

1. Formation of an Anglican Missionary

Familial Legacy: Evangelical Anglicanism

When Hubert John Brooke Allen, the grandson and biographer of Roland Allen (1868-1947), was ‘about twelve years old’, he asked his grandfather (‘Granfer’) when he would be allowed to read the books that his grandfather had written.¹ His grandfather told young Hubert: ‘Oh, yes, you can read them by all means – but you won’t understand them; I don’t think anyone is going to understand them until I’ve been dead ten years. . . .’² Later in life, Hubert decided to honour his grandfather’s legacy by writing a biography of his life entitled *Roland Allen: Pioneer, Priest, and Prophet* (1995). Interestingly, shortly after Roland Allen’s death, various missionaries and missiologists began to engage with his ideas through their publications on mission work, as well as to apply his methods on the mission field. However, Hubert indicated that, of these writers, ‘almost all of them have been well-intentioned and fairly accurate’ yet the biographer argued that: ‘many of them have portrayed a rather dry theologian, rather than a warm and kindly – if rather austere and argumentative – human being.’³ These characterizations of Roland prompted a familial response to clarify the narrative. Hubert’s informative biography tells the rest of the story from his own personal interaction with his grandfather while living in East Africa, his ‘inquisitive’ analysis of Roland’s books and archives, and further disclosure through ‘family memorabilia preserved by Grannie, which came to light . . . [Hubert says] after my wife and I took over my parents’ home in Marston Village, near Oxford’.⁴ Missiologists are indebted to Hubert Allen for providing clarity about his grandfather’s life. In 2010, after referring to Hubert as the foremost authority on Roland Allen he quickly responded to my comment in an unassuming manner by assuring me of his [Hubert’s]

1. Hubert Allen, *Roland Allen: Pioneer, Priest, and Prophet* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans and Cincinnati: Forward Movement Publications, 1995) vii.

2. *Ibid.*, vii.

3. *Ibid.*, viii.

4. *Ibid.*, x.



Figure 1. Hubert J.B. Allen, grandson of Roland Allen, and myself outside his home near Oxford.

missiological ineptness. 'I am neither a theologian nor a missiologist, so am unlikely to have anything useful to say',¹ he modestly replied after enquiring about Roland's thought. And yet, despite Hubert's self-effacing disposition, I always come away with significant insight into what familial and cultural influences shaped Roland's life, due to the ongoing communication with Hubert Allen.

Roland Allen's missiological writings have inspired missionaries from Roman Catholic, Orthodox, mainline Protestant and Evangelical denominations and especially those from the newer Pentecostal and independent Charismatic branches within global Christianity. The former African secretary for the Church Missionary Society, John V. Taylor, referred to him as 'that great prophet of missionary method'.² Missiologist William J. Danker (Lutheran) in 1960 argued:

It is time that Roland Allen had his day. A prophet with little honor, rather nearly everywhere spoken against in his own time and especially in his own Anglican Communion, this quiet Oxford graduate and sometime missionary to China... systematically planted ecclesiological time bombs whose delayed action fuses are going off right on schedule today... Certainly Allen is one of the most seminal missiological and ecclesiological minds of this century...³

Who were the instrumental people that influenced his character development? How did the historical context of missionary theology shape his thinking? Roland's formative years are addressed in a concise manner, in order to advance the primary focus of this work, which analyzes the historical context and theological development of his missiology.

Background

On 29 December 1868, Priscilla Allen gave birth to Roland and one month later he was baptized at St Werburgh's Church (diocese of Derby), England.⁴ Roland was the sixth of seven children born to the

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1. Email correspondence from Hubert Allen (27 October 2010) and other conversations with him in Oxford.
 2. John V. Taylor, *The Primal Vision: Christian Presence Amid African Religion* (London: SCM Press, 1963) 33.
 3. William J. Danker in David Paton (ed.) *The Ministry of the Spirit: Selected Writings of Roland Allen* (London: World Dominion Press, 1960. Repr. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970) comment on back cover.
 4. Hubert Allen, *Roland Allen*, 10.

