreed CEM accept PMU workers as CEM missionaries but not to overextend their operation to incorporate Kalembe as part of its ministry.[1202] Burton was dismissive of the effectiveness of the Kalembe mission.[1203] The PMU were unsure who fed the negative reports about Kalembe to Burton, but more importantly there was concern as to how Kalembe was portrayed around the UK churches that could affect support. The PMU decided, when the Belgian Government granted permission of civil personality to the PMU, to keep operating mission stations in Kalembe. This was a real coup for the PMU under the auspices of the newly formed AOG, as Burton did not obtain civil personality for the CEM until 1932.[1204] After this the Salters were asked if they were willing to become field superintendents at Kalembe, even if it was on a temporary basis for two or three years until other missionaries gained some field experience.[1205]

Charismatic renewal leader, Harper, states Burton would have ranked among the greatest 20th century missionaries if he had been from a different denominational affiliation than Pentecostal. Harper highlights the particular distinctive of Burton's mission was that he pioneered fresh and courageous cross-cultural approaches, particularly encouraging indigenous principles.[1206] Corry, a student with Burton at Preston, wrote Burton's missionary accounts were 'a revelation of what can be done by consecrated, Spirit-filled, native leaders.'[1207] In the early 1920's Burton implemented a training school where key native leaders were trained for two years with the intention they were capable of running the indigenous church should anything occur precipitating the withdrawal of Western missionaries from Congo.[1208]

[1201] PMU archives, correspondence to Adams (16th June1925)
[1202] PMU minutes, minute no. 3 (11th September 1925)
[1203] PMU archives, correspondence to Moser (12th September1925)
[1204] PMU minutes, minute no. 4 (11th December 1925) & PMU Correspondence to Adams (21st December 1925)
[1205] PMU archives, correspondence to Myerscough (26th October 1925)
[1206] Womersley, *Burton* p. 9 –preface by Harper, Michael.
[1207] Burton, *When God Changes A Village* p. vi
[1208] Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering* p. 207

Burton refers to the indigenous principle promoted by Roland Allen that first found prominence among Pentecostals about the time of the Great War. Burton wrote 'white missionaries' were 'a mere passing phase in the introduction of Christianity to a heathen people' and indigenous believers were intentionally given 'from the very commencement, the responsibility for the support and propagation of the young church'.[1209] Womersley states Burton's vision and mission praxis was inspired by the example of Taylor and the scriptural pattern of the CIM. Burton also bought a copy of Allen's book on missionary methods and absorbed its contents as it resonated with his own ideas of missionary methodology. Womersley suggests Burton modified principles from both the CIM and Allen because he recognised there were aspects that could not be applied from the Chinese mission field to central African culture.[1210] The major difference between the two cultures was literacy levels were significantly higher in China than Africa and this had a large determining factor on approaches to Christian education and training.[1211]

Burton envisioned a strong indigenous church established in the Congo. Although Allen had written about it and the Edinburgh 1910 conference advocated the need to prioritise it, there were still few missions that were practically enabling it through authentic strategy. Mission societies felt it was important to have dominant if benevolent parental control over uneducated and uncivilised African people. Primitive African tribes were regarded as barbaric and outside the influence of Western and Christian values. The CEM sought to commence an indigenous church in the Congo that did not reflect Western denominational structures and also to empower local people to share responsibility for its growth and development. Womersley attributes the development of indigenous church principles in the Congo to the tenacity and insistence of Burton. Burton also changed the strategy away from commencing a mission station when reaching a new area. The initial pioneering approach was to camp in a village so missionaries were closer to the people. Then they would draw a small nucleus of local people to become

[1209] Burton, *When God Changes a Village* pp. 127-128
[1210] This is endorsed by Garrard, *CEM* p. 65
[1211] Womersley, *Burton* p. 79

believers and these would form the basis of a local church. Missionaries then moved on to further villages to repeat the process and so reach the area in this way. Burton shifted the emphasis from sustaining large mission stations to indigenous church planting. However once local churches were planted Burton and Salter realised they required a base to train indigenous leaders, as the key to the indigenous church were the indigenous workers. So they established centres to equip local leaders for that region. This involved systematic literacy and numeracy programmes as well as spiritual leadership training. Even so Burton kept this organisational development simple by building small de-centralised mission outposts allowing workers to remain accessible and not detached from rural populations.[1212]

Burton was not concerned with sustaining elaborate religious ritual and took a relaxed view regarding the format of communion services. He encouraged Africans to use cheap and available substitutes as communion emblems, such as maize for bread, because in his mind that was the African equivalent of their staple existence food. For the wine Burton advised Africans to either use the *'mwilembwe'* plant's sticky red pods or hedge mulberry that grew easily. Burton felt the spiritual remembrance of Jesus' death was more important than the actual precise identity of material emblems. It was better for indigenous believers to celebrate communion than not do it just because specific products were unavailable in Africa. This approach was true of all Burton's meetings, whether funerals, weddings, baptisms. They were all stripped back down to Biblical basics without religious sophistication.[1213]

Another part of Burton's policy similar to the CIM was his use of experienced missionaries to mentor new ones on the field. This instruction related to culture, language, communication and how to deal with tribal leaders. Apparently Burton enjoyed mentoring new missionaries and Womersley testifies Burton prevented many missionaries from committing cultural faux pas. Burton was a local culture expert collating fables and 1,800 proverbs published by the Judicial Review of Katanga. He wrote a book entitled 'The

[1212] Womersley, *Burton* pp. 79-81
[1213] *Ibid.*, p. 82

Luban Mind' regarded as a standard university textbook on local culture. Burton's methods show a high degree of cross-cultural awareness and sensitivity that contrasts with the unprepared approach of earlier Pentecostal missionaries. Burton was adept at making local languages easier to learn for new missionaries. In 1923 he prepared comprehensive notes relating to grammatical structure and vocabulary. Already by 1915 Burton had identified 1500 words, which grew to 15,000 by 1920. Burton reckoned the Congolese language had a rich and wide vocabulary double the range of normal African Bantu languages. By 1928 Burton implemented a rule no new worker was allowed to communicate with the Congolese in English or use an interpreter to preach. New missionaries studied the language and were expected to pass a basic language exam after 6 months and a second exam after 12 months. After the first six months of field experience, it was normative for every missionary to preach his or her first sermon in the local language. If they failed to do this then they were automatically sent home.[1214] Burton's strict regulations about language acquisition are similar to the PMU and CIM and certainly do not reflect the earlier concept of the Spirit enabling missionary xenolalia.

Anderson is critical of what he terms Burton's benevolent paternalism, because in 1925 Burton maintained the development of an indigenous church in Congo needed the supervisory support of a few white missionary workers.[1215] Anderson believes Burton did not take his enlightened indigenous missionary principles far enough as almost 40 years later CEM was still directed by an all Western field council and retained 65 Western missionaries in 14 mission stations. It was only the Congo civil war that caused the withdrawal of missionaries and full establishment of the indigenous church.[1216]

Garrard's thesis seeks to assess this issue of how the CEM implemented the indigenous principle. Garrard believes that the CEM did not always fully implement all three aspects of the Congolese church becoming self-

[1214] Womersley, *Burton* pp. 83-84
[1215] Anderson, *Introduction to Pentecostalism* p. 182
[1216] Anderson, *Spreading Fires* p. 270

supporting, self-governing and self-propagating. Burton strongly believed that the most effective way for the Congolese church to grow was through self-propagation, so in that sense the CEM practiced the indigenous principle. Garrard proposes that indigenous leaders ran some local churches, so the CEM also practiced the indigenous principle in promoting the development of local church leadership to some extent.[1217] Garrard provides two main reasons why the CEM ideal of a self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating church was never fully realised until after 1960. Firstly Burton had experienced situations where self-appointed African prophets discredited the indigenous African church by leading it into excess and error, so this made him and other CEM missionaries cautious of handing over total control of the work to Congolese leaders. Secondly the Belgian administration of Congo would not legally permit the existence of Protestant churches unless superintended by European missionaries.[1218] Although from one point of view Anderson's criticism of the CEM regarding the indigenous principle seems correct, as Garrard shows the CEM was inconsistent in its practice, it clearly does not reflect the true picture of why the CEM did not fully implement the indigenous principle.

