Sacrament and Growth

A Study in the Sacramental Dimension of Expansion in the Life of the Local Church, as Reflected in the Theology of Roland Allen

By

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Abstract


Roland Allen (1868–1947) emerged as an independent missionary strategist within the Anglican Mission to China from 1895 to 1904 and within the interdenominational World Dominion Press from 1924 to 1930. He combined a Catholic view of Anglicanism with a deliberate concern for local Christian initiatives and the spontaneous expansion of local Christian communities within their own environment. Basic in the ecclesiology was his view of the Church as a network of local fellowships celebrating the Sacraments. Thus nurtured local Christian fellowships were the proper means of Evangelization. In order to implement this understanding of Mission he encouraged experiments which included a system of voluntary clergy.

In this study Allen’s brand of Sacramental Anglicanism is explored and his functional view of the proper agents of Mission assessed.

*Key words*: Anglicanism, Christian Mission, China, Evangelism, Voluntary Clergy, Theological Education

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PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

As the first, mimeographed, edition (Lund, 1988) and the second, printed, edition (Uppsala, 1989) of the present dissertation have for many years been out of print, the need for a third, electronic, edition has been articulated in different contexts. The recent publication of a special Roland Allen edition (3/2012) of the magazine Transformation (Oxford Centre for Mission Studies), has once again emphasized the importance of Allen as a sacramental theologian, much ahead of his time. Through the good cooperation by Professor Kjell O. Lejon and his staff at the University of Linköping I am now privileged to make my study available on the world wide web. Furthermore I can inform the readers that my entire collection of research material on the present and other related subjects is nowadays deposited in the Library of Örebro School of Theology, Sweden (e-mail address: missionsskolan@efk.se), and thereby available on the spot for further research by interested scholars.

Linköping, Sweden,
January 1, 2013

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CONTENTS

FOREWORD by Canon David M. Paton 1

PREFACE 3

INTRODUCTION 5

CHAPTER I: ROLAND ALLEN - A BIOGRAPHICAL OUTLINE.

1. The young man and his world 1868-1895 8
2. To Oxford in a time of change. 9
3. Brightman and the Lothian Prize 11
4. Advancing for Ministry. 12
5. Facing China. 12
6. Facing England. 16
7. Facing the world. 18
8. The old man's rest. 20

CHAPTER II: SACRAMENTS FOR GROWTH - THE Rediscovered Dimension.

1. A missiological context. 22
2. A biblical basis. 26
   a) Exegetical influences. 26
   b) Pauline principles and methods. 29
   c) A normative pattern? 31
3. The Church, local, real and universal. 33
   a) A general context. 34
   b) The Anglican setting. 36
   c) The local Church, "fully equipped". 38
   d) "A real Church at hand". 41
   e) "A world-wide communion". 43
4. "A profound belief in the power of the Sacraments". 44
   a) Baptism for growth. 45
   b) The Eucharist - the heart of the local Church. 49
   c) The Sacraments and a diversified Ministry. 53
CHAPTER III: "THE SEED GROWING SECRETLY" - THE SACRAMENTAL REALITY AS A MISSIOLOGICAL FERMENT.

1) "Expansion" in an age of expansionism. 57
2) Pauperized people and the expansion of the Church. 58
3) "Non-professional missionaries". 59
4) "Fullness of life and growth in Christ" - The sacramental mission of the Church. 61

CHAPTER IV: CONCLUSIONS

1) A frequent problem of infrequency. 63
2) An alien Allen. 64
3) Critical reflections. 65
4) The neglected dimension. 67

NOTES. 68

ABBREVIATIONS. 132

BIBLIOGRAPHY. 133
I am honoured to be invited to write an introduction to this important book by Åke Talltorp on Roland Allen, because it seems to me that the ideas of Roland Allen are at last beginning to affect church and missionary policy in a number of different centres, different situations and different brands of Christianity. But it has seemed to me for some time that only part of Roland Allen's understanding of Christian mission and the Christian congregation has been getting through.

To put it crudely, one can say that one part of his teaching about the way the Church grows has been taken over and perhaps somewhat altered in the process by the Church Growth movement in North America.

More recently in Britain another part of his teaching has appeared in the form of Non Stipendiary Ministries. But the N.M.S.s (as they are commonly called in the Church of England) are not understood with Allen's depth and breadth. Allen himself is partly responsible, because he tended to respond to particular situations or books or public discussions rather than to expound fully his own whole range of ideas, some of them quite fresh.

A striking example is in the little known paper called A Church Policy for North China. This was published in 1902, when in the Church of England there was discussion about establishing a second Anglican diocese in North China. It was published at a time when the Boxer Rising was over and people were thinking more freely about the extension of the Church. Allen's proposal, put briefly, was that a suitably qualified Bishop, with a few clergy, should start work in a Province by making friends at this difficult and puzzling time for the Chinese people with leaders of the community, and make available all they could in the way of help from Western experience with modern industry and Western democracy and so on. They would not hide their Christian convictions, but they would attempt to reach the heart of China by making practical help available, and allowing the Chinese to explore, when they were ready, what its roots were. Some of the Christian universities followed this trail and are remembered today in China with thanksgiving: and it
was in some ways not unlike the approach of Matteo Ricci, but few of us took it seriously.

Another thing about Allen was the range of his friends. He was at one time fairly close to Fr H.H.Kelly, founder of the Society of the Sacred Mission, and he knew well other leaders including Archbishop Cosmo Gordon Lang.

Underneath this is the fact that although some of Allen’s ideas were taken up, as we have seen, largely by Evangelicals, Allen himself was not an Evangelical in the usual party sense. But to say that he was an Anglo-Catholic can also be misleading. His teaching does not fit easily the expectations associated with words like Evangelical or Anglo-Catholic. We owe, therefore, a great debt to Dr Talltorp for his book, which explores the ecclesiology and theological instincts of Roland Allen and begins to fill up a serious gap in our understanding.

In the process of his research Dr Talltorp has not only meticulously studied Allen’s own writings and the books about him, but also the last decades of the 19th century, where what may be called the second stage of the Tractarian Movement, associated with the book Lux Mundi, was taking place, and where as it happened Allen came into contact with some of the key leaders. Allen was in direct touch as a student at Oxford University with a thoughtful kind of Anglo Catholicism which on the whole was positive rather than negative about modern intellectual developments. It was this kind of Catholicism which he took with him to China.

Dr Talltorp may not have said the last word on the subject: indeed, it is likely that somewhere lurking in the attics of Oxford there is much more material which no-one may have set eyes on for nearly a hundred years. But he has certainly opened up a area of research into Allen himself, and also a reflection on what in his subtitle he pinpoints as the sacramental dimension of expansion in the life of the local church. I for one am very grateful.

DAVID M. PATON
PREFACE

My first encounter with Roland Allen took place in Africa, when I in January 1972 found a book in the Mambo Press Bookshop in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, with the title "Missionary Principles". For almost ten years it remained untouched in my pastoral library until my service as a parish priest forced me to look for constructive models of mission work. After my first reading I ordered further books, which fortunately at that time were still accessible, and I realized that the author had essential things to say about the life and work of the Church, both in the Swedish situation and in Africa. I noted especially the central place of the sacraments in his conception of the Church.

Some years later, when the time was ripe for further studies, Allen's books came back to me. An inquiry to Professor Lars Österlin was met with enthusiasm and encouragement, and here is the result. Through the assistance of a number of helpful people in England, Belize, and Sweden, I have been able to finish this thesis. To all of them I want to give my thanks for their willingness to answer my questions, to supply me with material, and to share with me their convictions of the importance of my subject.

First I would like to thank my Professor and tutor, the Very Revd. Lars Österlin, who, with his good advice and constructive criticism in combination with a genuine interest for Allen's theology, has brought my work to its end. My fellow seminarians have taken up Allen's own role among his friends: "severe yet helpful critic". Their cheerful mood has created an atmosphere which has been of great value both in my research and for myself as a person.

In England I especially want to thank three people: 1. Bishop Leslie Newbigin for his willingness to answer my questions, for his encouraging letters and for exhorting me to have this book printed; 2. Canon David M. Paton for hospitality, supply of important material and for sharing with me his wide knowledge of the history of the Anglican Church in general and the life and work of Roland Allen in particular; 3. Canon Robert W. Renouf of the USPG Staff, for his interest, friendship and experience of research into the Allen material.
A number of Libraries and other Institutions have been quite helpful, especially the staff at the Rhodes House Library in Oxford, the USPG Library in London, the Belize Archives Department, the Swedish Institute of Missionary Research, and the local Library of Funkabo, Kalmar, Sweden. The Lund Missionary Society gave me a grant towards my research in Oxford. The USPG in London has permitted me to use and quote material from their Archives, and the Church of Sweden Mission has supplied printing grants.

I am deeply grateful to the Revd. Bengt Elias, Gothenburg, for his willingness to read and correct my English manuscript. I also want to express my gratitude to Professor Carl F. Hallencreutz, Uppsala, for his cooperation and good advice during the printing process of this edition.

Finally I wish to dedicate this study to my own family and my other fellow Christians in the Chapel of Simon the Tanner in Lindsdal, Sweden, for the privilege of sharing the sacramental life, for trusting me as their priest, and for giving me decisive experiences of the growth and expansion of the local Church of Christ.

Bukoba, Tanzania, January 6th, 1989

Åke Talltorp
INTRODUCTION

Does the sacramental supply in the local Church affect its growth and expansion? What is the driving force of the spontaneous expansion of the Church? In other words: What kind of relationship is there between the Mass and the Mission, and what are the consequences of such a relationship for the missionary witness of the indigenous Christians?

Such were the questions which Roland Allen encountered already during his first period of work in China at the end of the 19th Century. During the following years his reflections and studies resulted in a number of books and articles, where he advocated a model for missionary work with the local Church and its sacramental life in focus. The reception by his contemporaries was far from always enthusiastic, but in the international missiological and ecclesiological reflections of today, his thoughts have been received with a new interest, particularly in the young indigenous Churches of "the Third World".

The aim of this thesis is to describe and analyse the content and context of the sacramental dimension of Roland Allen’s theology of mission with the life and growth of the local Church in focus. In this study the roots of Allen’s theology will be considered in order to find the basis of his theology of the expansion of the Christian faith through the life and work of the local Christians.

To accomplish this research, which has not been looked at before, I have studied Roland Allen’s personal papers, which are deposited in the USPG Archives in Rhodes House Library, Oxford, a gold-mine containing eight boxes filled with manuscripts, articles, newspaper cuttings, letters, a retrospective diary, sermons, and books. (1) In addition I have been able to find important material in the Pusey House Library, Oxford, and in the USPG Library, London. Valuable material has also been supplied by Canon David M. Paton in Gloucester, and by other persons with whom I have corresponded.

The Roland Allen research has not been very extensive. A minor number of books have been written by scholars from different parts of the world. An early treatment of Allen’s view of the indigenous Church has been carried out by Peter Beyerhaus, (2) followed by a work on the conception of the spontaneous expansion of the Church by C. I. van
Heerden. (3) Editions of reprints and biographical essays have been published by David M. Paton, (4) and a monography on Allen's life and work has been written by Hans Wolfgang Metzner. (5) The place of the Holy Spirit in Allen's theology has been discussed by John E. Branner, (6) and a study of Allen's theology in the light of the Liberation Theologians of Latin America has been carried out by Robert W. Renouf. (7)

The limitations of the present thesis mean that different important aspects of Allen's theology have to be left out. This applies to the place of the Holy Spirit, (8) the theology of Voluntary Clergy, (9) and the field of educational matters. (10)

Roland Allen's way of writing is both a disadvantage and an advantage for the research work. The disadvantage lies in his Buse of quotations and references. A number of his books contain allusions to theological works, but the references to explicit sources are infrequent. (11) His own retrospective attitude was that he had written "under a sort of compulsion". (12) "I had to write what sprang rather from my own experience than from books. In all my life I have never learned much from books." (13) Nevertheless, as this study will try to show, a careful reading can discover a good deal of influences from books and articles by contemporary scholars and spiritual leaders. - The advantage can be found in the fact that his theology from the first writings around the turn of the century and onwards is of a fairly stable nature. Apart from a change in his conception of the ordained Ministry after 1930, his theology contains no basic changes in his views on the Church and the Sacraments. What he writes in his earlier articles and books is broadened and developed further, but basically it remains unchanged.

Concerning the terminology in Allen's writings, some words deserve a clarification:

a) CATHOLIC. This term is used by Allen in the sense of "universal". When he refers to "the catholic creeds", (14) he is in harmony with a general Anglican use as referring to the test of Catholicity given in the Vincentian Canon: "Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est". (15) The use of the term can also signify a non-Protestant Anglican theology, with its roots in the Tractarian spirituality.
b) ANGLO-CATHOLIC. This term is used to signify "the more advanced section of the High Church movement" in the Church of England. This was the theological context where Allen’s conceptions of the Church and the sacraments were formed.

c) NATIVE. This term is used by Allen as a positive word, synonymous to "indigenous" = "essentially at home", a term which designates a basic condition for the expansion of the local Church.
CHAPTER I

ROLAND ALLEN
- A BIOGRAPHICAL OUTLINE.

I:1. THE YOUNG MAN AND HIS WORLD.

A few days after Christmas in 1868, a child was born in an Anglican Minister's family. The day was December 29th, and the place was, according to the Birth Register, "The Friary" in Derby, England. The child was Roland Allen.

The family already consisted of four children, three boys and one girl, and the parents were the Revd. Charles Fletcher Allen and his wife Priscilla. The Revd. Allen was at that time a Curate of Radbourne, near Derby, and at the same time he was running a private school in Derby.

When Roland Allen was almost 5 years old, he lost his father, who died at the age of 38 in the Central American city Belize of British Honduras. In this way Mrs Allen was left alone with five children and with very little money. Nevertheless all the children got a good education, and the four boys all went to Oxford for University studies. The intellectual climate in the family seems to have encouraged the children to take up academical training. One of the brothers became a well-known Biblical scholar, but otherwise not very much is known about the fortunes of the other children.

Already during Allen's childhood the Bible was an important book to him. In his retrospective diary, written 1943-44, he as an old man states this quite clearly: "My forebears --- treated the Bible as an inspired book, the Word of God", and the Bible was read in connection with the Tradition of the Church as an interpreting guide.

From the very beginning of his life Roland Allen was an Anglican in his spirituality. "I was brought up in the Church of England, and for years and years I took things to be intellectually apprehended, and thought that the evidence was good and strong". Although he later in his life to some extent reconsidered his heritage, he nevertheless remained an Anglican all his life. What he had learnt during his for-
mative period as a young man in his home, gave him a firm foundation for further theological studies.

Another part of his spiritual heritage was a clear emphasis on the importance of Mission. In his Diary he describes how he, as a four year old child, heard about the "miserable state" of being "ignorant of God’s Love revealed in Christ". His reaction to the message that there were people who had never heard the Gospel, was to cry out: "Then I shall go and tell them."(11)

After leaving Bath College,(12) Allen entered Bristol Grammar School in January 1884 and remained there until July 1887. (13) In the School Archives it is noted that he was a left-handed cricket player in the School team for two years, and "quite a figure in the Debating Society" on various subjects. (14) Allen was awarded the School’s closed scholarship, "the Sir Thomas White Scholarship", for further studies at St.John’s College, Oxford,(15) going there in 1887.(16) In 1889 he got "2nd Class Mods."(17) and in 1891 he graduated for his BA in "2nd cl.Mod.Hist."(18) and was awarded the "Lothian Prize".

I:2. TO OXFORD IN A TIME OF CHANGE.

Roland Allen went up to Oxford when the wind of change was blowing through the theological studies and lecture-rooms in England. The challenges were both of external and internal nature. In 1859 Charles Darwin’s book "Origin of Species" was published, a work which "caused the utmost consternation".(1) Twelve years later, in 1871, a new book by the same author was presented, "The Descent of Man".(2) The theological reactions could be summarized in two sentences: "All this came as a fearful shock to the religious world.--- The clergy as a whole tended to panic".(3) With the exception of men like Hort (4) and Maurice (5), very few theologians were able to take up the new scientific challenge in a constructive manner.

Also from within, the established theology was questioned and challenged. From Germany and France critical influences had crossed the Channel through the books by e.g. D. F. Strauss, "Leben Jesu" (1835, English translation 1846) and J. E. Renan’s "Vie de Jesus" (1863).(6) The climate created by the biblical criticism has been described as "a
time of grave uncertainty, in which it seemed hard to find any resting-place between an obscurantism which refused to ask any questions, and a rationalism which was hardly willing to admit the possibility of any answers."(7) The result was that "the uniqueness of the Bible and of the Christian faith could no longer be regarded as a self-evident truth."(8)

When Roland Allen went up to Oxford, he was facing this situation of change. In 1871 the Government had passed a bill which abolished all religious tests as necessary for University studies.(9) Oxford was no longer what it had been some decades before, "the chief centre of Anglican theological thought and study."(10) Also the High Church "Oxford Movement" was changed. The original leaders had left the scene. A new generation of priests and theologians were now trying to apply the Anglo-Catholic ideals and visions to the new situation. In Oxford Pusey House had been founded a few years earlier, in 1884, "as a centre of theological study and pastoral activity, open to all members of the University."(11) Its motto describes its double loyalties to the Church and the theological science: "Deus Scientiarum Dominus".(12)

At this time the first Principal of Pusey House was the Revd. Charles Gore (1853-1932). (13) One of the young persons under his influence was Roland Allen, who was a student at St.John's College, across the street from Pusey House. His contacts with Gore were for a long time maintained. In a lecture, delivered at the C.M.S. Conference of Missionaries in 1927, Allen gives to his audience a few rare glimpses of what he himself calls "a little autobiography".(14) He there describes how he presented his first study results on the Pauline missionary method to be read by "men like Bishop Gore and Father Waggett". (15) The reactions of those two learned men were not so fully enthusiastic as he seems to have expected, because "they said that it was illuminating. That dismayed me..."(16) Nevertheless Allen's relations with Gore were maintained, which is shown by the fact that he wrote an Introduction to Allen's book "Educational Principles and Missionary Methods", published in 1919. (17) - Later in his life Allen became a severe critic of the theology of the Ministry and the Apostolic Succession as presented by Gore in his book "The Ministry of the Christian Church"(1888). (18)
I:3. BRIGHTMAN AND THE LOTHIAN PRIZE

If Charles Gore was a guide and adviser to the young Allen in his theological studies, there is another person of even greater importance: the Revd. Frank Edward Brightman (1856-1932), "in his day the leading liturgical scholar of the Church of England and a Tractarian." (1) Brightman was the Librarian of Pusey House from 1884 to 1903 and "a strong High Churchman, whose counsel was much sought after by the leaders of the C. of E." (2) The main emphasis in the scholarly work of Brightman lay on the liturgies and the spirituality of the Eastern Orthodox Churches. (3) For this he was conferred two doctor's degrees "honoris causa". (4)

That Brightman was of great importance to Allen is clear from his application letter to the SPG Secretary Tucker in 1892, where he calls Brightman "my dear Father in God". (5) But what has not hitherto been known, is made clear through a study of his BA dissertation.

The dissertation work was carried out in a time when the interest of historical research into the Church of the Middle Ages was great in Oxford. (6) What was then the subject chosen by or for Allen? The answer became clear when I in the Pusey House Library in July 1987 found his dissertation, bound together with other smaller publications in a volume called "Miscellanea: Hagiology". The title is: "Gerbert, Pope Silvester II", (7) a booklet of 46 pages, for which Allen was awarded the 1891 "Lothian Prize", (8) a prize in Modern History, nowadays transformed to a scholarship. (9) - This discovery means that the existing bibliographies have to be corrected and redated by almost a decade, from 1900 to 1892, (10) and this makes it possible to study the ability and skill of the writings of Roland Allen as a young man.

The character of Allen as "a refined intellectual man" was pointed out a few years later by the Principal of the Leeds Clergy Training School. (11) But already in Oxford, F. E. Brightman had discovered the capacity of the young man. Even if Brightman was 12 years older than Allen, a bond of friendship grew between them, which Allen mentioned at the end of his dissertation: "...I am indebted to the kindness of my friend the Rev. F. E. Brightman, of Pusey House, Oxford". (12)
I:4. ADVANCING FOR MINISTRY.

From Oxford, Allen moved to the Leeds Clergy Training School, in order to prepare for Holy Orders in the Church of England. The school had been founded in 1875 by the Vicar of Leeds, John Gott, to train candidates for curacies in town parishes, and its thelogical profile was Tractarian. (1) The corporate worship was for the students a part of their spiritual training. "Mattins and Compline were obligatory, Sext and Evensong voluntary. Holy Communion was administered on three days a week and Saint’s Days". (2) The school was closely related to the Parish Church of Leeds, and the Vicar during Allen’s stay was E.S.T-albot, one of the authors of Lux Mundi. Thus, the training in Leeds clearly corresponded to the Anglo-Catholic Oxford context. In both places the spirituality of Lux Mundi was close at hand. The frequent sacramental life helped to form the theological conceptions of the students.

In 1892, Allen was ordained deacon, and in 1893 the Bishop of Durham, the Biblical scholar B.F.Westcott, priested him and sent him as a Curate to the Parish of St.John the Evangelist in Darlington, West of Middlesborough. (3) He remained there for about two years until he in 1895 started the long journey to the vast areas of "the Middle Kingdom".

I:5. FACING CHINA

During his time at the Leeds Clergy Training School, Roland Allen decided to apply for missionary service. In September 1892, at the age of 23, he wrote two letters to the SPG Mission Secretary Tucker with the aim of introducing himself and asking the Society to send him out in Mission work. The missionary zeal, manifested already in his childhood (see above I:1), was his motivation: "It is the cry of the heathen that comes into my ears: It was the thought of them that made me write to you." (1)

When Allen applied to SPG, he was well aware of some factors which could become hindrances to his service: His weak heart and his lack of money. (2) His Principal at the Clergy School pointed in the same direction when he wrote to Tucker: "He is a refined intellectual man,
small not vigorous - in no way muscular. He is not the sort of man to impress settlers or savages by his physique. And I think he is academic and fastidious rather --- I feel sure that work among the cultured is what he will do best. I would send him, if I had the choice, to a big town rather than to the prairie: to the Asiatic rather than the African."