Charles Fletcher Allen family. Roland's father, Charles, a priest in the Church of England and sometime headmaster in Derby, left his post, and, when Roland was only five years of age, 'travelled out to the colony of British Honduras, without his family . . . conducted several services in St John's Anglican Church in Belize . . . [and] a week later he died there, at the early age of thirty-eight.'⁵ Priscilla (Malpas) Allen and her children moved in with her parents – her father being the vicar of Awre for approximately 50 years – until her parents died, when Roland was ten years old.⁶ Roland's early years were shaped within an Anglican ethos that was undergirded from the 'principal formative influence' of his mother, who, rooted his spiritual formation from her 'evangelical persuasion', which, according to Roland's nephew, was understood as 'the tradition of the old Evangelical Movement'.⁷ This child rearing accounts for his continuous high view of Scripture as an Anglican churchman.⁸

As a widow, Priscilla, during the 1880s, had limited finances to send her children to university, yet her four sons did win scholarships to both Cambridge and Oxford Universities. Although his brother, Arthur, died while 'an undergraduate student at Oxford',⁹ he and his two other brothers – Reginald and Willoughby¹⁰ – 'all went on after graduation

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid., 12.

7. Many relatives of hers were Plymouth Brethren, yet, she 'was not of the Brethren'; Ibid., 12-13.

8. 'Allen. – REV. ROLAND ALLEN, The Vicarage, Chalfont St Peter; son of the Rev. Charles Fletcher Allen; born December 29th, 1868; educated at Bath College, and Bristol Grammar School; Scholar of St. John's College, Oxford; 2nd Class Mods., Classical, 1889; Lothian Prize, and BA, 1891, and Leeds Clergy School, 1892. Ordained Deacon, 1892, and Priest, 1893, by the Bishop of Durham; Curate of St John the Evangelist, Darlington, 1893-94; Principal of the Theological School, North China Mission, and Acting Chaplain at the British Legation, Peking, 1895-1900; Priest-in-Charge at Yung Ching, North China, 1902; Chaplain to the Bishop of North China, 1898-1903; Vicar of Chalfont St Peter, 1904; author of "The Siege of the Peking Legations". Married, in 1901, Mary Beatrice, daughter of Admiral Sir John Walter Tarleton, K.C.B.' (On the right side of the photo of Roland Allen are the following words: Amico meo Rolando Allen Donum Dedi XVI Kal: Nov: 1901, "Lumen ad revelationem gentium") Box 1, File A, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Roland Allen archives, USPG X622.

9. Arthur, a fourth brother, drowned while 'skating on the River Cherwell', Ibid., 15.

10. Ibid.

to take Holy Orders in the Church of England'.¹ The Allen's had two daughters – Catherine and Ellen, and also, another son, Ernest, who died in the same year he was born (1865).²

St John's College, Oxford (1887-92)³

Before Roland went to University, he attended Bath College School and then went on to the Bristol Grammar School (1884-87) 'where he was in the Classical VI'.⁴ Subsequently, he entered St John's College, Oxford (1887)⁵ having received 'the Bristol Grammar School's closed Sir Thomas White Scholarship' and later, 'the University's Lothian Prize' due to the evaluative essay he wrote on Pope Silvester II.⁶ He achieved

