

## II

### THE MAKING OF A CHRISTIAN MARXIST

#### 1. Early Formation (1888-1910)

Frederic Hastings Smyth was born on September 28, 1888 into a prominent and wealthy family, the local elite of Clinton, New York. His paternal grandfather, Charles Henry Smyth, was part-owner and general manager of the Franklin Iron Works, director of the Clinton Bank, local agent of several coal companies and president of the company that managed the Niagara Falls suspension bridge. The Smyth family's background was Anglo-Irish and Loyalist. Smyth's maternal grandmother, Alice (De Wolf) Smyth, came from a prominent Oswego, N.Y. banking and manufacturing family.<sup>1</sup>

Smyth's father, Frederick De Wolf Smyth, was eldest of three brothers. In 1886 he helped establish and became general manager and treasurer of the Clinton Metallic Paint Company near his father's iron works. The company, which used the local iron ore, a nearly pure iron oxide, to produce a non-corrodible reddish brown paint for iron bridges and barns, flourished.<sup>2</sup>

Smyth's mother, Gertrude Earle Hastings, also came from a prominent and wealthy Clinton family. Her great-grandparents, Seth and Eunice (Parmele) Hastings, were early settlers in Clinton, where both her great-grandfather and

grandfather were doctors. She was born and raised in New York City, where her father, Edward Augustus Hastings, was a merchant. The family returned to Clinton in 1880. The Hastings were descendents of seventeenth century Puritan immigrants to Massachusetts. The family included numerous Congregational and Presbyterian clergy, including missionaries to Ceylon and Hawaii, the hymnist Thomas Hastings and an early president of Union Theological Seminary, New York, Thomas Samuel Hastings.<sup>3</sup>

Family members recall Smyth's mother as very intelligent and friendly but also "peculiar", sometimes outspoken to the point of alienating family and friends, other times moody and withdrawn. Physically, she was very short. She lost three children in childbirth or infancy. Smyth's father was athletic and outgoing, less interested in the paint business than in hunting, fishing, golf and horse racing, though encumbered by a club foot. He resisted his father's pressure to become more involved in the family business and in 1903 moved the family to Utica. He died in 1907 from pneumonia.<sup>4</sup>

In reflecting on his childhood many years later, Smyth explained that the high social status of the Smyth family in Clinton required avoiding threatening situations in which one might lose face, such as competitive sports, and restricted closest relationships to one's social equals.<sup>5</sup> Smyth's cousins recall him as a leader in their

activities, good humoured, happy and musical. They recall his mother as devoted but over-protective. She dressed him in girls' clothing from an early age. He continued to play with dolls and occasionally dress in girls' clothing into late childhood, to the annoyance of male family members.<sup>6</sup>

Smyth's letters to his parents from February to April 1903, when he was attending Cornwall Heights School, Cornwall-on-Hudson, N.Y., survive. They show a fourteen-year-old fascinated by nature, going on long hikes, collecting butterflies, making an identification book of birds and searching for snakes in the woods. He also played tennis and golf. While writing descriptions of adventures that must have greatly alarmed his mother, to whom he signed his letters "Pussy", he repeatedly urged her not to worry. The news that he was continuing to knit and needed a woman's wig to play Thisbe in the school play probably did not please his father. His parents brought him home to attend public high school at the Utica Free Academy.<sup>7</sup>

Smyth was raised entirely in the Episcopal church. Charles Henry Smyth was on the vestry of St. James', Clinton and Alice De Wolf Smyth considered herself a Tractarian. Although raised a Congregationalist, Smyth's mother was baptized at St. James' in 1883; his parents were married there in 1887. Smyth was baptized on November 25, 1888, by the Tractarian rector, Oliver Owen. Owen taught history at

the Clinton Preparatory School which Smyth attended as a child. Smyth corresponded with Owen from Cornwall Heights School. When the family moved to Utica, they attended Grace church, Utica, where Smyth sang in the choir and was confirmed on March 27, 1904.<sup>8</sup>

In Smyth's early development, one sees a confident and independent child, intelligent, full of curiosity, surrounded by a supportive but competitive extended family. Smyth grew up taking wealth and privilege for granted, with little exposure to poverty or human suffering. Relationships with social inferiors were limited to family servants. As the only surviving child of four, he was cherished by his parents. He resisted his mother's over-protection and paid little attention to his father's concerns about his effeminacy. Smyth grew up taking success for granted.

This pattern continued at Hamilton College. He was a brilliant student, maintaining a high honours average through all four years of study, graduating with an A.B. in 1909. He became a member of Phi Beta Kappa in his junior year. Upon graduation, the college awarded him the Root Fellowship, entitling him to a year of study in Europe. He was pledged to his father's fraternity, Sigma Phi, the oldest and most prestigious on campus. He was a member of the college glee club for four years and its leader in his final year. Classmates and friends included Hawley Truax, later co-founder and managing editor of the New Yorker; Robert

Rudd, later professor of English at Hamilton and a supporter of Smyth's Clinton oratory; and Alexander Woollcott, later an eminent actor and drama critic. Smyth became a charter member of the Hamilton dramatic club, the Charlatans, which Woollcott organized. Woollcott and Smyth played the female leads, a not uncommon practice at the time at men's colleges.<sup>9</sup>

While students and faculty respected Smyth for his academic and musical abilities, the college yearbook satirized his social pretensions and dramatic abilities:

Little Lord Fauntle Smyth. A Social Stickler: sends his card into class when he cuts. Also climber: gets nearer to Genesee Street [a prestigious street in Utica] every time he moves. Confuses dramatic art with St. Vitus' dance.<sup>10</sup>

The yearbook also satirized Smyth's effeminacy: "The trolley from Utica brought a winsome, olive-complected damsel, who lightly tripped across the Campus and matriculated as 'Sister Smyth.'" The article went on to announce that the Smyth-Woollcott group had both initiated co-education at Hamilton and established the first sorority.<sup>11</sup> Smyth's dark (he was sometimes mistaken as his mother's black servant) good looks also attracted admirers. A college newspaper editorial on respect urged readers, "Don't tell F. Hastings Smyth that he's pretty. He is -- he thinks so -- he knows it, but don't tell him. It isn't kind."<sup>12</sup>

His father's death in 1907 did not affect Smyth's

academic work but increased the emotional bond between him and his mother. Hamilton granted Smyth permission to spend weekends with her in Utica. They continued to attend Grace church in Utica but Smyth began attending the more Anglo-Catholic parish in Utica, St. George's.<sup>13</sup> They spent the summer of 1909 in Europe, travelling through England, France, Switzerland, Germany and the Netherlands. They attended Roman Catholic services in the continental cathedrals, including high mass at the Feast of the Assumption at St. Mark's, Venice.<sup>14</sup>

Family members recall that when Hamilton awarded Smyth the Root Fellowship for overseas study, his mother, fearing his loss, urged him to refuse it. However, family members intervened and Smyth accepted it. At this time Smyth's primary interest was languages. While in New York visiting the physicist Ernest Fox Nichols, whose wife was related to the Smyth family, Smyth met Max Planck. Many years later Smyth recalled Planck's advising him that if he was interested in languages he should study scientific terminology. Smyth decided to go to the University of Berlin to study under the eminent biochemist, Emil Fischer. Accompanied by his mother, Smyth left for Berlin in May 1909.<sup>15</sup>

There is little record of Smyth's activities in Berlin. He attended Fischer's lectures but later recalled that at twenty-one he was an immature student, unable to do any work independently. He and his mother entertained German

friends and enjoyed Berlin's cultural resources.<sup>16</sup> A German friend, writing many years later recalls the young Smyth:

And suddenly I thought of you. I saw you very lively, as the youth I knew, sitting in oriental manner, the legs on the divan and your beautiful hands gripping the ankles.<sup>17</sup>

A bookplate of Smyth in a similar cross-legged pose dates from this period or slightly later. Smyth and his mother also travelled through Italy and Egypt. Toward the end of their stay, Smyth's mother had a nervous breakdown and they returned to Clinton.<sup>18</sup>

Influenced by his father's family tradition of applied sciences, Smyth decided to do graduate study in physical chemistry at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Boston. The decision met resistance from his mother. Smyth sought family support to restrain her from following him to Boston. Smyth moved to Boston alone in the fall of 1910. His mother followed a year later.<sup>19</sup>

Smyth's father's death was the first major adversity in his life. It left him with a mother very emotionally dependent upon him, unhappy with his attempts to assert his independence. On the positive side, however, it freed him from someone very different from himself having authority over him. However, the Smyth family tradition of achievement in the sciences was very strong and the decision to pursue science rather than languages, drama or music was doubtless influenced by it.

In Smyth's first 22 years, one sees the development of the independence, self-confidence, imagination, objectivity and comprehensiveness that marked Smyth's mature years as a Christian Marxist theologian. Already, too, he has learned to cope with a certain degree of marginalization, though for his effeminacy rather than for his theological views. Because of his family background, he was accustomed to defeating or living with marginalization rather than being defeated by it.

## 2. The Scientist (1910-25)

At M.I.T. Smyth studied physical chemistry and metallurgy under Arthur A. Noyes, F. Jewett Moore and Charles Kraus. His Ph.D. thesis, written under Kraus and Noyes, described research in two areas: the potential of the bismuth electrode and sodium-lead compounds in liquid ammonia. M.I.T. awarded Smyth a M.S. in inorganic chemistry in 1914 and a Ph.D. in 1915. In the fall of 1914 he was appointed instructor in chemistry, assisting in introductory inorganic chemistry courses.<sup>20</sup> For several years, Frederick C. Keyes, a fellow instructor and later chairperson of the M.I.T. chemistry department, lived with Smyth and his mother. Smyth's practice of science at this time was isolated from any broader world view. He continued to play female leads in M.I.T. dramatic productions, but with little enthusiasm. Some years later in writing to his uncle, Smyth described



the M.I.T. experience as "highly uncongenial".<sup>21</sup>

Smyth might have stayed at M.I.T. had not World War I intervened. With the arrival of war, the U.S. government brought prominent chemists to Washington to conduct research on chemical weapons. James F. Norris, Professor of General Chemistry at M.I.T., who came to Washington to set up the organic unit, brought Smyth to Washington as his administrative assistant. In August 1917 Smyth was appointed a First Lieutenant in the Sanitary Corps of the U.S. Army, transferring a few months later to the newly formed Chemical Warfare Service. In June, 1918 he was promoted to Captain. He worked in an office adjoining the main research laboratory of the C.W.S. in the Ohio Building at American University.