Even if Roland Allen later in his life could describe himself as "quite innocent" (4) and "in bondage" (5) during his pre-China period, one theme is nevertheless made visible already in his application letters to SPG, and that would become central in his future action and writing: the theme of the expansion of the Church.(6) As has been pointed out by H. W. Metzner, this conception of the Missionary task and his evangelistic zeal "predestinierte Roland Allen zum Kritiker der Missionsmethoden seiner Zeit."(7) The confrontation with the Missionary Church in China would, within a few years time, activate both his criticism and his building up of alternative patterns. "I went out to China in 1895, invited by Bishop Scott (of blessed memory) to open a clergy school for the diocese of North China, which then nominally covered six provinces of North China."(8) The task given to him by the SPG was also to be a Chaplain to the Bishop, to learn the language and to act as a Chaplain at the British Legation in Peking.

During his first years in China, we hear very little from Roland Allen. Although he otherwise was a very literate man who easily formulated his thoughts into writing, he seldom wrote any reports or letters to the SPG office in London, as he was supposed to do. His attitude to that kind of authorship can be summed up in his own words in a short letter to Mr Tucker in December 1897: "I suppose formally I ought to be sending you a report; but I have nothing to report."(9) Now and then he gave the SPG officials a few glimpses from his work, but his relations do not seem to have been very open or cordial. His Bishop, the missionary Bishop Scott, appreciated his skill and his work and mentioned especially his ability to learn the Chinese language.(10)

The event which made the name of Roland Allen known to wider groups of people in England, was the Boxer Rising of 1900 and his diary from inside of the British Legation, published as a book in 1901.(11) But in the heart and mind of Roland Allen something else was more important: The questions of missionary principles and methods in the life of the Church in China. On the period of 1895-1900 he writes: "I became more and more uneasy in my mind. I looked out over
those six provinces and I began to ask myself questions", questions on the huge and impossible task to, with the contemporary methods, provide such a vast area with a properly ordered Church life. "I was in great doubt and perplexity."(12)

After the Boxer Rising Allen went back to England, and during the period of leave he started to study the methods of St.Paul. When he compared the Pauline method with the traditional method of contemporary missionary work, his first reaction was: "I was horrified and dismayed. I thought that I must be quite mad, because I could not imagine how other men wiser than I had not seen what I saw. --- The more I read, the more I saw, the more that great divergence appeared horrible to me; for I thought that St. Paul was right and we were wrong."(13)

Anyway, horror and dismay were not the only reactions in his mind: "When I began to understand St.Paul’s faith and practice I began to enter into liberty..."(14) What he discovered has been formulated by himself in the programmatic words: "the freedom of power for unlimited expansion."(15)

When the Boxer Rising had been suppressed, Allen together with Bishop Scott and other missionaries left China for furlough and arrived in England on the 3rd of November, 1900.(16) During a period of two years he studied St.Paul, wrote articles in the High Church Weekly "the Guardian" (under the pseudonym "Lien") on "A Church Policy for North China" (17). In 1901 he married Miss Mary Beatrice Tarleton, whom he had met in the SPG work in England, a daughter of Admiral Sir John Tarleton (18). He also wrote articles and the book on the Boxer Rising, (19) and got his MA degree at St.John's College in Oxford in 1901. (20)

After the furlough, the Allen's went back to China in the end of 1902 to start a new work in Yung Ch'ing, a small city, situated about 50 miles (150 "li") south of Peking,(21) in the province of Hopeh. (22) In Yung Ch'ing Allen tried to put into practice the Pauline ideas which he had studied. On the work there he has written two documents, a missionary report to SPG, (written in pencil), dated "Christmas 1902", (23) and a revised printed version of the same report, dated "February 20th, 1903". (24) The object of his work was "to get the Christians to work together as a body for common objects and to endeavour to impress
upon them that nothing really succeeded in which success was not the
result of their own effort. The results exceeded my expectation." (25)
The conceptions of self-support, self-government and self-extension were
from the beginning the guiding principles in his work. At an early stage
he successively increased the withdrawal of his own work as a mis­sionary, in order to promote the responsibility of the local Church and
its growth, with the intent "to lead the Chinese to convert the Chinese".
(26)

The work in Yung Ch'ing was of decisive importance for Roland Allen.
Supposingly Yung Ch'ing was also the example mentioned by him in
part II of the "Epilogue" of his book "Missionary Methods" (first
ed.1912). (27) Dr. C.I.van Heerden has pointed out the obvious similiar­i­ties between the two missionary reports of 1902-03 and the content of
the Epilogue, part II. When Allen writes in his introduction to the
Epilogue:"The second illustration --- is the actual experience of one
actual man, and the story is extracted almost verbatim from his diary of
his work" (28), van Heerden concludes that "die man niemand anders
was ni as: Roland Allen!"(29). If this conclusion is correct, and I can
find no reason to question it, we have here a description by Allen
himself on his own work, where his ideas were put into practice in the
life of the Church in China. In that case we have also got an important
cue to the theology of Roland Allen in his own words about himself
(the "actual man"): "He treated the church as a church".(30)

Encouraged by the progress of the missionary methods which he follo­wed in Yung Ch’ing, Allen wanted to start a new work elsewhere in the
"large centres", and to see how his principles would apply "in quite
fresh soil.--- I want wider experience and the experience of more than
one man, i.e. I want to move about and I want to move in company. At
present I am absolutely alone. The Bishop is heartily in sympathy with
me, and would welcome any man who would come and work with me".(31)

Unfortunately Allen’s appeal and his prospects were never brought to
effect. His weak health forced him in the middle of 1903 (32) to leave
China. His mission there was in this way terminated when the new
principles and methods were just beginning to bear fruit.
After arriving in England, in 1904 Roland Allen was given a living as a Vicar of Chalfont St Peter in the deep country of Buckinghamshire. The family was very happy there,(1) but for Roland Allen himself the difficulties of handling the baptismal practice were increasing. As a parish priest he struggled with the question whether it could be right to baptize the children of non-practicing Church-members. (2) His conclusion was expressed to the parishioners in a pastoral letter at his resignation in 1907: "I cannot and will not do these things any longer." (3)

The resignation and the move from the vicarage was "a great blow" to Mrs Allen and the family.(4) During the years that followed they moved several times until they finally settled in 1919 in Amenbury, Beaconsfield, between London and Oxford.(5) Roland Allen himself never took up ordinary parish work but ministered on a voluntary basis. Some of his time was spent working for the SPG in England.(6) Despite his critical opinions on the life and work of the established Church of England, he maintained his contacts with some Anglicans, e.g. Father Herbert Hamilton Kelly (1860-1950) of the Society of the Sacred Mission and the Archbishop Cosmo Gordon Lang (1864-1945). (7)

Of great importance to Allen during his years in England was the friendship of two Evangelical men, Mr Sidney J. W. Clark, a Congregational layman and businessman, who devoted most of his time and his money to promote mission work abroad, and Dr Thomas Cochrane, a Presbyterian who had been a missionary doctor, sent out by the London Missionary Society to Peking, where he had founded the Peking Union Medical College.(8) Although they were of very different personalities and theological backgrounds, they nevertheless found a common task in promoting a missionary policy along the pattern which Roland Allen had described in his books. They therefore in 1923 founded "The World Dominion Press" followed in 1924 by the foundation of "The Survey Application Trust", to a great extent financed by Sidney W.J.Clark. (9) In the group, Allen was "a severe yet helpful critic",(10) and he never had to or wanted to give up his ecclesiastical outlook. "We were not interested in the ministry and the sacraments in the way he was. --- Allen regarded himself as a faithful disciple of the Anglican tradition with a leaning towards the Catholic content, though he differed in important - some would have said, crucial - particulars from the majori-
ty of those in that tradition of that time". (11) - As time went by the work of the World Dominion and the Survey Application Trust more and more focused on the survey aspect. When the understanding for Allen's sacramental ecclesiology in this way vanished, he decided to give up his participation after the death of Sidney Clark in 1930. (12)

Even if Roland Allen in his old days could write: "In all my life I have never learned much from books", (13) he nevertheless spent a good deal of his time after the resignation in 1907 with both studies and writings. He wrote a great number of articles and "Letters to the Editor" on various subjects in different newspapers and magazines. In 1912 his book "Missionary Methods, St Paul's or Ours?" was published with an Introduction by the Bishop of Madras, Henry Whitehead. (14) The following year, in 1913, another book was forwarded to the public, "Missionary Principles", which did not attract the same attention as the previous one. A number of years followed when Allen studied the Montessori pedagogics and its implications for the missionary work. The studies ended up in the publication of "Educational Principles and Missionary Methods" in 1919, with an Introduction by Bishop Charles Gore. Four years later, in 1923, a theme was presented in the book "Voluntary Clergy", which would follow Allen for the rest of his life. Another four years later, in 1927, the year before the World Missionary Conference in Jerusalem, he published "The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church and the Causes, which Hinder It", with an Introduction by Vedanayakam Samuel Azariah, Bishop of Dornakal. In 1930 Allen's last book of public interest was published, "The Case for Voluntary Clergy", a book which was intended as an appeal to the Lambeth Conference of the same year. About that book and its reception, Allen's daughter Priscilla writes: "The book was written with immense care and was published by a different publisher, who used better paper and print, so that it was altogether a fine book. It was a great disappointment to us all when it failed to sell or to make much impression. It was the last proper book my father wrote, except a short life of his friend Sidney Clark, published in 1937." (15)

In his books Allen advocated principles and methods for the missionary Church, which he often felt that his contemporaries did not understand. "I seem to live in a world unknown to most of the missionaries whom I meet, and when I speak they do not understand me", he told a missionary conference in 1927. (16) The impression of Allen as a "voice in the wilderness" during his years in England after his resignation from
Chalfont St Peter, is also strengthened by the memories of his daughter: "He was --- cut off from ordinary service. He could not be a professional missionary, even if his health allowed it, after what he had written about their work; and now he could not hold any office in the Church. He was getting isolated and confined more and more to mere theorizing, because he could not test out his ideas in practice. It is very sad that a man of such gifts and so full of ideas and so full of the Holy Ghost should have been thus banished from active life." (17)

I:7. FACING THE WORLD

Even if Roland Allen sometimes was in a mood of isolation, he closely followed the events and the trends in the mission world. During his time in England, three important conferences on World Mission were held: In Edinburgh 1910, in Le Zoute 1927 and in Jerusalem 1928. Although he hardly participated in any of the conferences, he studied the documents and surely talked to people who had been participants. In Edinburgh at least three persons, with whom he was or soon became acquainted, were present: Bishop Charles Gore (1), Father H.H.Kelly SSM (2) and the Revd. V.S.Azariah from Dornakal in India, who was a speaker at the Conference.(3)

On Le Zoute and Jerusalem, Allen wrote very critical pamphlets, where he scrutinized both the theological and the political findings.(4) His main criticism on Le Zoute can be summed up in two main points: The threat of Government money and the ignorance of the local Church. Government grants can easily reduce the mission schools to "Government agents." (5). Too close cooperation with the Colonial Governments can tomorrow "be a great hindrance. Opposition to Western civilization will be opposition to 'the white man’s Gospel’, opposition to the white Government will be opposition to missionaries."(6) The main reason for this risk is that "the Church in the country is reduced to a position of impotence. --- Throughout this book the African Church is indeed mentioned, but is practically ignored." (7)

Allen’s criticism on Le Zoute was sharpened and brought into a wider spectrum in his review of the Jerusalem conference. The previous questions of money, education and the local Church were extended to include a wide spectrum of subjects. His criticism, which basically was
directed against a social liberal theology with its view that the Kingdom of God could and should be achieved in history, seems to be a basis for the rest of his arguments. "Here is a really vital and fundamental point on which many of us differ from the authors of this Report. We do not believe that Christ's Kingdom is a kingdom of that kind, to be attained by --- rational effort." (8)

An important part of Allen's way of communicating with the international world, and a means for him to exercise some influence, was his vast correspondence. (9)

Besides writing and arguing from his home in England, Allen was a frequent traveller. In 1910 and in 1927-28 he went to India, where he met the Revd V.S. Azariah and George Clay Hubback, the Bishop of Assam. (10) In 1924 he travelled to Canada, a visit which resulted in a number of long articles in "The Church Times" and in the "Canadian Churchman" on his impressions of Church life and the need for voluntary clergy. (11) He also went to Africa, where he visited Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and South Africa. His later travels were financed by Mr Sidney Clark as part of the work for "World Dominion" and the "Survey Application Trust", (12) but despite of the requests made by Dr Thomas Cochrane for missionary surveys to be made in the areas he visited, Allen always was uninterested in such a work and therefore refused. Instead "he wished the whole resources of the Trust to be devoted to the direct study and propagation of thought on the indigenous church." (13)

His last long journey brought him in 1931 to Tanganyika (now Tanzania), where his son John was working. From there he went to Kenya and found a place near Nairobi, where he and his wife settled in 1932. (14) His reasons for leaving Europe behind, were, besides of the family aspect, that "he did not feel there was any place for him in England." (15) That feeling could well have been reinforced by the outcome of the Lambeth Conference in 1930, where the Anglican Bishops decided not to make any decision on the proposals for voluntary clergy. Allen was severely disappointed: "They say 'necessary', they say 'impossible', with the same mouth. The Lambeth Conference said in its Report: 'Hundreds of thousands of Christians of our own and other races are living and, as things are at present, must continue to live almost entirely cut off from the ministry of the Sacraments', and left it at that. Who, then, can
believe them, when they teach the Church Catechism? --- The Church is presented as the home of unreal, meaningless phrases." (16)

I:8. THE OLD MAN’S REST

"Fast verborgen, wie seine ersten Jahrzehnte, sind auch die letzten Jahre Allens bis zu seinem Tode im Juni 1947. Fast einem Meteor gleich kam und verschwand er." (1) These words by Dr Peter Beyerhaus in 1956 reflect the limited knowledge on Allen in the first years of rediscovery. Today the situation is different. An essay by Professor Noel Q.King of Makerere University in Uganda (2) has opened up the last 15 years of his life, when he was resident in Kenya. A memoir by his daughter, Miss Priscilla M.Allen has added further details on his life and work. (3) The years in Africa were not empty years for Roland Allen. On the contrary his wife, Mrs M.B.Allen, stated: "My husband was writing up to the end." (4)

If the writings of Roland Allen reached its culmination at the Lambeth Conference in 1930, (5) his disappointment thereafter did not stop his continued argumentation for the necessity of voluntary clergy to supply the local Churches with a frequent sacramental life and pastoral care. For some time he himself "helped at the cathedral and local churches and up-country when chaplains were on leave; and he harried our poor bishop about voluntary clergy until I am afraid the bishop came to dread the sight of him." (6) More and more Allen withdrew from ordinary Church life to his home, where he used to celebrate the daily Eucharist with his family and occasional visitors. (7)

In the African situation Allen met with two new challenges, from Islam and from the Swahili language. His contacts with the Muslim world had been established already in 1924, when Dr Mahmud Hassan of the University of Dacca was his guest in England. (8) His interest for Muslim thoughts merged in Kenya with his ability to learn and use Swahili, (9) and the outcome was the publication of a number of Swahili translations of Muslim texts. (10) On this new dimension in his life, Professor Noel Q.King writes: "It is in his Swahili works that in some ways we have Allen at his most likable, the humble and careful scholar, aware of his own inadequacies, trying to appreciate the beauty of another civilization." (11)
During the Second World War, Roland Allen had a bad illness, from which he, in the words of his daughter, "never recovered his full strength. But I think old age brought peace. He was content to sit on the verandah of our Nairobi house reading the Bible and the Greek and Latin classics and helping my brother with the translation of Swahili epic poetry.--- His mind remained clear and alert until the morning before his death, and he died without pain." (12)

The death of Roland Allen on June 9, 1947, could be seen to be the end of his mission, but in fact it was just a beginning. As he himself had told his son, his writings would not be understood until about 1960. His prophecy turned out to be true, but, as Bishop Newbigin has stated, his voice was not silent in the meantime. "Quietly but insistently it has continued to challenge the accepted assumptions of churches and missions, and slowly but steadily the number of those who found themselves compelled to listen has increased." (13)
CHAPTER II

SACRAMENTS FOR GROWTH - THE REDISCOVERED DIMENSION.

When Roland Allen at the outset of the 20th century started to question and reconsider the existing missionary principles and methods, his aim was constructive. As a theologian he was dependent on his double experiences of being an Anglican priest and a missionary. His writings were shaped at the crossroads where different ideologies, theologies, and personal influences encountered and formed his alternatives. This chapter intends to give a description and an analysis of some basic features in the sacramental conception of the Church and its mission, a conception which to Allen is the core of his theology.

II:1. A MISSIOLOGICAL CONTEXT.

For Allen as a theologian of Anglo-Catholic background it was quite natural to turn to "the moderately 'High Church' Society for the Propagation of the Gospel"(1) when he decided to materialize his intentions of becoming a missionary abroad. But there is in Allen’s life and theology also an Evangelical strain. In spite of the theological differences, the High Church Oxford Movement and the Evangelical tradition had influenced each other. Therefore the Anglican pattern of comprehensiveness during the last part of the 19th century could give birth to what has been called "Catholic Evangelicals".(2) Roland Allen was a man of that kind of spirituality.(3)

On the international missiological scene, works by the Anglican Henry Venn (1796-1873) and the American Congregationalist Rufus Anderson (1796-1880) were widely read. (4) Of special interest for our subject is their treatment of the "three selves" formula, which was coined by Anderson in 1854-55.(5) Although the two men used the same vocabulary, their conclusions were quite different. For Venn, the "self-support, self-government, self-propagation" of the indigenous Church was the end of the missionary work, while Anderson advocated the pattern to be
applied in the local Churches from the beginning. (6) He therefore argued that local men of the local Churches should be ordained Elders, Presbyters, to care for the needs and the spiritual growth of the converts. (7) Of particular interest is Anderson's emphasis on the young Church as responsible for its own mission. (8)

On several occasions Allen lived and worked in close cooperation with Presbyterians like Dr. Huntly of Agra (9) and Dr Thomas Cochrane. (10) In China, the American Presbyterian missionary Dr. John L. Nevius was during the last decades of the 19th century reconsidering the traditional methods for missionary work. As the thoughts of Nevius are close to Allen's, they need an extended study here.

In 1885, Nevius published a series of articles in "The Chinese Recorder", which would come to be of great influence on the missionary debate. (11) In 1890, Nevius accepted an invitation to lecture at a missionary course in Korea, where his "method" was received and put into practice by the Presbyterian mission. The two main principles of the "Nevius method" were the necessity of "self-support" from the very beginning and the formation of Bible classes. "The Old System" was confronted with "the New System" as representing two different attitudes to paid agents and foreign economical support in the "native churches". (12)

Nevius' revaluation of "the Old System" had taken place from within the Chinese situation "because it did not work, or because it worked evil." (13) "The New System" was argued to be in line with the method used by the Apostles in the New Testament time. (14) The extension of the Church is largely dependent on "the godly lives and voluntary activities of its members." (15) "Elders should be ordained as soon as practicable" (16) and they should not receive any payment for their service.

A parallel reading of the works written by Nevius and Allen reveals a striking similarity in the arguments for an alternative method of missionary work. Even if Allen does not explicitly mention Nevius until 1930-31, (17) his ideas already during the first years as a young missionary in Peking indicate an influence. The person who could have introduced Allen to the Nevius material was his Bishop, C. P. Scott. (18)
After arriving in China in 1854, (19) Nevius, like many other missionaries of different societies, went to Chefoo, where he settled in 1862. (20) The reason for choosing that place was that, according to the 1858 Treaties, Chefoo was one of the ports opened to foreign trade and residence. (21) In England the SPG was looking for an opportunity to open a new work in China, and in 1874 two young men were sent out. One of them was Revd Charles Perry Scott. At their arrival in China, they went first to Chefoo in order to learn the language and the habits of the country. (22) There "Dr Nevius --- welcomed them into his own house and gave them all his encouragement and help", and, assisted by Nevius, they after some time searched for a place for settlement and work. (23) In 1880, Revd Scott was consecrated Bishop of North China with a diocese covering the six northern provinces of the country. (24)

In 1885 Dr Nevius had published his mentioned articles in "The Chinese Recorder", a paper which "served to tie the Protestant missionary body together and to influence missionary thought." (25) When Roland Allen arrived in China in 1895, he became a Chaplain to Bishop Scott, and obviously their relations were good, both in the work and on the personal level. (26) The Bishop was also favourable to Allen's new work in Yung Ch'ing, where his methods were close to the Nevius principles. (27)

The general influence of Nevius in the Chinese missionary world, together with the articles of 1885 and the personal experiences by Bishop Scott, formed a context where Roland Allen could start his revaluation of the existing models of missionary work. His articles in the Guardian in 1902, and the following work in Yung Ch'ing, can be understood as an expression of what Nevius had called "the New System", but in an Anglican dress. (28)

With a good deal of consent Allen reviewed the "Nevius method" in 1930-31. "It was insistence on self-support from the very beginning which led Dr.Nevius to think of the best method of instructing Christian groups when he contemplated them as multiplying rapidly without the immediate direction and support of a paid teacher. Self-support is therefore the foundation stone in the Nevius System."(29) The working of the Bible Class System was much appreciated by Allen. "It was religious education of the whole body of Christians ---It seems to me that here this Presbyterian Mission came nearer to solving that question of Mission Education ---than any other known to me."(30)
In spite of his admiration, Allen also formulated his basic criticism of the "Nevius method": "Self-support was understood as purely financial."(31) Even if Nevius himself had included other aspects, the influence of the other missionaries narrowed the formula into a purely financial concept because of the adherence to a system where the ministers have to be paid pastors. The basic intention by Nevius to appoint Elders "in every Church according to the Apostolic example" was not carried out. According to Allen this meant "the constitution not of a Church, but of a group of Christians without the rites of the Church inherent in the body."(32) "Any definition of a Church must include the power to administer the Sacraments."(33) Because of the inflexible adherence to the stipendiary system, "the whole Apostolic system is broken and all Apostolic principles are subordinated to money. Dr. Nevius' 'Self-support' broke down here. It sufficed for maintenance of a group from the beginning but not for the establishment of a Church from the beginning." (34)

The Anderson and Nevius principle of putting the "three selves" into practice from the very beginning in the life of the local Church was deepened by Roland Allen through his studies of St Paul. It was advocated already in his anonymous article "A Church Policy for North China" in 1902, written during his furlough in Enland (35), and the theme was frequently argued in his writings throughout his life.