The significance of this narrative describing the emergence of another British Pentecostal faith mission in the post-war period is that the founders were trained by the PMU and maintained the CEM as a successful independent mission even after it was deemed expedient that the PMU was merged into the AOG denomination. The CEM cannot be totally compared with the PMU because the CEM solely focused its activities in one mission field whereas the PMU was global in its vision. Although the CEM may appear to resemble the CIM as a Pentecostal version of a faith mission, Burton's intolerance of Anglicanism differentiates it from the CIM whereas the PMU resembled the CIM in its ecumenical tolerance. The emergence of a successful mission run with a clear Pentecostal identity in the inter-war period contrasted with the PMU's failure to present itself as truly characteristic of the Pentecostal churches it purported to serve and represent.

[1217] Garrard, *CEM* p. 64
[1218] *Ibid.*, pp. 65-69

5.3 Commencement of the Dutch Pentecostal missionary society

In the early years Dutch Pentecostals collaborated with the PMU in global mission work. This section explores why this changed and became a strained relationship in the post-war years detrimentally affecting the PMU's non-sectarian reputation. The commencement of the Dutch Pentecostal missionary society after the Great War reflects a breach in the main international partnership maintained by the PMU.

In 1920 Polman, the Dutch Pentecostal leader formed the *Nederlandsch Pinksterzendingsgenootschap*.[1219] Previously Dutch Pentecostal missionaries were sent out under the auspices of the British PMU working on the Chinese/Tibetan border. The Dutch contingent formed a significant representation of PMU field missionary personnel in China. Some Dutch PMU missionaries criticised how the PMU's organisational structure broke down between the PMU council and field missionaries, resulting in them leaving the PMU.[1220] However Scharten remained associated with the PMU until its amalgamation with the AOG.[1221] Loss of Dutch missionary personnel and issues of collaboration adversely affected the PMU. Between 1920 and 1930 the Dutch sent out nine missionaries, four in China, two in Venezuela, two in the Dutch East Indies and one in the Belgian Congo. Previously these missionaries would probably have been trained and sent out by the PMU.[1222] When the Klavers returned to China in 1925 they transferred their affiliation to the Dutch missionary society.[1223]

5.3.1.The failure to define associate relationship

After the Dutch Pentecostal missionary society's establishment there was still some attempted collaboration but the two missionary organisations struggled to define the new working relationship. In 1921 Polman proposed sending out two Dutch missionaries, Trijntje Bakker and Geertje Roos, to work at Likiang-

[1219] Dutch Pentecostal Missionary Society
[1220] Kok, *'Letter to Mundell'* (13th May 1919)
[1221] Van Der Laan, *Beyond the Clouds* p. 338 n. 3 states Scharten remained with PMU until 1926.
[1222] Van Der Laan, *Pentecostal Movement in Holland* pp. 33-34
[1223] Van Der Laan, *Sectarian* p. 185

fu. The PMU expected their agreement to work according to PMU principles, spend three months at the London PMU training home and be supported by the Dutch.[1224] Although Polman requested associate status for the two workers, no papers were filled in for them. Polman believed it unnecessary for them to attend the PMU training home as they had already trained in Amsterdam and learned English. There was misunderstanding between the PMU and the Dutch over their co-operative relationship, as the PMU did not accredit the Dutch training as equivalent to their own.[1225] Mundell anticipated a breach with Polman if this matter was not handled sensitively.[1226]

In 1923 Bakker and Roos went to Likiang under the supervision of Dutch PMU missionaries Klaver and Scharten. They were instructed to sign all necessary PMU documentation; otherwise they would have to leave the PMU work.[1227] However Polman required any instructions involving Dutch missionary personnel should first be cleared with him and the PMU contribute support to these missionaries. The PMU agreed to contribute a moiety but would not accept the extra level of line management insisted on by Polman.[1228] Mundell remarked to Polhill that no one can serve two masters and used Scharten's example of not finding her associate arrangement with the PMU as onerous.[1229] However from the outset Scharten had been accepted and trained as a PMU missionary, whereas Bakker and Roos were working under the new Dutch society.

Correspondence to Polman justified it was necessary that the Dutch missionaries came under PMU supervision, as during the War the British consul was concerned the Likiang station was run entirely by Dutch missionaries and complained about attitudes of the Dutch workers.[1230] On 14th July 1923 the PMU unreservedly accepted the Dutch explanation regarding the unfortunate incident that occurred between the Dutch missionaries and a

[1224] PMU archives, correspondence to Polman (19th April 1921)
[1225] PMU minutes, minute no. 3 (2nd May 1921)
[1226] PMU archives, correspondence to Polhill (10th December 1921)
[1227] PMU minutes, minute no. 2 (4th May 1923)
[1228] PMU minutes, minute no. 8 (13th July 1923)
[1229] PMU archives, correspondence to Polhill (4th July 1923)
[1230] PMU archives, correspondence to Polman (6th June 1923)

British official. However they advised the Dutch that any proposal of dual control was impractical, as it would create confusion and delay.[1231] When the PMU finally received the two applications for associate status in 1924 they were turned down on the basis that Roos was too old at 44 and the PMU did not have sufficient funds to support them as per the moiety agreement.[1232] At the next PMU council meeting Mundell gave the reason for the PMU withholding status from the Dutch workers was to allow resolution of the leadership situation at Likiang.[1233] Moser met with Polman to discuss the issue and informed him any decision was deferred until Andrews became settled at Likiang.[1234]

5.3.2.The dispute over control and leadership at Likiang

The main tension between the Dutch and the PMU surfaced in 1923 and 1924, when Klaver was due to visit Europe on furlough. The PMU decided to put British personnel in leadership at Likiang. In 1917 the PMU delegated separate duties of responsibility to Arie Kok at Likiang from those of the Yunnan superintendent.[1235] Likiang was strategic in reaching various tribal groups in that area, as well as Tibet, which was very important to Polhill.[1236] Kok developed a system of allocating responsibility for smaller districts around Likiang to both missionaries and indigenous workers so individuals could develop a vision for an area.[1237] When Kok resigned from the PMU after the War, Klaver inherited those responsibilities seemingly setting a precedent for perpetuated Dutch leadership at Likiang. The PMU attempted to have British representation at Likiang even as early as 1916,[1238] which Anderson attributes to English ethnocentrism and criticism of Dutch missionary methods.[1239]

[1231] PMU archives, correspondence to J. Fritsieck Jr. (14th July 1923)
[1232] PMU minutes, minute no. 12 (28th March 1924)
[1233] PMU minutes, minute no. 4 (11th April 1924)
[1234] PMU minutes, minute no. 6 (22nd August 1924)
[1235] PMU minutes, minute no. 5 (7th November 1917)
[1236] A.A. Boddy (ed), 'Pentecostal Missionary Union' *Confidence* Vol. 7.5 (May 1914) p. 98
[1237] A.A. Boddy (ed), 'Pentecostal Missionary Union' *Confidence* Vol. 8.12 (December 1915) p. 239
[1238] PMU archives, correspondence from Mundell to Klaver (14th November 1916)
[1239] Anderson, *Spreading Fires* p. 128

Nevertheless PMU minutes as early as 1917 record the PMU's decision that Klaver should not be permanently located at Likiang due to tension between Klaver and Lewer.[1240] Scharten advised the PMU not to put a woman in charge at Likiang as Klaver's replacement, rather suggesting Douglas Williams be sent to Likiang.[1241] The PMU requested Lewer move to Likiang to supervise the work but he was not prepared to leave his work among the Lisu tribe. Lewer suggested the combination of Andrews, Biggs, Scharten, the two Dutch missionaries and six native workers was sufficient to sustain the Likiang work.[1242] Lewer is the only one who appears to have valued the indigenous workers as part of the solution at Likiang.