As Norris' assistant, Smyth did no direct laboratory research on chemical weapons but attended meetings at which the research was discussed and sometimes travelled to C.W.S. facilities outside Washington. As a further contribution, Smyth helped to design the C.W.S. insignia. He was honourably discharged from the army in December 1918.<sup>22</sup>

Smyth moved to Washington in late 1917, followed soon afterwards by his mother. During the war Smyth had time to read and began to develop an amateur interest in philosophy. But the C.W.S. work was not satisfying. In later years he told many people that he began to develop a sense of

guilt at the work and to search for an alternative that would produce life rather than death. To his uncle, C.H. Smyth, Jr., he later commented, "the interim of the war was a perfect nightmare."<sup>23</sup>

When the war finished, Smyth moved to the Geophysical Laboratory of the Carnegie Institute in Washington as a research associate. However, in February 1919, his mother suddenly died. With his mother's death, Smyth inherited controlling interest in the Clinton Metallic Paint Company. He stayed on at the Geophysical Laboratory for a few months but in June resigned and returned to Clinton to become secretary of the paint company. Smyth had not previously taken much notice of the company and it is unlikely that he returned to Clinton with the idea of permanently managing it. He returned temporarily to the Geophysical Laboratory in January 1920 to finish his research on copper oxides. In May the Geophysical Laboratory offered him a full-time position. Torn between returning to M.I.T. and staying in Washington, he chose Washington.<sup>24</sup>

At the Geophysical Laboratory, Smyth's most outstanding work was in cooperation with Leason H. Adams on the behaviour of solid-gas equilibrium systems under high temperature and pressure. In pioneering work, Adams and Smyth constructed a high pressure chamber to simulate the pressure of the earth in producing carbonate mineral deposits. They described the first experiments in an article, "The System,

Calcium Oxide-Carbon Dioxide", in the Journal of the American Chemical Society in 1923. Adams went on to become an outstanding physical chemist and develop the work much further. Smyth also produced two articles on copper oxides.<sup>25</sup>

During the years at the Geophysical Laboratory Smyth grew increasingly unhappy with science as a profession. He found he did not enjoy the company of scientists and his motivation to do scientific research declined. A few years later, defending his decision to leave science, he wrote his uncle:

. . . the life in Washington I found utterly unsatisfactory in every way except for the fact that I had good physical equipment in the laboratory. With the exception of Harry Washington [an eccentric but creative geologist at the Geophysical Laboratory], I found all my associations both in and out of the laboratory utterly uninspiring and I was most unhappy and found the whole sum of such a life unutterably dull. This sounds frightfully priggish or even snobbish as I write it, but what it really means is merely that science was never my main interest in life. It never really absorbed me and I should have remained a mediocre scientist.<sup>26</sup>

Poetry that Smyth wrote in these years expresses a weariness with the world: "Love, I am weary of the city streets, / Tired of the dusty light. / Gladly my over-laden spirit greets / The coming of the night."<sup>27</sup> Despite Smyth's disillusionment, his co-workers remember him as cheerful and good humoured, without strong political views. Happy with the carbonate research, the Geophysical Laboratory raised his salary to \$3,000 per year at the beginning of 1924.<sup>28</sup>

In March 1924, Smyth requested a one-year leave of

absence to visit laboratories in England and Europe, attend the International Geophysical Union meeting in Madrid and investigate Italian volcanoes. He and a friend, Herbert Dean, left the U.S. in April and spent the summer touring England and France, including both laboratories and cathedrals. After a serious bout with chicken pox, Smyth returned to Washington in November.<sup>29</sup>

Throughout the years in Boston and Washington, Smyth continued to attend Episcopal churches. Smyth and his mother were members of Church of the Advent, Boston, a prominent Anglo-Catholic parish on Beacon Hill, where Smyth was active as a server. The rector, William Harman van Allen, befriended Smyth and sought to interest him in theology. Reflecting many years later on his experience of the Advent, Smyth wrote:

I suspect, as a matter of fact, that I was converted to the Catholic Faith through contact and the teaching of Fr. Van Allen, while I was still a graduate student at Tech. However, I was far from realizing this at the time and years went by before I took any action about it.<sup>30</sup>

In 1913, Van Allen invited Smyth to meet the visiting English theologian, John Neville Figgis, who delivered a paper on Chesterton.<sup>31</sup>

Another visitor to Advent was J.O.S. Huntington, O.H.C., founder and sometime superior of the Order of the Holy Cross. Huntington's father had been bishop of Central New York and stayed at Smyth's grandparents' house on his

episcopal visits to Clinton, so a family relationship had already developed. Smyth and the O.H.C. monk became friends and eventually Huntington became Smyth's spiritual advisor.<sup>32</sup> Smyth participated in the more eccentric side of Boston Anglo-Catholicism as well. He once served as thurifer at a mass in the private chapel of Isabella Stewart Gardner on King Charles the Martyr Day. Smyth and his mother also occasionally attended Trinity Church on Copley Square where Henry Knox Sherrill was curate.<sup>33</sup>

In the war years in Washington, Smyth and his mother attended the Bethlehem chapel in the crypt of Washington cathedral, then under construction. Smyth later moved on to St. Agnes Church, Que Street, N.W., where he was a member of the vestry. While at the Geophysical Laboratory, Smyth began to consider ordination.<sup>34</sup> The visit to England in the summer of 1924 stimulated his critical interest. After attending early mass at Exeter Cathedral, he wrote his Tractarian grandmother:

English cathedral services always make one mourn for the life that has fled from Anglican Altars. Thank God there are many signs of the return of the ancient faith; but I suppose these great state churches must be the last to feel the effect of the quickening Spirit now at work.<sup>35</sup>

While discouraged with the moribund quality of most of the cathedral worship, he was greatly impressed by Chester cathedral. In Oxford he visited Cowley and had Sunday dinner with the monks. Smyth also paid much attention to church architecture, preferring Saxon and Norman to Gothic.<sup>36</sup>

In February 1925, two months after returning from Europe, Smyth enrolled full-time as a theological student at General Theological Seminary in New York and moved into residence. G.T.S. records identify him as a postulant of the diocese of Washington.<sup>37</sup> However, Smyth's later comments and the recollections of family members suggest that the bishop and diocese were not enthusiastic about him nor he about them. In reflecting later on the decision to attend theological college, Smyth saw it as an attempt to "escape" from his boredom with science.<sup>38</sup>

At General, Smyth did become more aware of the English Christian socialist tradition. He and his roommate, Edward C. Lewis, who later tried to introduce the Catholic Sociology movement into the Episcopal Church through the American Church Union, came upon the Christendom Group manifesto, The Return of Christendom, with its introduction by Charles Gore. Smyth went out and bought one copy for himself and one for Lewis.<sup>39</sup>

Smyth did not stay long at General. He was discouraged with his prospects in Washington and lacked a clear and positive vision of what he was doing. After consultation with Huntington, he decided to accept H.S. Washington's invitation to travel to Tunisia, where Washington was a petrographer at the University of Michigan excavation of Carthage. Smyth described this decision in some notes on his

relations with Huntington:

1924: Thinking about priesthood (while at Geophysical Lab) Visited H.C. [Holy Cross] Discouragement with Prospects in Washington Diocese. Not for me. Fr. Huntington agreed. "New Look" at life. Decided on trip abroad when C.I. [Carnegie Institute] offered job in Africa.<sup>40</sup>

Washington and Smyth arrived in Tunisia in mid-April. They discovered that publicity about the extent of the excavation was false and there was little work to be done. Smyth left after ten days and returned to the U.S. The abortive trip to Carthage marked the end of Smyth's career as a chemist.<sup>41</sup>

In tracing the roots of Smyth's later Christian Marxism back to his scientific years, one sees a deep commitment to science as rooted in empirical observation and experimentation. Smyth did not give up this commitment despite his disillusionment with his work. It would later inform and shape his commitment to and critique of Marxist dialectics. On a more personal level, Smyth's years as a scientist were a period of conforming to other people's expectations -- especially those of family and peers. The decision at the age of 36 to give up a successful and still promising career for an unknown future suggests (despite the lack of financial risk involved) the independence, self-confidence and courage of his later theology.

### 3. The Dilettante (1925-1929)

Discouraged with both science and the church, Smyth sought a new beginning. He spent most of the summer of 1925

at the Order of the Holy Cross monastery at West Park, N.Y., consulting Huntington, driving the monks to their engagements and joining in the monastery's activities. With Smyth was a twenty-year-old youth, Ethan Allan Brown. Brown became Smyth's intimate friend. In his Huntington notes, Smyth's very abbreviated comment is "Returned [from Africa] in spring. Again H.C. [Holy Cross] New job with E.A.B. [Brown]". The nature of the work with Brown is not clear.<sup>42</sup>

After further consultation with Huntington, Smyth decided to move to Europe. In late 1925, Smyth sold his share of the paint company to a Washington businessmen, Lawrence A. Baker, invested the proceeds and sailed for Rome. Smyth and Brown settled in the rented top floor of the fourteenth century Pallazino Mattei in Trastevere.<sup>43</sup>

From November 1925 to November 1929 Smyth lived in Rome, much of the time with Brown. In December Smyth officially withdrew from G.T.S. without completing any courses. Smyth's Rome years were spent reading, talking, attending cultural and social events, collecting art, travelling and playing tennis. He also continued to write some poetry.<sup>44</sup>

In October 1927 he describes his life in Italy to his disapproving uncle:

. . . this apparently idle life in Europe, with plenty of books to read, plenty of time for tranquil thought, and many stimulating associations which I have never found elsewhere, this life, I say, satisfies me completely. Life for me over here has a positive and abundant happiness which I really believe is achieved by few people. And after all from the standpoint of any indi-



vidual, isn't this the most important thing? . . . If I have any distinction whatever it consists in a great capacity for the pleasures of a "dilettante." . . . I have completely given up the notion that I ought to produce anything. . . . I shall never be idle, but I doubt whether I ever return to America to live for any length of time.<sup>45</sup>

Smyth learned to speak Italian well and travelled in aristocratic Italian circles.<sup>46</sup>

Smyth began to develop an appreciation for Italian fascism. In October 1927, as an interpreter for a Washington Star reporter, he had a half-hour private interview with Mussolini. In the same letter to his uncle, Smyth expresses his admiration for him:

After talking with him I shall always find it difficult to believe that he is other than a man of the greatest sincerity, or that he is not really unselfish in working for what he conceives to be the right thing for Italy. You see, I've rather fallen for him also.

Mussolini described to Smyth his program of land reform:

The big estates are to be allotted in small parcels to individual peasants, on a half-and-half share principle, the owner of the estate to supply all the modern machinery such as tractors, etc., free to the peasant out of his own (the owner's) share of the profits. All farm machinery is to come in duty free.

Mussolini also described his plans for industrialization through mass production. The interview was very cordial, with Mussolini complimenting Smyth on his Italian accent.<sup>47</sup>

Smyth's letter October 5, 1927 to his uncle, Charles H. Smyth, Sr., professor of geology at Princeton, which I have quoted above, makes clear the extent to which Smyth has given up the practice of a "career" (whether in science or

the church) for a life of leisure, thought and aesthetic experience. He recounts his summer at the seashore near Viareggio playing tennis, then motoring north over the mountains to the Garda Riviera with its enchanting beauty. He dreams about buying a small villa outside Rome "with a little garden and perhaps a tennis court".

He then answers his uncle's criticism of his decision to give up his scientific career with an account of his unhappiness in Boston and Washington and his own lack of vocation as a scientist. Most people, Smyth suggests, would not be able to move away from such a situation. Smyth continues,

But I rebel against a meek acceptance of the humdrum. I thought the church might be an escape. I still felt, you see, that somehow a "career" was an essential to happiness. From the vantage ground of two years' reflection, I am sure that for me this is a mere American prejudice.

Then, in the passage quoted above, Smyth goes on to describe the "positive and abundant happiness" of his life in Italy. He has no regrets: ". . . I am glad I had the courage of my convictions".