Another factor in Allen's missionary context was the Revivalist appeal, to which he was very critical."So lurid accounts of heathen abominations, glowing descriptions of wonderful opportunities, are indirect appeals. They may lead to an outburst of compassion and desire, or they may simply tickle the ears."(36) The risk is that "under the momentary stimulus of these appeals many take an interest in missions who know nothing of the missionary spirit."(37) Allen's own alternative "begins with an act of reception."(38) "The true missionary spirit is renewed not as much by attendance at missionary meetings as by attendance at the Holy Communion."(39)

During Roland Allen's time in Oxford, the Bishops' decision in 1888, known as "the Lambeth Quadrilateral"(40) included some important features which became decisive both in the Ecumenical work and in the outlook of Anglo-Catholic missionary groups. For Allen the Bible, the Sacraments and the Ministry are insubly united in an incarnational,
sacramental ecclesiology with the life and expansion of the local Church in focus. They therefore form a natural framework of the present chapter.

II:2. A BIBLICAL BASIS.

Throughout the writings of Roland Allen, the Biblical arguments are of fundamental importance. The references are generally limited to the New Testament, particularly taken from Acts and the Pauline Epistles. Old Testament texts are very rare. The interest for the biblical world was, as I have indicated above, (1) part of his background, both at home and in the Anglo-Catholic movement in Oxford, where his basic concepts of the Church were formed.

II:2:a EXEGETICAL INFLUENCES.

The exegetical studies were taken up when Roland Allen arrived in England for his furlough in 1900, when he "began to study the methods of the Apostle St Paul."(2) A man of particular importance for the study of the Acts, was WILLIAM MITCHELL RAMSAY (1851-1939). (3) As will be shown, his books exercised a great influence on Allen's understanding of the principles and methods of St Paul.

Ramsay had specialized his research to cover the Western parts of Turkey during the first Christian ages. In his scholarship he was influenced by the findings by Adolf von Harnack, (4) and von Harnack was in his turn influenced by Ramsay. (5)

Three of the books written by Ramsay, were important for Roland Allen: "The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D.170" (1893), (6) "The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia" (1895-97), which gave the temporal frame of St Paul's missionary work in the area,(7) and "St Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen" (1895),(8) from which Allen drew most of his material.

"In little more than ten years St Paul established the Church in four provinces of the Empire, Galatia, Macedonia, Achaia and Asia. Before
AD 47 there were no churches in these provinces; in AD 57 St Paul could speak as if his work there was done, and could plan extensive tours into the far west without anxiety lest the churches which he had founded might perish in his absence for want of his guidance and support."(9) With this prelude Allen opens his book "Missionary Methods: St Paul's or Ours?" in 1912, and his wording indicates his dependence on Ramsay, who's books had supplied him with a temporal frame, and who had written:"The new religion spread with marvellous rapidity from the beginning of St Paul's preaching in Western Asia Minor."(10)

A frequent theme in Allen's theology of the ministry is the appointment of presbyters/elders as necessary for the spiritual life and growth of the local Church. These aspects can be found already in Ramsay's works. "The fundamental part of the Church organisation lay in the appointment of Elders (presbyteroi)." (11) The ministers mentioned in Phil.1:1 ("Bishops and Deacons") "are the Elders and Deacons, who were the constituted officials of the Church."(12) The Elders "were chosen as representative members of the congregation"(13) and at their appointment "the votes and voice of each congregation were considered."(14) This is the pattern worked out by St Paul, who "everywhere instituted Elders in his new Churches", (15) and it is "intended to be typical of the way of appointment followed in all later cases." (16) This was intended by St Paul as a general method. "When Paul directed Titus (15) to appoint Elders in each Cretan city, he was doubtless thinking of the same method which he followed here."(17)

The ministerial pattern given by Ramsay can be regarded as one of the foundation stones upon which Allen's conception of the fully equipped local Church was based. We may also find a basis here for his arguments for Voluntary Clergy as a ministry brought forward by and living in the local Church.

Among the works by contemporary Biblical scholars mentioned by Allen are Bigg and Friedländer, (18) but the main exegetical influence, besides Ramsay, comes from ADOLF von HARNACK (1851-1930). As a representative for the German school of liberal theology and historical criticism, Harnack exercised a great influence on the contemporary theologic debate. In the developments of the early Church he saw a line of degeneration from "the simple teachings of Jesus" to the development
of the Church with its organized life and dogmatic teaching, a "creation
of the Hellenic spirit on the soil of the Gospel". (19)

In spite of his critical attitude, Harnack treated the New Testament texts
as historical documents. For the missiological study, Harnack's book
"The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries"
was of great contemporary influence. (20)

After his resignation from Chalfont St.Peter in 1907, Allen once more
took up his missiological studies and writings. In his book "Missionary
Methods" (1912) (21) it is quite clear that Harnack's book had had a
great influence on his thinking.(22) To the careful reader it is evident
that Harnack's findings, together with the influences from Ramsay, to a
great extent permeate Allen's view of the Pauline context and his
methods of planting the Church. Some examples will be given here.

The relationship between the universal Church and the local Church is
by Harnack described in terms of both independence and dependence.
"Every community was at once a unit, complete in itself; but it was also
a reproduction of the collective church of God, and it had to recognize
and manifest itself as such."(23) "The disciples of Jesus --- appropriated
to themselves the form and well-knit frame of Judaism, spiritualizing it
and strengthening it..." and in so doing "they secured a firm and ex-
clusive organization, embracing all Christians on earth." And yet the
Church "would hardly have remained effective for any length of time,
had it not been allied to local organization."(24)

When refering to "the collective organization" of the Church and its
importance to the individuals, Harnack also speculates on the reasons for
the expansion of Christianity. About the missionary importance of the
local Christian group he writes: "It was this, and not any evangelist,
which proved to be the most effective missionary. In fact, we may take it
for granted that the mere existence and persistent activity of the in-
dividual Christian communities did more than anything else to bring
about the extension of the Christian religion."(25)

In dealing with the life of the early Church during the decades after St
Paul, Harnack describes the situation: "In the church alone all blessings
are to be had, in its ordinances and organizations. It is only the church
firmly equipped with bishop, presbyters, and deacons, with common
worship and with sacraments, which is the creation of God."(26) In this
context we find this statement by Harnack of great importance for the subject of the present thesis: "The common worship, with its centre in the celebration of the Supper, is the cardinal point.--- "Here every experience, every spiritual need, found nourishment." (italics mine) (27)

The outcome of Harnack's and other German biblical scholars' research actually strengthened the Anglo-Catholic sacramental theology in an unexpected way. This has been noted by W.J. Sparrow Simpson, who was a contemporary of Roland Allen: "Biblical criticism in Germany, conducted quite independently of Catholic pre-suppositions, is found in certain matters to be on the side of Catholicism rather than against it.--- Distinguished Biblical critics have detected the Sacramentalism of the Church in the Epistles of St Paul. He is recognized to be in principle a powerful cause of the Catholicism which followed.--- His institutionalism, his sacramentalism, are in that case original elements in the Gospel." (28)

The development described here can be evaluated in different ways. Harnack regarded it as a degeneration, but it could just as well be given a positive meaning, as an outcome of the Incarnation and its extension in the life and growth of the Church.

II:2:b PAULINE PRINCIPLES AND METHODS

"St Paul did not scatter seeds, he planted". (1) In this short sentence, important aspects of Roland Allen's view of the Pauline principles and methods are condensed. The words were primarily written to describe the attitude of St Paul to his hearers, to be serious about their ability to accept or reject the Gospel, but the wording also contains a general concept of principles put into practice according to a reflected method.

The importance of St Paul as a methodical missionary was emphasized already by Rufus Anderson: "His grand means as a missionary was the gathering and forming of local churches. These appear to have been formed wherever there was a sufficient number of converts, each with its own presbyters to whom must have been committed the pastoral oversight of the church, whatever may have been their other duties." (2) Allen's writings follow the same stream, but he also describes the constitutive elements of the Christian communities founded by St Paul:
"St Paul did not gather congregations, he planted churches, and he did not leave a church until it was fully equipped with orders of ministry, sacraments and tradition."(3)

The words "fully equipped" are central in Allen’s interpretation of the life and growth of the local Church in the New Testament. "St Paul seems to have left his newly-founded churches with a simple system of Gospel teaching, two sacraments, a tradition of the main facts of the death and resurrection, and the Old Testament."(4) By leaving the newly-converted Christians with a simple teaching, St Paul followed a conscious method. "A man does not need to know much to lay hold on Christ. St Paul began with simplicity and brevity."(5) But conscious of the risks inherited in such a manner, Allen adds a corrective: "We may teach simply to simple people,--- but behind all our teaching,--- there must be the catholic creeds."(6)

The clue to the success of the rapid expansion of Christianity through the Pauline Churches, was, according to Allen, that St Paul "looked upon the Church as the Body of Christ, and when he made converts he did not deny the rights of the Body.--- The Sacraments of Christ were theirs by right of Christ’s ordinance; and he ordained elders to direct the conduct of the Society in which the Christians lived and enjoyed the privileges of Christ’s giving."(7) Because St Paul did not put up any hindrances to the growth, the indigenous Church became a reality from the beginning. "So the Churches were established and straightway the life of Christ in them revealed its indigenous character."(8)

As "the sacraments and the tradition and the other rights and privileges of a Church"(9) are delivered to the local Church, it is essential to have a group of ministers responsible for the pastoral care and the sacramental life. Those ministers should not be supplied from outside the congregation. "The missionary can find the clergy, the officers of the new congregation, in the congregation. That is the course which the Apostle pursued."(10)

What Roland Allen discovered in his encounter with the missionary St Paul, was that the establishment of "fully equipped" Churches was the driving force in the mission and expansion of the early Church. "St Paul did not go about as a missionary preacher merely to convert individuals: he went to establish churches from which the light might radiate throughout the whole country round. The secret of success in this work lies in
beginning at the very beginning. It is the training of the first converts which sets the type of the future."(11)

An excursus on the application of the Pauline methods is given by Allen in an article in the International Review of Missions in 1920.(12) Refering to the works of two scholars, Dr Blyden and Professor Westerman, he discusses the mechanisms behind the rapid growth of Islam in Africa. The pattern is described by Allen in church-terms: "Islam is presented to natives by natives and converts are received into a native church.--- As that society is self-propagating so it is obviously self-supporting and independent."(13) The counter-attack from the Christian world to beat back the expansion of Islam should be "a free native Church conscious of its royal prerogatives (I Pet.ii.9)". (14) The threat from the Muslims is later in Allen's life described as serious because they "believe in the power of their religion sufficiently to entrust it wholly to anyone who will accept it. In that at least they are Pauline."(15) In this way even a detour to a non-biblical religion can, according to Allen, teach the Christian Church to follow the biblical principles and methods of St Paul. (16)

II:2:c A NORMATIVE PATTERN?

Due to his place in the New Testament texts, St Paul has throughout the history of the Church been regarded as a prominent missionary figure. But to what extent can his principles and methods be regarded as normative to the life and mission of the Church in a different time? That question was of great importance to Roland Allen, and it was also increasingly discussed in the missiological literature of his time.

In his Introduction to "Missionary Methods: St Paul's or Ours?", Allen stressed how remote the Pauline pattern was in the beginning of the 20th century. "Today if a man ventures to suggest that there may be something in the methods by which St Paul attained such wonderful results worthy of our careful attention, and perhaps of our imitation, he is in danger of being accused of revolutionary tendencies."(1) From the world of the missionary societies no support was to be expected,(2) but among contemporary biblical and historical scholars, the rediscovery of the impact of the early Church was gaining interest. This could e.g. be noticed at the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh (1910), where
the address by Professor H.A.A. Kennedy was dealing with "The Mis-
sions of the Early Church in their Bearing on Modern Missions". (3) In
reference to Harnack's "Mission and Expansion" (4) he emphasized the
plan of St. Paul as important for building an indigenous Church where
the Christian "natives of the soil" were the true missionaries. Thus the
Churches of the early centuries were "self-governing, self-supporting,
and in the highest degree self-propagating." (5)

A hesitant reception of Allen's proposals was given by Johannes War-
neck. With consent he quoted Allen's "Missionary Methods" on the
growth of the Pauline Churches as based on the indwelling Spirit of
Christ, (6) but at the same time he was critical to apply Allen's views to
the missionary work of his own time. (7) Yet he was open to the possi-
bility of a personal experience behind Allen's description of his alterna-
tive model as put into practice.

The general criticism raised against the application of the Pauline
methods was that times and circumstances had changed, (8) but Allen
instead wanted to emphasize an other difference: The division between
"they" (the people in question) and "we" (the missionaries). (9) "There is
a most profound difference between men who hold and preach a Gospel
in which they so believe that they can entrust it to any man however
degraded, and men who hold and preach a Gospel in which they so
believe that they feel that without their guidance and training it must
inevitably perish.... The present misunderstanding of the Pauline practice
is due to that fundamental difference, the objections raised are all based
upon it." (10)

In response to the criticism, Allen did not agree that the difference
between the early Church and the Church of the 20th Century is of
fundamental importance. To describe the way in which he thought the
Pauline methods could be applied, he gave a long description in "Mis-
ventionary Methods", supplemented with his own experiences. (11) His basic
attitude to the arguments about the changed times and circumstances,
was that "principles do not change, and the Apostle was wiser than
we." (12) "God has not changed, Christ is the same, the Holy Ghost has
not lost His power. It is we who have changed. If there is hindrance, it
is in us." (13)

Allen's propagation of the Pauline pattern of missionary work can hardly
be traced to a traditional form of biblicism. As we have already seen, he
accepted the methods and results by the contemporary Biblical criticism. His personal connection with Charles Gore gave him good insights into an Anglo-Catholic minded use of the critical method, and Gore’s conception of "real inspiration" is close to Allen's view. However Allen’s critical attitude did not affect the Pauline Epistles where he found passages which "expressed directly spiritual and moral truths which hit me like pistol shots".

As Allen's conception of the Church and the Sacraments was formed within an Anglo-Catholic context, we can there find a basis for his reverence to the early Church and the apostolical pattern of St Paul. "Tractarianism was an appeal to History.--- it was specially an appeal to the Doctrine and Practice of the Primitive Church." Such an opinion was held by John Keble, to whom "Antiquity was normative, not only with regard to some selected points, such as the Creed and the episcopal system, but as a whole", and the opinion was held also before Keble by "High Churchmen of the old school". The argument about the early Church as a norm was decisive also for J.H.Newman during his Anglican period, but a change of opinion in this matter led him to the conclusion that the Primitive Church should not be the model, but the Church which successively through the history had discovered more and more of the truth. This opinion of Newman was strongly rejected by Charles Gore in his book "Roman Catholic Claims".

In this way the Tractarian views by the spiritual fathers and friends of the young Roland Allen, together with the findings by Biblical and Historical scholars, formed a framework for his development of the Pauline principles and methods as missiological norms.

II:3. THE CHURCH: LOCAL, REAL, AND UNIVERSAL.

In the writings of Roland Allen we meet a Church-centred theology of mission. Both the universal and the local Church is in focus, and his conception of the Church deals with a visible and real Church, where the members are responsible for its mission and expansion. According to Allen, "The Church is a Body, the Sacraments are the rites of the Body, and the Priesthood is in the Body. The universal is in the particular as truly as the particular is in the universal Church". This means that "any definition of a Church must include the power to administer the
Sacraments."(2) Allen traces his definitions to the biblical time: "In the New Testament a Church is a congregation of Christian men organised with its own proper ministers, its own proper rites and services." (3) Therefore the importance of the fullness of the local Church is emphasized: "When I speak of churches I am not thinking of pseudo-national churches, national only in name, but of local churches, like those founded by St Paul, churches fully established with their proper ministers."(4)

To establish the Church, four things are necessary: "A tradition of elementary Creed, the Sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Communion, Orders, and the Holy Scriptures."(5) To those four aspects, the presence of the Christian people can be added. "The Church is the laity plus the clergy."(6) The Church is not an organization of human origin. It is instituted by Christ (7) and therefore "the Ministry of Christ and the Sacraments of Christ are the foundations, not coping-stones, of a Church --- necessary at the very beginning as at any time."(8)

II:3:a A GENERAL CONTEXT

To Allen the Church established along the mentioned principles has a clear Catholic identity. "The Catholic doctrine --- is the doctrine of all ages, of the primitive Christians as well as of us who live in this last age."(1) The missionary task is to "establish the Catholic Church in the world."(2) In an early article from 1909 on the policy in China, the work to be done is stated: "What is needed is, not a veneer of Christian civilization, but a strong Christian Church imbued with Catholic principles and established on Catholic lines, knowing the Christian Faith and propagating the Christian Faith by word and conversation."(3)

In the ecclesiology of Roland Allen there is a basic incarnational conception. Through the Incarnation the material things are given a significance as the means of salvation. "There is in Christ no ignoring of the outward material form." The Spirit is "the power which God has given us, the power of making material things into vehicles of spiritual force."(4) "When the Son of God desired to reveal Himself to us, He took upon Him the form of a servant, and He made a material body the manifestation of the Eternal God who is Spirit."(5) The existence of the Church therefore has consequences for the world: "The Revelation of
Christ in the Church brings a revelation of Christ in the world through the Church."(6)

As will be shown later in this chapter, the incarnational conception is the basis for Allen’s sacramental dimension of the Church and its expansion. But it has also consequences for the different aims of the Church and the Missionary societies. The basic missionary body is the Church. Such was the pattern in the Early Church, where "every member was potentially a missionary --- The new modern missionary organization is an addition".(7) Even more, it is foreign to the Bible. "The apostles established, not missions, but churches fully equipped for growth and expansion."(8) When this is realized "the time has come for change --- it is our duty, not to establish Missions but to found Churches."(9) This means "to plant Churches instead of mission stations, Churches native, self-governing, self-extending and self-supporting from the very beginning..." (10) The extension of Christianity through the early Church formed a pattern which should be followed even today: "Apostolic Churches begat Churches." (11)

The reason why Roland Allen dealt with the ecclesiological questions was the situation which he saw in groups of Christians, scattered around the world. Because of the lack of stipendiary clergy they were deprived of a regular sacramental Church life. They were "dischurched". (12) "Because we use missionary clergy to do the work of parish priests we are compelled to spread their services thin. --- Consequently the parish has no real living unity in itself --- When the priest is urgently needed he is not there; and either he must be sought with difficulty, or the people must act without him. --- Can we call this a church? Is it not a parody of a church?" (13) To describe this situation, Allen used the term "pauperization". People are facing "a spiritual pauperism which teaches men to depend upon an uncertain, and irregular, and enfeebling dole, instead of acting and working". (14) To teach people to depend on pastoral help "from some distant source --- is to pauperize them spiritually." (15) This kind of teaching "is suicidal." (16) The consequences for the mission and expansion are obvious: "Those who do not desire the sacraments --- are very seldom, if ever, zealous to propagate the Gospel or to extend the Church. Those who desire the sacraments and feel the need of them for themselves and for others cannot propagate the Gospel or extend the Church without sacraments." (17)
II:3:b THE ANGLICAN SETTING

As an Anglican, Allen was writing within an incarnational theological context, where the question of Christology was the leading subject of the debate in the early years of the twentieth century. (1) The incarnational approach had already been taken up by Richard Hooker (1554-1600) (2), to whom the Church was a visible society, which shares in the reality of the incarnate Christ. (3) Through the influence of Latitudinarianism the national and established character of Church of England had been emphasized, while the incarnational and sacramental dimensions had become obscured. (4) Due to the Oxford Movement it had once again come into the focus of ecclesiology. (5) The Church was by the Tractarians regarded as a sacramental body, (6) and "Nationalism was subordinate to Catholicism". (7)

The Incarnational line was followed up in Oxford in 1889, while Roland Allen was still a student, by the publication of "Lux Mundi, A Series of Studies in the Religion of the Incarnation", edited by Charles Gore. The book was an independent follower of the Tractarian theology, "one of the most significant turning points in the history of Anglican divinity as a whole". (8) "Few books in modern times have so clearly marked the presence of a new era and so deeply influenced its character." (9) "A theology of Incarnation prevailed in Anglican divinity --- due in part to the prophetic teaching of Westcott upon the Incarnation and social progress, and in part to the dogmatic teaching of the Lux Mundi school."(10)

As the essay by R.C.Moberly indicates, the Incarnation was "the basis of Dogma". (11) The theme was followed up in the ecclesiological essay by Walter Lock, (12) where an influence from F.D.Maurice can be found. The Incarnation is regarded as a continuous manifestation of the life of Christ, and therefore "the Church appears as a realization of the natural divine life in humanity" (Ekström). (13) With reference to the role of the Jewish people in the OT, Lock points to the principle of "sacerdotalism": God gives his gifts "specially to a few, that they may use them for the good of the whole". (14) The application on the Church means that by his election, God "designed to fit the few for blessing the many, one for blessing all."(15) As "the very essence of the Incarnation lies in the consecration of human life and human means", (16) the consequences are obvious as regards the view on matter and the Church: "The Infinite appears in finite form; the spiritual takes the material in
which to express itself;" (17) The Church "was to continue His work" (18) and "therefore it is a visible body." The idea of an invisible Church "--- is an idea entirely at variance with Scripture and all pre-reformation teaching." (19) In the Church "the Spiritual unity derived from the Lord is imparted through Sacraments; but this at once links the inward life and spiritual unity with some form of external organization." (20)

Following the views of Newman, Pusey and Lock, (21) Charles Gore formulated his wellknown ecclesiological statement, that the Church is "the extension of the incarnation". (22) In his theology, "the Church and the Sacramental life are both grounded in the person of Christ. --- The visible Church --- is an incarnational, sacramental unity". (Griffiss) (23) An important missiological consequence of Gore's emphasis on the visible Church is that "the Church itself is the condition for the means of grace and creates the inner Spiritual life. The Church creates Church." (Ekström) (24)

