The Ecumenical Dreams and Deeds of Newman Smyth

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Influence on the Fathers of the Church of South India

In several places in his *Church of South India: The Movement Towards Union, 1900–1947*, Bengt Sundkler records the influence which the ideas of the American Congregationalist, Newman Smyth, exercised on some of the leaders who helped shape the Church of South India. When Henry Whitehead, the Anglican Bishop of Madras (1879–1922), insisted that the much desired union of the churches must embody the Historic Episcopate as a principle and safeguard of unity, he referred his non-Anglican listeners to Smyth’s *Passing Protestantism and Coming Catholicism* (1908) in support of his position. When J. S. Chandler, of the South India United Church, and J. H. Wyckoff, of the Reformed Church of America, entertained grave doubts as to whether there could ever be a union between ‘Free Churches’ and Anglicans, they were persuaded otherwise partly by the ecumenical writing and activity of Newman Smyth. At a time when some of the leaders of South Indian denominations were satisfied to discuss comity as a sufficient working relationship between the churches, the vision of a World Conference on Faith and Order called forth by Bishop Charles Henry Brent, and enthusiastically advanced by Newman Smyth, helped them to see further and even to project a faith and order conference for South India ‘to see where we touch and where we don’t’. Smyth helped convince the great Sherwood Eddy of the vital importance of the Episcopate in the proposed union, and Eddy’s conviction carried enormous weight in the South India United Church. The Episcopal-Congregational Concordat put forth in 1919, and incorporated into the Canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1922, inspired and heartened the planners of the Church of South India. The Concordat was largely the product of the labors of Newman Smyth and Episcopalian George Zabriskie.

The purpose of this article is to introduce readers to some of the ecumenical ideas and activities of Newman Smyth—a great
'Catholic Congregationalist', whose ideas, as Sundkler said, 'played a certain rôle also in South India . . .'.

Who was Newman Smyth?

Born in Maine in 1843, Newman Smyth was educated at famed Phillips Academy and Bowdoin College. Following a year's tour of duty as a Union Army officer in the American Civil War, he entered Andover Theological Seminary in Massachusetts and graduated in the Class of 1868. In 1869 he departed for Germany, where for a little more than a year he imbibed the liberal theology then welling up in that country. Back in the United States, he served two pastorates, one in Maine and the other in Illinois, before being called to the First Congregational Church of New Haven, Connecticut (historic 'Center Church')—one of the foremost pulpits in America. By then Newman Smyth had attained a national reputation as a preacher and scholar. His first books, *The Religious Feeling* (1877) and *Old Faiths in New Light* (1879), revealed him as an advocate of the 'New School Theology' in contrast to the old 'New England Theology' shaped by Jonathan Edwards and his disciples. Smyth was a reconstructionist liberal who espoused the approach of natural theology—a fact which won him a controversial appointment as Abbott Professor of Christian Theology at Andover Seminary. He turned down the Andover appointment to go to New Haven.

A number of times in the course of the years Smyth was offered professorships at important universities and seminaries, but each time he turned them down in favor of the pastorate. His ministry at Center Church continued for 25 years until his retirement in 1907. There he emerged as an active champion of the Social Gospel Movement in addition to continuing his theological scholarship so as to become one of the nation's most widely read and respected theologians. Among the titles he produced during his New Haven pastorate were: *The Orthodox Theology of Today* (1883), *The Reality of Faith* (1884), *Christian Facts and Forces* (1887), *Christian Ethics* (1892), *The Place of Death in Evolution* (1897) and *Through Science to Faith* (1902). In the 1890's, because of the impact of modern science (especially Darwinism), religious skepticism became popular among the students and faculty of nearby Yale University. Few men worked harder than Smyth to show that there was no necessary discontinuity between science and religion, and he succeeded in saving many from permanent agnosticism. Roland Bainton says of him that he did more than any other man to bridge the gap between Moses and Darwin at Yale.

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The distinguished character of his work as pastor, scholar and Christian citizen was recognized by three educational institutions—Bowdoin College, New York University and Yale University—in conferring their honorary doctorates on Newman Smyth.