Smyth goes on to describe himself positively as a "dilettante":

If I have any distinction whatever it consists in a great capacity for the pleasures of a "dilettante." This is probably an odious word to you, but perhaps after all it is no mean thing to be a first-class dilettante. . . . I have completely given up the notion that I ought to produce anything. I have no sense of duty about it, in spite of the fact that I was always carefully nurtured in this idea. If it does turn out that I produce anything in the end, that will be so much velvet, a sort

of extra dividend or melon.<sup>48</sup>

It is clear that in the early years in Rome, Smyth regarded personal happiness and aesthetic pleasure as his priorities. Having the financial resources to do so, he escaped from his family's expectations of a respectable career in science.

Smyth's aesthetic viewpoint is also apparent in his conversation with Mussolini on industrialization and mass production. When Mussolini advocated mass production, Smyth questioned whether it was not foreign to the Italian spirit. Mussolini replied that there had been major changes in Italian attitudes. Smyth continued the argument,

"But," I persisted, "what becomes of the art, the music, in fact the whole aesthetic and spiritual life of Italy which the world so rightly and highly prizes in Italy? What will become of all these things in the industrial scheme?"

Mussolini replied that Italy will always be a land of beauty and that when it makes an automobile, it will be a beautiful automobile. "Industrialism can never conquer our sense of beauty", he concluded. Smyth comments to his uncle, "Here was exactly what I myself did not believe."<sup>49</sup> Smyth's rejection of industrialization through mass production is purely on aesthetic grounds.

Part of Smyth's happiness in Italy was clearly the friendship with Brown. In early 1926, Smyth wrote Baker that he was pleased with the progress that Brown was making. They lived together in the Rome apartment and travelled throughout Europe. In 1926, Smyth drew up a will leaving Brown all

his personal possessions and setting up a \$60,000 trust fund for him. Brown came from an impoverished background and Smyth became his principal means of financial support. They regarded their possessions as common and Smyth opened a joint bank account. They commissioned a joint bookplate for their library.<sup>50</sup>

Smyth clearly saw himself as having responsibility for Brown's education. In the beginning of 1927, Brown moved to London to prepare for entry to university; Smyth directed his Washington bank to send Brown a monthly allowance. In the following year, supported by Smyth, he entered Balliol College, Oxford. In 1929, he moved on to St. Mary's Hospital, Paddington (University of London) to study internal medicine. He was a brilliant student and won numerous prizes. When separated, Smyth and Brown maintained an affectionate correspondence.<sup>51</sup>

Smyth's friendship with Brown was his first major relationship with someone coming from poverty. Brown had no means of financial support when Smyth met him. Former S.C.C. members recall Smyth telling them that he met Brown stranded in London, playing in a Salvation Army band.<sup>52</sup> Smyth's response was generosity. Family members recall that even after Brown's initial story was proven false, Smyth remained loyal. The family disapproved of the relationship, feeling that Brown's motives were primarily financial. Brown's arro-

gant personality further alienated the family.<sup>53</sup>

The erotic dimension of the relationship seems not to have given Smyth, Brown or their Italian friends much cause for concern. Indeed, it enabled Smyth to reflect on the relation of agape and eros with some creativity twenty years later:

Never look down your nose at Eros. You have to remember that full rational human nature subsumes within itself the complete sensitive (animal) nature -- it does not supersede or destroy the latter. It integrates it (dialectically) into a higher level. Thus a proper human eros catches into itself rationally a proper animal lust. And exactly in the same manner, eros is subsumed into agape. Indeed, eros in the natural human level is the actual foundation of agape. . . . One of the curses of our presently perverted 'Christianity' is the notion that a 'higher' value must be achieved by denying or by superceding a 'lower' one. As a matter of fact, the 'lower' is the very substance out of which the 'higher' is fashioned by dialectic transformation! Homo es: Humani nihil a te alienum puta! [You are a human being: reckon nothing human as foreign to yourself! Cf. Romans 14:14.]<sup>54</sup>

Such relationships were not uncommon among American expatriates in Europe in the twenties.

In the later years in Rome, Smyth's interests began to move more towards philosophy and theology, though he continued his reading in science. He attended lectures in philosophy and theology at the University of Rome and became friends with the excommunicated Italian Catholic Modernist theologian, Ernesto Buonaiuti. He sometimes spent weekends with Buonaiuti in his villa above Subiaco. He also became friends with Nicola Turchi, an anti-fascist liberal Catholic scholar, with whom he studied Italian.<sup>55</sup> Other friends in-

cluded the U.S. consul, Francis B. Keene, and Henry Sartorio, the assistant priest at St. Paul's (American) church. Smyth's relations with Walter Lowrie, then rector of St. Paul's, were not close.<sup>56</sup> Smyth's interest in theology continued to develop. In early 1929 he sent a copy of Rudolf Otto's Idea of the Holy to his stock broker in Washington.<sup>57</sup>

The life of a dilettante in Italy began to lose its attraction. When the eminent English immunologist, Sir Almroth Wright, visiting Italy, offered Smyth a job as his amanuensis in his London laboratory, Smyth accepted. He left Rome in November 1929 and joined Wright and Brown at St. Mary's Hospital, Paddington.<sup>58</sup>

In assessing his Rome years in terms of the development of his Christian Marxism, one sees Smyth make a deliberate attempt to break with what he perceived as the mediocrity of upper and middle class American culture. He saw this culture as characterized by excessive devotion to science, technology, industrialization and mass production, unmarked by any attention to beauty or serious reflection. In this largely aesthetic critique, one sees a firm commitment to a marginal lifestyle emerging, in this case, that of the aesthetic dilettante. In the friendship with Brown, one sees another rejection of the culture, in the pursuit of a gay and generous friendship with someone both poor and young. Initially, Smyth is uncritical of Italian fascism but

the friendships with Buonaiuti, Turchi and other anti-fascists who suffered under Mussolini challenged his naivete.

#### 4. Return to Christian Faith (1929-31)

When Smyth moved to London, Wright was then working on his mammoth Alethetropic Logic. Although an atheist, Wright was interested in carefully analyzing the meaning of any words asserting truth, whether scientific, philosophical or religious. Smyth helped Wright in this project and they became close friends.<sup>59</sup> In a letter to Joseph Needham in 1947, Smyth commented on Wright's contribution to his development: ". . . although he certainly did not teach me Theology, nor did he make me a Marxist (as I would now count myself), at any rate [he] taught me to think."<sup>60</sup> From Wright, Smyth learned the value of integrating knowledge. For the first time, he began to think seriously about integrating scientific knowledge, philosophical understanding and religious faith.

Exposed to Wright's philosophical methodology and the vitality of Anglo-Catholicism in England in the late twenties, Smyth recovered his religious faith. He later commented, "I became 're-converted,' as it were, in England, where I had gone to do some special work with [Wright]."<sup>61</sup> In a letter in 1952 to John Rowe, a Canadian S.C.C. member who had just settled in England, Smyth commented that Rowe's

experience of the vitality of English Anglo-Catholicism paralleled his own experience twenty years earlier:

This discovery of so much genuine vitality, so much intelligence, so much open-mindedness and, I may add, so much militant assertion of Catholic truth (even if under conventional forms), exactly parallels my own experience when I first came into contact with the Church of England in the decade of the 20's. It was this discovery in fact which brought me back into the Church and made me believe that there was something here upon which one might hopefully build for the future. I have remarked on many occasions that I am sure that if I had remained in [the U.S.] I would have never been brought back to Christianity and to the Church at all. Over here I had never seen any hope within the Church environment with which I had been familiar.<sup>62</sup>

Smyth's re-conversion to Christianity and the decision to seek ordination surprised Wright but they remained good friends. It shocked Smyth's aristocratic Italian friends.<sup>63</sup>

Smyth resigned from the work with Wright and continued his theological reflection in preparation for admission to theological college. A notebook entry written in Cambridge in early May 1930 comments on the relation of freedom to the Second Law of Thermodynamics and Heisenberg's Uncertainty Principle.<sup>64</sup> The general thrust of Smyth's reflection after his re-conversion was that radical shifts in post-Newtonian science had now made Catholic Christianity credible and that it was necessary to develop an apologetic based on contemporary scientific theory. He intended to produce such an apologetic.

In late May 1930, Smyth moved to Venice and rented part of the Palazzo da Mula, around the corner from St.



George's (English) church, on the Grand Canal. He moved his and Brown's possessions from Rome.<sup>65</sup> Smyth continued his reading in theology. At this point, his thinking was very otherworldly and non-Incarnational. In July, he wrote in his notebook,

To be religious in the best sense, is to be detached from the world, but not in the sense of being neutral. It is rather to espouse a partisanship for God, which renders any preoccupation with the material world of supreme unimportance.<sup>66</sup>

In Venice, Smyth also met a fellow alumnus of Hamilton College, Ezra Pound.<sup>67</sup>

Smyth returned to England at the end of the summer of 1930 and enrolled in Chichester Theological College. The principal, H.L. Pass, introduced him to the bishop of Chichester, George Bell. Clearly Smyth's work in bringing together science and religion was attractive. After his first interview with Smyth on December 6, 1930, Bell commented in his ordination candidates book,

Introduced by Pass as brilliant scientist, collaborator of Sir Almroth Wright. Deeply interested in Science and Religion. Wishes to write book on Mankind and Universe from different angle than Langdon Davis. Requires no salary. Recommended for Anglican Orders by Bishop Fiske Central New York. In touch with Community of Resurrection. Warmly welcomed idea of post as lecturer or tutor in religion and science. Knows German, French, Italian.<sup>68</sup>

Bell took on Smyth as a candidate for ordination.

Smyth was older, better educated and more sophisticated than his fellow classmates. One classmate remembers him as always immaculately dressed in black, with very cor-

rect manners, somewhat isolated from other students. Smyth got on well with the principal, Pass, a convert from Judaism and a Dante scholar fluent in Italian, French and German. Pass' emphasis on teaching as discussion rather than lecturing probably influenced Smyth's later teaching methods. The political climate of the theological college leaned towards the left. Pass ardently supported the League of Nations.<sup>69</sup> One of Smyth's closest friends among his classmates was Michael Scott, later radical missionary to South Africa and defender of the Namibian cause at the United Nations. Smyth later commented, "Michael Scott and I were the ones who saw 'eye to eye' at Chichester."<sup>70</sup> Scott recalls that Smyth had some sympathy with the left during the Chichester years.<sup>71</sup>

Smyth shared his reflections on science and religion with the Chichester community. In a meditation after compline in December 1930 on "Irrationality and Religion", he argued that science is no longer "rational" in the ordinary sense of the word, citing random electron movement. Science now must use symbols (mathematics) to describe this movement. Religious truths, explained Smyth, must be of this order -- explaining reality but beyond common sense rationality.<sup>72</sup>

Smyth spent much of his time away from the theological college, frequently travelling to London to visit

Wright, Brown, Kenneth Ingram and T.S. Eliot. (Pound had provided Smyth with a letter of introduction to the latter.)<sup>73</sup> In February 1931, Ingram accepted an article by Smyth on theology and science for the Green Quarterly Review. The article, however, was not published. Smyth explained part of his apologetic in a letter to Charles Fiske, bishop of Central New York. The view of modern physics that "our universe is a universe of events rather than of objects", Smyth explained, is "the great religious significance of scientific thought".<sup>74</sup> In another early paper, Smyth likens the paradoxes of post-Newtonian physics with the paradoxes of Christian theology, insofar as both deal with relationships rather than objects.<sup>75</sup>

Smyth eventually shaped his views on science and Christianity into a series of four lectures on "Modern Scientific Theory and Catholic Truth" which he delivered in October and November 1932 to the Eastbourne Rural Deanery. Titles of the individual lectures were "The Nature of the Spiritual and Physical Worlds", "Physical Cause and Effect and the Possibility of Christian Freedom", "Mind and Creation" and "Heredity, Environment and Baptism".<sup>76</sup>

Theologically, Smyth was clearly moving towards Thomism, including a strong commitment to Transubstantiation. Such a position was not uncommon among Roman-leaning Anglo-Catholics of the period. In a late 1930 or early 1931 notebook entry on Transubstantiation, Smyth writes,

From being indifferent and unmoral elements of the unmoral physical world, the Bread & Wine become the foci of the activity of the Divine Logos - the 'raw spiritual materials' - 'raw' only in respect to not yet being incorporated into our own spiritual organism - materials (stuffs - [Lloyd] Morgan) which the Holy Spirit within us is about to appropriate into the re-creation of our moral free-wills.<sup>77</sup>

Compared with Smyth's later Christian Marxist theology of Metacosmesis, in which matter (including the unconsecrated bread and wine) has considerable moral and spiritual significance, this is a fairly conventional Thomism, clearly untouched by Marx. It also assumes a dualism between science ("the unmoral physical world") and religion (the source of value) that is foreign to Smyth's later thought.