When Polhill returned from his visit to China he informed the PMU council that after Jessie Biggs' furlough, Andrews and Biggs were to get married and take on the leadership role of Likiang in the autumn of 1923.[1243] Biggs also stated to the PMU council it was important Likiang return under the control of the Yunnan-fu superintendent.[1244] This implies her previous experience under Klaver's leadership was Likiang had functioned too independently. This perception is confirmed later when it was stated Andrews' leadership at Likiang would lead to a more co-operative relationship with Boyd, the Yunnan superintendent.[1245]

Klaver believed Andrews was unsuitable and so he counter-proposed that Scharten should lead in his absence.[1246] However Scharten had only maintained associate status with the PMU from 1918 and did not carry full missionary status.[1247] Klaver criticised Andrews as having made no effort to build bridges with the natives or observe local customs; lacking necessary language skills and that he had no specific call to work at Likiang.[1248]

[1240] PMU minutes, minute no. 5 (7th November 1917)
[1241] PMU minutes, minute no. 8 (4th April 1921)
[1242] PMU minutes, minute no. 8 (23rd January 1923)
[1243] PMU minutes, minute no. 4 (4th May 1923)
[1244] PMU minutes, minute no. 2 (8th June 1923)
[1245] PMU archives, correspondence to Andrews (30th January 1925)
[1246] PMU archives, correspondence from Klaver to Mundell (20th August 1923)
[1247] PMU minutes, minute no. 3 (6th February 1918) and Van Der Laan, *Beyond the Clouds* p. 346 explains she inherited a legacy from her uncle so become financially independent.
[1248] PMU minutes, minute no. 4 (19th October 1923)

Andrew's reason for his reluctance to go to Likiang and delay in language acquisition rather appears due to him suffering repeated malaria attacks, aggravated by the altitude of Likiang.[1249] Based on this debatable criticism of Andrews, Anderson concludes 'In some ways the Dutch PMU missionaries were more culturally sensitive than some of the British ones were.'[1250]

The PMU forwarded Klaver's correspondence to Jessie Biggs while she was home on furlough. Biggs provided a different perspective accusing Klaver of adversarial attitudes towards other male PMU missionaries. She proposed Andrews had been broken by Klaver's severe treatment and visitors to the mission station had independently observed this.[1251] She stated the Lewers deliberately avoided travelling via Likiang so they did not have to tolerate Klaver's attitude towards them. Biggs also wrote that Miss Kok (sister of PMU missionary) had described the PMU work at Likiang as a sinking ship and strong ill feeling against Klaver amongst local inhabitants placed other PMU missionaries at increased risk.[1252] Biggs received a letter from a Tibetan evangelist who was pleased to hear she and Andrews were going to run the Likiang mission station. She defended her future husband by saying he got on well with the locals, had passed two language exams and was studying for a third.[1253] Boyd was informed Klaver had suppressed opportunities for Andrews to be involved in services. There is also counter evidence from Andrews that he was sensitive to Chinese customs when he wrote: 'I was always careful to go out with an old evangelist who adheres very strictly to his customs and as far as possible I have sought to learn and observe the same.'[1254]

[1249] PMU archives, correspondence from Andrews to Mundell (23rd January 1921)
[1250] Anderson, *Spreading Fires* p. 245. Anderson is inconsistent because he has selected isolated comments out of context as on p. 266 in the same publication he describes one of those Dutch PMU missionaries, Arie Kok, as 'condescending'.
[1251] In one of Andrews' letters to Biggs a General Perarei allegedly stated *'Little Klaver is a bossy fellow, he rather sits on Mr. Andrews, in fact he is ignorant and unmannerly to him.'* This remark was made to the Austrian-American explorer, linguist and botanist Joseph Rock who lived in South West China from 1922-1949, based in the village of Nguluko by Likiang. Rock was a very good friend of Scharten. Rock reported the comment to Andrews who wrote to Biggs 21st August 1923. Biggs quoted it to Mundell in correspondence 10th October 1923. Van Der Laan, *Beyond the Clouds* p. 349
[1252] PMU archives, correspondence from Biggs to Mundell (10th October 1923)
[1253] PMU minutes, minute no. 4 (19th October 1923)
[1254] PMU archives, correspondence to Boyd (7th April 1924)

The PMU decided it was preferable for Klaver to vacate Likiang before Andrews could return. It was also resolved Klaver would not be allowed back to Likiang after his furlough. While Polhill was travelling in India he funded the Klavers' travel to Holland and UK. He also endorsed the PMU's proposals regarding Likiang.[1255] Klaver met with Polhill and Mundell in London on the 13th May, contending that he resume his responsibilities at Likiang after his furlough. The PMU considered Klaver's argument but passed a resolution that the Klavers should be reassigned to a different mission station.[1256] Klaver resigned from the PMU in July 1924.[1257]

The Andrews were supported at Likiang by the experience of Cook, who travelled up with them.[1258] Andrews complained Klaver had soured possible co-operation with the Dutch missionaries and the attitudes of native evangelists at Likiang. Andrews reported disaffection with the PMU's decision spread through letters from Klaver and Scharten to other PMU missionaries at Yunnan-fu and other mission agencies.[1259] Andrews maintained the Dutch were prejudicial against anyone else going there, other than Klaver, because they wanted to make it a Dutch run station and portrayed the PMU council as representing human decision not divine will. The Dutch believed Likiang should be handed over to them in accordance with CIM practice allowing continental missionaries to run districts.[1260] The CIM had severed their relationship with the PMU during the War so the PMU had no reason to be bound by this principle. Polhill would not want to relinquish the work at Likiang to an independent Dutch mission, as missionary outreach to Tibetans had been a primary motive of both his own missionary calling and also the PMU's original purpose.

Scharten acknowledged she should co-operate with the PMU but felt some loyalty to Klaver and so on principle resigned.[1261] The PMU wrote to Scharten

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[1255] PMU minutes, minute no. 4 (7th December 1923)
[1256] PMU minutes, minute no. 4 (30th May 1924)
[1257] PMU minutes, minute no. 4 (25th July 1924)
[1258] PMU archives, correspondence to Andrews (30th January 1925)
[1259] PMU archives, correspondence to Polhill (12th July 1924)
[1260] PMU archives, Correspondence from Andrews to Mundell (18th February 1924)
[1261] PMU archives, correspondence to Polman (7th February 1925)

requesting her to work co-operatively with Andrews and reassured her they had no intention of seeking her resignation, as she was greatly esteemed.[1262] In 1924 Boyd confirmed Scharten accepted Andrews taking charge at Likiang.[1263] During the brief time Andrews was initially in charge at Likiang there was numerical growth and new building development.[1264] Unfortunately Jessie Andrews became seriously ill and they returned to the UK where she died following surgery in November 1925.

After the merger between the PMU and AOG, Mundell sent a detailed response to Polman about Likiang in an attempt to bring closure on the difficulties, as Polman required an explanation regarding the PMU's decision.[1265] Klaver complained to the newly appointed AOG leader, Parr, about his treatment by the PMU. Parr wanted to avoid awkward rivalry between the British and Dutch at Likiang and advocated the entire work be handed over to the Dutch. However those PMU council members who had been involved with the issue stated their decisions had been taken with prayerful integrity. Andrews and the Dutch missionaries managed to work co-operatively and the tension settled down.[1266]

Investigation of the relationship between the PMU and Dutch missionary society shows the causes of tension were complex. Unfortunate comments Mundell and Moser made about adhering to British missionaries and avoiding Dutch workers[1267] opened them up to charges of British ethnocentrism. The situation demonstrates colonial attitudes towards mission were still influencing Pentecostal missiological praxis. Anglo-Dutch tensions could have been avoided if the priority had been the needs of the indigenous church rather than seeking to preserve Western control of assets and territory. This vignette assesses the degenerating relationship between the PMU and the Dutch Pentecostals to reveal that the PMU was becoming less connected with historic collaborative mission partners and increasingly isolated.