After his retirement from Center Church in 1907, Dr. Smyth dedicated the rest of his life to the Church unity movement. While continuing his specifically theological writing—e.g. Modern Belief in Immortality (1910), Constructive Natural Theology (1913) and The Meaning of Personal Life (1916)—he began producing articles and books focusing on aspects of Church union. And he was an activist in this regard. In 1908 he was appointed chairman of the Committee on Unity of the General Association of the Congregational Churches of Connecticut. Two years later he was appointed chairman of a Special Committee of the National Council of Congregational Churches to receive unity overtures from the Episcopal Church—and in that capacity he became a member of the Advisory Committee to the Episcopal Church's Commission on the World Conference on Faith and Order. In 1913, Smyth became chairman of the Department of Unity in the National Council's Commission on Comity, Federation and Unity. Six years later, he was made secretary of the National Council's Special Commission of Fifteen to negotiate the Concordat with the Episcopal Church. And finally, at the time of his death, he was a member of the National Council's Commission on Interchurch Relations, created in 1923. The list of Dr. Smyth's committee and commission memberships is impressive but not colorful until it is recognized that he took his work very seriously and spent himself tirelessly in scholarship, travel, correspondence, conferences and public speaking on behalf of the union of the Church of Jesus Christ.

Newman Smyth's commitment to, and activity for, the ecumenical movement continued to the day of his death, January 6, 1925, in the eighty-first year of his life.2

Ecumenical Philosophy

Dr. Smyth had a dream shared by only a few others in his time—the eventual coming into being of one great Catholic Church of Jesus Christ which would comprehend the diverse treasures found in the now separated churches. According to this dream, the future Church, visibly realized, will not be Roman, Protestant or Eastern Orthodox but will be a composite of the rich heritage of each. The wholeness of Christ's Church will be

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2 For the details of Dr. Smyth's life see his autobiography finished days before his death: Recollections and Reflections (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926). See also Peter G. Gowing, Newman Smyth—New England Ecumenist (doctoral dissertation written for the Department of Ecumenics, Missions and World Religions, Boston University School of Theology, and published by University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1960).
restored. This dream dominated all of Smyth’s ecumenical thought and activity and made him impatient with temporary union or programs of mere working co-operation. In the light of his dream he saw federations and councils of churches as only way-stations along the road to unity.

Newman Smyth conceived of catholicity as belonging to what he termed the ‘ideal of the Church’ and he saw it as rooted in Christ as Redeemer of the whole world. Schism, he believed, belonged to the ‘shameful actuality of the Church’ and could not be the final fact. Smyth taught that schism was a sin against the Holy Spirit of the Church’s life, and while the schism of the 16th-century Protestant Reformation was certainly justified, continued schism put the separated churches in peril of God’s judgment. All the churches, he insisted, must stand for the great truth of a redeemed humanity gathered into the one Church which shall be the final society on earth.

As a matter of fact, Newman Smyth thought he already could see signs of the passing of Protestantism, the internal reformation of Roman Catholicism and the coming of the great new Catholicism. Both the success and failure of Protestantism pointed to its passing. Protestantism had achieved the emancipation of the spiritual man from religious totalitarianism and never again could the right of private judgment be abolished or destroyed. This achievement, said Smyth, can only be extended and broadened—and a work achieved was for him the sign of another and greater work to be accomplished. At the same time, Smyth asserted that Protestantism had sacrificed authority to such a degree that religion was not the master-passion of Protestant communities; it had no authority in family life; and it was not maintaining its influence over large areas of thought and social and political life. Furthermore, Protestantism, in perpetuating disruption of Church unity, was working against the very nature of the Church: the ideal of the one Church wandered like a disembodied spirit from denomination to denomination. These factors, then, according to Smyth, spelled Protestantism’s eventual disappearance as a stage in the on-going history of Christ’s Church.