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1. Ibid. To digress, Reginald served 'the Gloucestershire parish of Blakeney . . . [later] was chaplain of a school for European boys at Bournabat, near Smyrna in Turkey . . . [and] a few years after the war [was] chaplain to the British community at Dinan, near St Malo in Brittany' (Hubert Allen, *Roland Allen*, 15-16). Willoughby later was 'both Archdeacon of Manchester and Principal of the Egerton Hall theological college . . . [and later] became simultaneously Rector of Chorley, Archdeacon of Blackburn, and an army chaplain,' Hubert Allen, *Roland Allen*, 16.
 2. Ibid., 178-79.
 3. The official name is S. John Baptist College, Oxford.
 4. Ibid., 17: 'Information supplied to David Sanderson by the Bristol Grammar School's Archivist through Dr John McKay' (page 29, footnote 6).
 5. Ake Talltorp corrects Hans Wolfgang Metzner's claim that Allen began studies at St John's in '1889.' My archival research verified that Talltorp was accurate in pointing out that Allen's enrollment at St John's was in fact '1887' after viewing the biographical register of members at St John's College [1875-1919]; access to information granted by Michael Riordan, St John's College archivist (14 and 16 November 2012). See David Paton, *Reform of the Ministry: A Study in the Work of Roland Allen* (London: The Lutterworth Press, 1968) 14; also, Ake Talltorp, *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* (Uppsala: Swedish Institute of Missionary Research, 1989) 72; Hans Wolfgang Metzner's *Roland Allen Sein Leben und Werk: Kritischer Beitrag zum Verstandnis von Mission und Kirche* (Gutersloh: Gutersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1970) 16.
 6. Allen's essay was his 'first' publication printed in the journal *The English Historical Review*, vol.7, London, October 1892, Pusey House Library, Oxford, S:59.00.c2, Miscellanea: Hagiology. My research at Pusey House confirmed the publication date as October 1892. Hans Metzner argued that Cornelius van Heerden assumed 1901 to be Allen's first publication, i.e., The

‘Second Class Honours – both in Classical Moderations in 1888, and in the Final School of History’⁷ in 1890. In sum, Allen studied at St John’s College from 1887 until 1892. Archival records from St John’s College give this information:

ALLEN, Roland (1887-); b. 1869 [1868], s. of Charles Fletcher Allen, clerk. Educ. Bristol S. Sir Thomas White sch.; Lothian Hist. Essay Prize 1891. 2nd Class. Mods. 1889; 2nd Mod. Hist. and BA 1891; MA 1901. Mem. Debating Soc.; Essay Soc. (vice-pres.). Leeds Clergy sch. 1892. HO (d. 1892; p. 1893): C. St. John Evang., Darlington 1892-[4]; Mission SPG at Peking 1895-1903; Chapl.to Bp. Of N. China 1898-1904; V. Chalfont St. Peter 1904-[0]7; Actg. Naval Chapl., HM Hospital Ship ‘Rohilla’ 1914; in Kenya in 1937; author. Publ.: ‘The Siege of the Peking legations’ (1901); ‘Missionary methods’ (1912); ‘Missionary survey’ (1920); ‘Voluntary clergy’ (1923); ‘Sidney James Wells Clark’ (1937); etc. etc. D. 1947.⁸

In addition, the archives disclose the various business meetings he attended for the St John’s College Essay Society, of which he also served as vice-president.⁹ Also, Allen read two significant essays entitled ‘The Jesuits in Asia’ and ‘French Schools in Xth Century’.¹⁰ His essay on ‘The

Siege of the Peking Legations, Being the Diary of the Rev. Roland Allen (London: Smith Elder & Co., 1901); see Hans W. Metzner, 22, 24, 280 in reference to Cornelius van Heerden’s *Die spontane uitbreiding van die Kerk by Roland Allen, I.H. Kok, N.V. Kampen OJ*; see also Hubert Allen, *Roland Allen*, 18.

7. Ibid.

8. Biographical register of members at St John’s College [1875-1919] (14 and 16 November 2012).

9. Jan. 20, 1889 (Lent Term); April 28, 1889 Allen ‘seconded’ a motion (Summer Term); April 27, 1890 Allen ‘seconded’ a motion (Summer Term); October 12, 1890 Allen ‘seconded’ a motion (Michaelmas Term); April 19, 1891 (Summer Term, Allen proposed a motion); June 27, 1891, ‘Mr R. Allen was elected Vice-President for the ensuing term’ (Michaelmas Term); ‘R. Allen retired March 13, 1892’; ‘A unanimous role of [?] was passed to the late Vice-President, Mr Allen’ (Lent Term, 1892); Biographical register, St John’s College (14 and 16 November 2012).