[1262] PMU archives, correspondence to Scharten (4th February 1925)
[1263] PMU minutes, minute no. 4 (19th September 1924)
[1264] PMU archives, correspondence from Andrews to Mundell (16th April 1925)
[1265] PMU archives, correspondence from Polman to Mundell (11th February 1925)
[1266] PMU minutes, minute no. 7 (24th April 1925)
[1267] PMU archives, correspondence to Moser (4th February 1925)

5.4 Formation of the British Assemblies of God (AOG) and merger with the PMU

This section examines the final phase of the PMU's existence when it merged with the British AOG and seeks to establish reasons why the PMU leadership abandoned the PMU's non-sectarian principles.

5.4.1. Establishment of the American AOG and its successful growth in global missions

In 1914 three hundred people gathered in Arkansas to form the American AOG. One of the fundamental reasons for its development was the need for effectively organising missionary initiatives. Although the AOG did not adopt a formal constitution in 1914, it selected a missionary presbytery to promote overseas missions work. By September 1919 the American AOG had 195 missionaries on its roll. The American AOG had a fully functioning mission department, which by 1923 had developed policies regarding training of missionaries, co-operative approaches to missionary work, establishment of overseas Bible colleges and missionary furlough. The American AOG was established and sustained in its early years by its missionary momentum.[1268] In contrast the British AOG was formed ten years later with a very different agenda reflecting the inter-war period requirements for home church priorities rather than overseas missions. In the early 1920's the PMU lost some of its experienced field missionaries to American AOG.[1269]

Anderson believes the seeds of American global dominance were sown in the early twentieth century when the possibility of American hegemony was increased by US economic, political and military intervention after the First World War. He links American neo-imperialism as an influence upon the expansionist American mission praxis. Anderson feels American missionaries were motivated by a belief in American destiny on the world stage and this caused tensions between American missionaries and indigenous church

[1268] Carpenter, *Mandate & Mission* pp. 99-102

[1269] American AG minutes of 1923 show ex PMU missionaries were working as AG missionaries: James Boyce (and his wife Annie) at Siswa Bazar, UP, India; Mrs Mary Taylor based at Kobe, Japan; Percy and Thyra Bristow on furlough from their mission at Tung Hsien, Chihli; and Ada Buckwalter at Wei Hsi, Yunnan. American AG minutes of 1925 also mention Grace Agar, Yunnan on furlough.

leaders. This has been especially pronounced for Pentecostal missions, as historically the USA has been very influential upon global Pentecostalism.[1270]

There has been a common view of global Pentecostalism that assumes Pentecostal initiatives in other nations find their source in North America. The fact that the British PMU commenced as a missionary organisation before any North American counterparts and in fact sought to assist in encouraging American and Canadian equivalents demonstrates how the British PMU breaks American centric views of Pentecostal missiology. However the PMU initiatives failed in North America even before World War One indicating the missional power base was already shifting from Europe and that North American cultural values were strongly influencing missionary praxis and structures. The successful growth of the American AOG as a global mission force provided a model for British Pentecostals to challenge the non-denominational ideals of Boddy and Polhill epitomised by the PMU.

5.4.2. Reasons for the formation of Pentecostal denominations in Britain

Boddy remained Anglican until the end of his life and preferred believers who became Spirit filled should take renewal back into their existing churches. Whatever the legitimacy of Boddy's position at the beginning of British Pentecostalism may have been, the situation had greatly changed in the early 1920's. The growing number of Pentecostal believers and churches in Britain were looking for leadership and vision that gave the Pentecostal movement a new identity and foundation for expansion. Tensions and insecurities experienced between Pentecostals and mainline denominations meant Boddy's position was obsolete and irrelevant to post-war British Pentecostals. Gee states that although Boddy was still respected by many Pentecostals he was perceived as having 'lost the fire'. He also maintained that the Anglican leader's non-sectarian stance meant 'the spread of the Revival in the British Isles was undoubtedly hindered in this way for several years; although a notable foreign missionary work was instituted, and the Pentecostal

[1270] Anderson, *Spreading Fires* p. 256

Movement to a special degree'.[1271] This accounts for Gee's observations when he stated early British Pentecostalism was subject to setbacks caused by leaders who insisted on trying to force the new wine into old bottles.[1272] Gee's indictment of Boddy and Polhill's leadership will have impacted subsequent perspectives of the PMU because they were so closely identified with the PMU. Gee's criticism seems to be based on what he regarded as the inevitable tension for early British Pentecostalism because Boddy and Polhill remained loyal to their Anglican roots and therefore out of touch with the majority of Pentecostals who were non-conformist.[1273] Before Gee's involvement with Pentecostalism he attended a London Congregational church and then a Baptist church. This background would shape his ecclesiology and influence his views of Pentecostal polity.[1274]

Boulton proposed the Pentecostal movement's growing proportions necessitated the founding of a Scriptural based organisation. He perceived resistance among some early Pentecostals to any denominational structure as a misguided response to restrictions some felt placed upon their experience by traditional denominations. The pendulum had swung against organisation in the name of Pentecostal liberty but all it served to do was keep the Pentecostal movement fragmented and weak. Boulton maintained vital issues affecting the whole movement were ignored due to the vocal demands of a minority. He believed this stunted the radical apostolic aggressiveness that should have characterised early Pentecostalism.[1275]

Hocken argues the PMU records demonstrate 'that Polhill's inability to get outside the patriarchal aristocratic patterns and assumptions seriously weakened his influence within the movement'.[1276] Gee suggests Polhill's standing declined when he surrounded himself with the wrong kind of people who neutralised the promotion of a distinctive Pentecostal emphasis to the cause of global missionary work. Gee accuses Polhill of seeking to

[1271] Gee, 'The Pentecostal Movement' *Redemption Tidings* (October 1932) p. 2
[1272] Gee, *Uttermost Part* p. 6
[1273] Gee, *Pentecostal Movement* p. 75.
[1274] Malcomson, *Pentecostal Pioneers* pp. 333-334
[1275] Boulton, *George Jeffreys* pp. 7-9
[1276] Hocken, *Polhill* p. 42 unedited version, PMU archives

accommodate individuals on conference platforms in order to gain respectability. He cites as evidence Polhill's invitations of Welsh reverends to the Kingsway Hall Whitsuntide conventions. Some Pentecostals took exception to clergy hypocrisy in accepting Polhill's hospitality in expensive hotels while remaining derisory towards Welsh Pentecostal churches in their own locality. Gee remarks that Polhill became reluctant to deal with any public use of glossolalia in these meetings and relied on him for possible interpretation of the messages in tongues.[1277] Hollenweger concludes Polhill's leadership style increasingly produced a conference with an inter-denominational Evangelical flavour and watered down the Pentecostal element.[1278] There is evidence of Polhill's wariness towards younger emerging Pentecostal leaders when he wrote of Howard Carter: 'I am not convinced altogether as to the desirability of inviting brother Carter. The past experiences make one cautious, and though he is a good young man, he is a bit given to scepticalism and emotionalism, and to my mind somewhat lacks robustness of view and sobriety of judgment.'[1279] This was stated in the context of Mundell's proposal for Carter to run the training college at Hampstead.

Missen, who functioned as a British AOG general secretary, identified the limitation of the Anglican leadership after the War. He criticised 'the resolute determination of Mr. Boddy and Mr. Polhill to remain in the Anglican Communion', which he concluded 'left the newly-established Pentecostal groups without any overall direction at a time when these meetings were beset with difficulties and problems.' Missen intimated the difficulties caused by this vacuum of leadership were erroneous doctrines within Pentecostalism such as universalism and abuse of spiritual and ministry gifts, and secondly the need to protect the status of Pentecostals in their right to be conscientious objectors.[1280] However it has to be noted that initially it was positively regarded that the leadership of the revival in Britain was not centred on strong personalities. Moser wrote 'In this work we have no man like Wesley, or

[1277] Gee, *Men I Knew* p. 75
[1278] Hollenweger, *Pentecostals* p. 206
[1279] PMU archives, correspondence from Polhill to Mundell (5th February 1921)
[1280] Missen, *Sound of a Going* p. 10

Moody, or Finney, and certainly we have not got a General Booth or a Dowie. We have nobody who is trying to make a new organization, or to get people to follow him.'[1281] There was definitely a change of view in the perceived need of Pentecostals for some leadership to be exercised in formulating direction for British Pentecostalism after the War. This is evidenced by Mundell's comment in 1924 when he adversely compared the British Pentecostal churches with the Swedish movement led by Pethrus. He commented Pethrus' own church had a membership of 2,300 and they had 300 independent assemblies without central control.[1282] This illustrates a growing post-war perception among British Pentecostals that they had fallen behind the development of Scandinavian Pentecostals who had a clear identity without embracing a centralised governmental structure.