Smyth was ordained a deacon on December 20, 1931 by the bishop of Gibraltar, F.C.N. Hicks, in Malta, after the U.S. embassy in London could not guarantee that he would not lose his U.S. citizenship if he took the Oath of Allegiance to the King as required for ordination in England. He was licensed under the Colonial Clergy Act and appointed unpaid curate at St. Martin's, Brighton, a large Anglo-Catholic parish in a working class district. He was ordained to the priesthood by G.K.A. Bell on May 22, 1932 in Chichester cathedral after the U.S. embassy ruled that he would not lose his U.S. citizenship.<sup>78</sup>

Several points can be made about Smyth's return to Christianity, particularly in terms of his later turn to Marxism. First, it is clear that Marxism played no role in

Smyth's return to Christianity. His re-conversion was largely an intellectual process related to the compatibility of Christianity and science. As a chemist, he was concerned with bringing together explanations of the physical universe with Christian doctrine -- the existence of God, creation, free will. Although Smyth had difficulty extending this apologetic to personality and values, at this point any kind of Marxist explanation was not seen as necessary. Smyth's aesthetic nature, his long history of at least marginal involvement with Anglo-Catholicism and his years of immersion in the Italian Catholic ethos also played a role in the re-conversion. Although it clearly preceded any commitment to Marxism, his re-conversion did take place in a context in which the relation of Christianity and society (including support for the Marxist option) was under serious consideration. I shall discuss this context further in the next section.<sup>79</sup>

In terms of Smyth's strong sense of independence (so evident in his early and mature years), ordination in the Church of England first appears to be a movement away from marginalization to conformity and establishment. However, Anglo-Catholicism, especially the extreme and sometimes eccentric variety that Smyth represented, was still marginal to the Church of England in the late twenties. Bell, for example, spent much time trying to control Anglo-Catholic

practices related to the public reservation of the sacrament in Chichester diocese.<sup>80</sup> Rather than a movement from marginalization, Smyth's ordination might better be seen as the sanctification of marginalization. (Smyth also remained marginalized as an American in England -- he never lost his upstate New York twang. He also retained some Italian affectations.) Smyth remained marginalized. He later cited this feeling of not "belonging" in England as a factor in his decision to return to the U.S.<sup>81</sup> While he was proud of his ordination in the Church of England and did not hesitate to use it, he set down no roots in England and continued to pursue his independent course.

##### 5. Christian Marxist (1932-39)

The faith to which Smyth returned was an Anglo-Catholic Christianity rooted in scripture, tradition, the historic creeds, patristic and medieval theology and the Oxford movement. It was hostile to protestantism, including the English reformation. It deeply valued the church, the sacraments and doctrinal orthodoxy. While it saw the "Catholic Faith" as a unified system of Christian doctrine and tradition, it also valued human reason. The patristic and Thomist tradition encouraged Anglo-Catholics as diverse as Charles Gore, Conrad Noel and Eric Mascall to respond to science with creativity and openness. Smyth's re-conversion was to this tradition. His Marxism emerged within his re-

conversion as an important insight to be integrated into the tradition.

Three forces appear initially to have moved Smyth towards Marxism: (1) his experience of the poverty of many of the parishioners at St. Martin's, Brighton, (2) the personal influence of Conrad Noel and the Thaxted movement and (3) the worsening international situation.

St. Martin's is one of several monumental churches in Brighton built in the late nineteenth century by Arthur D. Wagner along Tractarian ideals. The vast sunken nave, square chancel and soaring high altar backed by a gilded reredos of 20 paintings and 69 statues conveys a sense of spaciousness and grandeur. Chapels and shrines within the church contain much Italian renaissance and baroque art. Its tradition was solidly Anglo-Catholic.<sup>82</sup> Smyth was no doubt attracted to St. Martin's both aesthetically and theologically. He joined the staff as the fourth curate. The priests on staff each celebrated a daily private mass. On Sunday there were low masses at seven and eight, a regimental service at nine, a children's mass at ten and a non-communicating high mass at eleven.<sup>83</sup>

The parish was located in a poor working class neighbourhood of Brighton. Many of the parishioners came from the neighbourhood but the parish also attracted upper class parishioners from outside the parish. Herbert Rees, one of Smyth's fellow curates, recalls that Smyth was al-

ready quietly on the political left when he arrived at St. Martin's. The vicar, J.C. Nankivell, was politically conservative and, according to Rees, disliked his working class parishioners (whom he referred to as "Sussex pigs"). He preferred to socialize with the wealthy parishioners from outside the parish who supported the parish financially. Nankivell also sought support for the Conservative party in the parish, inviting the local Tory candidate to open the parish bazaar. Smyth did much parish visiting and became familiar with the poverty of many in the parish. Smyth and Rees (who was strongly attracted to the Christendom Group) disliked Nankivell intensely for his favouritism towards the wealthy and sought to support the working class parishioners.<sup>84</sup>

Rees remembers Smyth at St. Martin's in search of theological justification of his increasingly left political views. Although Smyth expressed these views in private conversations, they did not become a part of his preaching at St. Martin's, perhaps because of Nankivell's practice of reading and critiquing the texts of curates' sermons before their delivery.<sup>85</sup> Smyth found the justification in the thought and writings of Conrad Noel and the Thaxted movement.

It is not possible to say when Smyth first met Noel or to document their early friendship in much detail. Smyth



later reflected that he first met Noel through Sir Almroth Wright's daughter, Helen Romanes.<sup>86</sup> The first meeting, then, might have been as early as the beginning of 1930, about the time of Smyth's return to active Christian faith. However, Smyth's writing, notebook entries and sermons in this early period are almost exclusively focussed on science and religion and one does not see any clear evidence of what might be Noel's influence until mid-1932.

It is clear that Smyth regarded Noel as a major influence on the development of his Christian Marxism. Although Smyth got to know the Christendom Group, including Maurice Reckitt and V.A. Demant, and attended many of their Oxford summer schools on church and society, he was much closer to Noel. In writing of his time in England, Smyth later commented, "I saw quite a good bit of Reckitt and Demant and Fr. Noel I got to know very well."<sup>87</sup> Smyth gave Noel credit for much of his own theology:

I doubt very much whether I would ever have reached my present position [in 1942] without having known Fr. Noel in England and through him having been introduced to the tradition in which he stood.<sup>88</sup>

Noel, Smyth later told another correspondent, "influenced me much in my own efforts to link Catholic Theology with Dialectic social analysis".<sup>89</sup>

Smyth was attracted to Noel's position that Christianity is fundamentally revolutionary. Noel saw the Incarnation as a revolutionary action by God to re-order in a fun-

damental way unjust and unequal human society into a classless commonwealth of love and justice. Jesus' ministry and teaching, the church and the sacraments are all revolutionary, aimed at bringing about this commonwealth. Noel rooted this view in Biblical and patristic teachings. He championed revolutionary social movements that brought about movement towards commonwealth -- English peasant rebellions, the struggle for Irish independence, the Russian revolution, other anti-colonial struggles -- and attacked the oppressors, including the English ruling class. (Like Smyth, Noel came out of the social class he attacked.) Noel's hanging of the red flag of revolution in his Thaxted parish church during the Russian revolution gained him notoriety throughout England. Noel was not a Marxist in any formal sense but championed the right of any oppressed people (including Russian workers) to overthrow their oppressors.

Noel opened Smyth to the revolutionary option. Again, it is not clear when Smyth actually began to read Marx, Engels and Lenin. References showing an awareness of class analysis do not appear in sermons and notes until 1932. Hunger marches, high unemployment, massive poverty, and the rise of English fascism pushed workers, intellectuals and Christians in England in the early thirties to take seriously the Communist option. Smyth's friend and classmate (with whom he was ordained priest in 1932), Michael Scott, writes in A Time to Speak (1958) of his dis-

covery of Marxism in his parish in the east end of London and his decision to work for the Communist Party. Scott makes it clear that English Anglo-Catholics in the early thirties who were struggling with the social and economic crisis were reading their Marx, Engels and Lenin.<sup>90</sup>

Smyth's context, however, was broader than England. The worsening international situation, including the increasingly brutal face of fascism in Germany and Italy, the collapse of the world capitalist economy and the movement towards war pushed Smyth in a strongly anti-fascist direction. He and Brown spent the summer of 1932 in Venice and experienced the changes taking place in Italy firsthand. The worsening international situation also contributed to Smyth's decision to return to the U.S.<sup>91</sup>

One sees an interest in social justice and revolution emerge in a sermon Smyth preached on thanksgiving at St. Mary Magdalene's, Paddington, on October 9, 1932:

Your gratitude is incomplete and unworthy of God to whom you offer it, if you are content to tolerate conditions which leave other millions unemployed and dependent upon charity. This means that, in emergencies like the present, you will share what you have with the poverty-stricken and the starving. Still more does it mean that you will give intelligent and open-minded thought to righting what is amiss in our present social structure. The thankful Christian cannot take poverty and unemployment as inevitable matters of course. On the contrary, he will be anxious to transform, yes, even to revolutionize the world, so that God's bounty may flow freely and equitably to all our blessed Lord's brethren here on earth.<sup>92</sup>

One suspects that by now Smyth has begun to read both Noel

and Marx. One wonders if the bright red socks that Smyth wore at St. Martin's and continued to wear the rest of his life indicated the political shift.<sup>93</sup>

Unhappy at St. Martin's, not at home in England, concerned about the worsening international situation and no longer able to live on his investment income, Smyth returned home to Clinton, N.Y. in September 1933, after having first tried for an appointment in Bermuda.<sup>94</sup> He returned to a United States facing massive unemployment, poverty and social unrest. The U.S. social and economic situation and the increasing strength of European fascism (particularly in Italy, which he knew best), continued to push Smyth to the political left.

Smyth quickly received permission from the Hamilton College administration to minister to students in the area of science and religion. Supported financially by two Hamilton trustees, he rented a house near the college where he established the Oratory of St. Mary and St. Michael in December 1933. (The concept of an oratory or place of prayer as a religious community dates from St. Philip of Neri in sixteenth century Italy. It provides a more flexible rule of life than conventional monastic communities. Smyth was familiar with Anglo-Catholic communities in England such as the Oratory of the Good Shepherd.) With the permission of the bishop of Central New York, Charles Fiske, he began to cele-

brate daily mass in full Anglo-Catholic style in the oratory chapel. He also began a lecture series on reconciling science and religion.