10. ‘Mr R. Allen read a paper on ‘The Jesuits in Asia’, June 2, 1889, Summer Term; ‘Mr R. Allen read an essay on French Schools in the 10th Century followed by a somewhat desultory discussion on arithmetic harmony and astronomy,’ October 26, 1890, Michaelmas Term; Biographical register of

Jesuits in Asia' is the earliest evidence revealing his interest in Christian missions in Asia preceding his missionary work in China.

While at St John's College, he carved out his own place for demonstrating his debating skills. Hubert Allen stated:

in a debate between *Total Abstinence and Temperance*, Roland spoke in favour of temperance – the winning side. In other debates he voted in favour of motions that *Free Schools would be for the advantage of the nation*, and *Thackeray was a better writer than Dickens* – Roland supported Dickens (who won, 20-10). He is also recorded as speaking in a debate between *Free Trade and "Fair Trade"*; and, as an Old Boy, returned to move – successfully – that *Britain's national defenses are inadequate* [original emphasis].¹

The 'minute book' for the Members of the St John's College Debating Society discloses how Roland frequently expressed his opinions during committee meetings.² He also served as 'a founder member and secretary of the undergraduate theological study group, the Origen Society'; of which, almost a century later, Hubert's son, Roland's 'great-grandson (another Roland Allen) was to be the *last* Secretary of the Origen Society.'³

Hutton, Murray, Waggett, Brightman and Gore

The influence of the Oxford Movement left its 'High Church' mark upon St John's College and another notable institution that Allen frequented – Pusey House. His spiritual formation was shaped by men from both of these Oxford institutions. The Rev. W.H. Hutton (1860-1930), both a historian and biographer, served as his primary mentor and benefactor during his education at St John's College. Hubert Allen believes that

members at St John's College [1875-1919], (14 and 16 November 2012).

1. Hubert Allen, *Roland Allen*, 17.
2. 'The 9th Meeting of Term, & the 164th of the Society, (March 12th) Messrs. Poynder, & R. Allen also spoke . . .'; '2nd meeting . . . the 183rd of the Society . . . against (the motion) . . . Mr R. Allen'; '3rd meeting . . . the 184th of the Society . . . Mr Allen supported the Amendment . . .'; '6th meeting . . . the 187th of the Society (Monday Nov. 18th) . . . In Public Business Mr R. Allen [made a proposal] . . . after a ballot Mr Allen was elected' on the committee (Lent Term 1890). Biographical register of members at St John's College [1875-1919]; access to information granted by Michael Riordan, St John's College archivist (14 and 16 November 2012).
3. Hubert Allen, *Roland Allen*, 18.

Hutton's influence provided Roland with a thorough Oxford education.⁴ Hutton's influence at St John's College and within the Church of England is quite remarkable, not only as a fellow tutor, precentor, examining chaplain to the Bishop of Ely, and librarian of St John's, but also for his historical contribution – *S. John Baptist College* – an exhaustive account of St John's history.⁵ Archival research within the historical records of the minutes for both St John's College Essay Society and St John's College Debating Society disclose Hutton's involvement within the lives of the students as tutor, mentor and facilitator of various meetings, including his own essays which he presented periodically for the students.⁶

The recorded archival minutes from the Essay Society and Debating Society unveil his consistent involvement within both of these societies and it is safe to assume that Hutton would have inter-related with him on numerous occasions, which would account for his adeptness for historical context within his writings.⁷

Another professor who had an influence on Allen was Gilbert Murray (1866-1957). When discussing Murray with Hubert Allen, he remarked:

Gilbert Murray wasn't a theologian, he was a classical scholar. He may have taught Granfer Greek and/or classical history, but he was at New College when he was first a don (and for only one year 1888/89) and for the next ten years at Glasgow as Professor of Greek (later 1908-1936, Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford). Their friendship arose from the childhood friendship of their *wives*