The primary objection to incorporating independent Pentecostal assemblies in a structure was resistance to any form of ecclesiastical organisation. So when the AOG was formed in February 1924 the leaders issued a statement: Firstly, they did not want to establish themselves as a human organisation with centralised power; Secondly, they recognised the necessity of adopting scriptural methods to bring order to worship, unity, fellowship and work.[1283] The British AOG emerged as a congregational association of locally autonomous churches. The deep suspicion of centralisation meant Elim was not included in these new developments. Parr chaired the meeting at Aston, Birmingham when the AOG was formed. It started off with a meeting of 13 signatories[1284] and quickly became established with 74 assemblies once the local autonomy principle had been safeguarded. The British AOG took the distinctive doctrinal position of declaring tongues were the initial evidence of Spirit-baptism. The AOG adopted a pacifist stance and this has been used as an argument for the demise of Boddy and Polhill's involvement with the Pentecostal movement.[1285]

[1281] Moser, Ernest, 'Praying in the Holy Ghost' *Flames of Fire* (July 1916) p. 3
[1282] PMU archives, correspondence to Glassby (28th April 1924)
[1283] Hollenweger, *Pentecostals* p. 207
[1284] Kay, *Inside Story* p. 79
[1285] Anderson, *Introduction to Pentecostalism* p. 94

Hollenweger takes the traditional view that the emergence of Pentecostal denominations in Britain, such as Elim, Apostolic and particularly AOG, which resulted in the PMU's dissolution, brought an end to Boddy and Polhill's influence.[1286] The reality is Boddy had already retired from the PMU early in 1924 because of his advanced years and by this juncture even the Anglicans had sidelined Boddy to the rural parish of Pittington. When the proposal of an amalgamation with the AOG arose, Polhill notified the PMU council he had contemplated resigning from the PMU for over two years. When he returned from travelling in the summer of 1923 he wrote several letters proposing this was the appropriate time for him to retire from the PMU, as he needed to prioritise evangelism and mission trips.[1287] Polhill retired from the PMU so merger negotiations could occur between those PMU members and the AOG who would be a long-term part of that new arrangement. Polhill voluntarily stood aside so Moser could accompany Mundell in the amalgamation discussions with Myerscough and Parr.[1288] It was stated the PMU council, along with Parr and Howard Carter, preferred Polhill was involved in the merger dialogue.[1289] Middleton also chose to resign from the PMU at this time so the reconstruction of the PMU could be facilitated.[1290] This evidence contradicts Cho's unsubstantiated conclusions where he intimates there was some deliberate attempt to exclude the Anglican leaders from the move to form a Pentecostal organisation.[1291] Cho has given no valid reason or alternative evidence to question the evidence provided by the PMU minutes. A more accurate perspective would be that Polhill realised that his season of influence over the development of the PMU was at an end and he pragmatically tolerated the merger to go ahead so that the PMU's legacy would remain.

Even after Polhill resigned and the merger with the AOG was in its final stages, he still responded at the end of 1925 with great generosity to a financial appeal to cover the costs of getting the Andrews home due to

[1286] Hollenweger, *Pentecostals* p. 185
[1287] PMU minutes, minute no. 2 (19th September 1924)
[1288] PMU archives, correspondence to Moser (8th October 1924)
[1289] PMU minutes, minute no. 2 (10th October 1924)
[1290] PMU minutes, minute no. 3 (10th October 1924)
[1291] Cho, *Boddy* p. 192

Jessie's serious health condition. Also early in 1925, following his resignation, Polhill contributed £450 towards missionary allowances.[1292] Polhill seemed content to be freed up from his responsibilities so he could travel to China and visit his brother.

Kay remarks Polhill concluded the PMU could only be effective after the War if it were attached to a denominational organisation.[1293] Kay does not cite the source he bases this statement on, as evidence suggests Polhill was reluctantly persuaded by Mundell and Moser that the only way forward for the PMU was a merger with the AOG,[1294] there is certainly no evidence Polhill himself actively sought the 'denominationalisation' of the PMU. Polhill's Will made no financial provision for the fresh expression of the PMU under the AOG's governance, which is suggestive that he was not wholeheartedly supportive of the AOG.[1295] However Polhill recognised the need to comply with other council members who desired the merger occur.[1296] It is doubtful that the PMU could have existed independently after the formation of the AOG, especially as Polhill was going to withdraw from his involvement irrespective of the merger with the AOG.

When the British AOG was formed in 1924, the PMU were informed of Myerscough's appointment as missionary treasurer and how in future Pentecostal missionary societies would need to apply through him to access missionary funds. The PMU realised with approximately 60 to 70 local churches joining the AOG in Wales and the Midlands this would seriously impact their usual sources of financial support. A special meeting was called to appraise their position and relationship with the AOG.[1297] When the AOG held a London convention to promote the missionary cause, Moser proposed the PMU should negotiate an amalgamation with the AOG.[1298] William

[1292] PMU minutes, minute no. 3 (23rd January 1925)
[1293] Kay, *Pentecostals in Britain* p. 17
[1294] PMU archives, correspondence to Polhill (26th August 1924)
[1295] The CIM was the main charitable beneficiary of Polhill's will; they were left £1000, of which a portion was dedicated to work relating to Tibet. Another 15 charities were nominated to receive £100 each. The only named beneficiaries linked to the PMU were Anglicans Middleton and Glassby.
[1296] PMU archives, correspondence to Moser (19th May 1924)
[1297] PMU minutes, minute no. 5 (30th May 1924)
[1298] PMU minutes, minute no. 7 (22nd August 1924)

Glassby, one of the longstanding Anglican representatives on the PMU council, opposed the suggested merger with the AOG. He resigned from the PMU believing the proposal was not in God's will.[1299] Titterington advocated the merger should take place, as in his view it was inevitable and therefore it was better for the PMU to negotiate the merger while it had the opportunity.[1300]

The PMU sent two representatives for dialogue with the AOG leadership regarding co-operation in foreign missionary work. The initial proposal was for a phased process of amalgamation, whereby the new council would consist of an equal number of AOG nominated members to those PMU members continuing after the reconstruction. This interim council would serve for a two-year period and then the AOG would have full control over the council's composition. The PMU agreed to this proposal but Polhill abstained as his resignation had the effect that he would not be part of the new council.[1301] Parr presented these proposals for consideration at the AOG executive council in December 1924 and then forwarded them as a proposal to the AOG general conference held on 1st and 2nd January 1925.[1302] In January 1925 the AOG agreed with the PMU to appoint an equivalent number of members as were willing to continue to serve from the PMU. This arrangement was a temporary step for a revised period of twelve months towards a complete amalgamation of the PMU within the auspices of the AOG. The AOG nominated Myerscough, the Carters, George Tilling and a Welsh representative onto the interim council. The PMU accepted this proposal, as there would only be five PMU council members continuing. Polhill and Glassby's resignation came into affect from this meeting leaving Moser, Mundell, Blackman, Titterington and Duncan as existing members.[1303] Later Henry Roe from Birmingham was nominated to represent Welsh assemblies.[1304]

[1299] PMU minutes, minute no. 4 (10th October 1924)
[1300] PMU archives, correspondence from Titterington to Mundell (10th September 1924)
[1301] PMU minutes, minute no. 4 (31st October 1924)
[1302] PMU minutes, minute no. 5 (14th November 1924)
[1303] PMU minutes, minute no. 2 (9th January 1925)
[1304] PMU minutes, minute no. 3 (17th April 1925)