At the time of Dr. Smyth’s retirement from Center Church, the Modernist Movement in the Roman Catholic Church was in full swing—and, of course, meeting very stiff opposition from Pope Pius X and the Roman Curia. Smyth read of the activities and aims of Tyrrell of England, Loisy of France and Fogazzaro and Murri of Italy; and he corresponded with Tyrrell and other Modernists. The Modernist Movement seemed a sure sign to Smyth that it was only a matter of time before the Roman Catholic Church would be reformed and renewed from within, and become more amenable to bringing about a curve in the parallel line which kept it apart from the separated brethren in other Christian bodies. Smyth was confident that an unreformed Roman

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Catholicism, like a schismatic Protestantism, could not endure; the Son of Man would judge its spiritual dictatorship somehow, sometime. The place, the time, the agent of judgment, the point where the issue would be decided was impossible for him to predict; but it would happen, of that he was certain. And it would result in a renewed Roman Catholicism fit to pass on into the greatest Catholicism of all. The Modernist Movement—or something like it—Smyth felt, might be the catalyst for such a change.

Newman Smyth was not a fuzzy-headed idealist; he knew well the obstacles which militated mightily against the realization of his dream. But as a Christian he felt he could do no less than maintain confidence in the ultimate triumph of truth, faith and love. 'The beginnings of this perfect Church', he insisted, 'are within our reach although the consummation of it transcends our conception.'4 His very first book setting forth his ecumenical philosophy bore the significant title: Passing Protestantism and Coming Catholicism. In it Smyth addressed Christians everywhere with the affirmation:

The Christianity that now is must give its baptism to the Christianity that is to be. Roman Catholicism shall be, humbled to the dust if it confesses not, 'There cometh after me he that is mightier than I'. Protestantism shall fail, and be scattered to the winds, if it denies before the coming One, 'I have need to be baptized of thee'.5

Dr. Smyth was firmly convinced that the great comprehensive Church of which he dreamed was not a practical possibility and an urgent necessity (for the salvation of civilization) but was in keeping with the biological and physiological nature of Christianity. Drawing upon his remarkable knowledge of the natural world, gained in part from long hours as a student in the science laboratories of Yale University, Smyth saw organic life as a mighty reconciler of seeming irreconcilables. He saw in the biological development of living organisms the operation of certain principles at least analogous to the growth of the churches into an organic whole—principles such as conservation, restorative tendency, substitutional capacity and anticipatory substitution. Dr. Smyth reasoned that just as nature tends to find advancement of life in change of direction, so the Church itself might find its advancement of life in the development of new types of organization and adjustment to new ways.6

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1 Smyth, Passing Protestantism and Coming Catholicism (New York: Scribner's, 1908), p. 201.
2 Ibid., p. 208.
Shall the new Roman Catholicism find, when it comes, a Catholicism that has arisen from Protestantism, waiting to meet it and to match it? This was Newman Smyth’s immediate and compelling concern. He was persuaded that Protestantism must set its own house in order—and its own internal divisions and come together in a united body—as an essential step on the way to the one great comprehensive Catholic Church. Smyth believed that the most vexatious obstacles to unity were not those found either in the depths of Christian consciousness or on the heights of Christian ideals, but rather on the plane of habits and conventions and practices. He was sure that by sheer force of will the churches could put them aside if they wanted to badly enough.

Central to Dr. Smyth’s ecumenical strategy was his conception of the vital rôle the Anglican Communion in general, and the American Protestant Episcopal Church in particular, could and should play in uniting the dispersed churches of Protestantism. He was encouraged in his views on this matter by his correspondence with Anglican leaders, lay and clerical, and including the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. He was also encouraged by Anglican unity overtures, particularly the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral (1888), the Lambeth Resolutions on Unity (1908) and the call of the Protestant Episcopal Church for a World Conference on Faith and Order (1910).

In his ambition for one united household of faith among Protestants, Smyth dared to hope that the Anglican Communion would be willing to recognize, in a comprehensive spirit, elements which had proved their religious value in the history of the separated churches, and accordingly adapt its canons for their assimilation. For example, he hoped that somehow the Episcopal Church in the United States would assimilate into its own life the principles and practices found to be valuable in the spiritual life of the Congregational fellowship such as the common priesthood of all believers; the integral part and function of the laity in the Church; the participation of the presbyterate in the historic continuity of the Church; the autonomy in some bond of fellowship of the local congregation; and the liberty of prophesying, yet in some order of service. Similarly, he urged American Congregationalists to be open to principles and practices which had proven their value in the life of the Episcopal Church—among them the ‘sense of Church’ and the Historic Episcopate.