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4. Interview with Hubert Allen on 4 February 2011.
 5. William Holden Hutton, *S. John Baptist College*, Oxford University College Histories (London: F.E. Robinson, 1898); access to information granted by Michael Riordan, St John's College archivist (14 and 16 November 2012).
 6. The minutes from the Members of the St John's College Debating Society, UGS V.1; and also, the minutes from St John's College Essay Society, UGS VI.1, St John's College, Oxford archives; interview with Michael Riordan, archivist (16 November 2012).
 7. Business meetings Roland Allen attended for the St John's College Essay Society (20 Jan. 1889, Lent Term); Allen 'seconded' a motion (28 April 1889, Summer Term); Allen 'seconded' a motion (27 April 1890, Summer Term); Allen 'seconded' a motion (12 October 1890, Michaelmas Term); Allen proposed a motion, (19 April 1891, Summer Term); 'Mr R. Allen was elected Vice-President for the ensuing term' (27 June 1891, Michaelmas Term); 'R. Allen retired 13 March 1892'; 'A unanimous role . . . was passed to the late Vice-President, Mr Allen' (1892, Lent Term); minutes from St John's College Essay Society, UGS VI.1, St John's College, Oxford archives; interview with Michael Riordan, archivist (16 November 2012).

– Beatrice and Lady Mary [original emphasis].^[1] This subsequent friendship between their wives remained^[2] but there is no archival evidence^[3] for any ongoing correspondence between Murray and himself. As to whether Murray was his tutor in Greek, the archival evidence is silent. And yet, whoever his tutor was it is interesting to note that for years Allen’s sermons and teachings disclose continued use of the Greek text of the New Testament.⁴

Why did Allen walk across the street from St John’s College to visit the Anglo-Catholic fathers at Pusey House? What compelled him to be influenced by – Charles Gore (1853-1932), Philip Waggett (1862-1939) and F.E. Brightman (1856-1932) – High Anglican and Tractarian churchmen?

[Allen] was particularly influenced by Pusey’s librarian, the great liturgical scholar F.E. Brightman, whom he later referred to as his dear Father in God. One of Brightman’s particular interests was the spirituality of the Eastern Churches, and it has been argued that this may account for Roland’s own very Church-centred view of mission.⁵

Allen received assistance from Brightman when arranging his ‘first’ (previously mentioned) publication, ‘Gerbert, Pope Silvester II’ (1892).⁶ At the end of his thesis, he notes these words: ‘For the collation of this stone [marble slab which covered the tomb of Gerbert] I am indebted to the kindness of my friend the Rev. F.E. Brightman, of Pusey House, Oxford.’⁷ This dissertation cites significant medieval scholarly works from Latin texts and exposes the ‘fingerprints’ of someone with unique liturgical and Church history knowledge, that being, Pusey House’s librarian – F.E. Brightman. This is obvious. Examination of this work,

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1. Interview with Hubert Allen on 4 February 2011 and subsequent email correspondence.
 2. Hubert Allen, *Roland Allen*, 110.
 3. Roland Allen’s archives, Special Collections & Western MSS, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies, USPG X622, Box 6, Files K-M, Oxford, Bodleian Library.
 4. *Ibid.*, USPG, Box 5, Oxford, Bodleian Library.
 5. Hubert Allen, *Roland Allen*, 18-19.
 6. Roland Allen, ‘Gerbert, Pope Silvester II,’ *The English Historical Review*, vol.7, (London, October 1892. Repr., London: Spottiswoode & Co., 1892) Pusey House Library, Oxford, S:59.00.c2, Miscellanea: Hagiology.
 7. See Roland Allen, *Gerbert, Pope Silvester II*, 46 (footnote no. 264).

while performing research at Pusey House,⁸ uncovers a great deal about how much Brightman actually influenced Allen's thinking about medieval Christianity and Gerbert's pontificate. This essay won him the University's '1891 Lothian Prize',⁹ and was published in 1892. Talltorp correctly points out that 'existing bibliographies have to be corrected and re-dated by almost a decade from 1900 to 1892',¹⁰ especially Hans Wolfgang Metzner's assumption that Allen's published works commenced in 1900.¹¹