In the interim period of 1925 the merger went smoothly with relatively few problems resulting from the actual amalgamation. Boyd raised an issue of the two new missionaries sent out to Yunnan, Florence Morrell and Dora Graves, as they held AOG associate missionary status certificates and were not resident at the PMU mission station. He wanted reassurance he had the same authority as superintendent over these missionaries, because they were living independently with Swedish friends. He requested whether he could deploy them to a suitable mission outstation as they were progressing with language acquisition.[1305] There were some misconceptions about the relationship between the PMU and AOG that there were two separate missionary organisations within the AOG, when in fact the merger was intended to unify the missionary work.[1306] There was also a misunderstanding that the PMU had ceased to exist, which was addressed by the AOG leadership through its new magazine *Redemption Tidings.* This misconception raised concerns that churches would cease funding the PMU missionaries still operative overseas. Parr's statement gave the rationale for the merger to bring unity that avoided 'dislocation, disorganisation or cessation of supplies to missionaries'.[1307]

During the merger period Parr wrote to the PMU with a minute passed at the AOG general presbytery regarding missionary policy and a fundamental restructure of how the missionary department functioned.[1308] Parr brought a proposal from the AOG Executive presbytery to the AOG general presbytery that mission policy should be based on the principle where field missionaries become their own missionary society with executive control and a Home Reference Council appointed to deal with administrative issues relating to missionary applications, itineraries and support.[1309] Parr's proposal seems to intentionally break with the PMU model of home council control. This division of missions represented by four different reference councils would be similar to the American AOG model. Mundell and the PMU representatives rejected these proposals as unworkable because Britain was not the same scale as

[1305] PMU minutes, minute no. 6 (29th May 1925)
[1306] PMU archives, correspondence to Walshaw (7th February 1925)
[1307] Parr, John Nelson (ed), 'Assemblies of God and PMU' *Redemption Tidings* (November 1924)
[1308] PMU minutes, minute no. 2 (11th September 1925)
[1309] 2nd AOG Executive Presbytery minutes (Birmingham, 17th October 1925)

the American AOG. Mundell pointed out it would create unhealthy competition between the mission fields and was contrary to the motive of why the PMU and AOG had merged to create a united Pentecostal missionary organisation.[1310] The AOG amended the proposal that there should just be one home reference council serving every mission field.[1311] Although the British AOG constitution was based on American AOG principles, British AOG mission praxis differed from that of the American AOG and owes much more to its historical roots through the PMU with Victorian faith missions.

On December 4th 1925 the AOG elected a Home Mission Reference Council (HMRC) of seven members retaining some PMU council members. Then on 31st December 1925 the PMU ceased to exist. The HMRC acted on behalf of the PMU missionaries who were now regarded as AOG missionaries.[1312] As a result of the merger the AOG acquired 27 active missionaries working in China, Africa, and Brazil. Andrews believes the merger between the AOG and PMU enabled the young denomination to inherit a missionary structure beyond the maturity of its own status.[1313] The composition of the South West China AOG mission field council demonstrates Andrews' point, as it totally comprised former PMU missionaries.[1314]

Gee remarks the merger between the PMU and AOG possessed the historic significance of indicating the final transition in the British Pentecostal movement's leadership.[1315] Although Polhill faded out of the picture of Pentecostal missionary impetus, it was not before he laid foundations that equated early British Pentecostalism with outstanding pioneer missionary work. Though Polhill's dream of an independent missionary body supported by a cross section of Spirit-filled ecclesiastical expression ended, Pentecostal missions did not terminate with the PMU's demise. Its influence ensured right

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[1310] PMU archives, correspondence to Parr (24th October 1925)
[1311] PMU archives, correspondence to Parr (16th November 1925)
[1312] Gee, *Pentecostal Movement* p. 133
[1313] Andrews, *Regions Beyond* p. 142. Andrews proposes the figure of 40 –research of the PMU archives shows there were just 27 PMU missionaries active in 1925: 18 in China, 6 in the Congo and 3 in Brazil
[1314] AOG HMRC minutes, minute 5 (10th April 1929) -the personnel were Boyd as field superintendent, Woods as deputy superintendent, their wives and misses Cook, Knell and Hodgetts.
[1315] *Op cit.*, p. 134

from the British AOG's inception a clear global missionary focus was inherited. The British AOG maintained its overseas ministry was still practically run on faith mission principles.[1316]

5.4.3.The requirement of a strong home base to support Pentecostal missions

There was great need to secure a strong home base to support foreign mission work. Particularly Burton was keen to ensure the British Pentecostal churches properly supported the Congo mission. When Burton came to Britain on furlough in 1922 and saw the fragmented nature of Pentecostal churches, he attempted to draw these independent churches into an organised structure of fellowship at Sheffield. The leaders who signed the circular letter in support of a proposed union were W. Burton (Preston), E. C. Boulton (Hull), H. Carter (London), J. Douglas (London), G. Jeffreys (Belfast), T. H. Jewitt (Leeds), G. Kingston (Leigh-on Sea), T. Myerscough (Preston), E. Moser (Southsea), J. Tetchner (Horden) and the Walshaws (Halifax). The 1922 Sheffield conference failed in its objective to create an organised Pentecostal structure due to some concerns regarding centralisation and the wording of doctrinal statements. Although this meeting of leaders may not have successfully created formal affiliation between the disparate Pentecostal churches, it produced the momentum leading to the British AOG's establishment just two years later.[1317] Kay states the final outcome of the 1922 conference was a disappointment to its organisers, however the 38 representatives elected a provisional council and wrote a draft constitution for a fellowship of British Pentecostal assemblies.[1318] The Sheffield conference elevated Burton's status as a missional leader who was sensitive to the growing need for a clearer Pentecostal identity to unify the independent local churches in Britain. Moser's involvement in this move to denominationalism demonstrates his concerns and indicates his growing frustration within the PMU as to its growing lack of Pentecostal distinctiveness. Moser ensured the PMU was

[1316] Gee, *Uttermost Part* p. 21
[1317] Womersley, *Burton* p. 155
[1318] Kay, *Inside Story* p. 71

included in possible development towards denominationalism.[1319] Moser was the only PMU council member among the twelve men and one woman at Birmingham who signed the original agreement to commence the AOG as a new denomination.

When the War ended it could be assumed Boddy and Polhill would be the obvious leaders in any new Pentecostal developments. However they remained intractable in their pre-war resolve not to become involved in any Pentecostal denominational development. Burton moved in the opposite direction to Boddy and Polhill and exposed their inflexibility to consider that the post-war context required a means of drawing various independent Pentecostals together. The newer Pentecostal leaders also sensed the need to establish a denomination in the post-war years and Burton gained credibility as a mission leader attuned to both the needs of overseas mission and British Pentecostal churches.