Trouble soon developed. Hamilton had recently emerged from a Presbyterian affiliation to become non-sectarian and the administration was anxious not to appear to be associated with any new sectarian group. Smyth made no effort to hide his religious views, wearing a soutane and biretta freely about the campus, and openly sought converts (in a few cases, successfully). The local Episcopal parish, St. James', in which Smyth had grown up, saw him as a rival and complained both to the bishop and the college.<sup>95</sup>

In spring 1934, alarm at the college increased and the bishop disassociated himself from Smyth's enterprise in a strong letter to the Hamilton College Board of Trustees. In the meantime, Smyth had found a wealthy backer, Edith Fancher, the wife of a Hamilton College faculty member. She offered to build him a permanent stone chapel on her and her husband's land which, because it abutted on college property, was, in effect, a part of the college campus. Construction began. The Board of Trustees, led by Elihu Root, former U.S. secretary of state, became even more alarmed and after negotiations to stop construction failed, voted to build a boundary fence between the faculty and college property, blocking off college access to the new chapel. Realizing the strength of the opposition as the college began

construction of the fence, Smyth's backer withdrew.<sup>96</sup>

An important factor in Smyth's continued determination to establish an oratory for students was the encouragement of J.O.S. Huntington, O.H.C. Huntington approved Smyth's "Hamilton plan", stayed with him at the oratory and offered advice. Smyth kept him informed of the chapel controversy.<sup>97</sup> In early 1935, at Huntington's suggestion, Smyth approached Samuel B. Booth, bishop of Vermont, who wanted to establish a religious community at a former boys school at the diocesan headquarters at Rock Point in Burlington. Booth invited Smyth to move the oratory to Vermont. Smyth moved to Rock Point in mid-June but a few days after Smyth's arrival, Booth died unexpectedly. The diocesan authorities had little interest in supporting the oratory so Smyth moved quickly back to Clinton.<sup>98</sup>

Much of Smyth's time in the early years of the Clinton oratory were taken up with the controversies with Hamilton college and the diocese. His initial approach to Hamilton students was philosophical and liturgical rather than political or economic. However, he did raise politics and economics in private conversations. John M. Moore, then teaching philosophy at Hamilton and a member of the Fellowship of Socialist Christians, remembers discussions with Smyth on his attempt to draw radical political and economic conclusions from Thomas Aquinas.<sup>99</sup>

In November 1934, Michael Scott arrived for a long visit to the oratory. Scott had by this time become closely involved with the Communist cause in the east end of London. Scott had found integrating Christian faith and Marxism difficult and it is likely that he and Smyth conversed at some length on the issue. Scott's active involvement with Communists may also have stimulated Smyth to do likewise. They also discussed the kind of community that Smyth wished to develop. Smyth later referred to Scott as "a kind of co-founder" of the Society of the Catholic Commonwealth.<sup>100</sup>

The role of Ethan Allan Brown in Smyth's turn to Marxism is not clear. However, they were clearly in agreement on the issue. Smyth and Brown remained close friends after Smyth's ordination though their friendship apparently caused some unhappiness among the English congregation at St. George's, Venice.<sup>101</sup> Brown stayed on in England but they continued to correspond and visit one another. Smyth's family recall that Brown was arrogant in his revolutionary zeal, telling Smyth's industrialist uncle that he would be liquidated after the Communist revolution.<sup>102</sup> Before moving to Boston in 1935, Brown visited the Soviet Union. A student at the oratory in Cambridge in the late thirties recalls that Brown was more committed to Marxism than to Smyth's religious views.<sup>103</sup>

Smyth continued to follow the international scene with increasing alarm. In August 1935, shortly before Musso-

lini's invasion of Ethiopia, he preached a passionate sermon at St. George's, Utica, condemning the economic roots of war and fascism. Smyth argues that the forces leading the world to war are not abstract spiritual forces:

The forces that drive us to war are economic. What mature thoughtful and well-informed person can doubt this fact? You do not have to go to revolutionary books or to propaganda from Moscow to be told this truth. [Mussolini] has said boldly and realistically that Italy needs new markets. . . . She needs new undeveloped territories for fresh raw materials. She needs new supplies of so-called backward people who will labour cheaply to help her run her new factories, her newly acquired mines and farms. . . . Italy says frankly that she has certain economic needs and she is now going to satisfy these, even though it means the mass murder of human beings.<sup>104</sup>

Smyth argues that Italy's exploitation of Ethiopia is only the most recent example of the general principle that nations and business interests will seek war if it is economically profitable. He goes on to condemn American commodity and arms traders who are encouraging war because of its economic benefit to them.

Catholic Christians, Smyth continues, cannot accept this state of affairs "without violent and militant protest". Personal piety within a world in which a decent living is made possible "only at the price of war and murder" is inadequate unless Christians "are labouring positively and militantly to change this world". Smyth continues,

No Catholic can allow himself to be deceived and carried away by a lying secular propaganda. No Catholic can have rooted prejudices or international hatreds. . . . No



political or economic arrangements of this world are sacred to him merely because they belong to his own country, or are old, or because many people like them. The only question is, are these arrangements in accord with the mind of Christ?

Christians must be willing to be branded as traitors to their own social system if this system oppresses or leads to injustice between classes or war. Smyth concludes, "You must associate yourselves with those who are trying to overthrow the world systems which can only be maintained by war, working for the time when truly Catholic systems of production for use rather than for greedy economic profit shall be set up in their places."<sup>105</sup>

With increasing alarm in the U.S. about the rise of fascism in Europe and the emergence of the Popular Front, Hamilton College students became more politically active in Smyth's last year in Clinton. A chapter of the American Student Union was formed on campus and many of the students associated with the oratory joined. J.D. Ibbotson, librarian and English professor at Hamilton and an admirer of German and Italian fascism, was vitriolic in a March 1936 letter to Ezra Pound:

You don't like communism any better than I do. Well, we have a League here, branch of the American Student Union, which is communist if it is anything. They hold the convention of the Union here next week. The secretary is a Jewish communist. The leaders on the [college] Hill are mostly associates of Rev Father Hastings Smyth, Ph.D. '09.

Ibbotson, who thought Smyth was a member of an English religious order which he was trying to establish among Hamil-

ton students and faculty, goes on to narrate the story of Smyth's return to Hamilton. He continues,

But High Anglicanism -- the only true religion -- seemed to make little headway. So now it is communism. Vainly have I tried to turn the group to social credit!

Ibbotson reports the visit a few weeks earlier of a "'distinguished'" English "brother in his order" who lectured to 35 students and one of the college trustees: "The lecture was a vigorous attack on capitalism and defense of communism."<sup>106</sup> Al Putnam, one of the Hamilton students, remembers being a courier for Smyth and the ASU. With the beginning of the Popular Front, it is clear that in Smyth's last year at Hamilton, the oratory became much more politically active among students.<sup>107</sup>

Smyth also became politically active outside the college in support of the Popular Front. On May 1, 1936 he addressed a United Front May Day mass meeting in Syracuse. He strongly supported the front and urged cooperation between Christians and non-Christians in opposing fascism. The speech was broadcast on radio. He also addressed the Utica chapter of the League against War and Fascism.<sup>108</sup>

Smyth and the oratory continued in Clinton in another rented house through the middle of 1936. Smyth continued his search for a more friendly setting and began to negotiate with C. Leslie Glenn, rector of Christ Church, Cambridge, near Harvard. Glenn was initially unenthusiastic

but Smyth persisted.<sup>109</sup> He approached the bishop of Massachusetts, Henry Knox Sherrill, whom he knew from his Boston days. Glenn relented, Sherrill agreed to license Smyth in the diocese for a year and in September 1936 Smyth moved the oratory to Cambridge. Smyth was accompanied by two Hamilton proteges, David Cochran (later bishop of Alaska) and William Chase, who enrolled at Episcopal Theological School and continued to live at the oratory.<sup>110</sup>

Smyth was in his mid-fifties by the time he settled in Cambridge. The years there (1936-55) were his most productive. The time there can be divided into three periods, each one marked by a different location for the Oratory of St. Mary and St. Michael. The oratory at 40 Quincy Street (1936-38), located in a house rented from Harvard, next door to Memorial Hall on the campus, concentrated on student work. That at 12 Putnam Avenue (1938-46), located in a working class district away from Harvard, centred on radical social and political action. That at 21 Washington Avenue (1946-55), located in an established residential section near Radcliffe, centred on intellectual and theological discussion. Such a summary is an over-simplification, as students, radical social action and theological reflection were always part of the life of the oratory wherever it was located. However, as a generalization, it points to a general movement in Smyth's ministry.

Finding himself in the political ferment of Cam-

bridge in the late thirties and free from the restraints of Clinton, Smyth began identifying himself as a Marxist and became involved with many of the groups on the Communist left, including the Communist Party, the American League for Peace and Democracy, the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy, the John Reed club and the American Peace Mobilization. The Communists, building the Popular Front, welcomed his presence at meetings, rallies, pickets, social events, on letterheads and in the Daily Worker. In turn, Smyth opened up the oratory for meetings of the groups he supported. His involvement with the above groups brought the occasional convert to the oratory.

Smyth's ministry to the Harvard student community followed a general pattern. With the help of students already living at the oratory, he invited groups of Harvard students for dinner. He first presented his case, arguing that Christianity leads one to Marxism (though a Marxism purged of atheism). He began by arguing that the early church is the best model for Christians today; that common sharing of property was an important principle of early Christianity; that religious belief should be the basis of what Christians do in the world today and therefore Christians should try to restore the element of sharing in human society; and, finally, the most practical way to restore this element of sharing is to promote a Marxist view of

society and social change. A gourmet dinner followed. Smyth also encouraged students to read the stacks of the Daily Worker in the oratory library.<sup>111</sup>

Eventually Smyth gathered a small group of students around him, attracted to either the integration of Christianity and Marxism (some were more attracted by one or the other) or the aesthetic experience of the daily mass or rich decor of the oratory. A few students usually lived with Smyth at the oratory. Sunday mass followed by breakfast and discussion became a focus of the oratory's life. Students who disagreed with Smyth's position were not encouraged to return. Smyth also spent much time working on his first book, Manhood Into God (1940), which grew out of baptismal and confirmation instruction given converts. There was little encouragement from friends, although T.S. Eliot wrote,

You will certainly have my prayers for the success of your venture in Cambridge. I do indeed know the needs and the difficulties of that place.<sup>112</sup>

Indeed, Smyth's presence upset some in the Harvard administration who perceived him as corrupting the sons of the rich. In the spring of 1938 Harvard refused to renew the Quincy Street lease.<sup>113</sup>

In the beginning years in Cambridge, Smyth advocated a basic progressive and anti-fascist position, not distinguishing clearly between the New Deal and "CP militancy".<sup>114</sup> He welcomed the Communist Party's Popular Front strategy and

its defense of the Soviet Union. He also defended the civil rights of American Communists who were beginning to come under attack. In the fall of 1937 he led a delegation to protest a Massachusetts state government investigation of Communist groups. The Boston Evening Record reported:

Declaring that too much time is being wasted in investigating Communistic activities by the special legislative committee to investigate subversive groups in Mass., a group of 60 clergymen, educators and prominent citizens headed by the Rev. F. Hastings Smyth, Cambridge, in a statement to Hon. Sybil Holmes, Chairman of the Committee, suggest that the Commission stop asking useless questions and concentrate on Nazism and Fascism which, they declare, are the real menaces.