Their friendship remained strong over the years. In 1901, during a time of furlough from China (after the Boxer Uprising), Roland asked his dear 'father in God' to be the 'celebrant' for an important Eucharistic service. He was to be the celebrant at the wedding of Roland Allen and Mary Beatrice Tarleton. Brightman accepted and presided at the Eucharist.¹²

Around the time when Allen was finishing his time at St John's College he established a friendship with one of the newly appointed Cowley Fathers, Philip Napier Waggett, who was 'clothed as a novice in this Society in 1892.'¹³ According to Hubert Allen, 'Father Philip Waggett, SSJE, an eminent sacramental theologian, was another inspiration for Roland.'¹⁴ It appears that both men maintained a lasting friendly relationship with each other, which is demonstrated by the disclosure of three letters between them even as late as 1925.¹⁵

In Allen's original publication of *Missionary Methods: St Paul's or Ours?* (1912) he gives recognition to Waggett in his preface: 'My most sincere and grateful thanks are due to the Rev. Father Waggett, SSJE, for valuable assistance in forwarding the publication of this book. . . .'¹⁶

8. The librarian of Pusey House photocopied this work for my research.
9. Ake Talltorp, *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* (Uppsala University, 1989: 11); Hubert Allen, *Roland Allen*, 18.
10. Ake Talltorp, *Sacrament and Growth*, 11.
11. Hans Wolfgang Metzner, *Roland Allen Sein Leben und Werk*, 22, 24, 280; cf. Talltorp, *Sacrament and Growth*, 75.
12. Hubert Allen, *Roland Allen*, 69.
13. John Nias, *Flame From An Oxford Cloister: The Life and Writings of Philip Napier Waggett SSJE Scientist, Religious, Theologian, Missionary Philosopher, Diplomat, Author, Orator, Poet* (London: The Faith Press, 1961) 49.
14. Hubert Allen, *Roland Allen*, 18-19.
15. 12 June 1925 draft letter (no. 36) from Allen to Waggett, along with copy of a draft intended for I.R.M.; 15 June 1925 letter (no. 37) from Waggett to Allen; 16 June 1925 draft letter (no. 38) from Allen to Waggett, Box 6, File K: 36-38, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Roland Allen archives, USPG X622.
16. Roland Allen, *Missionary Methods: St Paul's or Ours? A Study of the Church in the Four Provinces* (London: Robert Scott, February 1912. Repr., October

Robert Jeffrey seems to think that Allen's thesis in *Missionary Methods* was directly influenced by Waggett, and another Cowley colleague, i.e., Richard Meux Benson (founder of the Cowley Fathers), who, Jeffrey claims, when unpacking 'the indwelling power of the Spirit', his thinking carries the influence of 'Benson's notes on the Acts of the Apostles'.¹ Furthermore, Benson, though a High Anglican, had an anti-ritual tendency, de-emphasized the necessity of church buildings, did not believe there should be any 'priestly caste' and emphasized the ministry of the laity as 'agents of the Spirit in the world'.² These similar ideas are rooted in Allen's ecclesiology.³ It is more than likely that Benson had an indirect influence on him through his friendship with Waggett. One of his sermons contains a quote that he had used from Waggett:

A reality which is spiritual is not on that account of necessity unconcerned with matter. A process of healing, e.g. is not in the least degree more spiritual because it does not use what are called means – our sleep is not less a spiritual refreshment and dependent upon spiritual dispositions because it accompanies and depends upon a change in the condition of the body.⁴

Waggett's incarnational and sacramental theology obviously influenced Allen's thought. This is evidenced in his *Missionary Principles – and Practice*.⁵

1913. Revised edition published by World Dominion Press, 2nd edition August 1927. Repr. 1930, 1949, 1956. Reset – with memoir by Alexander McLeish – Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1962. Repr., 1993. Repr., Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2006) *New Foreword*: Bishop Michael Nazir-Ali, III-IV) the Library of Historic Theology. Hereafter, this book will be referred to as *Missionary Methods*.