Boddy and Polhill believed the Pentecostal outpouring was an end time revival that would impact existing denominations with spiritual renewal. They were averse to Pentecostalism being formed into denominations because they primarily interpreted the Spirit's work through an eschatological lens rather than an ecclesiological one. Missiological urgency was their priority because they felt the immanence of the 'parousia' made denominationalism a non-essential irrelevance. For other emerging post-war Pentecostal leaders, patience with that viewpoint had run out. They suffered religious ostracism for their Pentecostal beliefs and were of the opinion the old wineskins of traditional churches could not contain the new wine of the Spirit. Neither Boddy nor Polhill suffered during the War for their Pentecostalism. Boddy had been cushioned by the sympathetic attitudes of his Bishop. Polhill was a man of considerable social and financial independence. However there were a growing number of Pentecostal leaders who suffered for their views during the War who were no longer prepared to accept the passive stagnation of a weakened home based Pentecostalism through lack of clear identity and

[1319] PMU minutes, minute no. 4 (19th September 1922) records Boulton sent a copy of the proposed constitution (Swanwick version) to the PMU.

purpose. Kay also feels social changes affected the relationship Boddy and Polhill had with the wider British Pentecostal community when he observes 'In the period after the War British society was not as deferential and stratified as it had been in the period before the Great War when an upstairs and downstairs culture existed'.[1320]

Missen argues the PMU leadership lost touch with the needs of the uncoordinated British Pentecostal movement through over-emphasis of global missions.[1321] It could be assumed perhaps Polhill was so motivated by his foreign missionary fervour that he was blinded to the needs of developing a strong home church. In 1909 Polhill called a revival conference for Christian leaders regarding the spiritual state of London. This conference included Dr. Talbot the bishop of Southwark and Albert Head, chairman of the Keswick Convention.[1322] However there is no evidence of Polhill similarly drawing early Pentecostal leaders together particularly after the War. Wakefield suggests Polhill and Boddy's priority of training leaders for overseas missions work weakened the early development of British Pentecostalism.[1323]

Burton's efforts to promote fresh co-operation among British Pentecostals questions the legitimacy of an explanation polarising needs of global missions as conflicting with British Pentecostal ecclesiological development. In fact Burton's motives demonstrate an underlying mission rationale for establishing a strong British Pentecostal home base that would equally apply to the PMU as it did for the CEM's needs. Interestingly in 1925 the CEM did not merge with the British AOG as the PMU did. They preferred to maintain a separate reference council as they had missionaries in Congo from other countries and other denominations, such as Elim Alliance. Burton and some CEM missionaries held British AOG associate certificates of fellowship. Gee regarded the CEM as an integral part of early British Pentecostal missionary work.[1324] The connection of Myerscough in both the AOG and CEM ensured

[1320] Kay, *British Pentecostalism* p. 3
[1321] Missen, *Sound of a Going* p. 60
[1322] Boddy (ed), 'Pentecostal News-London' *Confidence* Vol. 2.2 (February 1909) pp. 47-48
[1323] Wakefield, *Boddy* p. 217
[1324] Gee, *Uttermost Part* pp.18-19

there was an ongoing warm co-operation between the two.[1325] John Andrews suggests the CEM remained a separate entity from AOG for the same reasons of autonomy that Burton initially separated from the PMU.[1326]

Parr was committed to the amalgamation process between the AOG and PMU as he saw it as the best way to safeguard the unity of missionary work in unreached regions.[1327] Gee believed the PMU merger with the newly formed British AOG was a wise development to safeguard British Pentecostal overseas work. He felt amalgamation ensured the confidence and support of British Pentecostals in overseas mission work. Missionary enterprise could progress alongside a strengthened homeland church. He also believed the new way the AOG structured its missionary work with a transfer of executive control to field oversight moved mission work closer to the indigenous church ideals that epitomised the PMU principles advocated by Polhill. It also took the British AOG mission structure closer to the missiological practice of the CIM and CEM.[1328] Myerscough proposed this concept of greater self-government on the mission field in 1925 based on CEM praxis.[1329] However not all PMU missionaries accepted the merger with the AOG as positive. James Andrews classified himself a PMU worker because he wanted to be aligned with a faith mission with sound rules and principles. He did not want to be known as an AOG missionary to the Chinese authorities, as he felt ashamed to be associated with the negative reputation of the American AOG.[1330] Ralph Capper felt that under the British AOG the China field was not resourced adequately and had become the poor relation to the profile and support given to the CEM.[1331] When Florence Ives resigned as a missionary in 1926 she stated that there would have been greater personal regret if the PMU still existed than under the new AOG system of working.[1332] Ives' comment reveals that not all PMU missionaries perceived the AOG merger as progress.

[1325] Gee, *Pentecostal Movement* p. 134
[1326] Andrews, *Regions Beyond* p. 165
[1327] PMU minutes, minute no. 5 (14th November 1924)
[1328] Gee, *Uttermost Part* pp. 23-24
[1329] PMU minutes, minute no. 2 & 3 (12th June 1925)
[1330] PMU archives, correspondence from Andrews to Moser (22nd April 1927)
[1331] PMU archives, correspondence from Capper to Mundell (19th March 1927)
[1332] PMU archives, correspondence from Ives to Mundell (17th September 1926)

Summary

This chapter identifies a breadth of factors to explain the PMU's decline and ultimate merger with the AOG after the War and thus avoids simplistic explanations of previous Pentecostal historiographies for the demise of the PMU. The PMU's decision to close its training homes to retrieve the financial position was a desperate short-term response, as it restricted its future growth capacity. The PMU focused its responses on micro-managing expenses rather than assessing wider factors relating to its support among British Pentecostal churches. As the PMU's momentum faltered, it coincided with the growth of new Pentecostal mission initiatives, inevitably drawing support and attention away from the PMU compounding its problems. This period marked the end of the non-sectarian Pentecostal faith mission and consequently the links early British Pentecostalism had with Evangelical faith missions were lost. The literature review incorporated in the first chapter of this thesis demonstrates Pentecostal historiographies were written either ignoring or downplaying the PMU's important contribution to the birth of British Pentecostalism and its missional DNA. This neglect of the PMU's narrative has enabled the unchallenged perpetuation of a distorted denominational historiography of British Pentecostalism, whereby the antecedent links of early Pentecostalism with Victorian faith missions have been conveniently ignored.

Thesis Summary

British Pentecostal historiographies have retrospectively tended to identify key defining events such as Azusa Street, Sunderland and commencement of the AOG to explain the existence and nature of current Pentecostal denominations. Consequently PMU history has been largely regarded as a parenthesis delaying the emergence of Pentecostal denominations and explains why the missional roots of early British Pentecostalism have been so overlooked. The PMU's history has been explored by this thesis in a way that enriches a heterogeneous understanding of early Pentecostalism and shifts Pentecostal historiography away from the homogenous argument that narrowly establishes its origins back either to Azusa or Topeka. This thesis proposes neglect of research into the PMU has created a historical and theological disconnection for later British Pentecostalism with its missional roots both directly to the PMU and also indirectly to nineteenth century faith missions. This thesis employs an historical roots methodology to challenge traditional views of British AOG being largely an American import discontinuous with previous ecclesiastical and social history. This case study on the PMU reveals early British Pentecostalism flowed out of several 19th century revival movements and faith mission streams. It reconstructs the identity of early British Pentecostalism as inherently one of Spirit empowered faith mission and restores the PMU's significance in determining that distinctive missional characteristic within the British AOG.

The primary importance of this thesis has been to re-discover the British PMU's historical narrative and assist British Pentecostalism to understand its missiological heritage. This thesis uses the example of the PMU to illustrate how early British Pentecostal leaders sought to create an organised solution for the heightened missionary zeal generated by the pneumatological and eschatological impulses of the Pentecostal experience, without seeking to impose the institutional control of a denomination that would suppress the work of the Spirit. If Boddy is classified as the father of British Pentecostalism[1333] then certainly Polhill must similarly be regarded as the

[1333] Wakefield, *Boddy* p. 3

founder of British Pentecostal missions. Some could argue his influence on Pentecostal missions was more significant since the PMU was one of the first global Pentecostal missionary organisations. Particularly this thesis demonstrates how Polhill's own missionary connections with the CIM enriched the praxis of early British Pentecostal missiology. The PMU created new opportunities for Spirit filled people to channel that empowerment in organised cross-cultural missionary service. From its infancy British Pentecostalism mobilised missionaries to go to different mission fields, mission stations were established, churches commenced, lives converted to Christianity and indigenous believers discipled into spiritual maturity and service. This thesis proposes that the underlying missional philosophy and expectations within British Pentecostalism that nurtured apostolic missionary leaders such as Burton would not have existed without the establishment of the PMU so early in the British Pentecostal revival. The findings of this thesis concur with Neil Hudson's sentiments that the missionary achievements and influence of early British Pentecostals exceeded their numerical strength.[1334]

In the first year of the PMU Boddy observed 'If only we should be Apostolic in our Methods and our Faith, we should have Apostolic results'.[1335] For all the positive virtues and achievements of the PMU, impetus was lost during and immediately after the War due to lack of apostolic leadership. The War was an unprecedented event impacting Christian missions, including the PMU. It was also during the War that the PMU's faith mission identity was most seriously challenged when the CIM severed itself from the PMU. However it has to be noted Burton successfully pioneered the Congo mission during that same period. A contrast can be made between the models of mission field apostolic leadership Taylor pioneered in CIM's early years, and emulated by Burton's CEM, with the PMU's home council administration. The Great War exposed the systemic weaknesses of the PMU's home council led mission as they became disconnected from the field missionaries.