As has been stated above, there are clear similarities between the Anglo-Catholic theologians and Roland Allen concerning the incarnational identity of the Church. But a word of warning, possibly with reference to Gore's teachings, can nevertheless be found in "Missionary Principles" (1913): "...men speak of the extension of the Church as identical with the Revelation of Christ. It is easy to say that they are the same, because the manifestation of Christ is in and through the perfecting of the Church. But it is not reason thus to confound Christ with his Church. Christ and the Church are not convertible terms." (25)

A contemporary theologian, whom Allen frequently quoted, was Father Herbert Hamilton Kelly, leader of "The Society of the Sacred Mission" in Kelham. (26) In 1908 Kelly had, in an account of his Society, written some sentences which are likely to have influenced Allens arguments: "Nothing is simpler than to dot a country over with stations at convenient centres, each with its missionary and group of converts, but we do not go to a heathen land to make converts. We go in order to make a Church". (27)

The incarnational-sacramental identity of the Church can also be used to classify churches and denominations into two main groups: Eucharistic Churches and Verbal Churches. (28) If this distinction is followed, the ecclesiology of Roland Allen can easily be classified as belonging to the Eucharistic group. The words by Walter Lock in Lux Mundi could be
used as a reasonable characterization of Allen’s way of confronting the real Church of his time with the ideal he was advocating: "The ideal is never thought of as something different from the real; --- the real is the ideal, though not yet completely developed; the ideal is the actual basis of the real as much as the goal to which the real is tending." (29)

In order to actualize his ideals in the life and mission of the Church, Allen consciously focused on the local Church as the basic unit of the Catholic Church. What surprised him was the tiny support he got from Catholic groups within the Anglican Communion. In spite of their clear conviction of the necessity of the ordained ministry for the sacramental life of the Church, those groups had built a missionary pattern of non-sacramental congregations, based on the work of lay preachers: "The question is whether we ought to establish churches on the basis of a lay ministry, with the Sacraments as an occasional luxury. --- I am always surprised, because I should have naturally imagined that Anglo-Catholics of all men would have been the first to perceive that the Sacraments must be made the normal regular foundation of all Church life, even in the smallest groups;" (30) The question which troubled Allen was why they could not see the danger of the established system, or why those who actually saw the problem did not try to change it. (31)

II:3:c THE LOCAL CHURCH, "FULLY EQUIPPED"

"Anything to be real, must be local" - This saying could summarize the importance which Roland Allen gave to the local Church: "The universal Church must be represented in the local church." (1)

When scrutinizing the established missionary policy, Allen referred to the alternative pattern which he found in the New Testament: "St Paul certainly did not found churches without local ministers and sacraments." (2) "In the New Testament a Church is a congregation of Christian men organised with its own proper ministers, its own proper rites and services." (3) By creating non-sacramental congregations without a ministry, "we are creating a new type of church which has no biblical authority whatsoever." (4) "This is a theory of the Church unknown to the Bible, unknown to the early Church History, unknown to any Catholic teaching." (5) The result is Christian groups which "are not Churches, but
broken fragments", (6) "accustomed to regard the Lord's supper as an occasional luxury". (7) A parish is created which is simply a "paper parish" (8), because "a body which cannot perform its own proper rites is not a Church." (9)

Following the arguments by H.Kelly, Allen was very critical to the ministry of Lay Readers, which was common both in England and in the missionary world overseas. (10) He regarded the ordained ministry of the Church as a necessary and constitutive element in the life of the local Church. "St Paul --- was convinced that a native Church requires duly appointed ministers, and in this sense there was no local Church until they were appointed;" (11) The local Church was in the apostolic time "a fully constituted Church" (12) and therefore the task of the ministry is to provide the sacraments. "Life in the church --- means life in a body in which the sacraments are inherent, organized so that the sacraments may be ever present in it. --- Wherever an altar is set up, wherever a congregation is gathered together, there the Church should be in its fullness." (13) In such a community there is an inherent source of growth, because "the apostles established --- churches fully equipped for growth and expansion." (14)

In Allen's argumentation for the indigenous character of the local Church, his experiences from China formed an important background. The growing opposition from the educated Chinese to the Western missions as "something essentially foreign", (15) accentuated the urgency of the establishment of an indigenous Church. With "indigenous Church" Allen meant "a Church which possesses as inherent in itself everything which is essential to the existence of a Church, and is able to multiply itself without any necessary reference to any external authority." (16) "Indigenous does not mean numerous but essentially at home." (17) As synonymous to "indigenous" the word "native" is often used in the sense of "growing on the soil, reproducing itself, propagating itself on the soil". (18)

An indigenous Church cannot be created by a process of devolution. "This idea" is wrong because it "begins at the top, after a long period of non-indigenous life. But indigenous character is revealed at the bottom, in the very beginning. It is not a coping-stone, it is a foundation: it is not a matter of control of funds, it is a matter of internal life."(19) Therefore the search for an indigenous identity means a process of growth. "Out of a native root a native tree will grow." (20)
Not even an adaptation of indigenous habits and expressions can by themselves create an indigenous Church, (21) because such a body cannot be created by man. It is "the work of the Divine Spirit" (22) and therefore human efforts can be a hindrance instead of a help. A decisive test of the indigenous character of the Church is its spontaneous expansion. (23) "No Church can be indigenous which is not propagating itself on the soil." (24)

The importance of "Independent Native Churches" was discussed by Allen already in 1904, shortly after his return from China. "Are we to plant everywhere branches of the Church of England ... or are we to seek to found Churches capable and free to stand alone?" (25) "The important point is --- whether the native Christian congregations are advancing in the sense of corporate responsibility". (26) His basic attitude to the question of the resources of the progress to independence is formulated in a letter many years later: "All that the Church needed she had, because all that she needed was there on the spot in the lives and possessions of those whom God called." (27)

Closely related to the question of independence is Allen's concept of "the Three-Selves", which have previously been referred to. (28) Talking about "two conflicting theories" (29) he explicitly refers to the Henry Venn / Bishop Tucker (Uganda) model as opposed to the model he himself advocated. (30) The self-support should not be treated as "a purely financial thing" because "it is truly a spiritual thing." (31) The core of the self-support is the ability to "produce its own clergy and carry on its own services." (32) Closely knit to self-support is self-government, to which "the ministry is certainly the key". (33) As long as indigenous bishops and priests are lacking and the government of the Church rests on a foreign bishop, "they are in bondage". (34) Self-extension is the task of "the Native Church" which "is the source of the expansion." (35) All the three "Selves" "go hand in hand, and are all equally the rights of converts from the very beginning". (36) The term "indigenous" would therefore be a "collective term to bring together the three terms of the familiar formula". (37)

Allen is quite conscious that his strong emphasis on the local Church can be interpreted as a kind of congregationalism. First he wants to avoid a confusion of the terms "independence" and "congregationalism", because in that case, the fear of congregationalism may as well be
"another name for our fear of independence." (38) However, this does not mean that he is in favour of "congregationalism". His definition of the term is "the claim of individual congregations to act as if they were alone in the world, independently of all other Christians." (39) To make his position clear, he states that "the Church was prior to the churches. The churches did not make up the Church, but the Church established the churches." (40) That the local Church elects its own ministers, is not congregationalism, because "the presence and action of the bishop make all the difference." (41)

This emphasis on the ministry of the bishop would, to be workable, demand more bishops and smaller dioceses. Allen argued for a system different from the pattern of a national church, where "the apostolic conception of the bishop as the father of a spiritual family, as the pastor of a flock every member of which he should know by name, was lost." (42) To make his vision possible, he argued, following H. Kelly, that "to consecrate native village bishops is the true way of expansion". (43) The effect of such a system, which he realized was not very realistic in the present situation, would be that "in ruling such dioceses men would learn the meaning of episcopal authority in its simplest form". (44)

II:3:d "A REAL CHURCH AT HAND"

A consequence of Allen's incarnational ecclesiology is his emphasis on the Church as a "real" body, which means both that its members are real persons and that it is real in the sense of being "fully equipped". The Church can not be separated from its members. "In the New Testament the church is never remote from its members. Where the members of the church were, there was the church." (1) The concept of an invisible Church has no place in his thinking. The Church "is a visible body composed of a certain number of professing Christians. --- The Church in a place consists of its recognized members, whether good or bad." (2)

The secret of success in building the "native" Church is given by Allen, when he refers to his personal experiences from Yung Ch'ing: (3) "He said little about the Church, the Body, Unity; he always acted as if the Church, the Body, the Unity was a reality. He treated the Church as a Church." (4) The importance of the corporate life was later stressed in a
letter, where he, in reference to Harnack, wrote about "the visible example of Churches." (5) The numerical question is of subordinate importance. "I should incline myself to put more hope in the visible existence of a small Church of half-a-dozen people who were really a Church equipped and established, than in the presence of a whole population at a service held by a visiting priest." (6)

What should then be done? In reflecting on the importance of voluntary clergy, Allen gives an answer: "The conception of the church as one must be recovered by the faithful, not merely by accepting a cleric sent to them, but by recognizing themselves as the body of Christ, and finding amongst themselves the best men among them to be their ministers." (7) "The only hope of recovering reality in the Church scattered throughout the world is to recover the priestlyhood of the Body, and with it the reality of the Local Church as a Body, the Body of Christ, there where the Christians are, whether few or many in number, even if only one household." (8)

The Church as a body consists of all its members, not only the ordained elders. This was pointed out by H.Kelly, who criticized what he called "the creed of clericalism" which entirely depends on the initiatives taken by the priest. In this way, "we do not observe that for the old creed, 'I believe in the Holy Catholic Church,' we are mentally substituting a new clause, 'I believe in holy and energetic clergy'." (9) Roland Allen closely follows this line of criticism.

The result of the establishment of fully equipped local Churches would have consequences for the people outside the Church. They "would have something tangible and definite, a real church at hand to which to join themselves, when they were converted and realized their own need." (10) As members of the visible Church the Christians "are in fact looked upon as Christians and treated as such, not only by their fellow Christians as a body, but by the heathen outside." (11)

The insight of being the manifestation of the body of Christ, gives to the Christians their local identity. "When the Churchpeople in a group know that they are the Church in that place, and are organized as the Church, and meet to celebrate the Holy Communion as their proper rite, then the fellowship of the Church is realized." (12)
Roland Allen's strong emphasis on the local character of the Church did not mean that he lost the world-wide perspective. As has already been shown, his intention was to build the Catholic Church, and therefore it is an important task to study his views of the universal Church and the ecumenical question.

"Christianity and the Church are essentially not local, but universal. When Christ was born in Palestine He came into all the world, and therefore Christianity and the Church may be said to be spiritually indigenous everywhere in the world." When the inherent indigenous identity of Christianity is, without hindrances, applied in the local Church, the universal Church is visualized. In this context, the foundation of indigenous Churches means an enrichment, "bringing to us new conceptions of the manifold working of the Spirit of Christ." Therefore "a world-wide communion does not involve the destruction of local characteristics." (5)

The unity of the world-wide Church is a "corporate unity" which is "the manifestation of Christ", "a unity, catholic, apostolic, not a loose federation of mutually suspicious societies." Allen may have noticed this view already in his studies of W.M. Ramsay, and the theme is stressed also by H. Kelly. (8) From the book "Missionary Principles" (1913) it is quite clear that the conferences in Edinburgh and Calcutta had, together with the Pan-Anglican Conference, influenced Allen's views of the ecumenical question. With sympathy he referred to the experiences of the participants: "Christians met and felt not simply that they must find a way out of their divisions, but that they were more united than they expected." (9) "This strange oneness --- was the result, the inevitable result, of the mutual recognition of redeeming love in one another." (10) What united them was not primarily the pressure of external circumstances, but "this union --- was Christ". (11) In consequence with such a view, Allen meant that "the realization of the Spirit of Christ in ourselves and in others is the first step towards external unity." However, this unity does not necessarily mean uniformity but diversity, and it can only be achieved "by discovery not by creation." (13)

Also on the question of the unity of the Church, Allen found an example in the New Testament teaching: "St Paul began with unity. In his view the unity of the Church was not something to be created, but
something which already existed and was maintained." (14) As the Churches in biblical times were "extensions of an already existing unity", (15) the unity had to be seen in the communion between them. All baptized members shared in the same communion. (16)

In spite of these impulses, Allen did not further develop his ecumenical views. In his practical life he worked together with people of different denominations, but all the time he remained an Anglican with his roots in the Anglo-Catholic ecclesiology with the sacramental life in focus. As time went by, his interest in ecumenical questions vanished, and "by the end of his life he had become almost completely disillusioned with all the Churches in their structural institutional aspect; and neither the social nor the ecumenical responsibilities of such bodies seemed to him very relevant to the Kingdom of Christ." (17)


With his basis in an incarnational theology, and formed by the Tractarian spirituality, Roland Allen had a high esteem of the sacramental life of the Church. Without a regular use of the sacraments, the Church can not expand and the spiritual life of its members can not grow.

In objection to Allen's frequent demands for a frequent sacramental life, a bishop once told him: "You lay too much stress on the Sacraments: I believe men can be saved without the Sacraments." (1) Such a statement, which upset Allen, would be possible to answer with his own words: "I have a profound belief in the power of the sacraments. I believe that in a divine way the use of them teaches the teachable their inward meaning so that the Church grows by degrees into a deeper and deeper sense of the divine Grace imparted in them." (2)

As I have shown earlier in this chapter, (3) the incarnational principle is the basis for Allen's ecclesiology and his theology of the sacraments. When "the Lord of Glory manifested himself -- He instituted a religion of sacraments. There is in Christ no ignoring of the outward material form. The whole world is sacramental and Christ is sacramental and the religion of Christ is sacramental, because He is sacramental." As a consequence of this principle, "missions are sacramental." (4)
With such a solid sacramentality as his basis, Allen seems to be surprisingly uninterested in discussing the manner of the sacramental presence, which had been of such an importance to the Tractarian understanding of the Eucharist. (5) He simply seems to take "the real presence" for granted, and instead he concentrates on the aspect of sacramental experience. In harmony with the liturgical principle "lex orandi, lex credendi", he argues for the celebration of the Holy Communion as an educational means. "In the common rite" the Church members "will find in experience a common bond between Christian and Christian, and of all with Christ." (6) In a Church, properly organized with a sacramental life of its own, "I think it is quite impossible to maintain --- that the celebration of the Holy Communion according to our Liturgy is not teaching of the very highest order." (7)

Thus the celebration of the sacraments builds up the "real church", (8) established by the communicants participating in the Communion. (9) Therefore the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper are the "fundamental rites of the church." (10)

II:4:a BAPTISM FOR GROWTH.

In his writings about the sacraments, Allen's main argument is the place of the eucharist in the life of the Church, but this does not mean that the theology of baptism is neglected. The question of the sacramental realism in baptism had been the point of controversy and division between F.D. Maurice and the Tractarians, headed by E.B. Pusey. Allen followed the Tractarian line, emphasizing the reality of regeneration through the baptism as the basis of a life growing in the sacramental community of the Church. (1)

The rite of baptism is not performed in isolation from the demands for faith and repentance. Allen defines the connection: "By baptism --- I mean, not only washing, but repentance and faith and Grace of the Holy Ghost and Washing; when I speak of baptism I wish to be understood as speaking of all these, not merely together but in one unity". (2) There is in Allen's theology no place for a spiritualized view, which identifies the regeneration with the moment of the inner personal conversion to Christ, while the external baptism would be regarded as a
mere confirmation of an already existing fact. Baptism means "translation into a new spiritual state". (3) In difference from the rite of St John the Baptist, the Christian baptism "was no longer the mere symbolical washing away of known sin; it was baptism into Jesus Christ." (4) The effect was "a real release." (5) Faith in Christ "involved, in itself, a breach with the past. --- In baptism the change was effected and realized in fact. --- Faith without baptism --- was consequently no part of St Paul's teaching." (6)

Baptism is for Allen "the rite of admission" into the Church. "A man is not a proper Christian unless he has been baptized." Therefore "there cannot be a Church until there are baptized Christians to compose the Church." (7) The local Church is the baptizing body, which is responsible for the admission of new members. Therefore Allen argues for "a general principle that converts should be presented by members of the church to the church, and accepted by the church and baptized on the authority of the whole local church acting as a church." (8) This view also has consequences for his understanding of the dealing with matters of church disciplin, where the local Church, not the foreign missionary, is to act. (9)

Out of Allen's rejection of an invisible Church follows, that baptism means an incorporation into a visible body. "The Church was not an invisible body of unknown 'believers'. Men were admitted by their baptism into a visible society, liable to be attacked by very visible foes. --- Entrance --- was guarded by a very definite and unmistakable sacrament. Thus Christianity was from the very beginning both individualistic and socialistic." (10) Allen's arguments follow the same line as the essay on the Church in Lux Mundi, where Walter Lock stressed that baptism to the new-born child means an incorporation "into a body of believers; --- throughout life it must keep in touch with the body". (11) The visibility of the Church is a means of her task to be a witness in the world. "It is to be a body of visible persons, themselves the light of the world, expressing so that others can see the manifold wisdom of God, winning others to belief in the unity of God, by the sight of their one-ness." (12) Such a Church is based in the liturgical life. It "grows --- out of the necessities of worship." (13)

When dealing with the question of baptismal preparation, Allen turns to the example of St Paul. The general principle which he finds there is that "teaching followed, it did not precede, baptism. For baptism,
apparently very little knowledge of Christian truth was required as an indispensable condition.--- He was satisfied that a spiritual change had taken place; there was some sign of repentance, some profession of faith, and that sufficed. Apparently, any one who was prepared to confess his sins and acknowledge Jesus as Lord might be baptized." (14) This limited stress on the aspect of Christian knowledge as a condition for baptism did not however mean that "the great body of converts were baptized without any careful instruction." (15) The prime aspect was the personal experience of the Christian faith and the willingness to live in repentance and faith. (16) Out of the life in the community of the Church, knowledge would grow.

From the quotations given here, it can be concluded that Allen did not advocate a practice of indiscriminate baptism. To baptize multitudes of uninstructed heathens was to him not in accordance with the principles of St Paul. Too often this had been done, and afterwards they had been left by their own, "an isolated, unorganized group of individuals, baptized indeed, but wholly ignorant how to walk as becomes the Gospel of Christ." (17)

Baptism must be followed by growth in the sacramental life of the Church. This conviction was to Allen both a challenge and a hardship. It led him to rediscover the sacramental missionary dimension of the local Church, but it also caused him to resign from pastoral work as a parish priest for the rest of his life. The reasons for the latter decision deserves therefore to be reviewed here.

The baptismal theology did not belong simply to the world of principles, but it had to be applied into pastoral realities. When Allen returned from his years in China, and by his College was given a living as a parish priest, he faced an England, where the traditional Church pattern of the Victorian age was in parts breaking up. That a majority of the industrial working class were non-churchgoers was a wellknown fact. By the end of Queen Victoria's reign, a Bishop could say that it was not true that the Church had lost the working class, for "it had never had them". (18) "A pattern of life was established which for the great majority did not include churchgoing."(19) In the rural areas the speed of secularization was slower, but yet the country parsons could see their congregations dwindle. "The countryman of the eighties and nineties retained a diminishing sense of the duty of attending public worship".(20)
The fact of the dwindling congregations created a sense of "depression and discouragement of the country parson", which troubled the bishops. (21) At the turn of the century a pattern of factual secularism was spreading throughout the country, and even if the rites of passage were still observed, the new pattern must have been perceived even in the country parish of Chalfont St.Peter. It is in the light of this trend that Roland Allen’s arguments and decision ought to be viewed. In addition he was also influenced by his experience from the missionary field in China, where questions of church discipline and baptismal practice were treated in a more strict manner than in England.

In his pastoral work, Allen reacted to what he, in his letter of resignation, calls "a relaxation of the means by which the morality of the society was maintained. --- In consequence we see the strange and painful sight of men and women who habitually neglect their religious duties, or who openly deny the truth of the Creeds, or who by the immorality of their lives openly defy the laws of God, standing up as sponsors in a Christian church..." (22) The problem is obviously not the possibility of children’s baptism, but rather the factual lack of faith and Christian morality of the parents and godparents. Even if "no priest is legally bound to admit any but communicants as sponsors," custom on the other hand "compels the acquiscence of a priest in a practice which he cannot justify." (23) To maintain the view of sacramental realism in such a context, and yet continue a practice which he regarded as wrong, became to him untenable. His conclusion was to resign. (24)

In his treatment of baptismal practice, Allen struggled with questions which more than fifty years later are very much alive. (25) This can be said also about his emphasis on the sacramental life of the Church as the general setting of spiritual growth. The Lord’s Table is the meeting place for all who are baptized, (26) and therefore they "have a right to live as Christians in an organized Christian Church where the sacraments of Christ are observed." (27) The establishment of local Churches, "fully equipped" with "the Creed, the Gospel, the Sacraments and the Ministry", (28) is to Allen a matter of principle and an obligation which follows of the fact that the Church is a baptizing body. "When we baptize, we really accept the responsibility for taking the next step, and providing that the Church shall be properly constituted so that those whom we baptize may live as a Church." (29)
In dealing with the significance of the eucharist in the life of the Church, Allen focuses on the situation of the lay people, both in the "mission fields" and among his fellow countrymen overseas, whom he found to be sacramentally starved because of the adherence to the stipendiary system. "They have been taught in the catechism that Sacraments are 'generally necessary to salvation''", (1) but they are deprived of the possibility to live according to that teaching. Such a situation affects not only the individual Christians, but also "the expansion and growth of the Church is checked". (2) "Christians without Sacraments" lose their corporate life and their corporate witness. "They suffer, and with them the whole world suffer. There is stagnation where there might be fullness of life and growth in Christ." (3) The situation is, according to Alien, so serious that there are only two alternatives available: "Either we must deny the necessity of the sacraments, or we must remove the hindrances to their administration. --- We must decide whether sacraments are more important than a paid clerical order." (4)

Allen's sacramental theology can be traced to the Tractarian context in which his convictions were formed. (5) "The basic principle of Anglo-Catholicism was its sacramentalism." (6) The sacramental theology had consequences for the pastoral work in the parishes. "The Eucharist was at the heart of the Catholic idea of pastoral care." As a result of the Oxford Movement "the norm became a celebration each Sunday and holy day," (7) and the Church itself was, in the words of F.Oakeley, regarded as "one vast Sacrament". (8)

In writing about the sacramental dimension of expansion, Alien turned to Charles Gore and Philip N.Waggett for their comments on his findings. (9) This was not done by pure chance. Both Gore and Waggett were rooted in the Tractarian eucharistic piety, and had both recently written well-known books on the Eucharist, Gore in 1901 and Waggett in 1906. (10) In the same tradition we find the essay by Francis Paget in Lux Mundi (1889), where it is stated that "the Sacramental principle --- adopted by our Lord" is continued by his apostles, with whom it is clear "how promptly and decisively His Church declared its life, its work, its mission, to be Sacramental." (11)
When advocating a frequent celebration of the Eucharist, Allen was in harmony with the Tractarian arguments from the sacramental example of the ancient Church. (12) The participation in the sacraments of the Church was regarded as distinguishing the Christians from people of other faiths. "To be living a life received, nourished and characterized by Baptism and by the Eucharist - this is the distinctive note of a Christian - thus does he differ from other men." (13) Following the same line, Allen writes: "The peculiar Christian religious service is that ordained by Christ which we call the Lord's Supper." (14) The difference between Christians and non-Christians is not a question of moral standard but of participation in the rite of redemption. "Christians alone observe a rite in which the great facts of the Redemption are set forth, and proclaim that their hope lies in that Redemption. Christians in early days observed that rite constantly. --- That was the fact which heathen observers noted." (15)

In the theology of Roland Allen, the Sacraments are regarded as constitutive for the Church. "Christ instituted his Church when He ordained His Sacraments". (16) "There is no question that it is the observance of the rites of Christ which stamps the Church. It is the celebration of the Holy Communion which is the crux. That is the key of the situation. That is the great witness which Christians bear before the world." (17) The reason for the local Church to be properly constituted is its task to be a witnessing community.