1. Interview with Robert Jeffrey, Oxford, UK (3 October 2012). The quote (above) is from an unpublished paper Jeffrey presented on 'Richard Meux Benson, 1-9 (6).
2. Interview with Robert Jeffrey, Oxford, UK (3 October 2012). The quote (above) is from an unpublished paper Jeffrey presented on 'Richard Meux Benson, 1-9 (4-5); see *Further Letters of R.M. Benson* (Mowbray, 1920) 95; A.M. Allchin, *The Spirit and the Word* (Faith Publications, 1963) 46.
3. Allen, *Missionary Methods*, 2006, 55-58.
4. Philip Waggett, 'Criticism and Faith,' as quoted in Roland Allen, Sermon no. 273, USPG X622, Box 5, Oxford, Bodleian Library.
5. Roland Allen, *Missionary Principles – and Practice* (1st edition [Roland's handwritten marked copy] entitled *Foundation Principles of Foreign Missions*, Bungay, Suffolk: Richard Clay & Sons, May 1910. Repr., Cambridge: The

AMENBURY,
BEACONSFIELD,
ENGLAND.

June 12 1925.

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Dear Fr. Waggett,

Will it bore you to read the enclosed? I am offering it to the J.R.M. but I doubt whether Oldham will print it. I often wonder whether any murmur of the need for priests abroad reaches your ears, & whether you question our ability to supply clergy for all the Boshops and Pincher Creeks of the world, & whether you think that a priest rushing round in a motor car to minister occasionally, or the appointment of a lay reader or of a subdeacon can really do instead of resident priests.

Why should I think any of this?
W.A.A. P.M.

Figure 2. Rough draft letter from Roland Allen to Fr Waggett (12 June 1925).

Only by spiritual means can spiritual results be effected . . . the Spirit works through the material. . . . There is in Christ no ignoring of the outward material form. The whole world is sacramental and Christ is sacramental.¹

Roland's admiration of Waggett's spiritual insight continued for many years and, at times, he pursued critical dialogue with him. Waggett was noted for blending both science and theology as shown in his publication *Religion and Science* (1904)² and yet, there does not seem to be any evidence of dialogue concerning Waggett's Darwinian ideas.³ This may be due to the influence of Roland's mother, who 'had little patience with "free thinkers"'.⁴ Hubert Allen explained what his grandmother meant: 'By "free thinkers" I imagine Great-Granny was thinking of the humanists and Darwinists of her time.'⁵

Another important Anglo-Catholic that he, as a young man, respected in Oxford was Charles Gore. He served as the Principal of Pusey House during the time of Allen's many visits, and was 'later Bishop of Oxford, and one of the founders of the so-called "Liberal Catholic" tradition among High Anglicans [and also] edited the seminal collection of studies, *Lux Mundi* (1889)'.⁶ The archives reveal no evidence of letters between both men, however, Allen did take the initiative to ask Gore to review his thesis and write the introduction for his *Educational Principles and Missionary Methods: The Application of Educational Principles to Missionary Evangelism* (1919).⁷ It was generally his custom to have a bishop critique

Lutterworth Press, 1913, entitled *Essential Missionary Principles*; Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1964; London: World Dominion Press, 1964, Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2006). Hereafter referred to as *Missionary Principles*.