. . . . .  
 The [protesters'] statement points out that the purpose of the investigation is to aid in the preservation of democracy, and declares that the German and Italian forms of government are far more of a menace at the present time than is that of Russia.<sup>115</sup>

Earlier in the year, Smyth had also tried to visit the Soviet Union but was denied a visa, despite Earl Browder's support, probably because of his clerical status.<sup>116</sup>

The oratory's initial location in the middle of the Harvard campus, however, gave it little credibility in trying to promote the revolutionary cause of poor and oppressed workers. Students (many of whom were more attracted by the oratory's aesthetics than its theology or politics) were isolated from the very reality to which Smyth was trying to expose them. Smyth began to fear that the oratory was becoming too theoretical. He discussed the problem in a visit to Joseph Fletcher in Cincinnati in April 1938. Fletcher urged

him to move the oratory to a poor section of Cambridge so that he could bring students into the real world, in the same way as the Communist Party.<sup>117</sup>

The move to Putnam Avenue was an attempt to answer this need. Smyth explained his rationale in a letter to John Wild, a recent oratory convert:

If we are to do this present work successfully, we simply must have roots, and these roots must be among the common people. . . . [This] oratory must have a front door opening upon Harvard . . . [and] a back door, opening upon that sea of solid humanity whence our strength must be drawn.<sup>118</sup>

While the new neighbours on Putnam Avenue did not supply such support, the move did enable the oratory to become much more involved in grassroots social issues.

With this involvement came much more participation in Popular Front political organizations. In 1938 Smyth became chairperson of the Cambridge branch of the American League for Peace and Democracy, formerly the American League against War and Fascism, part of the united front in support of the Soviet Union. The American League, under the leadership of Harry F. Ward, attracted many progressive and anti-fascist Christians. Smyth's involvement was in no way secret. He reported to Glenn at Christ Church that it was not work "outside" the oratory but a part of the oratory's work. Indeed, he continued, "The Oratory has won many friends among labor leaders and progressive middle-class people in the community, most of whom are not only lapsed,

but often disgusted with and openly hostile to the Church."<sup>119</sup>

It is difficult to trace Smyth's direct relations with the Communist Party during this period. Smyth's file on the Communist Party, humourously labelled "'C.P.' (Chemically Pure)", begins with a mimeographed invitation to the tenth national convention of the CPUSA in New York in May 1938. The file consists mostly of Communist Party mailings.<sup>120</sup> Progressives who knew or worked with Smyth in the late thirties recall that relations with the Communist Party were friendly. One good friend and visitor to the oratory was Philip Frankfeld, state secretary of the Communist Party of Massachusetts.<sup>121</sup> In certain respects, Smyth was to the political left of the party, in that he was committed to the theory and practice of socialism while many party members were interested only in organizing the immediate situation.<sup>122</sup> I shall deal with the question of Smyth's membership in the party in the next chapter.

In the spring of 1939, the oratory basement became the headquarters for a spontaneous strike by Yellow Cab taxi drivers on Harvard Square. A variety of unions and progressive political groups rallied around the strikers. Oratory members raised money, joined picket lines and helped organize food supply. During the strike, Smyth issued a small pamphlet, "The Church Needs Organized Labour", arguing that the church should support the labour movement. The strike



dragged on for three months. Despite the oratory's support for the strike, the class and cultural differences between the strikers and the oratory were considerable and the strikers' morale suffered because many of them regarded the oratory members as homosexuals with whom they did not want to be associated.<sup>123</sup>

The extent to which Smyth's class consciousness had increased can be seen in his instructions to oratory residents in the summer of 1939. He urges them to relate closely with the working class and avoid middle class tendencies:

Members are to avoid habitual social contacts with the middle class, whether on Church or Pagan 'society' occasions. The avoidance of contacts should include even friends or relatives, except on a strictly restrained basis or when an appropriate objective is in view. We are to avoid social teas, casual meals and dining out in restaurants, unless such engagements be for strategic ends. Such contacts are always very dangerous. They must be had with the utmost caution and always with the clear consciousness of dealing with the enemy.<sup>124</sup>

It was with this class-conscious view of the work of the oratory that the Society of the Catholic Commonwealth was established.

While one cannot say clearly that Smyth had now become in some sense a Christian Marxist without looking at his theological development in the late thirties, it is clear that by 1939 he was in a close and friendly working relationship with Communist Party members and fellow supporters of the Popular Front. It is also clear that he saw this relationship as a part of the vocation of the oratory.

This relationship will become clearer in the following chapter.<sup>125</sup>

Smyth continued to minister to Harvard students but tension with Christ Church increased. Glenn had hoped that the oratory would not survive but the move to Putnam Avenue and the continued active work with students, labour and the political left dashed this hope. Glenn seldom visited the oratory and the parish's liberal protestant tradition did not make the relationship any easier. The bishop continued to renew Smyth's license yearly. Glenn and the vestry began to plan how they might bring the oratory under the parish's control.<sup>126</sup> Smyth, however, resisted the effort and in early 1939 drew up his own "Suggested Principles for an Oratory within the Parish of Christ Church, Cambridge (Provisional)" which gave final control to the oratory's Board of Trustees. At this point, Smyth still saw the oratory as part of the parish.<sup>127</sup>

The increased involvement in political and labour activities required more discipline in community life. Increasingly, Smyth and members of the oratory began to consider the formation of a religious community along more traditional monastic lines, dedicated to radical social and political action from a Marxist perspective. The "Suggested Principles" of 1939 outlined such a community. The arrival in July 1939 of two lay brothers, Paul (Robert Allen) and

Francis (Erwin Francis Ruhland), the two remaining members of the Brothers of St. Paul, a religious community they founded in the diocese of Albany in 1928, moved the oratory further in the direction of a religious community.<sup>128</sup> After a brief trial of a new rule in the summer of 1939, four members of the oratory -- Smyth, Brothers Paul and Francis and John Forbes Russell -- decided to take vows as founding members of the Society of the Catholic Commonwealth.<sup>129</sup> (Russell was a young scion of the Forbes and Russell families of Boston. A lay person, he had moved into the oratory in early 1939 and was working closely with Labor's Non-Partisan League in Cambridge.<sup>130</sup>)

Smyth wanted the profession to take place within a Sunday Eucharist at Christ Church but Glenn refused. The service of clothing, conducted by Glenn, took place on October 4, 1939 at the oratory, during vespers. On October 19, Glenn received simple one-year vows of poverty, chastity and obedience from the four, also in a service of vespers at the oratory. E.A. Brown witnessed the vows as the sole member of the congregation.<sup>131</sup> Smyth explained the name of the community to Glenn:

We have decided to call ourselves the Society of the Catholic Commonwealth. Our emphasis is on the Offertory, the bread and wine of the world, and this seems to imply some sort of Commonwealth, upon a basis of a belief in the Process of the Incarnation.<sup>132</sup>

If, however, Smyth thought that the formation of a religious community would ease relations with Christ Church or provide

stability for the oratory, he was mistaken.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup>St. James', Clinton, N.Y., Baptism Register, 1888. For Smyth family history see obituary of Charles H. Smyth, Hamilton Literary Magazine (1908), 299-301, and A.F. Buddington, "Memorial to Charles Henry Smyth, Jr.", reprint from Proceedings of the Geological Society of America (1937), 195-202, in S.C.C. papers, K-5-10. Also taped interview with Charles P. Smyth, Princeton, N.J., Nov. 6, 1981.

<sup>2</sup>See newspaper obituaries of Frederick De Wolf Smyth, SCC papers, E-5-37 and G-19, and Hamilton Literary Magazine, XLI (May, 1907), 317-18.

<sup>3</sup>For Hastings family history see Lydia Nelson (Hastings) Buckminster, The Hastings Memorial, and Francis H. Hastings, Family Record of Dr. Seth Hastings, Sr.

<sup>4</sup>Telephone interview with Charles P. Smyth, June 18, 1980; taped interview, Charles P. Smyth, op. cit.; interview with Alice Smyth Creighton, Atlanta, Ga., July 2-3, 1980; Alice Smyth Creighton to TMB, July 1980. For the death of the Smyth infants, see Hastings, Family Record of Dr. Seth Hastings, Sr., p. 94 and St. James', Clinton, Baptism and Burial Registers, 1890, 1892. See also obituary of Frederick De W. Smyth in HLM, op. cit.

<sup>5</sup>Jonathan Bayliss notes of interview with FHS in late 1950s for projected biography. Copy in possession of TMB. (Hereafter cited as "Bayliss notes".)

<sup>6</sup>Charles P. Smyth and Alice Smyth Creighton interviews, op. cit.; taped interview with Carol Mott Butler, Princeton, N.J., Nov. 11, 1981; C.M. Butler to TMB, June 18, 1979; William M. Bristol, Sr. to TMB, March 21, 1979; SCC papers, F-18-253, FHS to Mrs. C.H. Smyth, Oct. 22, 1959.

<sup>7</sup>SCC papers, H-16-1 through 9. See also Bayliss notes, op. cit.

<sup>8</sup>St. James', Clinton, Baptism Register, 1883, 1888 and Marriage Register, 1887; Grace Church, Utica, N.Y., Confirmation Register, 1904; SCC papers, J-11-171, FHS to Stanley P. Gasek, May 7, 1956; Bayliss notes, op. cit.

<sup>9</sup>Hamilton College Records Office, Transcript Register, Class of 1909; Hamiltonian, 1907-1910; "Musical Clubs

Supplement", Hamilton Life, April 17, 1909; Joseph L. Appleton, Jr. to TMB, June 11, 1979; Elisabeth Stryker Stevens to TMB, August 1, 1980; SCC papers, A-13-124, Charlatans program; Creighton interview, op. cit.; Bayliss notes, op. cit. For a sketch of Hamilton College life at the time, see Walter Pilkington's introduction to Ezra Pound, Letters to Ibbotson, 1935-52 and B.F. Skinner, Particulars of my Life.

<sup>10</sup>Hamiltonian, 1909, p. 53.

<sup>11</sup>"The Sorority", Hamiltonian, 1907, pp. 161-2.

<sup>12</sup>Hamiltonian, 1908, p. 170. The story of FHS being mistaken for his mother's black servant is from interview with Herbert A. Rees, Bath, England, August 21, 1981.

<sup>13</sup>Joseph L. Appleton, Jr. to TMB, June 11, 1979; Creighton interview, op. cit.

<sup>14</sup>SCC papers, G-17-A, Gertrude Hastings Smyth diary, 1908; SCC papers, L-9, photographs of European trip.

<sup>15</sup>Butler interview, op. cit.; Bayliss notes, op. cit.; FHS FBI file, passport records.

<sup>16</sup>Baylis notes, op. cit.; C.P. Smyth interview, Nov. 6, 1981, op. cit.

<sup>17</sup>SCC papers, J-8-4, Fritz Ruhemann to FHS, Sept. 10, 1938.

<sup>18</sup>SCC papers, E-13-23, FHS bookplate; Bayliss notes, op. cit.

<sup>19</sup>Butler interview, op. cit.

<sup>20</sup>Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Catalogue, 1915-18; Baylis notes, op. cit.