A decisive strain in Allen's ecclesiology is found in his emphasis on the local Church as a sacramental body. As well as being a baptizing body, it is also a celebrating body in the eucharist. The worship of the Church is a corporate worship, and therefore "the sacraments --- should be delivered to the Church as a whole; and the Church as a whole should be responsible for their proper observance." (18) This pattern is set against the traditional system, where the congregation is not a Church because it has no local ministers and consequently can not celebrate the Communion if the itinerant chaplain's car has broken down. Such a situation was regarded as "unreal". "A body which cannot perform its own proper rites is not a Church." (19)

This situation caused Allen to demand that the bishops should ordain voluntary local clergy. "So long as the priesthood of the Church is exclusively vested in a small body of professionals, all that unreality is inevitable. The only hope of recovering reality in the Church scattered
throughout the world is to recover the priesthood of the Body, and with it the reality of the Local Church as a Body, the Body of Christ, there where the Christians are, whether few or many in number, even if only one household." (20)

Also the Lay Reader system affects the local Christians. The result being that "the Sacraments of Christ are occasional luxuries, brought in and taken away with the person of an occasional visitor," (21) is not in accordance with the purpose of Christ. (22) With an explicit reference of consent, Allen quotes an article by H.Kelly, who both points to the defective system and to its effects: "From mere defect of priests, our actual missionary system is training a Church accustomed to regard the Lord's service, not as the centre of all worship, but as an occasional luxury." (23)

The situation created by such a system is impossible in the actual pastoral situation. By quoting from missionary reports from Africa (1923-24), where one priest could be responsible for 185, 205, and even 250 churches, Allen arrives at the conclusion: "It is impossible for us to call such congregations 'churches' in the biblical sense of the word, unless we are prepared to maintain that the Pauline churches were mere collections of Christians in towns and villages without local presbyters and local observance of the Lord's Supper as their regular common service." (24)

The results for the Christian lay people in such a situation are obvious. "Their children are not baptized, they cannot observe the Lord's Supper, they are not even married or buried with Christian ceremony as members of a Christian church in the place where they dwell." The result is that "the Church becomes remote." (25) The infrequency of services means that people "grow accustomed to Sundays without services", (26) and they are left by themselves without the doctrinal direction of bishops and clergy. (27) "The faithful bewail their lot; the indifferent grow more indifferent." (28) A possible outcome of this situation is that "Congregations of Christians deprived of their proper church organization naturally seek some other bond of union, some other means of expressing their common life. --- Teas and whist drives and concerts take the place of the Holy Communion and services of instruction in the faith. What else can they do?" (29)
In particular spiritual danger are the newly converted people. "Can Christians recently converted from heathenism learn the true place of priesthood, the true place of the Sacraments in the Church, when they have no local priesthood and no Sacraments as the regular, normal elements in their life?" (30) "We deny the Bread of Life to people whom we teach to believe that partaking of the Bread of Life is the first duty of the Christian, and the first necessity for spiritual growth." (31) The responsibility for such a situation rests, according to Allen, primarily on the bishops, who, instead of ordaining local voluntary clergy, strictly adhere to the stipendiary system. "If men perish for want of sacraments because they will not receive them, their blood is on their own heads. If they perish because a local temporary convention of our own creating denies them ordination, their blood is on the heads of those who deny them ordination." (32)

The place given by Allen to the local Church as a celebrating body, demands a short study of the sacramental and liturgical practice in the Church of England in his own time. A general pattern in many Anglican parishes up to the First World War was to have many services spread out over the Sunday. At 8.00 A.M. the Holy Communion was celebrated. At 11.00 A.M. it was time for Matins, and at 6.30 P.M. Evensong ended the day. (33) In Anglo-Catholic Parishes the sung Mass had often taken the place of Matins, but because of the required fast before the communion, this Mass was in many cases without communicants. (34) Later the different services were brought together into "Parish Communion", the "supreme act of corporate worship each Sunday in which all members of the Body can take part", (35) but that development took place years after when Allen's theology was formed.

What could then be the influences which formed Allen's concept of the Church's celebration of the Eucharist as a corporate act? Two ways can be followed: His background in the Tractarian sacramental piety and his experiences in China. In the Tractarian theology we find a clear emphasis on the corporate aspect of the liturgical worship. To one of the pioneers, Hurrel Froude (1803-1836), "the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper" was "the most prominent feature in the worship of the faithful." (36) To him it was important that this pre-eminence of the eucharist should be manifested "by the general assemblage" of all the Christians, daily or at least weekly. (37) The theme of the eucharist as the principal service is found also in the writings of R.I.Wilberforce (1802-1857). The eucharist has an ecclesiological meaning. When the communicants
receive Christ's body and blood, the body of Christ is built up. (38) Therefore the eucharist is not one service out of many, but "the crown of public worship; the bond, whereby men are attached to Christ; the focus, in which all Church ordinances culminate". (39)

This common Tractarian theology led to attempts to manifest the centrality of the eucharist into the practical Church life. One such attempt was made in St Saviour's, Leeds, where the eucharist from 1845 was celebrated in connection with the Matins, (40) an example which Allen could well have heard of during his studies for ministry at the Tractarian clergy school in the same city. - That the Mass commonly celebrated without communicants was an unsatisfactory pattern, was stated by Charles Gore in his book "The Body of Christ" (1901): "We must not be content with restoring as our chief act of worship a service in which the communion of the people does not form an important part. It cannot be said too strongly that any practice which divorces eucharistic worship and sacrifice from communion, --- really represents a seriously defective theology." (41)

The missionary experience in China also emphasized to Allen the importance of the local Church as a celebrating body. To "tell the Church" means from his experience in Yung Ch'ing the same as to address the Church gathered for "Divine Service one Sunday morning." (42) In the missionary situation there was no place for a pattern which split the Church into different groups. The important thing was to emphasize the corporate unity of the local Christians, a unity which was manifested in corporate worship. Self-support was primarily a question of providing and sharing the sacramental life in the Body of Christ.

II:4:c THE SACRAMENTS AND A DIVERSIFIED MINISTRY.

The necessity of the sacraments for the life and growth of the local Church was the basis for Roland Allen's conception of the ministry. In the Churches founded by St Paul, the sacraments "could not be administered indiscriminately by any convert." (1) When the Church was equipped with ordained elders, "it possessed not merely leaders, but men properly appointed to see that the Sacraments, without which it would have been starved in its spiritual life and crippled in the work of
expansion, were duly performed." (2) Therefore the ordained ministry had a key function in the life of the local Church. Without ministers there would be no sacraments and no growth.

This early view remained, with some modifications, with Allen throughout his life, and it formed the theological basis of his arguments for "voluntary clergy". (3) In his earlier years he took the doctrine of the apostolic succession seriously, (4) but later it withered. Its Tractarian meaning was in his later writings regarded as a hindrance rather than an advantage.

To build up a system of regular access to the sacraments on the basis of stipendiary clergy had proved impossible. There was a lack of priests in the mission areas, and this lack could not be filled with people from the home base in the West, where the shortage created problems as well. The problem was well known in missionary groups, but Roland Allen did not stop there. The whole system was according to his opinion and experience wrong. Already in China he had discovered the preposterousness of such a model. The outcome was a system where money became the criterion of access to the sacraments: No money - no sacraments.

Poor village congregations could not afford to pay a resident college-educated minister, and were therefore obliged to resort to occasionally visiting itinerant priests. (5) This system was according to Allen a hindrance for the spontaneous expansion of the Church. There was instead a need of a diversified ministry of both full-time stipendiary clergy and local voluntary clergy.

Instead of looking for ministers from far away, the focus should, according to Allen, be on the resources of the local congregation. (6) There the natural leaders, who already exercised a spiritual authority, should be ordained elders/presbyters. The election should be made by the local congregation, and the candidates should be presented by the congregation to the bishop for his examination and ordination. (7)

The task of the ordained elders should be "to lead and to feed" their local fellow Christians. (8) In each Church there should be "a college of priests". (9) The elders should not be young people, but mature men with experience, good moral conduct and Christian knowledge. (10) The ordination of such men should not be regarded as a question of emergency, but as a return to a system based on apostolic principles in order
to promote the mutual relationship between the minister and the Church. "A Church thus constituted is a real church in the apostolic sense of the word." (11)

The ordination of voluntary clergy would not be intended as a replacement of the theologically more educated ministers. Neither should words like full-timers and part-timers be used, because the daily professions of the voluntary clergymen should be regarded as an integrated part of their ministerial vocation. The difference should instead be a question of "different types of qualification". (12) The task of the stipendiary ministers is to go about to the local Churches "as preachers and teachers of deeper truths and higher knowledge" and to intervene in case of a serious crisis. (13) As ministers the voluntary clergy are subordinated to the bishop. Because of their ordination they remain priests wherever they move, but their licence to exercise their ministry is restricted to their particular local Church. (14) They should give basic Christian knowledge and prepare people for Confirmation by teaching them the Catechism. (15) Besides of the celebration of the sacraments they could also preach. The argument that a voluntary priest should not preach is dismissed by Alien through a reference to the Lay Reader system, where in fact the preaching by non-theological people is already sanctioned by the bishops. (16)

Alien’s episcopalian tradition is not explicitly questioned in his writings up to 1930. In accordance with the Anglo-Catholic view, he sees the bishops as the leaders of the Church and a source of its growth and expansion. (17) The foreign missionary should leave the parish ministry "in order to evangelize new districts" and the bishop should be persuaded "to ordain men in every place to celebrate the Sacraments." (18) The task of the bishop is to establish new Churches by delivering to the local group "the Creed, the Gospel, the Sacraments and the Ministry by solemn and deliberate act." (19)

Alien’s great expectations on the bishops also became the cause of his disappointment. The possibility to supply the local Church with a sacramental life was in the hands of the bishops. By denying to ordain local clergy they were starving the Church, (20) and thereby proclaimed "that ordered church life is not necessary for Christian men". (21)

During the years leading up to 1930 Alien produced a lot of books and articles on the theme of "Voluntary Clergy. His aim seems to have been
to convince the bishops, who would gather for the Lambeth Conference in 1930, about the necessity of the ordination of non-stipendiary priests in order to cope with the situation of the local Churches. When the bishops realized the problem but did not act, he was dismayed. (22) He still maintained his conviction about the need for voluntary clergy, but his confidence in the bishops was gone. As a result of this experience, a more Congregationalist attitude started to flow in his writings. "Where the bishops cannot, or will not, act, there no law of episcopal ordination can run". (23)

In explicit disassociation from the theology of the necessary episcopal succession as presented in the books by Charles Gore and R.C.Moberly, Allen argued for the right of the congregation to choose and ordain the ministers of their need. (24) This does not mean, however, that he was advocating an indiscriminate lay celebration of the Eucharist. "There is here no suggestion that a layman can, in the absence of an ordained priest, take upon himself the functions of an ordained priest. --- No individual layman, then, usurps priestly functions in ministering the Sacraments. The Body is performing its priestly office.--- where Christians are there is the Church, and where Christ is there is the Priest." (25)

The possibility for a layman to be appointed by the congregation to lead the eucharistic celebration was developed even further by Allen during the last years of his life. In 1943 he argued that the eucharist should be celebrated at home as a "Family Rite" when people were separated from ordinary Church life, and with the "head" of the family as the celebrant. (26) Thus it can be concluded that the conception of the ministry changed in Allen's theology, while his emphasis on the necessity of a regular sacramental life remained unquestioned.
CHAPTER III

"THE SEED GROWING SECRETLY"
THE SACRAMENTAL REALITY AS
A MISSIOLOGICAL FERMENT.

III:1 "EXPANSION" IN AN AGE OF EXPANSIONISM.

The period in Roland Allen's life when his basic conceptions of the Church and the Christian life took shape, was part of what has been called "The Heyday of Colonialism". (1) In the missionary situation, "the high imperial era" to a great extent coincided with "the high missionary era". (2) The expansion of the British empire and the emigration which followed, gave an extra impetus to the missionary enterprise as a part of the ecclesiastical expansion. (3)

In this context of expansionism, the word "expansion" had its natural place in the missiological world. It was used in the English title of Adolf von Harnack's influential book, "The Mission and Expansion of Christianity", (4) and it also had its place at the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910, (5) where the slogan of John Mott was in the air: "The Evangelization of the World in this Generation." (6) In this "high imperial" period with its rapid expansion of the missionary movement, very little was heard of the previous discussions about "the three selves". "What was the point of talking, like Venn, of the 'euthanasia of a mission' as an objective when there was a self-evident need for more and more missions?" (7)

By using the word "expansion" in his missionary model, Roland Allen did not fill it with an expansionist meaning, where the missionary enterprise was supposed to grow through the activities of expatriate missionaires. On the contrary he focused on the indigenous Church and its spontaneous expansion through the work and lives of its ministers and lay members. "If we want to see spontaneous expansion we must establish native churches free from our control." (8) "It is the Native Church which is to expand, --- and it is the Native Church which is the source of the expansion." (9) Far from a model of rapid and spectacular results, Allen advocated a process of "slow growth" with the perspective "in terms not of years but of generations". (10) "All true educationalists know well the importance of slow growth for solid progress". (11) He was very against the "survey"-model, which he encountered in his work
with people of the "World Dominion" group. (12) Requested by Thomas Cochrane to help with survey work, Allen replied: "I do not trust spectacular things; give me the seed growing secretly every time." (13)

III:2 PAUPERIZED PEOPLE AND THE EXPANSION OF THE CHURCH.

As has already been noted, (1) Allen used the word "pauperization" to describe the spiritual state which the traditional missionary methods, according to his opinion, had created. The scattered lay people of the Church were left by themselves, to live in a state of spiritual malnutrition without access to a regular sacramental life and pastoral care. By the wrong methods of the missionary societies of the West, the indigenous Christians had been put in a position of dependence on supply from outside, both economically and spiritually. Thus "the converts --- learn to accept the position of passive recipients." (2) The situation did not affect only the people converted through the work by the missionary societies, but also the English emigrants. "The Church in England has so trained her children to depend upon their clergy that when they are scattered abroad, they are like lost sheep which have strayed from the fold. This is the real evil; an evil of spiritual dependence." (3)

Pauperization of the local Christians leads to stagnation instead of expansion. (4) By comparing the New Testament situation with the patterns followed by his contemporaries, Allen arrived at a problem: "In the early days of the Church --- the scattering of Christians was expected to result, and did result, in the expansion of the Church: 'They that were scattered abroad went everywhere preaching the word.' --- where they were scattered new Churches sprang up." (5) "What reason have we for believing that the scattering of Christians to-day might not produce the same result if we treated them as they were treated in those early ages?" (6) The hindrance is found in the adherence to the necessity of "cleric especially trained and set apart and paid." (7) The result of that clerical dependence means for the Christians that "their hands are tied and their spiritual power is atrophied." (8)

The alternative pattern, which Allen advocated, was to liberate the lay Christians to rely on the resources inherent in their local Church. By
choosing local clergy and presenting them to the Bishop for ordination, the cause of their pauperism would be gone because of the possibilities to live a sacramental life. Thus the expansion of the Church would be a reality. "If we ceased to pauperize our people, they would at once become an advancing force." (9)

III:3 "NON-PROFESSIONAL MISSIONARIES".

There is in Roland Allen's writings a striking suspiciousness on the role of money and payment. This is also evident in relation to the life and work of the lay people in the Church and its mission. The pattern of professionalism is regarded as a threat to the responsible participation of the lay Christians. Terms as "Mission Agents" and "Servants of the Mission" are rejected. (1) His criticism is directed against a system of "missions by proxy", because "it affords all but the most zealous an excuse for inactivity." (2) The effect of such a system is that the converts are taught that "the preaching of the Gospel is a paid occupation; and that the part of those who are not paid agents is to subscribe towards the pay of those who are." (3)

In contrast to the "proxy" model, Allen describes the missionary task of the lay people as "non-professional missionaries". (4) "By a 'missionary of the gospel' I understand a man who having found the secret of life in Christ is eager to impart it to others." (5) To avoid any misconception, Allen rejects the idea of "non-professional missionaries" as people "attempting to do missionary work in their spare time". (6) Their witness is given in the totality of life and work. "Every Christian ought to be a missionary in his ordinary daily work, all the time, not merely outside it, and part of the time;" (7)

"The ministry of all believers" is a ministry of witness. Starting in the baptism, it has its source of life and power in the sacramental life of the Church. (8) In the Churches of St Paul, "his converts became missionaries." (9) The primary aim of their witness is to express their experience of the faith in Christ rather than to give intellectual instruction. (10) The "cardinal principle" of the Christian witness is that "anyone who knows enough to be saved by Christ knows enough to tell another how he may be saved." (11) This does not mean that questions of doctrine were irrelevant to Allen, but rather he wanted to put those
priorities first: "A clever argument may silence opponents, but witness converts them: they see in a deliverance something which all their wit does not supply." (12)

To treat every Christian as a missionary is basic in Allen's theology of mission. For the Christian it is important to follow St Paul's advice in 1 Cor.7.24, to abide in the calling wherein he was called. "The leaven should be left in the lump." (13) To draw a distinction between "missionary work" and "secular work" is foreign to the apostolic teaching. (14) "The missionary work of the non-professional missionary is essentially to live his daily life in Christ, --- His preaching is essentially private conversation, and has at the back of it facts, facts of a life which explain and illustrate and enforce his words. --- Everybody, Christian and pagan alike, respects such work; and, when it is so done, men wonder, and enquire into the secret of a life which they instinctively admire and covet for themselves." (15)

Allen shared the idea of every Christian as a missionary with Herbert Kelly, who already in 1908 had written: "It is really next to no use at all for a priest to teach, to preach, to instruct, if the laity are not themselves preaching, teaching, living the Church. --- Lay Christianity and Lay Christians can only be rightly made by laymen. It is the priest's true business to guide, to feed, to inspire, to build; but the essential work of manifesting the Faith, of using it, of bringing men to it, must be done by its members." (16) Some years later, in 1913, he followed up the arguments: "The priest is the priest, and the minister is the minister, of God's Church. The Lay Christian is the priest of God's universe, and it is mainly his business to preach to them that are without." (17)

Also from a non Anglo-Catholic standpoint the problems of professionalism were treated. The criticism raised by the C.M.S. missionary in Cairo, Temple Gairdner (1873-1928), on "Foreign Missions by proxy" was referred to by Allen as an important starting point, even if he thought that Gairdner was not going far enough in his criticism of the Western export of a model based on "a special body of professional missionaries." (18) From his experiences of mission work among Muslims, Gairdner had argued for "unofficial missionaries", Christian people who entered ordinary professions with the purpose to, from inside of the existing society, give a missionary witness. Conscious of the resistance to such a model from the policy of the great missionary
societies, who "hunt for every man who is missionary-hearted, and try to catch him", Allen agreed with Gairdner that "what is needed today is Christians who will welcome a convert, Christians who will care for the souls of men, Christians who will present Christ to the non-Christian world, Christians who will not be content to do the work by proxy, unofficial missionaries." (19)

In Allen's theology, the core of the witness given by the "non-professional missionaries" is the sacramental life and the power of the Holy Spirit. The Sacraments of Christ are "the beginning of the Christian life" (20) as well as the means of its continuation. The missionary zeal begins with the reception of the Holy Spirit, and it is renewed "by the attendance at the Holy Communion". (21) To deprive people of the sacraments is to put up a hindrance for the expansion of the Church, because "partaking of the Bread of Life is the first duty of the Christian, and the first necessity for spiritual growth." (22)

III:4 "FULLNESS OF LIFE AND GROWTH IN CHRIST" - THE SACRAMENTAL MISSION OF THE CHURCH.