With respect to the important Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral, Smyth reasoned that few Protestants would have difficulty accepting the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments

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1 Smyth, Passing Protestantism and Coming Catholicism, p. 134.
2 Smyth, “How To Resume Church Unity”, The Outlook, LXXXIX, No. 8 (June 20, 1908), 376–379.
as the revealed word of God. Few would have trouble accepting the two historic creeds, provided they were not forced as legal contracts. Few would balk at accepting the two Sacraments, even with the proviso that they be celebrated with ‘unfailing use of Christ’s words’. And Smyth also believed that few Protestants would object to accepting the Historic Episcopate provided that it was presented free from the burden of any one of the several theories of its origin and authority. Dr. Smyth was convinced that if the Anglican Communion were to share its treasure of the Historic Episcopate without insisting on a special interpretation or theology of it, it might lead to a mediating position among all church polities and prove a potential for a vast Christian comprehension.

Smyth was particularly interested in the Quadrilateral’s recognition that the Episcopate could be locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the various needs of the people. To his mind, this meant that Congregationalists receiving episcopal ordination could still value and retain the independence of the local church without having to conform necessarily to an authoritarian polity usually associated with the Episcopate. Smyth also argued that the fourth proposition of the Quadrilateral did not imply a denial of the validity of anyone’s previous ordination. The Anglican Communion should, he felt, accept the ministry of the other churches and expect them to receive from it only what it thought needful to complete their orders without casting any reflection on the validity of their previous ministry. The service in which episcopal ordination was bestowed, said Smyth, would have to be so ordered as not to deny prior ordination. Dr. Smyth received support in these ideas from a surprising source, the noted Anglo-Catholic churchman, Bishop Charles Gore of Oxford, who in a letter to Smyth said: ‘I have always held that if those who had lacked Episcopal ordination were content to receive it, there should be no question raised of their repudiating their previous ordination.’ The great William Temple, when Dean of Westminster, also wrote Smyth his opinion that the orders and sacraments of the reformed churches were fully regular though lacking in adequacy of symbolism in some respects.

In spelling out his views concerning Anglicanism’s rôle in uniting the dispersed churches of Protestantism, Dr. Smyth argued that the Bishops of the Anglican Communion should exercise their liberty to act as Bishops of the Catholic Church. After all, he pointed out, a bishop was a bishop in Apostolic succession, not just Anglican succession. Moreover, Smyth believed that if the Anglican Bishops, acting as Bishops of the Catholic Church, would participate in single, vital acts of organic unity, great results in

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11 Letter from Temple to Smyth, April 13, 1914, in Smyth Collection.
Church unity might thus be precipitated. To illustrate, during World War I, Smyth and others issued an 'Appeal to All Our Fellow-Believers' in which they urged the different churches, including the Episcopal Church, to unite in conferring a joint commission, ordination or consecration on chaplains serving in the armed forces. Dr. Smyth urged Episcopal Bishops to exercise the liberty of the Apostolic Episcopate in this matter for it might establish a precedent which could clear the way for organic unity in its largeness, overcoming the knotty problems of intercommunion and orders.