<sup>21</sup>C.P. Smyth interview, Nov. 6, 1981, op. cit.; SCC papers, L-3, photographs of Smyth as "Dolly Carter" in MIT show; Bayliss notes, op. cit.; SCC papers, E-13-1, FHS to C.H. Smyth, Jr., Oct. 5, 1927.

<sup>22</sup>C.P. Smyth interview, Nov. 6, 1981, op. cit.; SCC papers, A-11-121, 122, FHS U.S. Army commissions; H-2-233, FHS to Richard [Young?], Sept. 4, 1942; H-2-213, FHS to G.A. Burrell, Sept. 29, 1942; A-11-123, FHS U.S. Army discharge. See also "The Origin of CWS Insignia", CWSVA Bulletin, II, No. 3 (Sept. 1942), 3, in SCC papers, F-20-234.

<sup>23</sup>C.P. Smyth interview, Nov. 6, 1981, op. cit.; SCC papers, D-26-1, FHS to A.C. Ballantine, Aug. 4, 1952. For the influence of Smyth's CWS work on his future vocation, see T.R. Parsons to Mary Balmer, Feb. 21, 1979, in possession of TMB; interview with Philip V. Rogers, Clinton, N.Y., July 8, 1982; taped interview with Jean Fitzpatrick and Marshall Swan, Rockport, Mass., Nov. 11, 1981; interview with David Cochran, Tacoma, Wash, Aug. 15, 1983. Final quotation from SCC papers, E-13-1, FHS to C.H. Smyth, Jr., Oct. 5, 1927.

<sup>24</sup>Carnegie Institution of Washington, Geophysical Laboratory archives, FHS file, FHS to Robert B. Sosman, Nov. 25, 1919; FHS to A.L. Day, May 21, 1920. (Hereafter cited as "Geophysical Laboratory archives".)

<sup>25</sup>SCC papers, F-20-235, FHS to G.J.G. Fisher, Feb. 26, 1947; telephone interview with R.E. Gibson, July 30, 1982; for abstracts of FHS articles, see Carnegie Institution of Washington, Yearbook, No. 20 (1921), 165-66, 170 and No. 22 (1922-23), 140-41; see also JACS articles.

<sup>26</sup>SCC papers, E-13-1, FHS to C.H. Smyth, Jr., Oct. 5, 1927.

<sup>27</sup>SCC papers, D-1-86, "Haven", Feb. 27, 1922.

<sup>28</sup>Gibson interview, op. cit.; C.P. Smyth interview, Nov. 6, 1981, op. cit.; Geophysical Laboratory archives, FHS file, A.L. Day to FHS, Dec. 22, 1923. Smyth's FBI file, however, relates that he sometimes expressed radical political views.

<sup>29</sup>Geophysical Laboratory archives, FHS file, FHS to A.L. Day, Mar. 20, 1924; SCC papers, H-16-10, FHS letters to his family from European holiday, April-Sept. 1924.

<sup>30</sup>SCC papers, J-11-151, FHS to Laura Scamman, Dec. 13, 1955. See also SCC papers, F-20-99, FHS To Whitney Hale, Dec. 1, 1944. For a description of the Church of the Advent in the Van Allen years, see Parish of the Advent in the City of Boston: A History of One Hundred Years, 1844-1944.

<sup>31</sup>SCC papers, C-20-20, FHS to John Tunnicliffe, June 3, 1950.

<sup>32</sup>SCC papers, J-6-20, FHS to Robert E. Campbell, O.H.C., June 11, 1954; SCC papers, H-1-218, FHS notes on Huntington; C.P. Smyth interview, Nov. 6, 1981, op. cit.

<sup>33</sup>Interview with Russell McKeon, Cambridge, Mass., July 14, 1982; Henry K. Sherrill to TMB, Oct. 13, 1979.

<sup>34</sup>C.P. Smyth interview, Nov. 6, 1981, op. cit.; Gibson interview, op. cit.; SCC papers, C-4-28, FHS to Mrs. G.A. Rankin, May 3, 1950.

<sup>35</sup>SCC papers, H-16-10, FHS to Alice De Wolf Smyth, May 4, 1924.

<sup>36</sup>SCC papers, H-16-10, FHS to Alice De Wolf Smyth, July 28, 1924 and FHS to Smyth family, June 11, 1924.

<sup>37</sup>General Theological Seminary, New York, transcript records, 1925; SCC papers, C-4-4A, GTS permission to take courses, Feb. 6, 1925.

<sup>38</sup>Creighton interview, op. cit.; C.P. Smyth interview, Nov. 6, 1981, op. cit.; SCC papers, E-13-1, FHS to C.H. Smyth, Jr., Oct. 5, 1927.

<sup>39</sup>SCC papers, B-11-1, copy of letter from E.C. Lewis, Nov. 11, 1947.

<sup>40</sup>SCC papers, H-1-218, FHS notes on Huntington.

<sup>41</sup>Geophysical Laboratory archives, H.S. Washington file, Washington to A.L. Day, April 7, [1925] and April 24, [1925], postcards; Horton O'Neil to TMB, Jan. 7, 1980 and Jan. 10, 1981. For background on the Carthage expedition, see Francis W. Kelsey, Excavations at Carthage 1925.

<sup>42</sup>Archives of the Episcopal Church of the U.S.A., Austin, Texas, Order of the Holy Cross archives, Community Log XIV (1922-26), entries for July 1925; SCC papers, H-1-218, FHS note on Huntington.

<sup>43</sup>SCC papers, F-20-123, FHS to Ben Alper, June 21, 1944; D-1-30, Lawrence A. Baker to FHS, April 6, 1926; L-7, photographs of interior of Rome house. See also FHS FBI file, passport records.

<sup>44</sup>SCC papers, K-15-1, FHS passports; SCC papers, D-1, receipts from Rome years; G.T.S. transcript records, 1925; SCC papers, D-1-124, FHS poem, "The Pincian Garden", awaiting return of spring.

<sup>45</sup>SCC papers, E-13-1, FHS to C.H. Smyth, Jr., Oct. 5, 1927.

<sup>46</sup>Thomas M. Parker to Mary Balmer, Jan. 24, 1979, in possession of TMB.

<sup>47</sup> SCC papers, E-13-1, FHS to C.H. Smyth, Jr., Oct. 5, 1927.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> SCC papers, D-1-30, Lawrence A. Baker to FHS, April 6, 1926; K-14-31, FHS to Mrs. C.H. Smyth, Jr., July 14, 1929; D-1-104, FHS unsigned will; D-1, FHS-EAB receipts; L-1-9, FHS-EAB bookplate original by Paschetto. The bookplate contains the Greek inscription, ἄναβαίνομεν καρποφοροῦντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τὸν φόβον καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ἔχοντες ("We embark bearing fruit, having fear in the heart and hope in the spirit"). There are numerous photographs and sketches of FHS and EAB in SCC papers, Box L.

<sup>51</sup> SCC papers, D-1-13, FHS to Merchants Bank and Trust Co., Washington, D.C., Oct. 20, 1916; B-31-119, letters of reference from EAB's medical school professors. FHS-EAB letters in possession of Elmer J. Smith, Prince William, New Brunswick.

<sup>52</sup> Bros. Paul and Francis, O.I.W. to TMB, August 27, 1980; taped interview, Cambridge, Mass., Nov. 2, 1981.

<sup>53</sup> C.P. Smyth interview, November 6, 1981, op. cit.; Butler interview, op. cit. E.A. Brown's background is unclear. The SCC papers, B-3-4, include a U.S. passport, issued to Brown under the name Emanuel A. Brown, which gives London, England as his birthplace. According to C.P. Smyth, the Smyth family believed that Brown came from a New York Jewish background, that his father was a tailor and that Smyth first met him at O.H.C. All sources agree that he came from a background of poverty.

<sup>54</sup> SCC papers, J-7-298, unpublished note in Dialectics mss.

<sup>55</sup> SCC papers, A-7-27, FHS to University of Chicago Press, Nov. 19, 1944; D-9-78, FHS to Vida Scudder, Jan. 27, 1947; F-20-123, FHS to Ben Alper, June 21, 1944. According to Elmer J. Smith, FHS studied under Reginaldo Garrigou-Lagrange (interview, Prince William, N.B., June 1978).

<sup>56</sup> SCC papers, F-20-235, FHS to G.J.G. Fisher, Feb. 26, 1947; A-12-193, Francis B. Keene to FHS, n.d.; D-1-45, Sartorio receipts; on Lowrie's coolness, C.P. Smyth interview, Nov. 6, 1981, op. cit.

<sup>57</sup> SCC papers, D-1-36, C.C. Morgan to FHS, Feb. 16,



1929.

<sup>58</sup>Recollections of Philip Speight, C.R., in Martin Jarrett-Kerr, C.R. to TMB, Oct. 5, 1981; Helen Romanes to TMB, [1981]; SCC papers, K-15-1, FHS passport; FHS FBI file, passport records.

<sup>59</sup>SCC papers, E-2-25, FHS notes on Wright's concepts of empathemia, beliefs and cognition with corrections in Wright's hand.

<sup>60</sup>SCC papers, A-7-1, FHS to Joseph Needham, July 3, 1947.

<sup>61</sup>SCC papers, F-18-247, FHS to Thomas Belken, Mar. 30, 1960.

<sup>62</sup>SCC papers, D-5-47, FHS to John Rowe, Jan. 8, 1952.

<sup>63</sup>Thomas M. Parker to Mary Balmer, Jan. 24, 1979, in possession of TMB.

<sup>64</sup>SCC papers, K-4-9.

<sup>65</sup>SCC papers, K-4-19.

<sup>66</sup>SCC papers, D-1, Venice receipts; , K-15-2, FHS passport; E-13-7, FHS calling card; L-1-7, sketch of EAB, Venice 1930; L-13-1, photos of FHS and EAB in Venice. See also FBI file, passport records.

<sup>67</sup>Yale University, Beinecke Library, Pound collection, FHS file, calling card to Ezra Pound sending regrets; in the same collection, see also Ibbotson and T.S. Eliot files, 1936-37; SCC papers, B-21-88, Pound to FHS, Nov. 3, [1939]; Pound, Letters to Ibbotson.

<sup>68</sup>Bishop of Chichester, Bishop G.K.A. Bell's Ordination Candidates Book, FHS entry.

<sup>69</sup>Recollection of F.E. Walker, in Mary Balmer to TMB, Feb. 21, 1979; T.M. Parker to Mary Balmer, Jan. 24, 1979 in possession of TMB; T.M. Parker to TMB, March 15, 1979; Scott, A Time to Speak, p. 51.

<sup>70</sup>SCC papers, B-24-60, FHS to John Tunnicliffe, Jan. 12, 1950.

<sup>71</sup>Interview with Michael Scott, London, England, August 18, 1981.

<sup>72</sup>SCC papers, K-4-71.

<sup>73</sup>SCC papers, G-17-C, FHS 1931 pocket diary; T.S. Eliot papers in possession of Mrs. Valerie Eliot, 1937 file, FHS to T.S. Eliot, July 10, 1937.

<sup>74</sup>SCC papers, B-31-177, FHS to Charles Fiske, Feb. 22, 1931; SCC papers, B-24-22, FHS to John Tunnicliffe, May 11, 1948.

<sup>75</sup>SCC papers, I-7, "Toward a Reconciliation between Science and Religion".

<sup>76</sup>SCC papers, I-13-6, 7; I-14-1; I-15-1.

<sup>77</sup>SCC papers, K-4-22.