The sacramental dimension of the Incarnation is for Roland Allen the basis of the sacramentality of mission. (1) Through the revelation of Christ in the Church, this revelation is brought to the world. (2) Thus the Church has a mission to reveal Christ the world. The dimension of expansion is therefore essential because "the growth and progress of the Church is a manifestation of Christ". (3)

In order to be able to fulfill its sacramental mission, the Church on the local level has to be "fully equipped" with ministry and sacraments. The eucharistic celebration is not simply a matter for the Church. It has a witnessing mission to the world. Therefore the sacramental dimension forms a basic chord in Allen's theology of mission: "The Christian Eucharist is a great witness to the world, a proclamation of the Gospel. No Christian ought to be hindered from bearing that witness and proclaiming that Gospel by his observance of it." (4)

In harmony with this basic chord, Allen followed the sacramental pattern of the early Church, which Hamack had called "the cardinal point". (5) The celebration of the Holy Communion every Sunday was in the early
Church "the fact which heathen observers noted", a pattern which Allen advocated to be followed also in the present age. (6)

When such an understanding of the sacramental life of the local Church is confronted with the missionary task, it becomes evident, according to Allen, that a Church without sacraments is a Church without growth and therefore also a Church which does not expand in its mission. This has consequences for the life of the world: "Christians without Sacraments lose not only grace for their own life as individuals, but lose also the corporate life, the manifestation of the Body to which others who are seeking the way of Christ can attach themselves. They suffer, and with them the whole world suffers. There is stagnation where there might be fullness of life and growth in Christ." (7)

The establishment of indigenous Churches according to the principles and methods outlined here, was to Allen a means of growth and expansion. The application of the principles of self-support, self-government and self-propagation from the very beginning, was primarily a question of spiritual realities, which had very little to do with supply of funds from outside. "Funds of money do not make a Church. I believe that if we could see that the establishment of Churches is our duty, and we established them, there would presently appear such an expansion and growth as we now can scarcely imagine." (8)

Thus the fully established local Church, with its centre in the sacramental life, is, in Roland Allen's theology, the source of the witness to the non-Christians. "The heathen, the indifferent, the careless --- should know by experience and observation that there is a real Body performing its own proper Christian rite there at their very doors, and that they may learn that song, and join that Body, and share that eternal hope if they will. --- The meeting of a Body to observe that rite is a preaching of the Gospel of the most arresting and convincing order. It should be widespread." (9)
CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS

IV:1 A FREQUENT PROBLEM OF INFREQUENCY.

The problem of infrequency, which Roland Allen was dealing with in his writings, is still a problem in many parts of the world-wide Church. Still a few itinerant priests are responsible for a great number of congregations, which they can only occasionally visit. In a recent article on the life and work of the Lutheran Church of Greenland it is noted that the minister can visit some rural congregations only once in a period of three months. In the meantime a non-ordained catechist is in charge of the spiritual welfare of the Church members without any possibility to supply them with the Holy Communion. (1) This is a general pattern of Churches in a scattered situation, also in Churches which lay a heavy stress on the necessity of the sacraments for salvation and growth, e.g. the Roman-Catholic Church in Africa: "Christian life is centred upon the Mass. Yet the terrible truth is that in practice, with the shortage of priests, the Mass must remain for many African Catholics an almost peripheral part of their religious life. While this is the case, it is difficult to see how we can build up healthy Churches." (2)

Such was also the missionary context in which Roland Allen outlined his alternative model. "I saw that if the Church in North China was to have no clergy except such as could pass through my little theological school and then be financially supported, Churches could not multiply rapidly." (3) His experiences from his travels strengthened his original impression. (4) His arguments for the establishment of local, indigenous Churches, "fully equipped", as the source of growth and expansion, were seldom received with enthusiasm by his contemporaries, but in the long run they have exercised an increasing influence, both in the young Churches of the former "mission fields" and in the old Churches of the West in their search for identity and methods of work in a post-Christian secular society.
In his writings, Roland Allen had a primary intention to discuss with and convince his fellow Anglicans of the need for new principles and methods in missionary work, but he was well aware of the similar problems in other denominations. "I write, of course, as an Anglican to Anglicans, but those two evils of which I speak, sterility and antagonism, are not peculiar to Anglican Missions." (1) When "Missionary Methods" was published in 1912, it soon attracted attention in the international missionary world. A sympathetic yet critical review was printed in the International Review of Missions the following year, (2) and the book was recommended for further studies by men like J.H.Oldham (3) and Johannes Warneck. (4) His book "Educational Principles" from 1919 was recommended for critical studies in "The Challenge". (5)

In spite of the attention paid to Allen's books, he remained an alien person in the missionary world. One reason of this alienation may be found in his somewhat unstable personality, which sometimes caused distress in his contacts even with people who were in favour of his ideas. (6) Another reason can be found in the fact that even some of his sympathizers "thought of voluntary clergy as a practical expedient, and invited the proponent thereof to say his piece. When he arrived, he turned out to be a prophet with a burning sense of mission, pointedly reiterating a series of difficult questions to which there was no obviously satisfying answer, and demanding that assent to the ideas be without delay translated into action." (7)

A question which troubled Roland Allen, was why so few of his fellow Anglicans could understand his principles. The reasons need not, however, have been primarily theological but rather historical. To build local administration on the foundation of the indigenous population was hardly the pattern followed by the Colonial authorities of "the high imperial era". A similar concept for some time coloured also the organization of the Church in the "mission fields". To hand over the administration of the sacraments and the local Church government from the very beginning to people who were still regarded as immature, was a foreign idea, not only to Anglicans but to a majority of the missionary world. It was not until after the First World War and the crisis of Depression that a new generation could listen to the voice of Roland Allen. His alternative methods were not fully rediscovered until the secularized situation had set the Churches of the West into a factual minority position and
the Churches of the "developing countries" more and more came into focus of the world missionary movement.

For both psychological and theological reasons, Roland Allen, as time went on, retired more and more from the established Church and the missionary movement. In one of the last articles of his hand, which he wrote in 1933, he strongly criticized the policy of the missionary societies as fundamentally opposed to the principles of St Paul. His conclusion was that "there can be no place for the man who would practice Pauline principles in modern missions." (8) With these words we can as well discover his own position as a man, who felt his understanding of the Church and the sacraments to be an alien element in the missionary world.

IV:3 CRITICAL REFLECTIONS.

In dealing with the Roland Allen material, one very soon starts to reflect on what the reasons could be for the very hesitant attitude with which it was received by his contemporaries. A psychological explanation is not at all sufficient. In the context where he formed and published his ideas, both theological and social factors influenced the process of reception, and there are in his theology fields of vagueness, which obstructed the understanding of his principles.

Allen’s treatment of the Pauline principles were obviously open to criticism. His understanding of the conceptions of St Paul could be regarded as an oversimplification. But the question which even more generated him problems of reception was his clear reluctance to deal with the hermeneutical question: Can St Paul’s methods be transferred to and applied in the missionary situation of today, and in that case, how can it be done? By simply stating that there is no real difference between the apostolic situation and the context of the 20th century, Allen opened himself to a lot of criticism, which in fact obscured his basic message. (1)

It can well be questioned if Allen is not giving the sociological realities a too simplified place in his methods, partly because of his limited experience from practical pastoral work. His theories were seldom given
a chance to be tested in real missionary work, and therefore they remained more principles than methods. One such point of vagueness was his thought that the natural leaders of the local community was the base of recruitment from which the local ministers should be called and ordained from the very beginning. (2) Such an ideal situation is far from always at hand. Rivalry and other social conflicts could, if they were sublimated to the spiritual level, cause conflicts and split instead of unity and growth. The system demands strong episcopal leaders with a clear understanding of the necessity of close examination of the candidates for ministry, which are presented by the local Church. The vagueness in Allen's arguments is that he does not seem to be quite aware of such a risk in a situation where the bishops fail or simply are too few to handle great areas of work, a situation which is referred to frequently in his writings after the Lambeth decision in 1930.

Equally vague is the relationship between the "sensus fidelium" of the lay Christians in the local Church and the doctrinal responsibility of the ordained ministry. Here the local ordained elders could be of little help. As they are ordained without a theological education, they can hardly be responsible for decisions in a situation of doctrinal disagreement. If then the episcopal ministry is not at hand, the situation must be complicated. Therefore the later Congregationalist trend in Allen's writings should be regarded as an attempt to handle the sacramental and spiritual survival in a state of ecclesiastical emergency. (3) The normal state, which he preferred, was the pattern described by him in his earlier writings, a pattern of local Churches, headed by local bishops and equipped with a frequent sacramental life.

When treating the relationship between the Word of God and the sacraments, the emphasis is clearly put on the sacramental life and practice, which Allen regarded as an efficient means of teaching the Christian faith, somewhat of a sacramental "learn by doing" method. Preaching is here given a subordinate place, and therefore he does not pay any particular attention to the problem of the preaching by a group of theologically uneducated local ministers. A system like the Orthodox village priests in Greece, whose commission is to run the sacramental life without the authority of preaching, (4) is not emphasized by Allen. (5)

During his last years in Africa, Allen started to practice house communion with his family, "the Family Rite". (6) Living in Nairobi, with an
"fully equipped" Anglican parish at hand, he preferred to celebrate in private, because he "could no longer assist the stipendiary system." (7) In that situation none of the conditions, which he earlier had prescribed for the practice of family communion, were at hand. Therefore he, who had throughout his writings appealed to the biblical pattern of the apostles, was forced to admit that he had introduced something which was new and foreign to the biblical texts. "In the New Testament I can find no support for the sort of Church order which I have been trying to express. 'Proof-texts' I cannot find --- So in feeling after an order which is not of this world, I cannot appeal to Apostolic practice." (8)

IV:4 THE NEGLECTED DIMENSION.

Since the rediscovery of the importance of Roland Allen, his books have been reprinted and read by missionary people from different denominations and in different parts of the world. His principles and methods have in particular been referred to by people from the Evangelical and Pentecostal branch of Christianity, who have made him a missionary strategist and a prophet of a Spirit-centred mission. This line has for example been followed by the Church Growth movement with Dr. Donald McGavran as a prominent leader.

It is indeed true that the Holy Spirit has a central place in Roland Allen's theology of mission, but what has been neglected is that the sacramental dimension is a fundamental element of his theology. The Holy Spirit works through the sacraments and cannot be isolated from this dimension.

Thus the conclusion of this present study is that Roland Allen in his writings clearly and frequently emphasizes the necessity of the sacramental life as the foundation of the mission of the Church. The eucharistic experience is to Allen a necessary consequence of the baptism. The frequent celebration of the eucharist as a corporate act of worship is regarded as the normal pattern in the local Church. This sacramental dimension was to him a matter of course and a condition necessary for the growth and expansion of the Church in mission.
NOTES - INTRODUCTION

1) Unfortunately, Box 8 was not available during my weeks in Rhodes House Library in July 1987, due to reconstruction work.

2) Beyerhaus, Peter, Die Selbständigkejt der jungen Kirchen als missionarisches Problem. Wuppertal-Barmen 1956.

3) van Heerden, C.I., Die Spontane Uitbreiding van die Kerk by Roland Allen. Kampen 1957(?). (Written in Afrikaans.)


8) Besides that of the mentioned study by J.E.Branner, see also: Boer, Harry, Pentecost and Missions. (1961), Grand Rapids 1975.


13) Ibid., p.206.

14) Allen, Roland, Missionary Methods: St Paul’s or Ours?. (1912), Grand Rapids 1979, p.91 note 1.


16) Ibid., p.58. See below I:2-4.

17) Allen, Roland, The Use of the Term "Indigenous". The International Review of Missions, April 1927, pp.262-270. The quotation is from p.265.

NOTES - CHAPTER I

I:1 The young man and his world.


3) The information on the Revd. C.F. Allen have been supplied to me by D.A. Armstrong, Records Officer of Church Commissioners in London, who has collected them from the Cambridge University Calendars (no year), stored at the Church House Record Centre in Westminster, London. Letter from Armstrong to me, November 5, 1987.

"Born Nottingham April 30th 1835
Son of James Roger
1854 Christ College Cambridge
1858 BA
Ordained Deacon
1858-63 Curate of Awre near Newnham
1863-70 Curate of Radbourne near Derby
1871-73 Curate of Handsworth Lincoln
1862-72 Had a private school at Derby"
Died Oct 27th 1873 at Belize British Honduras"

4) Ibid. - The reasons for Charles Fletcher Allen's stay in British Honduras have not been stated before. As he is not found in the registers of the S.P.G., which was engaged in missionary work in the area, it is unlikely that he was sent out as a missionary. However it is proved by the Parish Registers of St John's Anglican Church, that a minister named Fletcher Allen during a short period of time in October 1873 (October 12-19) performed priestly functions such as Baptism, Marriage service, Litany, Gaol service, Funeral, Holy Communion and Evening service. From October 24, a Lay Reader took over all services, and the Revd. Fletcher Allen disappeared from the records. As we know that C.F.Allen died on October 27, 1873, it is most likely that the mentioned Fletcher Allen was identical with the father of Roland Allen, and that he had arrived in Belize to work as a Chaplain to the British community but died soon after his arrival. Whether he had brought his family or not, is unknown. Duty Register of St John's Anglican Church, October 1873. Baptism Register of the Parish of St.John the Baptist, British Honduras, October 1873. Belize Archives Department, Belmopan, Belize.


7) The Revd.Willoughby C.Allen was a few years older than his brother Roland. Given a Pusey and Ellerton Scholarship, he got his BA at Oxford in 1890. He studied Semitic languages and was ordained priest in 1894 by the Bishop of Oxford, the ecclesiastical historian W. Stubbs. W.C. Allen was a leader of different colleges, served as an Examining Chaplain to several Bishops and was an OT and NT teacher for many years. As a biblical scholar he wrote two commentaries: "A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to S.Matthew", (2nd ed., Edinburgh 1907) and "The Gospel According to St.Mark (1919). For further biographical details, see: Crockford's Clerical Dictionary, 1949-50, pp.17-18. W.C. Allen also wrote articles on biblical subjects in "Dictionary of the Apostolic Church", ed. by James Hastings, Vol.I, Edinburgh 1915. As a Pusey
scholar W.C. Allen might have introduced his brother Roland to the Anglo-Catholic Pusey House people when he arrived in Oxford in 1887 (see later). What is quite clear is that W.C. Allen acted as a person of contact for his brother Roland during the years in China: "Communications upon the subject of this paper may be made to the Rev. W.C. Allen, Exeter College, Oxford." See: Allen, Roland, The Anglican Mission at Yung Ch’ing, North China. (Printed in Oxford but no year and no publisher’s name. The article is dated February 20th, 1903). USPG Archives, Oxford, Series X:622, Box 2,(Roland Allen: Deposited papers).


11) Diary 1943-44, in Paton p.206. - N.B. that in case his father brought his family with him to Belize, this could explain the memories of Roland Allen, who then was about four years old.

12) Undated biographical off-print of unidentified origin, USPG Archives, Oxford, X Series:622, Box 1.(Roland Allen: Deposited papers)

13) Bristol Grammar School, Information on Roland Allen, secured by the former Headmaster, Dr. John McKay. Enclosed by Canon David M. Paton in a letter to me, received October 30, 1987.


15) Ibid.

17) Undated biographical off-print of unidentified origin, USPG Archives, Oxford, X Series:622, Box 1.(Roland Allen, Deposited papers)


I:2 To Oxford in a time of change.


2) Ibid. p.373.

3) Ibid. p.374.

4) Ibid. p.374.


6) Ibid. p.375.


8) Ibid. p.265.


12) Ibid. front page. ("God is the Lord of sciences").


15) Ibid. p.148.

16) Ibid. p.148. - The reason for his dismay was that they saw his point, but were not prepared to radically change their pattern of work. -
That Allen had difficulties to deal with people who were not 100% enthusiastic of his ideas, can be clearly illustrated by e.g. the correspondence with Bishop Hubback of Assam, printed in: Paton, David M.(ed.), Reform of the Ministry. London 1968, pp.154-164.

17) Allen, Roland, Educational Principles and Missionary Methods, London 1919. In his Introduction Gore is a bit ambivalent to the Pestalozzi-Froebel-Montessori educational principles referred to in this book, but he nevertheless writes: "I heartily welcome this book.--- a very deep and difficult change is required of us not only in our educational methods but in our whole conception of the method for propagating the truth which can most truly be described as divine."


I:3 Brightman and the Lothian Prize.

1) Canon David M.Paton in a letter to me, October 24, 1986.


3) Canon David M. Paton in an interview in his home in Gloucester, July 20, 1987. It was also suggested by Paton that Brightman pushed Allen towards an Anglo-Catholicism more influenced by the East than by the West. This could be the reason for Allen's understanding of a Church-centred mission, which in many respects is similar to the Orthodox view. See also below, III:4.


8) "The Lothian Prize, or more strictly speaking, the Marquess of Lothian's Historical Prize Essay, was endowed in 1870 and first awarded the following year. It was given for the best essay on a topic of foreign history, secular or ecclesiastical, chosen each year from the period between the dethronement of Romulus Augustus and the death of Frederick the Great. The competition was open to all members of the University who had not exceeded 27 terms from their matriculation at the time they submitted their essay. There were four terms in the academic year so the prize was not just open to undergraduates. The judges were the Vice-Chancellor, the Dean of Christ Church and the Regius Professor of Modern History. It was up to their discretion whether the prize, worth 40, was awarded in money or books. Unfortunately the administrative records of this prize are extremely scanty, so I am unable to tell you why Allen was awarded the prize, or what competition he faced." - Letter from Oxford University Archives, Assistant Archivist Miss M.Macdonald, - October 2, 1987.


12) Alien, Roland, Gerbert, Pope Silvester II, London 1892, p.46. Another sign of their friendship is the fact that the dissertation copy in Pusey House Library is Brightman's personal copy, given to him by Allen himself. On the first page, Brightman has written: "dd Rolando ipse".

I:4 Advancing for Ministry.


2) Bullock, F.W.B., A History of Training for the Ministry of the Church of England 1875-1974. London 1976, p.12. The intellectual and spiritual impact on the students by the Principal Winfried O. Burrows (Principal 1891-1900), has been described as "imparting to them the sincere and sober spirit, reverent towards old wisdom, fearless towards new knowledge..." (Bullock, p.40).


I:5 Facing China.


3) Letter from the Principal W.O. Burrow to Tucker, September 26, 1892. See: Ibid. Metzner, p.17.


5) Allen, Roland: The Establishment of Indigenous Churches, 1927, Manuscript refused by I.R.M., p.17. USPG Archives, Oxford, X Series: 622, Box 3 (Roland Allen - Deposited papers). The actual passage of the article was later printed separately in the World Dominion, No 3, July 1928, with the headline: "Unlimited expansion", and followed by the remark: "From an unpublished article by ROLAND ALLEN".


7) Ibid., p.17.


10) Letter from Bishop Scott to SPG, "yearly letter". USPG Archives, Oxford, D Series: 121a, Letters Received, Asia 2, 1897, p.88: "The Rev. Roland Allen has continued to act as a chaplain of the British Legation i Peking, while making excellent progress with the language. He is now able to take his turn at preaching in the native congregation..." - Bishop Scott later became the godfather of Allen’s daughter Priscilla, who writes on the Bishop’s relations to her father that Scott "was very fond of him and considered that he would make
a good bishop later on." See: Allen, Priscilla M., Roland Allen, A Prophet for this Age, The Living Church, April 20, 1986, p.10.

11) Allen, Roland, The Siege of the Peking Legations. Being the Diary of the Rev. Roland Allen. London 1901. - For a long time this book, and a few previous articles from 1900, have been regarded as the first material in print by Roland Allen. Through my discovery of his BA dissertation (see above I:3) that opinion has now to be revised.


13) Ibid., p.148.


15) Ibid., p.18.


20) Crockford's Clerical Dictionary 1947, Oxford 1947, p.17. - The MA degree was (and is) in Oxford an honorary degree, wherefore no dissertation was required. Letter to me from the Chaplain of St. John's College, Oxford, the Revd. Timothy Gorringe, October 13, 1987.


26) Ibid., p.4.

27) Allen, Roland, Missionary Methods, St Paul’s or Ours?, Grand Rapids 1979, pp.168-173. - The two parts of the chapter were originally printed as separate articles in the Church Times. Part II was printed in the edition of September 8, 1911, under the headline "A Native Church in the Making", and part I in November 10, 1911, "The Native Church in the Making, a Contrast".

28) Ibid., p.164. - The diary mentioned would of course be of great value for research on Allen, but I have not been able to trace if it is preserved or not.

29) van Heerden, C.I., Die Spontane Uitbreiding van die Kerk by Roland Allen. Kampen 1957(?), p.22. ("the man was nobody else but: Roland Allen!").- This suggestion is confirmed by the daughter of Roland Allen, Miss Priscilla M. Allen, in her article "Roland Allen, A Prophet for this Age". The Living Church, April 20, 1986, pp.9-10.
30) Allen, Roland, Missionary Methods, St Paul's or Ours?. (1912), Grand Rapids 1979, p.170.


32) Metzner, H.W., Roland Allen, Sein Leben und Werk. Gütersloh 1970, p.30.- About this forced withdrawal from China, Allen's daughter writes; "This was a great disaster for him and I know it haunted him that if he had been sufficiently insistent he might have been allowed to go back." See: Allen, Priscilla M., Roland Allen, A Prophet for this Age. The Living Church, April 20, 1986, p.10.


2) Allen, Roland, To the Parishioners of Chalfont St Peter, November 25th, 1907. Printed in: Paton, David M.(ed.), The Ministry of the Spirit. Grand Rapids 1972, p.193: "It has become customary for people who make no profession of believing the doctrines of the Church, or who make no profession of keeping the laws of the Church, to demand and use her offices as if they were theirs by natural inheritance."

3) Ibid., p.194.


6) Ibid., p.35.


11) Ibid., p.XII.


14) This book was a part of the series "Library of Historic Theology", ed.by WM.C.Piercy, where a number of Anglo-Catholics contributed: R.L.Ottley, T.A.Lacey and W.J.Sparrow Simpson.
15) Allen, Priscilla M., Roland Allen, A Prophet for this Age. The Living Church, April 20, 1986. - Parts of "The Case for Voluntary Clergy" are reprinted in Paton, David M.(ed.), The Ministry of the Spirit. Grand Rapids 1972, pp. 135-189. The correspondance printed in this book, pp.87-106, is a witness both of Allen's expectations before the Lambeth Conference (1930), and the support for his ideas by some Anglican priests, bishops and laymen.

The most complete Bibliography on the writings of Roland Allen is to be found in H.W.Metzner's book "Roland Allen, Sein Leben und Werk", Gütersloh 1970, pp. 280-287.


I:7 Facing the world.


5) Ibid., Le Zoute..., p.19.
6) Ibid., p.19.