[1334] Hudson, Neil, 'The Earliest Days of British Pentecostalism' *JEPTA* 21 (2001) p. 55

[1335] Boddy (ed), 'The Edinburgh Conference' *Confidence* Vol. 3 No. 1 (January 1910) p. 16. Boddy understood missionaries who were in apostolic succession to the early church should use the nine gifts of the Spirit as apostolic equipment. Boddy (ed), 'The Missionary's Supernatural Outfit' *Confidence* Vol. 3 No. 3 (March 1910) p. 70

Polhill never claimed to be an apostolic missionary leader in the same mould of Taylor or Burton, as he was a very different personality type. Polhill was an experienced mission practitioner who achieved a great deal in shaping good missional praxis amongst early British Pentecostals not exhibited by many independent Pentecostal missionary counterparts prior to the War. Hocken comments 'Polhill's period of greatest contribution is in the six years from his return from Los Angeles until the outbreak of war in 1914.'[1336] Gee compliments Polhill to say one of his strengths was his warm personal interest in the missionary candidates.[1337] When Polhill died the British AOG HMRC recorded their high esteem of him 'and the great appreciation felt by the HMRC for the lasting benefits that are still enjoyed as the outcome of Mr. Polhill's ripe judgment used, in God's hands, in the laying of a firm foundation for our missionary work.'[1338]

This thesis has linked the early development of Pentecostal mission praxis to both faith missions and the writings of Roland Allen. Allen's influence on Pentecostal missiology requires further investigation as he clearly shaped Pentecostal thinking regarding the Indigenous principle. Allen's significance as a high Anglican for Pentecostal missiology is another example of why research of early Pentecostalism should incorporate a broader historical research approach and discredits any narrow discontinuous interpretations. It has to be questioned how effectively the PMU embraced Allen's missiology while it retained a restrictive home council maintenance model of mission leadership. More urgency was required in supplementing the PMU's lack of apostolic leadership with the appointment of good field superintendents. Field superintendents were acknowledged as necessary by the PMU council and occurred at Yunnan but appointments were never effectively implemented elsewhere. Although a comparison between the PMU with the CIM and CEM may seem slightly unfair in that the latter two societies focused on one nation as opposed to the PMU's involvement in multiple mission fields, the appointment of field superintendents would have overcome many leadership

[1336] Hocken, *Polhill* p. 121
[1337] Gee, *Men I Knew* p. 74
[1338] AOG HMRC minutes, minute 25 'Cecil Polhill' (11th March 1936)

related problems. The reality was missionaries felt isolated, the direction of the PMU was administrative rather than apostolic, decision-making was happening distanced from the mission field context and so action was pedantic and unable to respond promptly to new opportunities. It is interesting to note in the period of amalgamation between the PMU and the British AOG, Titterington proposed a policy devolving more powers to a constituted field council[1339] and Parr sought to shift the missionary enterprise to a model where the home based council existed more for advisory purposes and field superintendents carried greater authority.

A further observation can be made about the breadth of the PMU's missionary activity resulting in resources being too diffused in the way that they were distributed evenly among all the missional needs. PMU council member John Leech KC picked up this point when he proposed the PMU explored its financial situation within a strategic framework of whether it should concentrate its missionary efforts to just one or more countries.[1340] Leech proposed a sub-committee review the PMU's operation investigating key areas of finance, training, missionary candidates and mission fields.[1341] Polhill restricted this proposal to two areas of finance/property and thus forfeited an opportunity for holistic strategic review.[1342] Polhill's review restrictions inevitably led to the PMU's training capacity being reduced rather than a strategic investigation of where it should globally focus its missionary resources. Also the lack of strategic review of PMU mission fields meant that the missionaries carried the main burden for resources being spread too thin.

Another neglect requiring evaluation was that of securing an integrated and co-ordinated home base. *Confidence* was an inspiring magazine in its day influencing more Pentecostal believers towards missions through its broader content than perhaps Polhill's *Flames of Fire* did. However magazines can only achieve so much in stimulating interest in and support of cross-cultural missions. It appears the missionary conferences Polhill and Boddy organised

[1339] PMU archives, correspondence from Titterington to Mundell (12th March 1925)
[1340] PMU minutes, minute no. 8 (29th May 1920)
[1341] PMU minutes, minute no. 7 (10th June 1920)
[1342] PMU minutes, minute no. 5 (6th July 1920)

were reasonably effective in raising the profile of British Pentecostal missions. However these worthwhile means of promoting missions required a cohesive British Pentecostal church infrastructure that actively developed a home base. Throughout the lifetime of the PMU, it can be discerned there was a waning interest in these magazines and conferences. The financial support of *Confidence, Flames of Fire* and mission conferences were on the same basis of faith principles as the PMU. The same socio-economic factors of the inter-war period that impinged on general support levels of the PMU, also created financial constraints for the means that were used to enlist interest and support of the PMU.

A thriving co-operative home-based Pentecostal church in Britain could have sustained essential growth of overseas missions. Sadly the men who actively promoted organised overseas missionary activity were the same ones who opposed the establishment of formal British Pentecostal denominations. This potentially sowed the seeds of a British Pentecostal mentality that perceived the local church needs as opposed or segregated from the support of overseas missionary activity. Certainly this perspective is conveyed by Gee who claimed the British Pentecostal movement's proclivity towards foreign missionary work became a negative factor in the growth of the Pentecostal assemblies in Britain. Gee believed early Pentecostals inconsistently encouraged the appropriateness of mission field training but dissuaded local church leadership ministry training.[1343]

Critical analysis of early British Pentecostals missionary activity reveals stagnation primarily due to the neglected development of the church at home. There were no large Pentecostal churches established in Britain, which could withstand the difficulties of the inter-war period. Whether all the blame for this should be laid at Boddy and Polhill's feet is debatable but there was a vacuum of national leadership prioritising development of British Pentecostalism. If Boddy and Polhill were the anticipated leaders for this necessary development in the period up to 1920 it became clear there was a momentum

[1343] Gee, *Pentecostal Movement* pp. 60 & 90

afterwards seeking fulfilment of this need elsewhere. Boddy was probably the wrong age and too settled in his Anglicanism to lead the Pentecostal movement into a new independent identity. Polhill was a layman passionate about pioneer missions. There is no evidence Polhill ever saw it as part of his remit or calling to be involved in the development of the British church whatever its affiliation. Sadly the position these men took and the connected decline in their own personal prestige within the new Pentecostal movement caused negative consequences for the missionary organisation they were so closely associated with.

The PMU's brief history demonstrates to contemporary Pentecostalism how quickly any spiritual momentum can falter. There are those, like Simon Chan, who feel it is important for Western Pentecostalism to turn around its fatigue and re-discover its missional heritage through the process of spiritual traditioning.[1344] Such terminology may be useful for Pentecostal historians to employ, who want to safeguard a providential understanding of early Pentecostalism but also desire to include a broader historical roots methodology that does justice to the socio-economic and religious context. The purpose of this thesis has not been to discount the inclusion of a providential understanding to research early Pentecostal history but to use the PMU's narrative to challenge the discontinuous application of a Pentecostal providential approach. This thesis utilises a multi-disciplinary methodology to discover factors that shaped the emergence of British Pentecostalism. This thesis provides a basis for Pentecostals to find their distinctive missional roots without embracing the theological discontinuity that hinders missional collaboration with other expressions of Christianity.

[1344] Chan, Simon, *Pentecostal Theology and the Christian Spiritual Tradition* (Sheffield Academic Press, 2000) pp. 10-15

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