1. Allen, *Missionary Principles*, 69.
2. Philip Napier Waggett (SSJE) *Religion and Science: Handbooks for the Clergy*, A.W. Robinson (Longmans, 1904).
3. Philip N. Waggett in John Nias, *Flame From An Oxford Cloister*, 107, 112.
4. Hubert Allen, *Roland Allen*, 12.
5. Interview with Hubert Allen on 18 October 2010 and subsequent email on 1 November 2010.
6. Ibid., 18-19. See Charles Gore (ed.) *Lux Mundi: A Series of Studies in the Religion of the Incarnation* (London: John Murray, 1890); also, Charles Gore, *Dissertations: on Subjects Connected with the Incarnation* (London: John Murray, 1895).
7. Roland Allen, *Educational Principles and Missionary Methods: The Application of Educational Principles to Missionary Evangelism* (London: Robert Scott, 1919) Introduction by the Right Rev. Charles Gore, vi.

his work. Gore's comments are revealing in that, although, on one hand, he welcomes this book, but also underscores that some of Allen's 'views of education' are 'rather seriously one-sided' and that [Gore said] 'I am not wholly converted myself' of his arguments.⁸ On the other hand, he asks missionaries 'to refrain from criticizing it and pointing out its weak points [and that] they should give it sympathetic attention and consider how vast and how important is the element of truth which the author's view contains.'⁹ Allen was pleased to have the bishop's endorsement. Conversely, years later Allen critiques some of Gore's published work on apostolic succession.

Leeds Clergy Training School

After Allen's Oxford classical education at St John's College was completed and the experience of paleo-orthodox spirituality, which shaped his theology due to the influence of the Tractarian mentors at Pusey House, he then matriculated to the 'High Anglican clergy training school in Leeds' called the Leeds Clergy Training School.¹⁰ Ake Talltorp points out that this school was founded by John Gott, vicar of Leeds, 'to train candidates for curacies in town parishes, and its theological profile was Tractarian'.¹¹ Moorman explains the daily spiritual formation that Leeds required of these ordinands, e.g., 'Mattins and Compline were obligatory, Sext and Evensong voluntary. Holy Communion was administered three days a week and Saint's Days.'¹² The frequent Eucharist celebration, as evidenced at Leeds and Pusey House, continued to remain a constant practice for Allen throughout his life and ministry.¹³ For him, as an Anglican, he was both 'Catholic' in churchmanship and 'Evangelical' in his missionary approach to gospel ministry. How did Allen's churchmanship engage with the combination of both Catholic order and an Evangelical faith?

Firstly, during Allen's training at Leeds he was influenced by E.S. Talbot, the residential vicar for the school and also one of the authors of

8. Ibid., vi.

9. Ibid.

10. Hubert Allen, *Roland Allen*, 17.

11. Talltorp, *Sacrament and Growth*, 12; cf. Moorman, J.R.H., *A History of the Church in England* (London, 1986) 373.

12. Moorman, *History of the Church*, 373.

13. See Roland Allen, *Diary of a Visit in South India* (unpublished) USPG X622, Box 7, File N: 30-34, Oxford, Bodleian Library.

Anglo-Catholic sacramental thought located in the volume *Lux Mundi*,¹ which, according to Talltorp, ‘helped to form the theological conceptions of the students’² preparing for ordination. Within this theological environment, he appeared to fine-tune his ‘spirituality’, which embraced an understanding of how the Church viewed life as sacramental. He believed that the Holy Communion provided a context for the Church to encounter Christ spiritually. And, at Leeds, his theological understanding on the centrality and frequency of Eucharistic practice was reinforced. For him, this understanding was rooted in biblical veracity and the patristic fathers. David Paton was correct in identifying this understanding of Allen as ‘old-fashioned Anglican Catholicism – sober, restrained, scholarly, immensely disciplined’³ as evidenced through his own incarnational and sacramental emphasis, which eventually shaped his missionary theology. This meant that he advocated the belief that the spontaneous expansion of the Church naturally occurs when the Eucharist is central in the life of the community of faith because it promotes a holistic approach of faith and practice.

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1. E.S. Talbot, ‘The Preparation in History for Christ’ in Charles Gore (ed.) *Lux Mundi*, 127-78.
 2. Talltorp, *Sacrament and Growth*, 12.
 3. David Paton, *Reform of the Ministry: A Study in the Work of Roland Allen* (London: The Lutterworth Press, 1968) 24.