7) Ibid., pp. 22-23. - Allen's criticism of the connections between the Colonial authorities and Church schools to some extent resembles the opinions by another S.P.G. missionary, the Revd. Arthur Shearly Cripps (1869-1952). Cripps belonged to Allen's student generation in Oxford, closely connected with men like Charles Gore and Henry Scott Holland. From 1901 he worked in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and resigned from his S.P.G. duties in 1926, due to disagreement with the official Anglican attitude on educational matters in a colonial context. It is not known whether Roland Allen ever met Cripps during his journey to S.Rhodesia, or later in England, but their independent criticism of the Colonial system and the place of the African Church within the missionary movement, indicates an early and growing emphasis on the importance of an indigenous Church, rooted in the African soil and soul. See further: Steele, Murray, "With Hope Unconquered and Unconquerable...": Arthur Shearly Cripps, 1869-1952. In: Ranger, T.O. and Weller, John (eds.), Themes in the Christian History of Central Africa. London 1975, pp.152-174. See also in the same book: Ranger, Terence, Introduction, p.87.


9) A good deal of the letters to and from Allen are kept in the collection of his deposited papers in the USPG Archives, Rhodes House Library, Oxford, and parts of the collection have been published by David M.Paton in the book "Reform of the Ministry", London 1968.

10) A correspondence with Bishop George C.Hubbuck of Assam, who was a member of "the Oxford Mission Brotherhood of the Epiphany", is printed in Paton, David M.(ed.), Reform of the Ministry. London 1968, pp.119-164.


13) Ibid., McLeish, p.XIV.


15) McLeish, Alexander, Biographical Memoir. In: Paton, David M.(ed.), The Ministry of the Spirit, Grand Rapids 1972, p.XIV. - Another reason for settling in Kenya is given by his son John: "He never really intended to settle anywhere. I think that he found that his travelling days were done and simply stopped where he happened to be. Everywhere in the world he was at home so it did not matter where he actually was." See: Metzner, H.W. Roland Allen, Sein Leben und Werk. Gütersloh 1970, pp.58-59: note 206.


I:8 The old man’s rest.

1) Beyerhaus, Peter, Die Selbständigkeit der jungen Kirchen als missionarisches Problem. Wuppertal-Barmen 1956, p.67.


3) Allen, Priscilla M., Roland Allen, A Prophet for this Age. The Living Church, April 20, 1986, pp.9-10.


6) Allen, Priscilla M., Roland Allen, A Prophet for this Age. The Living Church, April 20, 1986, p.11.


9) Ibid., p.174. - The son of Roland Allen, Mr John Allen, was a prominent Swahili scholar.


12) Allen, Priscilla M., Roland Allen, A Prophet for this Age. The Living Church, April 20, 1986, p.11.

II:1. A missiological context.


5) Ibid., p.46. Beyerhaus arrives at the conclusion that "Anderson und Venn beide selbständig zu ihrer missionarischen Schau gekommen sind." On Venn's use of the formula, see ibid., p.38.

6) Ibid., p.52. See also pp. 37 and 41. - Cf. Roland Allen's description of the two conflicting patterns in "The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church and the Causes which Hinder It", (1927), Grand Rapids 1984, pp.20-32.

7) Ibid., pp.46,52,55.
8) Ibid., p.55: "Das Besondere bei Anderson, ist --- die Betonung der Missionsaufgabe der jungen Kirche."

9) Allen, Roland, Missionary Methods: St Paul's or Ours?. First ed, London 1912, Preface p.X.


11) The articles were in 1886 printed as a book by the Presbyterian Press in Shanghai. In 1898 an edition was published in London with the title: "Method of Mission work" (van Heerden, p.131). The American edition, "The Planting and Development of Missionary Churches" (1895), was used for mission studies by the "Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions" (see: Fourth ed., Philadelphia 1958, p.3)


13) Ibid., p.9.

14) Ibid., p.25.

15) Ibid., p.58.

16) Ibid., p.59.


19) Latourette, p.249.

20) Ibid., p.367.

21) Ibid., p.274.

22) Thompson, p.379.

23) Ibid., p.379.

24) Ibid., p.443.

25) Latourette, p.437. - "The Chinese Recorder brought to the entire missionary body the news of the activities of its members and provided a platform on which common problems could be discussed". Latourette, p.662. - It is quite likely that this paper was accessible to Allen in Peking.

26) Their good personal relations were shown by the fact that the Bishop became the godfather of Allen's daughter Priscilla. See: Allen, Priscilla, Roland Allen. A Prophet for This Age. The Living Church, April 20, 1986, p.10.

27) Allen, Roland, The Anglican Mission at Yung Ch'ing, North China. A leaflet printed in 1903 in Oxford. USPG Archives, Oxford. X Series:622, Box 2, (Deposited papers: Roland Allen), p.4: "The Bishop is heartily in sympathy with me ..." - See also: Allen Priscilla, Roland Allen, A Prophet for this Age. The Living Church, April 20, 1986, p.10: "Bishop Scott was very fond of him and considered that he would make a good bishop later on."

28) In case Allen had not come across the Nevius material in China, he had the possibility to read it during his furlough in England, as the book was published there in 1898.


30) Ibid., p.256. - A good deal of today's work with "Theological Education by Extension" in Latin America, Asia and Africa is close
to Roland Allen's thoughts about educational principles and methods
of mission work with the local Church and its indigenous ministry in
focus. In some cases Allen is even explicitly mentioned as an
inspirator. See e.g.: Hogarth, J., Gatimu, K., & Barrett, D., Theologi-

31) Ibid., pp.253-254.

32) Ibid., p.255.

33) Ibid., p.255.

34) Ibid., pp.255-56

Reform of the Ministry. London 1968, p.53. - As a contemporary
background, Allen's words from an other Guardian article could be
quoted: "... an extraordinary change has come over the missionary
ideals of the Church during the last years. Scarcely any of the
writers venture to question the fundamental principle that the founda-
tion of independent native Churches is the end of missionary effort." 
Allen, Roland, Independent Native Churches. The Guardian, August
24, 1904, p.1389. Conscious of this context, Allen choose the other
line, originating from Rufus Anderson.


37) Ibid., p.53.

38) Ibid., p.55.

39) Ibid., p.56.

40) The document stated four essentials as necessary for the unity of the
Church: The recognition of "the Old and the New Testaments, the
Nicene Creed, the two Gospel Sacraments and the Historic Episcopa-
te locally adapted." Moorman, J.R.H., A History of the Church in
England. London 1986, p.410 - The unabridged text is found in
document to a great extent resembles the "marks of Catholicity" by

II:2. A BIBLICAL BASIS

II:2:a Exegetical influences.

1) Chapter I:1


4) See e.g.: Ramsay, W.M., The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 170. London 1893, p.5. More references to Harnack's works can be found in the Index on p.486. - In the preface, Ramsay deals with his own attitude to the role of the critical method within the historical research. Although he accepts and uses the method, he is nevertheless critical to some German exponents, because "their criticism often offends against critical method. True criticism must be sympathetic." (p.VIII) "None admires and reverences German scholarship more than I do; but it has not taught me to be blind to faults, or to be afraid to speak out." (pp.VIII-IX) Yet Harnack is never mentioned to be amongst the scholars, whose intentions are questioned by Ramsay.

5) "Harnack has drawn largely from Ramsay in his Mission und Ausbreitung." Beskow, Per, Crossing the Frontiers in the Second Centu-

6) Based on a series of lectures at Mansfield College, Oxford, in 1892. - Mansfield College was built as a Free Church theological College in 1889. Today it is an ecumenical study centre and a part of the University buildings. See: Davies, Horton, Worship and Theology in England. Vol.IV, From Newman to Martineau, 1850-1900, Princeton 1962, p.XIII. - Ramsay did not come to Oxford as a foreigner. In 1885-86 he was the first professor of classical art and archeology there, and he was a former Fellow of Exeter College, the same College where Roland Allen’s brother, W.C. Allen, taught a few years later. Here we might trace a possible link between the scholarship of W.M. Ramsay and the writings of Roland Allen.


8) The book is a current historical commentary on the Acts. In the first ed. of his book "Missionary Methods: St Paul’s or Ours?" (1912), Allen has 15 explicit references to "St Paul the Traveller...", and a good deal of Ramsay’s statements have implicitly coloured Allen’s view of St Paul’s principles and missionary methods.

9) Allen, Roland, Missionary Methods: St Paul’s or Ours?. (1912), Grand Rapids 1979, p.3.

10) Ramsay, W.M., The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D.170, London 1893, p.146. The chronological index to the life of St Paul, on which Allen founded his statement, is found in ibid., p.168, and in "St Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen", pp.395-396.

12) Ibid., p.121.

13) Ibid., p.65.

14) Ibid., p.122.

15) Ibid., p.121.

16) Ibid., p.121.

17) Ibid., p.121.


20) In 1902, Harnack wrote the first edition of "Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten", (English translation by James Moffat in 1904-05), and in 1906 he published a revised version, which was translated into English by Moffat in 1908. This 2nd ed. was the edition used by Roland Allen.

21) Published in the series "Library of Historic Theology", ed.by WM.C. Piercy. Other contributors to the series were e.g. Sparrow Simpson and R.L. Ottley.


24) Ibid., p.431.

25) Ibid., p.434. - True to his general conception of the first Christian decades as a period of charismatic lack of organization, Harnack chooses to talk about communities and groups of individuals rather than Churches, because he holds the general opinion that "Acts, indeed, is not interested in the local churches (ibid., p.434 note 1). N.B. that Roland Allen on this point is of a different opinion!

26) Ibid., p.436.

27) Ibid., p.436 note 1. - Harnack in his book also gives a vivid description of the importance of the sacrament of Baptism in the early Church. On Allen’s treatment of this subject, see II:4:a.


II:2:b  Pauline principles and methods.

1) Allen, Roland, Missionary Methods: St Paul’s or Ours? (1912), Grand Rapids 1979, p.74.


3) Allen, Roland, Missionary Methods: St Paul’s or Ours? (1912), Grand Rapids 1979, p.5.
4) Ibid., p.90. - See also p.84, where Allen builds on Ramsay's chronology in "St Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen", (1895), London 1905, p.395.

5) Ibid., pp.90-91.

6) Ibid., p.91 note 1.


8) Ibid., p.3.


10) Ibid., p.154.

11) Allen, Roland, Missionary Methods: St Paul's or Ours? (1912), Grand Rapids 1979, p.81. - The historical context and the factors for the success of St Paul's missionary efforts are described by Allen, in close adherence to Ramsay and Harnack, on pp.12-17.


13) Ibid., p.534.

14) Ibid., p.542. - This approach of Allen is by Hallencreutz called "an ecclesiocentric missionary approach". See: Hallencreutz, C.F., Kræmer Towards Tambaram. Uppsala 1966, p.158 note 1. - The work by Dr Blyden, who himself was a Christian African, had been published already in 1887: "Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race" (London:Whittingham), and it had been met with a storm of protest. When Professor Westerman in 1912 expressed almost the same opinions, they were received as "generally accepted truths". (See Allens article, p.531). Whether Allen, who went up to Oxford in 1887, ever had read Blyden's book before he went to China is unknown.


II:2:c A normative pattern?

1) Allen, Roland, Missionary Methods: St Paul's or Ours? (1912), Grand Rapids 1979, pp.3-4.


4) Ibid., p.181.

5) Ibid., pp.182-183. N.B. that Kennedy here used a term which Allen would come to use quite frequently: "Their methods of organisation and evangelisation must have grown spontaneously out of their environment" (italics mine), p.183.


10) Ibid., p.354.


15) Ibid. Ekström, p.77.

16) Diary (1943/44), in Paton, David M.(ed.), Reform of the Ministry, London 1968, p.200. - In spite of his critical treatment of some biblical texts, Allen had a sense of reverence for the Bible, which, together with his frequent quotations from the N.T., might give an explanation of the appreciation with which his books have been received in Biblical-Evangelical groups.


19) Ibid., p.185. - Also H. Kelly, contemporary with Allen, has the same attitude to the ancient Church as a normative pattern: "What I am suggesting is ... nothing else than the ancient Church system which was actually in use during the essential missionary age of the Church when progress was most rapid." Kelly, Herbert, The Pattern of a Missionary Church. The East and the West, April 1916, p.182. As this was written four years after Allen's "Missionary Methods", an influence from Allen to Kelly can not be excluded.

20) Ibid., p.238. - See also: Ekström, Ragnar, The Theology of Charles Gore, Lund 1944, p.226, quoting Newman's own words: "We go by Antiquity; that is, by the Apostles. Ancient consent is our standard of faith."

21) Moorman, J.R.H., A History of the Church in England, London 1986, p.344. This change of opinion on "Doctrinal Development" was a decisive part of the process which lead to Newman's conversion to the Roman-Catholic Church.


II:3. THE CHURCH: LOCAL, REAL, UNIVERSAL

1) Allen, Roland, The Priesthood of the Church. The Church Quarterly Review, January 1933, p.239.


3) Allen, Roland, The Church and an Itinerant Ministry. The East and the West, April 1927, p.123.


5) Allen, Roland, Missionary Methods, St Paul's or Ours?. (1912), Grand Rapids 1979, p.107.
6) Allen, Roland, The Church and an Itinerant Ministry. The East and the West, April 1927, p.132.


8) Allen, Roland, The Church and an Itinerant Ministry. The East and the West, April 1927, p.127.

II:3:a A general context.


2) Allen, Roland, Missionary Methods, St Paul's or Ours?. (1912), Grand Rapids 1979, p.7.


4) Allen, Roland, Missionary Principles. (1913), London 1968, p.121. - This statement could be compared with the Lutheran principle of the role of the matter in the sacraments: "Finitum capax infiniti", while the Reformed opponents meant that "finitum non capax infiniti".

5) Allen, Roland, Missionary Methods, St Paul's or Ours?. (1912), Grand Rapids 1979, p.54.


7) Allen, Roland, The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church and the Causes Which Hinder It. (1927), Grand Rapids 1984, p.96. - The
whole of Chapter 7, "Missionary Organization", can with advantage be read on this subject.


14) Allen, Roland, Christianity in Kenya, To the Editor of the Spectator. The Spectator, June 18, 1937, p.1147.


16) Ibid., p.52.

17) Allen, Roland, Concerning some Hindrances to the Extension of the Church. The Church Quarterly Review, October 1919, p.4. - For a further treatment of the consequences of spiritual pauperism for the expansion of the Church - see below III:2.
II:3:b The Anglican setting.

1) Moorman, J.R.H., A History of the Church in England. London 1986, p.398. - The Christological question was e.g. formulated already by R.C.Moberly in "The Incarnation as the Basis of Dogma", Lux Mundi, London 1889, p.241: "The one great question which is at the root of Christian Faith - is He God, or is He not? - --- is the real hinge-point of the Catholic faith."


3) Ibid., p.25.

4) Ibid., p.27.

5) Ibid., pp.30-33.

6) Ibid., pp.32, 36.


10) Ramsey, Arthur Michael, From Gore to Temple, The Development of Anglican Theology between Lux Mundi and the Second World War 1889-1939. London 1960, p.16. - It can be noticed that Lux Mundi was an Oxford dogmatical product, while a later follow-up document, "Essays Catholic and Critical", ed.by E.G.Selwyn, 1926, was written by Cambridge based apologists.


15) Ibid., p.370.

16) Ibid., p.370.

17) Ibid., p.371.

18) Ibid., p.373.

19) Ibid., pp.375-376.

20) Ibid., p.378.


22) Ibid., p.224.


30) Allen, Roland, Letter to the Editor. The Church Times, May 16, 1924.


II:3:c The local Church, "fully equipped".


2) Allen, Roland, The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church and the Causes which Hinder It. (1927), Grand Rapids 1984, p.29.

3) Allen, Roland The Church and an Itinerant Ministry. The East and the West, April 1927, p.123.


5) Ibid., p.128.

6) Allen, Roland, The Church and an Itinerant Ministry. The East and the West, April 1927, p.123.

8) Allen, Roland, The Priesthood of the Church. The Church Quarterly Review, January 1933, p.236. - The terminological difference between "congregation" and "Church" can be found in W.M.Ramsay's influential book "St Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen". (1895), London 1905, p.64. - See also: Kelly, Herbert: The Pattern of a Missionary Church. The East and the West, April 1916, p.190.

9) Ibid., p.237.


12) Allen, Roland, Voluntary Clergy. The Record, March 6, 1924.

administer the Sacraments?" Allen, Roland, The Church and an Itinerant Ministry. The East and the West, April 1927, p.125.

14) Ibid., pp.178-179.


18) Ibid., p.262.


20) Ibid., p.9.

21) Allen, Roland, The Use of the Term "Indigenous". The International Review of Missions, April 1927, pp.266-267. - This statement does not mean that such customs should not be used. On the contrary Allen emphasizes the importance of inculturation: "All that is of truth in Eastern thought or teaching, all that is of virtue in heathen practice and life is of Christ and to Christ, and will find its fulfillment in Christ".(p.94) There is even a hint of a Logos-Christology, when Allen writes: "Christ is hidden there in heathen lands and we go to seek Him."(p.98). Allen, Roland, Missionary Principles, (1913), London 1964.

22) Ibid., p.268.

24) Ibid., p.266.


26) Ibid.


28) See II:1.


30) Ibid., p.26. NB that Allen here follows the Rufus Anderson/John Nevius line, which also is in harmony with the views of H.Kelly. While the Henry Venn/Bishop Tucker line regarded the independence of the Church as a goal, Allen argued that it should be applied from the beginning.


33) Ibid., p.27.

34) Ibid., p.2. - The importance of local Bishops was also stressed by Herbert Kelly in two articles, quoted frequently by Allen, in "The East and the West": "The Pattern of a Missionary Church" (April 1916) and "The Pattern of the Early Church. The Formation of the Ministry." (October 1916).


37) Allen, Roland, The Use of the Term "Indigenous". The International Review of Missions, April 1927, p.263.

38) Allen, Roland, Missionary Methods, St Paul’s or Ours?. (1912), Grand Rapids 1979, p.60.

39) Ibid., p.60 note 1. - The Congregational view had been advocated from a Free Church standpoint by professor T.M.Lindsay in "The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries" (1903). If Allen had this book in mind is unknown, but what is known is that Lindsay was criticized by Charles Gore on this point. See: Ekström, Ragnar, The Theology of Charles Gore. Lund 1944, p.238. - The question of congregationalism versus episcopalianism is dealt with by Herbert Kelly, whose point is that the lack of local Bishops has lead to a "virtual presbyterianism": "Our people do, in fact, tend to be content with their congregationalism and show little zeal for effective episcopalianism. ... although our worship is episcopalian because it is sacramental, our working system is in fact presbyterian, because it is parochial, or at least congregational, the presbyterian independence being only modified by occasional interventions, which could be supplied equally - some think much better - by some form of synodical action. And there is nothing so difficult as to turn a presbyterian system into an episcopal system." Kelly, Herbert, The Pattern of a Missionary Church. The East and the West, April 1916, p.189. - Allen clearly rejects the congregational system: "There is here no Congregationalism in the sense in which that word is commonly used today. Modern Congregationalism is supposed to treat every congregation as a totally distinct and self-sufficient body. There is nothing of that sort here." Allen, Roland, The Priesthood of the Church. The Church Quarterly Review, Jan 1933, p.243.

40) Allen, Roland, Missionary Methods, St Paul’s or Ours?. (1912), Grand Rapids 1962, p.127.


44) Ibid., p.156. - Concerning the place and role of Bishops in the missionary work, two models were prevalent in the current Anglican discussions. The C.M.S. model was that Bishops were to be consecrated after some time, while the opinion of the Anglo-Catholic U.M.C.A. was that the ministry and leadership of missionary Bishops should be an integrated part of the missionary enterprise from the very beginning. (See: Oliver, Roland, The Missionary Factor in East Africa. London 1970, p.12) With his emphasis on the importance of Bishops in the life of the Church, Roland Allen was closer to the U.M.C.A. view than to C.M.S., but his criticism was nevertheless strong on both models. The systems were, according to his opinion, too much tied up with the Missionary Societies and their paid workers. The pattern of national Churches had been exported and implemented in the "mission fields" with the result that the Bishops had got vast dioceses which impossibly could function as working units. Instead Allen advocated a model of small local dioceses, which from the very beginning should be equipped with and led by local indigenous Bishops. See: Allen, Roland, The Case for Voluntary Clergy. (London 1930). Reprinted in: Paton, David M.(ed.), The Ministry of the Spirit. Grand Rapids 1972, p.178 (especially note 2). See also: Allen, Roland, The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church and the Causes which Hinder It. (1927), Grand Rapids 1984, pp.119-121.

II:3:d "A real Church at hand".


2) Allen, Roland, The Essentials of an Indigenous Church. World Dominion, vol.III, 6/1925, p.122. - Allen's emphasis on the visible Church is fully in line with the Article XIX "Of the Church", of the
39 Articles: "The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite unto the same..."

3) See I:5.

4) Allen, Roland, A Native Church in the Making. The Church Times, September 8, 1911, p.294. This article was later published as part II of the Epilogue in "Missionary Methods, St Paul's or Ours?" (1912).


6) Ibid., p.132.


12) Allen, Roland, The Provision of Services for Churchpeople Overseas. Theology, July 1929, p.28. - There is a close resemblance between these words by Allen and the statement of Unity at the World Council of Churches’ Conference in New Delhi in 1961. In a reply to a question from me, Bishop Lesslie Newbigin, who was the original architect of the statement, agrees that Allen’s thought is
relevant to the discussion, but "it was not in my mind in these meetings." Letter from Bishop Newbigin to me, October 13, 1987.

II:3:e "A world-wide communion".

1) II:3:a.

2) Allen, Roland, The Use of the Term "Indigenous". The International Review of Missions, April 1927, p.262.

3) Allen, Roland, The Church and an Itinerant Ministry. The East and the West, April 1927, p.124: "Men learn to understand the Universal Church through the particular. Establish the particular, and they will begin to understand the Universal."


5) Ibid., p.89.

6) Ibid., p.89.

7) Ramsay, W.M., St Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen. (1895), London 1905, p.125: "Gradually Paul's idea of 'the Unified Church' became definite. ... the universal Church consisting of many parts, widely separated in space ... and yet each is merely a piece carved out of the homogenious whole, and each finds its justification and perfect ideal in the whole."