Newman Smyth was well aware of the fact that many in the Anglo-Catholic party of the Anglican Communion were uninterested in the rôle of mediating a divided Protestantism and were more concerned about making a separate peace with Rome. In a letter to the Rt. Rev. Chauncey Brewster, Bishop of Connecticut, Smyth pointed to Pope Leo XIII's express rejection of Anglican Orders (Apostolicae curae, 1896) and said:

I fail to understand how the Anglican Church can act hereafter in a mediatorial capacity by separating itself now from the whole of Protestantism and asking Rome to bless its rejected orders. I can at least dimly hope that in the providence of God the Anglican Episcopate, if it can make itself representative of the history and spirit of the whole Protestant Reformation, may become a mediating power in an Ecumenical Council with a Roman Church reformed from within itself.12

And in a letter to the ultra-high Anglo-Catholic churchman, Bishop Arthur Hall of Vermont, Smyth wrote that Anglicanism's only hope of reunion with Rome was as the representative of a Pan-Protestantism. If it pursued a unilateral course with respect to Rome, apart from the other Protestant churches, it would discover only a blind alley.13

**Ecumenical Activity**

Smyth's particular ecumenical activity was devoted largely, but not exclusively, to responding to Anglican overtures and pressuring the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States to take concrete action with respect to them. As chairman of the Committee on Unity of the General Association of the Congregational Churches of Connecticut, he entered into conversations with representatives of the Episcopal Church on questions relating to intercommunion, mutual recognition of ministries and practical co-operation on the parish level. The conversations issued

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13 Letter from Smyth to Hall, January 19, 1918, in Smyth Collection. For a further exposition of Smyth's ecumenical strategy see Cowing, op. cit., pp. 142-152.
in the drawing up of a list of procedures which might be followed in breaking down the walls of separation between the Congregational and Episcopal communions. As a member of the Advisory Committee to the Episcopal Church’s Commission on the World Conference on Faith and Order, Dr. Smyth worked constructively towards the first Faith and Order Conference which was held two years after his death, in Lausanne, Switzerland. It was in the interest of the Faith and Order Conference that he was made chairman of the Deputation to the Non-Anglican Churches of Great Britain in 1914. The Deputation not only presented to the churches the proposed Conference, but it also, happily and unexpectedly, opened the way to unprecedented consultations between those churches and the Church of England.14

In an effort to get the Episcopal Church in America to do more than discuss Church unity, Dr. Smyth pushed forward three successive practical proposals which he felt would not only oblige the Episcopal Church to act, but which also might, in time, precipitate organic unity among all the churches. The Lenox Proposals involved the merger of certain aspects of the parish programs (choirs, church schools, Bible study classes, mid-week and Sunday evening services, etc.) of the local Congregational and Episcopal churches in a small Massachusetts town. Smyth and others realized that the Proposals (put forward by the pastors of the two churches concerned) pointed up questions of the nature of the Church, the function of the ministry and the character of Christian worship; therefore, Smyth pressed to have the Proposals endorsed officially by both the Congregational and Episcopal communions. Unfortunately, while the Congregationalists approved, the Episcopalians passed the Proposals from one committee and commission to another until they literally died in committee.15

Meanwhile, the United States became involved in World War I and it struck Newman Smyth that the whole Church of Christ should be represented to men in the armed forces by chaplains jointly endorsed by all the churches together. The ‘Appeal’, of which mention was made earlier, was signed by over a hundred prominent Christian leaders from many denominations, including some bishops and clergy of the Episcopal Church. It was officially commended by the Congregational Commission on Unity and in April of 1918 it was submitted to the House of Bishops of the Episcopal Church for appropriate action. The Bishops, under the pressure of a full agenda, sent the ‘Appeal’ to a committee chaired by a man known to be hostile to it, and the adverse report of the committee, received just before adjournment of the House, was hastily approved, without proper consideration. This tactless, unstatesmanlike action of the Bishops stunned Smyth

14 Ibid., chapter VII.
15 Ibid., pp. 183-195.
and other supporters of the 'Appeal' both within and outside the Episcopal Church.16