<sup>78</sup>SCC papers, G-17-C, FHS 1931 pocket diary; Gibraltar Diocesan Gazette, XV (1932), 105; SCC papers, A-13-34, N.P. Davis (U.S. Consul) to FHS, Feb. 19, 1932; T.M. Parker to Mary Balmer, Jan. 24, 1979, in possession of TMB; SCC papers, E-5-1, ordination certificates and licenses; Michael Scott, A Time to Speak, p. 52 (inaccurate); Philip Barry to TMB, Feb. 5, 1980; FHS FBI file, passport records.

<sup>79</sup>See T.M. Parker to TMB, Mar. 15, 1979; Eric Mascall to TMB, Jan. 17, 1979.

<sup>80</sup>Jasper, George Bell, pp. 164-72.

<sup>81</sup>SCC papers, F-15-138, FHS to Barbara Soens, May 8, 1958.

<sup>82</sup>See Leppard and Hackman, St. Martin's Brighton.

<sup>83</sup>Herbert Rees to TMB, June 25, 1979; interview, Bath, England, August 21, 1981.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid.

<sup>86</sup>FHS taped letter to Archer Torrey, Jan. 1960, copy in possession of TMB.

<sup>87</sup>SCC papers, B-21-59, FHS to Melvin Abson, Oct. 1, 1941.

<sup>88</sup>SCC papers, H-2-198, FHS to Thomas Logan, Oct. 5, 1942.

<sup>89</sup> SCC papers, D-26-1, FHS to A.C. Ballantine, Aug. 4, 1952.

<sup>90</sup> Scott, A Time to Speak, pp 51-65.

<sup>91</sup> SCC papers, K-15-3, FHS passport; SCC papers, B-3-72, FHS to Clifford A. Johnson, Feb. 10, 1942.

<sup>92</sup> SCC papers, G-12-11.

<sup>93</sup> Rees interview, op. cit.

<sup>94</sup> SCC papers, D-26-1, FHS to A.C. Ballantine, Aug. 4, 1952; SCC papers, B-31-184, correspondence with diocese of Bermuda.

<sup>95</sup> SCC papers, G-17-D, FHS pocket diary, 1933; B-31-182, Charles Fiske to FHS, April 4, 1934; B-31-180, Fiske to FHS, May 28, 1934. See also Hamilton College archives, William H. Cowley, "Notes from a Talk with C.A. Miller" and C. Stanley Ogilvy, "The Fancher Cottage"; Edgar B. Graves to TMB, Mar. 30, 1979; George Nesbitt to TMB, Oct. 25, 1979; interview with Philip V. Rogers, Clinton, N.Y., July 8, 1982.

<sup>96</sup> "Minutes of the Meeting of the Trustees of Hamilton College", June 5, 1934, pp. 19-21 and Oct. 27, 1934, pp. 4-6; Hamilton College archives, Fancher file, Paul Fancher telegram to Wallace B. Johnson, Aug. 21, 1934. See also SCC papers, B-31-180, Charles Fiske to FHS, May 31, 1934; B-31-179, Fiske to FHS, June 2, 1934; B-31-181, FHS to Fiske, May 31, 1934. See also accounts listed in previous note.

<sup>97</sup> SCC papers, G-17-D, FHS pocket diary, 1933; E-2-3C, J.O.S. Huntington to FHS, Dec. 12, 1933; E-13-21, Huntington to FHS, June 13, 1934; B-31-86, Huntington to FHS, April 3, 1935.

<sup>98</sup> SCC papers, B-31-85, J.O.S. Huntington to FHS, March 21, 1935; B-31-88, Huntington to FHS, April 23, 1935; B-31-92, Huntington to FHS, May 26, 1935; B-31-93, Huntington to FHS, May 28, 1935; F-39-19, FHS to John Wagland, Feb. 17, 1952. See also Robert L. Jacoby to TMB, June 20, 1979.

<sup>99</sup> John M. Moore to TMB, Jan. 24, 1983.

<sup>100</sup> Archives of the Episcopal Church U.S.A., Order of the Holy Cross archives, J.O.S. Huntington papers, FHS to Huntington, Nov. 22, 1934; SCC papers, D-9-71, FHS to Michael Scott, Nov. 7, 1947; copy of FHS taped letter to

Archer Torrey, Jan. 1960, in possession of TMB; Scott interview, op. cit. Another visitor to the Clinton oratory was the American writer, James Agee, who at the time was also very interested in Marxism. His widow reports that he and Smyth had intense conversation (interview with Olivia Wood, Clinton, N.Y., July 8, 1982).

<sup>101</sup>Pound, Letters to Ibbotson, pp. 24-27; Yale University, Beinecke Library, Ezra Pound Collection, T.S. Eliot file, 1936-37, Pound to Eliot, Mar. 26, [1936].

<sup>102</sup>Butler interview, op. cit. Also participating in the interview were Charles P. Smyth and Henry De Wolf Smyth.

<sup>103</sup>SCC papers, B-3-4, E.A. Brown passport; William Dale to TMB, Jan. 1, 1980 and April 11, 1980.

<sup>104</sup>SCC papers, G-13-16.

<sup>105</sup>Ibid.

<sup>106</sup>Yale University, Beinecke Library, Ezra Pound Collection, Ibbotson file, Ibbotson to Pound, March 13, 1936.

<sup>107</sup>Interview with Alfred Putnam, Chicago, Ill., April 29, 1982. See also Christ Church, Cambridge, Mass. archives, FHS file, John Moore to Amos N. Wilder, March 1, 1936

<sup>108</sup>SCC papers, D-2-19, Syracuse speech; A-13-137, R.F. Kimber to FHS, May 1, 1936; D-2-18, Utica speech.

<sup>109</sup>Christ Church, Cambridge, Mass. archives, FHS file, FHS to C. Leslie Glenn, Jan. 5, 1936; FHS to Glenn, April 3, 1936; Glenn to FHS, April 28, 1936 (also in SCC papers, B-26-5). Both the Christ Church archives and the SCC papers have extensive documentation of the move. Smyth stayed briefly with the Society of St. John the Evangelist (Cowley) before moving into the Oratory (Frederick C. Gross, S.S.J.E. to TMB, June 22, 1979).

<sup>110</sup>Christ Church archives, FHS file, FHS to C. Leslie Glenn, June 2, 1936; Glenn to FHS, June 29, 1936 (also in SCC papers, B-26-6). See also SCC papers, B-31-183, Henry Knox Sherrill to FHS, June 12, 1936; B-2-1, lease for 40 Quincy St. See also Cochran interview, op. cit.

<sup>111</sup>William Dale to TMB, Jan. 1, 1980; FHS FBI file also summarizes this process numerous times.

112<sup>112</sup> SCC papers, A-13-120, T.S. Eliot to FHS, Aug. 17, 1937.

113<sup>113</sup> SCC papers, B-26-7, FHS to C. Leslie Glenn, Jan. 2, 1937, not sent; SCC papers, A-3-4, FHS to John Wild, April 10, 1938; Ed Seldon to TMB, Oct. 12, 1982; George Potter to TMB, [1984]; William Dale to TMB, Jan. 1, 1980; Dulles, Testimonial to Grace, pp. 19-21; Cochran interview, Tacoma, Wash., Aug. 15, 1983. The SCC papers contain extensive documentation of this period.

114<sup>114</sup> Ed Seldon to TMB, Oct. 12, 1982.

115<sup>115</sup> "Hitler, Duce Real Menace, Group Says", Boston Evening Record, Oct. 13, 1937, quoted in FHS FBI file, "Key Figure" report, Jan. 4, 1945.

116<sup>116</sup> SCC papers, D-1-122, FHS to William Chase, August 10, 1937; FHS letter on U.S.S.R. visa refusal, [London] Times, August 10, 1937, p. 11; David Cochran 1937 diary, copy in possession of TMB.

117<sup>117</sup> Christ Church archives, FHS file, Joseph F. Fletcher to C. Leslie Glenn, April 3, 1938; SCC papers, A-3-4, FHS to John Wild, April 10, 1938.

118<sup>118</sup> SCC papers, A-3-4, FHS to John Wild, April 10, 1938.

119<sup>119</sup> Christ Church archives, FHS file, SCC papers, J-13-2, Oratory of St. Mary and St. Michael report [to C. Leslie Glenn] for Sept. 1938-August 1939 (also in SCC papers, J-13-2).

120<sup>120</sup> SCC papers, B-1.

121<sup>121</sup> SCC papers, B-1-4, Philip Frankfeld to FHS, Oct. 27, 1938; Boone Schirmer to TMB, March 23, 1979.

122<sup>122</sup> Paul M. Sweezy to TMB, May 5, 1979.

123<sup>123</sup> Christ Church archives, Oratory report, 1938-39 (SCC papers, J-13-2); John Forbes Russell, "The Society of the Catholic Commonwealth", course paper, Weston Theological Seminary, 1977, copy in possession of TMB; E. Sinclair Hertell, "Chaplain to Labor", Christian Century, LVII (1940), 667-9; John R. Watt to TMB, Nov. 13, 1979, Dec. 31, 1979 and March 14, 1980.

124<sup>124</sup> SCC papers, J-3-5.

<sup>125</sup>See also SCC papers, I-34-1, 2, FHS speech to youth forum of the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy, Feb. 1938; Hugo Munsterburg to TMB, Jan. 19, 1982 and interview with Munsterburg, Toronto, August 15, 1982, on FHS lectures to Harvard John Reed club. Smyth's F.B.I. file also extensively documents his relations with the Communist left in this period.

<sup>126</sup>Christ Church archives, FHS file, C. Leslie Glenn to Malcolm Peabody (Bishop of Central New York), Jan. 27, 1939; FHS to Glenn, [Aug, 1], 1939 (also in SCC papers, B-26-50).

<sup>127</sup>SCC papers, J-13-1.

<sup>128</sup>SCC papers, B-21-22, correspondence with Bothers of St. Paul about move to Oratory, June 1939; Christ Church archives, Oratory report, 1938-39 (also SCC papers, J-13-2); Br. Paul Allan, O.I.W. to TMB, May 28, 1979; Brs. Paul and Francis, O.I.W., interview, Cambridge, Mass., Nov. 2, 1981.

<sup>129</sup>Christ Church archives, FHS file, FHS to C. Leslie Glenn, Aug. 29, 1939. See also SCC papers, J-13-3, Oratory report [to Glenn], June 1939 and July-August 15, 1939; J-3-5, FHS notes on Oratory living; J-3-13, draft of SCC rule. See also Cochran interview, op. cit.; Brs. Paul and Francis interview, op. cit.; Russell, "Society of the Catholic Commonwealth", op. cit.

<sup>130</sup>Christ Church archives, FHS file, Oratory report, 1938-39 (also SCC papers, J-13-2).

<sup>131</sup>Christ Church archives, FHS file, FHS to C. Leslie Glenn, Sept. 19, 1939; FHS to Glenn, Sept. 26, 1939 (also SCC papers, B-26-52); FHS to Glenn, Oct. 6, 1939; announcement card; service for profession of novices; signed professions of simple vows. See also Br. Paul Allan, O.I.W. to TMB, July 31, 1980 and Brs. Paul and Francis interview, op. cit. Bros. Paul and Allan report that despite newspaper reports to the contrary, both services were held at the Oratory, not Christ Church.

<sup>132</sup>Christ Church archives, FHS file, FHS to C. Leslie Glenn, Sept. 26, 1939 (also SCC papers, B-26-52).