8) Kelly, Herbert, The Pattern of a Missionary Church. The East and the West, April 1916, p.183: "The Church has to deal with unity in two ways - a/ the local unity of Christians in one place, b/ the unity of the local Churches with one another throuhout the world. These two are in principle one, for the local Church is the Catholic Church in that place, but the two involve different arrangements."


10) Ibid., p.148.


2) Allen, Roland, The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church and the Causes which Hinder It. (1927), Grand Rapids 1984, p.149. - A similar belief in the power of the sacrament is described by Härdelin: "Newman's desire to revive the practice of frequent celebration and communion rested --- in the last resort on his high belief in the gift and power of the eucharist. History had taught him that a divine duty could not be disobeyed without serious consequences." Härdelin, Alf, The Tractarian Understanding of the Eucharist. Uppsala 1965, p.276.

3) II:3.

4) Allen, Roland, Missionary Principles, (1913), London 1968, pp.120-121. - The same theme is presented by Allen in "Missionary Methods: St Paul's or Ours?", (1912), Grand Rapids 1979, p.54: "the
religion of Christ, who is Himself a Sacrament, is sacramental, and all our use of material things is sacramental. -- The Sacraments of the Gospel are not contrary to nature, but they are Divine."


6) Allen, Roland, The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church and the Causes which Hinder It. (1927), Grand Rapids 1984, p.149.


8) See II:3:d.


10) Ibid., p.172.

II:4:a Baptism for growth.

1) This sacramental realism must be kept in mind when Allen’s baptismal practice is faced. Because the baptism means a real transformation, the context of faith and worship is regarded as a necessary condition for growth. - On the Tractarian understanding of Baptismal Regeneration, see e.g.: Brilioth, Yngve, The Anglican Revival. London 1925, pp.305-314.

2) Allen, Roland, Missionary Methods: St Paul’s or Ours?. (1912), Grand Rapids 1979, p.73 note 1.

4) Ibid., p.31.

5) Ibid., p.32.

6) Allen, Roland, Missionary Methods: St Paul's or Ours?. (1912), Grand Rapids 1979, pp.71-72. - It is quite likely that Allen, without mentioning it, follows the book by A.Harnack, "The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries", (2nd ed., engl.transl. 1908) where the decisive importance of baptism in the early Church is described.


8) Allen, Roland, Missionary Methods: St Paul's or Ours?. (1912), Grand Rapids 1979, p.99.

9) About his own experiences from Yung Ch'ing, Allen writes: "The missionary answered that public notorious offences concerned not only the priest-in-charge and the Bishop but the whole Church and that it was right that the Church should act in such cases as a Body. --- It is one thing to be excommunicated by a foreign Bishop, it is quite another to be excommunicated by one's neighbours." Refering to a certain case, where the decisive word had been uttered by an old member of the Church, Allen writes: "The aged respectable leader, illiterate, ignorant in many ways, dull though he might be, in the council of the Church found his voice and fulfilled a duty which would have tried the wisdom of the best educated and instructed teacher." Allen, Roland, A Native Church in the Making. The Church Times, September 8, 1911, p.294. Also printed as part II of the Epilogue in "Missionary Methods: St Paul's or Ours?" (1912). The theme is also treated in that book on pp.122-125 and 158.

10) Allen, Roland, Missionary Methods: St Paul's or Ours?. (1912), Grand Rapids 1979, p.76.

12) Ibid., p.367.

13) Ibid., p.367.

14) Allen, Roland, Missionary Methods: St Paul’s or Ours?. (1912), Grand Rapids 1979, pp.95-96.

15) Ibid., p.96.

16) Ibid., p.97. - Cf. that the role of faith in the Tractarian understanding of the sacraments was a vital point in their struggle with Evangelicalism. Härdelin: "Faith is the necessary condition from the human side for a beneficial reception of the sacramental grace which is there objectively, offered by God as something entirely from above." (p.101) In Newman’s words: "Justification comes through the Sacraments; is received by faith; consists in God’s inward presence; and lives in obedience." (p.103). Quotations from: Härdelin, Alf, The Tractarian Understanding of the Eucharist. Uppsala 1965.

17) Ibid., p.96.


19) Ibid., p.11.


23) Ibid., p.194.

24) Ibid., p.194. From Allen’s words we can have a notion of his pastoral struggle, where he in the end could find no working solu-
tion in consistence with his conscience: "I have entreated and advised till we both were weary, but you knew and I knew that in the end I could not absolutely refuse. --- I cannot and will not do these things any longer."


26) Allen, Roland, Missionary Methods: St Paul's or Ours?. (1912), Grand Rapids 1979, p.89.


28) Ibid., p.147.


II:4:b The Eucharist - the heart of the local Church.

1) Allen, Roland, Church People Abroad. (Letter to the Editor). The Daily Telegraph, July 12, 1922.


4) Allen, Roland, Concerning Some Hindrances to the Extension of the Church. The Church Quarterly Review, October 1919, pp.5-6.


7) Ibid., p.6. - On the impact of the Tractarian sacramentalism on the life of the Church of England, see: Brilioth, Yngve, Eucharistic Faith and Practice, p.216: "the most notable chapter in the modern history of the eucharist."

8) Härdelin, Alf, The Tractarian Understanding of the Eucharist. Uppsala 1965, p.241. See also p.147: "The sacramental principle" was "the very foundation of the whole Tractarian theological edifice."

9) See above I:2 and notes.


11) Paget, Francis, Sacraments. Lux Mundi, Essay X, ed. by Charles Gore. London 1889, p.420. - There is a clear resemblance between this quotation and Allen's wordings in "Missionary Principles", (1913), London 1968, p.121: "The whole world is sacramental and Christ is sacramental and the religion of Christ is sacramental, because He is sacramental. Because Christ is sacramental missions are sacramental."


20) Ibid., pp.238-239.

21) Allen, Roland, The Church and an Itinerant Ministry. The East and the West, April 1927, p.125.

22) Allen, Roland, Voluntary Clergy. The Record, March 6, 1924.


26) Allen, Roland, The Church and an Itinerant Ministry. The East and the West, April 1927, p.123.

27) Ibid., p.124.
28) Allen, Roland, Church People Abroad. (Letter to the Editor). The Daily Telegraph, July 12, 1922.


31) Allen, Roland, Missionary Methods: St Paul’s or Ours?. (1912), Grand Rapids 1979, p.105.


37) Ibid., pp.273-274.

38) Ibid., p.285.


40) Ibid., p.278.

II:4:c The sacraments and a diversified ministry.

1) Allen, Roland, Missionary Methods: St Paul's or Ours?. (1912), Grand Rapids 1979, p.103. - On the question of the application of this mentioned principle, Allen after 1930 became a bit less strict. See below in this chapter.

2) Ibid., p.103.

3) For this opinion, Allen was clearly dependent on the articles by Father Herbert Kelly in the SPG paper "The East and the West", April and October 1916. - Allen's view was maintained even later in his life. See e.g.: "The Establishment of Indigenous Churches", 1927, p.16. Refused by the International Review of Missions. Typed manuscript, USPG Archives, Oxford, X Series: 622, Box 3, (Deposited papers: Roland Allen): "the Pauline principle is that the Church must have ministers. --- The ministry is its right."

4) Allen, Roland, Missionary Methods: St Paul's or Ours?. (1912), Grand Rapids 1979, p.7.

5) The criticism of the dependence on money for the sacramental life is increasingly accentuated in the writings by Allen. He was here inspired by Herbert Kelly. See e.g.: Kelly, Herbert, The Pattern of the Early Church. The Formation of the Ministry. The East and the West, October 1916, p.435: "The poor are largely deprived of the Sacraments because priests are so expensive." This article is with consent quoted by Allen in "The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church and the Causes which Hinder It", (1927), Grand Rapids 1984, p.132. - The question of travelling priests is treated in length by Allen in his article in "The East and the West", April 1927, pp.123-133, "The Church and an Itinerant Ministry."
6) Allen refers to the examples of the apostles: "All that the Church needed she had, because all that she needed was there on the spot in the lives and possessions of those whom God called." Letter from Allen to Bishop Chambers, Central Tanganyika, April 10, 1930. Reprinted in: Paton, David M.(ed.), Reform of the Ministry. London 1968, p.103.

7) The material written by Allen on "Voluntary Clergy" is vast and spread out in many books and articles. To deal with it in detail is out of the limits of this thesis. Most of the arguments were summed up by Allen himself in the book "The Case for Voluntary Clergy", 1930, which in parts is accessible in reprint in "The Ministry of the Spirit", ed. by David M. Paton, Grand Rapids 1972, pp.135-189. - NB that Allen also had a personal interest in arguing for voluntary clergy: "What gives a certain personal interest to my enquiry is the probability that my own son may soon be in that position." Letter from Allen to Bishop E.J.Palmer of Bombay, July 21, 1927. Reprinted in: Paton, David M.(ed.), Reform of the Ministry. London 1968, p.93.


10) See: Allen, Roland, The Case for Voluntary Clergy. (1930). Reprinted in: Paton, David M.(ed.), The Ministry of the Spirit. Grand Rapids 1972, pp.141, 145. - A parallell model of great similarity to Allen's views on "Voluntary Clergy" was advocated and put into practice in China by the Swedish Lutheran missionary, the Revd Gustaf Österlin. Without any knowledge of Roland Allen and his writings, Österlin came to similar conclusions as regards the pattern of missionary work with emphasis on an early application of "the three selves" and the ordination of non-stipendiary village elders in order to to supply the local Churches with the means of grace. On January 11, 1931, the first two elders, "changlaos", were ordained by
the Chinese Lutheran Superintendent Chen Siang Dao. After some hesitation and debate, the Church of Sweden Mission Board in Uppsala decided to support Österlin’s model, but due to wars and unrest the ordinations ceased at the end of the decade. / Here one could find an uncultivated field for further research concerning the trends in the Chinese missionary world, which led both Allen and Österlin, ignorant of each other as they were, to conclusions of such similarity. Unfortunately such a research is out of the limits of this present thesis. / For further information on the Österlin model, see: Martling, Carl Henrik, Diakon, Veniat, Assistentpräst? Lund 1971, pp.177-183. Gustaf Österlin’s articles on the subject were published in "Svensk Missionstidskrift" 1927, pp.97-104, and 1929, pp.152-171. For a general contextual background, see: Österlin, Lars, The Crusade of the West and the Church of China. Different Trends in the Church of Sweden Mission to China during the 1920s. In: Christensen, T.- Hutchinson, W.R. (eds.), Missionary Ideologies in the Imperialist Era: 1880-1920. Aarhus 1982, pp.146-155.


16) Ibid., pp.176-177. - The subordinate position given by Allen to preaching is in line with the Tractarian view, where the sacraments are the means of grace while preaching is not. (See further: Härdelin,
Alf, The Tractarian Understanding of the Eucharist. Uppsala 1965, pp.303-306.) Allen's main emphasis on the celebration of the sacraments does not mean, however, that the preaching was neglected. Allen himself worked a good deal with preaching during his many years as a voluntary priest, and a number of his written sermons are kept in the USPG Archives in Oxford.

17) On Allen's claim for the consecration of "village bishops", see above II:3:c.

18) Allen, Roland, Missionary Methods: St Paul's or Ours?. (1912), Grand Rapids 1979, p.159.

19) Allen, Roland, The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church and the Causes which Hinder It. (1927), Grand Rapids 1984, 147. The process is described in detail on pp.147-150.


21) Allen, Roland, The Case for Voluntary Clergy. (1930). Reprinted in: Paton, David M.(ed.), The Ministry of the Spirit. Grand Rapids 1972, pp.160-161. - Allen's demands were hard to take even for bishops who accepted his theories but also realized the difficulty to put them into practice: "You are a little hard on us bishops", Bishop Hubback wrote in a letter to Allen, November 21, 1926, and Allen agreed in his letter of reply: "Of course I am. --- Bishops exist to establish the Church as the permanent home of the faithful. A congregation for which a cleric holds services once a month is not a Church at all. Bishops, then, who simply let things go on as they are now are declining to perform the duty of driving away false doctrine --- and the duty of establishing the Church." Letters printed in: Paton, David M.(ed.), Reform of the Ministry. London 1968, pp.144-147.

22) See above I:7.

24) To the scattered Christians on the mission fields, Allen advised: "If a priest visits you once a quarter, or occasionally, receive him; but in his absence act for yourselves. Tell the nearest bishop if you can, what you are doing, and, if he can ordain, welcome his ordination; but if he cannot see his way to do that, act for yourselves until he can. --- where the bishop cannot act, there the law of episcopal ordination cannot run." Allen, Roland, The Church and the Ministry in the Mission Field. Manuscript refused by the Church Quarterly Review, January 1930, p.18. USPG Archives, Oxford, X Series:622, Box 3, (Deposited papers: Roland Allen). - Allen here arrives at a conclusion very similar to Philip Melancton’s view in the Lutheran document "Tractatus de potestate et primatu papae" (1537), where it is stated that when the bishops refuse ordination, the congregations have a right of their own to call, choose, and ordain its ministers. See: "Om påvens makt och överhöghet". In: Svenska Kyrkans Bekännelseskrifter, ed. by Ruben Josefsson. Stockholm 1957, p.351.


26) Diary 1943/44. Printed as "The Family Rite" in: Paton, David M.(ed.), Reform of the Ministry. London 1968, p.202: "I realized that I was performing a Family Rite --- I was in truth doing what I had long urged Christian people to do when they were separated from any organized Church. The fact that I was ordained took little place in my thought, for I was doing what I wished all Christian heads of households to do." (This text is from 1943).

NOTES - CHAPTER III

III:1 "Expansion" in an age of expansionism.


3) Ibid., p.161.


5) See above II:2:c.


13) Ibid. McLeish, p.XV. Letter from Allen to Dr. Thomas Cochrane, (no date).
III:2 Pauperized people and the expansion of the Church.

1) See above II:3:a.

2) Allen, Roland, Missionary Methods: St Paul's or Ours?. (1912), Grand Rapids 1979, p.56.


4) See further above II:3:a.


6) Ibid., p.54.

7) Ibid., p.54.

8) Ibid., p.54.

9) Ibid., p.56.

III:3 "Non-Professional Missionaries"

1) Allen, Roland, Mission KeNaukar. (A review of the Pan-Anglican Congress in 1908). The Church Quarterly Review, January 1912, p.386. The whole of the article (pp.386-396) is a summary of Allen's criticism on the subject. His arguments can also be followed in "The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church and the Causes which Hinder It", (1927), Grand Rapids 1984, pp. 106-110.

2) Allen, Roland, The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church and the Causes which Hinder It. (1927), Grand Rapids 1984, p. 112. - The term "missions by proxy" is not Allen's own invention. His reference is to Temple Gairdner, who worked as a C.M.S. missionary in Cairo.


6) Ibid., p.81.

7) Ibid., p.81.


9) Allen, Roland, Missionary Methods: St Paul’s or Ours?. (1912), Grand Rapids 1979, p.93.

10) Allen, Roland, The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church and the Causes which Hinder It. (1927), Grand Rapids 1984, p.52: "Spontaneous expansion proceeds by an expression of experience much more than by a mere intellectual instruction."

11) Ibid., p.54.

12) Ibid., p.56.


14) Ibid., p.83.

15) Ibid., pp.84-85.

17) Kelly, Herbert, The Church and Religious Unity. London 1913, pp.194-195. Quoted by David M. Paton in the Introduction to "Herbert Kelly, No Pious Person", ed. by George Every. London 1960, p.11. - This theme can be found also in the essay by Walter Lock, "The Church", in Lux Mundi, ed. by Charles Gore. London 1889, p.391: "to the whole Church is a priesthood given. This priesthood is exercised throughout life, as each Christian gives his life to God's service, and the whole Church devotes itself for the good of the world." (Bible references given to: 1 Peter.2.9; Rev.1.6; Heb.10).


19) Ibid., p.80. - It should be noted that such visions were held by people like Kelly, Allen and Gairdner long before they became commonplace in the international ecumenical "Christian Presence" theology and the "lay-apostolate" theology of the Second Vatican Council.


21) Allen, Roland, Missionary Principles. (1913), London 1968, p.56. - In the Tractarian understanding of the eucharist, the "sacerdotalism" (see above II:3:b) of the people of God is not exclusively exercised by the ordained priests. As baptized members of the body of Christ, the Christians share in the "sacerdotium laicorum", which has its basis in the Church's sacrifice. In that sense every Christian can, in the words of R.I.Wilberforce, be called a "co-sacrificer". See: Härde­lin, Alf, The Tractarian Understanding of the Eucharist. Uppsala 1965, pp.288-289.

22) Allen, Roland, Missionary Methods: St Paul's or Ours?. (1912), Grand Rapids 1979, p.105.
III:4 "Fullness of life and growth in Christ".
- The sacramental mission of the Church.

1) Alien, Roland, Missionary Principles. (1913), London 1968, p.121: "Because Christ is sacramental missions are sacramental." - The connections between the incarnational theology, the Church, and the sacraments are described above in II:3:a, II:3:b and II:4:b.

2) Ibid., p.93.

3) Ibid., p.90.

4) Alien, Roland, The Priesthood of the Church. The Church Quarterly Review, January 1933, p.241. - Alien's Church-centred view on the mission and its relation to the eucharist comes close to the Orthodox view as described by Alexander Schmemann: "The whole life of the Church is rooted in the Eucharist, is the fruition of this eucharistic fullness in the time of this world whose 'image passeth by...’ This is indeed the mission of the Church." (p.212) "The Church --- is not a 'selfcentred' community but precisely a missionary community, whose purpose is salvation not from, but of, the world. In the Orthodox experience and faith it is the Church-sacrament that makes possible the Church-mission." (p.214). Schmemann, Alexander, Church, World, Mission. New York 1979.


6) Alien, Roland, Voluntary Clergy. Kenya Church Review, September 1932, p.4. - A similar program of Mass and Mission was outlined by Dr.Per-Olof Sjögren in a preparatory report for the Lutheran World Federation Conference in Porto Alegre, Brazil, in 1970: "Att fira nattvand, att fira mässa är inte ens enbart en kristen angelägenhet - det får konsekvenser för hela världen, ja hela världen är integrerad i denna mässa..." (p.36) "Ur det strukturella grundschema påskdag--söndag--mässa framträder klart att hela mässan står under missionens


NOTES - CHAPTER IV

IV:1 A frequent problem of infrequency.


2) Hastings, Adrian, Church and Mission in Modern Africa. New York 1967, p.135. See also pp.207-208: "If the pastoral situation remains for long as it is at present, or if it gets seriously worse, our new Church is just going to fall apart from inside. There will be no chance for most of our Christians to live a eucharistic life, to receive pastoral care, to hear the word of God regularly expounded; the early fervour of the majority will pass clean away ..."


4) "All over the world I see clergy itinerating over wide areas which they call their parishes in which there are three, or four, or a dozen, or more congregations which they sometimes call Churches". Allen,
Roland, The Church and an Itinerant Ministry. The East and the West, April 1927, p.123.

IV:2 An alien Allen.

1) Allen, Roland, The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church and the Causes which Hinder It. First ed., London 1927, Preface. - His Anglican identity was also marked by the fact that he asked three wellknown Anglican bishops to write Introductions to some of his books: Henry Whitehead of Madras ("Missionary Methods", 1912), Charles Gore of Oxford ("Educational Principles and Missionary Methods", 1919), and Vedanayakam Samuel Azariah of Dornakal ("The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church", 1927).

2) "Missionary Methods - St. Paul’s or Ours?". An anonymous book review in the International Review of Missions, 1913, vol.I, pp.726-728: "Mr. Allen --- has exaggerated the success of St.Paul’s work on the one hand and the failure of ours on the other. --- We feel that the whole problem is far more complex and intricate than the book allows." An yet an appreciation is added: "Mr.Allen’s book is one of the most useful of modern missionary books. --- his book should be read and discussed in every mission station in the world."


4) See above II:2:c.

5) Review by "W.P." in the Life and Liberty Movement paper "The Challenge", April 1920: "The author of this book has the invaluable and rare quality that he is able to see the truth, even when it is uncongenial truth, clearly and express it in such a way as to make the reader 'take notice' --- One might disagree, but one had to think." - It is not unlikely that "W.P." was William Paton, a Presbyterian and a close friend of many people in the Life and Liberty movement. This has been supported by William Paton’s son, Canon David M.Paton, in a letter to me of September 22, 1987.
6) This situation is vividly described in the correspondence with Bishop G.C.Hubback of Assam after Allen's visit in his diocese, which caused distress on both sides. See: Paton, David M.(ed.), Reform of the Ministry. London 1968, pp.153-164.


IV:3 Critical reflections.

1) On the hermeneutical question, see further above II:2:c.

2) Bishop Hubback of Assam in a letter told Allen about an unsuccessful Presbyterian attempt: "I have passed through the country evangelized by the Welsh Presbyterian Mission which is to a certain extent run after your ideas, but I am informed that the result has not been happy. The local elders tend to form parties and in the village where I am halting tonight there are already two tabernacles. I have with me an Indian padre who is very keen on 'Native' Churches and have talked the whole matter out with him. He considers that the immediate ordination of elders (presbyteroi) would be unworkable - the natural leader of the village being the one who acts on behalf of the Civil Government and collects house tax, etc. He would not act as religious leader. Also the moral ideas of these people in their non-Christian state are very different from Christian moral ideas and the immediate raising of a man to the priesthood would be almost impossible." Letter to Roland Allen from Bishop Hubback of Assam, May 31, 1926. Printed in: Paton, David M.(ed.), Reform of the Ministry. London 1968, pp.140-141.

3) Allen's model after 1930, which I prefer to call an emergency model, in fact came close to the "virtual presbyterianism", which Herbert Kelly had strongly criticized in "The Pattern of a Missionary Church", The East and the West, April 1916, p.189.
4) See: Ware, Timothy, The Orthodox Church. Harmondsworth 1975, pp.146-147.

5) See further above II:4:c.

6) See above I:8 and II:4:c.


8) Ibid., p.212.

ABBREVIATIONS

C.M.S. The Church Missionary Society.
S.K.D.B. Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelsens Bokförlag.
S.P.C.K. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
U.M.C.A. The Universities Mission to Central Africa.
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