Early in 1919, representatives of the Congregational and Episcopal communions met informally and unofficially at General Theological Seminary in New York City to discuss the question of ministerial orders. The meeting was called by the Chancellor of the Diocese of New York, Mr. George Zabriskie, who had felt badly about the Bishops' treatment of the 'Appeal'. Newman Smyth was one of the Congregational representatives at the meeting and though he attended skeptical of any useful results coming from it, he came away convinced that it was the Lord's doing. The discussion began with a careful examination of the service of Holy Communion of the Book of Common Prayer and ended with the recommendation that Mr. Zabriskie draw up a proposed canon for his church which would permit the episcopal ordination of non-Episcopal ministers in special cases. In October of 1919, the General Convention of the Episcopal Church appointed a Joint Commission to continue negotiations with the Congregationalists on the proposed canon (now called the Concordat) and soon thereafter the National Council of Congregational Churches appointed a Commission of Fifteen for the same purpose. (As noted earlier, Smyth was made secretary of the Congregational Commission). Finally, after much deliberation, during which Anglo-Catholics strenuously raised their objections, the Concordat was submitted to the General Convention of 1922. It narrowly passed, and then only after certain revisions insisted upon by the Anglo-Catholic party which were designed to make it unpopular with the Congregationalists. The Concordat became Canon II (later Canon 86) of the Constitution and Canons of the Episcopal Church.17

The canon permitted Bishops of the Episcopal Church to confer Deacon's and Priest's orders on non-episcopally ordained ministers who desired such additional ordination without giving up or denying their ministry in the communions to which they belonged. The canon required the congregations of such ministers to indicate their approval and—this was the feature offensive to Congregationalists—to indicate their intention in the future to receive the ministry only of episcopally ordained men.

Dr. Roland Bainton, at the instigation of Newman Smyth, offered himself in 1923 to the Bishop of Connecticut for ordination under the canon. Bainton, then a young instructor at Yale Divinity School, was turned down principally on the grounds that while the General Convention had passed the canon, it had specifically rejected proposed revisions of the Ordinal of the Book of Common Prayer which would make the canon operative. Thrice disappointed by the non-committal maneuvers of the

Episcopal Church, Smyth looked hopefully across the sea to the Lambeth Conference of Anglican Bishops for leadership in positive and concrete steps towards organic unity. At the 1923 meeting of the National Council, the Congregational Commission of Fifteen reported the Bainton case and recommended that the Concordat be tabled.\(^{18}\)

Not all of the Bishops of the Episcopal Church have regarded Canon 36 as inoperative, however, and several ordinations have taken place under its provisions. But the canon has been extremely unpopular, and after the 1959 ordination of Dr. George B. Hedley, a Methodist clergyman, by Bishop James A. Pike of California, opposition to it mounted. Finally, at the General Convention in 1961 the canon was entirely re-written and made to simply outline the procedures to be followed when non-Episcopal ministers desire to become ministers of the Episcopal Church. Thus the Concordat is completely dead, and the best efforts of Newman Smyth respecting the Episcopal Church have come to naught.\(^{19}\)

Conclusion

Newman Smyth was one of those rare 'Free Churchmen' who readily admitted the rôle of the Anglican Communion as the mediating church of all the churches. He applauded Anglicanism's self-image as the via media between the dispersed churches of Protestantism; and he willingly acknowledged and even loudly proclaimed that the Anglican Communion is the link, institutionally at least, between the Protestant and Catholic traditions. He was convinced that if Christians of the Catholic and Protestant traditions are ever to dwell together in one household of faith, then it will be because the Anglican Communion shall have discovered a way to join the two, conserving the abiding treasures of each.

Because of these convictions, Smyth rendered a valuable service to the Church of South India—his ideas and arguments and his ecumenical efforts exercised a marked influence on the fathers of the most remarkable church union achieved in modern times.

As to Dr. Smyth's signal failure in his attempts to move the Episcopal Church to concrete action vis-à-vis its own unity overtures to 'Free Churches', we might recall his closing remarks in an article he wrote about John Dury, a seventeenth-century

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\(^{19}\) Cf. James A. Pike, 'That They May Be One,' The Christian Century, LXXVII, No. 2 (January 13, 1960), pp. 46-48; and see also The Living Church (October 8, 1961), pp. 9-10, for a report on the action taken by the 1961 General Convention.
ecumenist. Speaking about Dury’s work, his words were prophetic of his own ecumenical work:

Unpractical in his time his aims may have seemed to be; but does he fail who sees and follows ideals beyond his time? It is given to one to sow, and another generation shall reap.²⁰


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