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The Conference on Christian Unity, Toronto, 1889

THOMAS R. MILLMAN

FEW would wish to dispute Archbishop Temple's declaration made at his consecration in 1942 that the world fellowship which has come into being through the Ecumenical Movement is "the great new fact of our era." Yet the progress of the Movement and the creation of the fellowship in the twentieth century was rendered possible by thought and action on the part of nineteenth century Christians. Numbered among these pioneers of unity were leaders of the Canadian churches.

I

Actual legal establishment of the Church of England in several British North American provinces, and the claim to such establishment in others, brought that Church into the arena of politics in the early part of the century, and made cooperation difficult between Anglicans and their neighbours. But with the settlement of the Clergy Reserve problem in united Canada in 1854, the attainment of self-government through the granting of statutory right to meet in synod in 1857, and the consequent severing of all connection between church and state, friendlier relations became possible. In 1850, for example, Bishop John Medley of Fredericton devoted a large part of his episcopal charge to his clergy to a discussion of unity, but he stated clearly his opinion that cooperation with non-episcopal bodies on a religious level was seldom possible. A quarter of a century later Bishop Ashton Oxenden of Montreal made a large-hearted plea for unity. In the course of a sermon preached in Hamilton, Ontario, he said: "We must be prepared to make reasonable sacrifices if we would effect so great and glorious an object. We have hitherto expected perhaps that all the sacrifices should be made by others and none by ourselves."1

In 1881, at a conference of diocesan clergy called by Bishop Sweatman of Toronto and held in Trinity College, two papers were read on the subject of unity. One of these, delivered by Provost Whitaker, was entitled "The Attitude of the Church in this Country towards the Denominations." In it the Provost outlined that attitude somewhat rigidly, but he also asked that representatives of "the Denominations" should be equally frank in stating their cherished convictions. James Carmichael, an eminent Montreal Rector, read a further paper on "The Best Steps for Promoting the Unity of

^{1.} The Unity of the Church. A Sermon Preached in St. Thomas' Church, Hamilton, May 2, 1875 (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, Publishers).

Christendom." He pleaded for practical action to be taken, and added: "I can see no value in unity as long as it is merely sentimental and confined to platform orations that perish in their breathing."2 Not long after, both in written and in spoken word. Dean Carmichael took such practical action.⁸

In 1888 John de Sovres, newly-appointed Rector of St. John's Church, St. John, N.B., published four lectures on Christian Reunion which he had given at Cambridge two years before.4 Although he made no reference to the Canadian situation vet his words well illustrate the keen interest which the topic held at the time for Anglican minds.

Undoubtedly much of this interest had been aroused by the Lambeth Conferences. It is well known that the first gathering of the kind was proposed by John Travers Lewis, Anglican Bishop of the Diocese of Ontario, at the third synod of the ecclesiastical province of Canada held in Montreal in 1865.5 In an ordination sermon preached at Oxford in December of the following year Francis Fulford, Bishop of Montreal and Metropolitan, stated forcefully his hope that before other schemes of comprehension were considered "the Anglican Church in all its branches will make some more real and effectual advance towards manifesting her unity before men."6 This hope was in fact fulfilled by the calling of the first "Pan-Anglican Synod" at Lambeth in 1867. Matters of domestic concern took up the attention of the first conference, but at the second gathering, which also owed its origin to Canadian initiative, the question of Moravian orders and the position of the Old Catholics were discussed.⁷ At the third meeting in 1888 the famous Chicago-Lambeth "Quadrilateral" was set up as a standard of unity.8 The world-wide expansion of Christian missions, the formation of

2. Both papers are printed in the Dominion Churchman, January 13 and 20, 1881. For comment on these papers see Church Union in Canada, by C. E. Silcox, pp. 106-7.

3. Organic Union of Canadian Churches with a Comparison of Authorized Standards, by the Very Rev. James Carmichael, M.A., D.C.L., Dean of Montreal (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, Publishers). Editorial comment is made in the Dominion Churchman, May 9, 1889.
4. Christian Reunion. The Hulsean Lectures for 1886, by Rev. John de Soyres, M.A.

. (St. John, N.B.: J. & A. McMillan, 1888).
5. For a discussion of Canadian participation in the origin of the Lambeth Conference

movement see the Canadian Churchman, August 5 and 19, and October 7, 1948.
6. A Pan-Anglican Synod. A Sermon Preached . . . in Oxford, on Sunday, Dec. 23, 1866, by Francis Fulford, D.D. (Oxford: Rivingtons, 1867).
7. The Five Lambeth Conferences (S.P.C.K., 1920), p. 14. See also A History of the Ecumenical Movement, 1517-1948, edited by Ruth Rouse and S. C. Neill (S.P.C.K.,

8. As reproduced in the "Appeal to All Christian People" issued by the Lambeth Conference of 1920, the Quadrilateral runs as follows:

'We believe that the visible unity of the Church will be found to involve the whole-

hearted acceptance of:

"The Holy Scriptures, as the record of God's revelation of Himself to man, and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith; and the Creed commonly called Nicene, as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith, and either it or the Apostles' Creed as the Baptismal confession of belief:

"The divinely instituted sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Communion, as expressing

for all the corporate life of the whole fellowship in and with Christ:

"A ministry acknowledged by every part of the Church as possessing not only the inward call of the Spirit, but also the Commission of Christ and the authority of the

(Christian Unity: The Anglican Position, by G. K. A. Bell, Bishop of Chichester [Lon-

don, 1948], p. 109.)

inter-denominational bodies such as the Evangelical Alliance, combined with the blessing given by Lambeth to reunion plans, made Christian unity a live topic in ecclesiastical circles in Canada as well as in other parts of the world.

At the Provincial Synod held in Montreal in September, 1880, another voyage of discovery was begun. John Langtry, Rector of St. Luke's, Toronto, moved, and James Carmichael seconded, that Synod request the Bishops to enter into communication with other church bodies on the subject of reunion.9 No action was taken at that time, or even at the next Synod in 1883, but in 1886 it was finally resolved "that a Committee . . . be appointed to confer with any similar Committees appointed to represent other Christian bodies, for the purpose of ascertaining whether there is any possibility of honourable union with such bodies." The committee, with sixty-five clerical and lay members, including three bishops, was instructed to report to the following session of Synod in 1889.10

Meanwhile, significant events had taken place within two large Canadian Church families. In 1874, and finally in 1884, a series of unions had brought together the separated sections of Methodism into the Methodist Church. Another series had led to the mending of division in the ranks of Presbyterianism, and the creation of the Presbyterian Church in Canada in 1875. Accordingly the Anglican committee communicated with the superior courts of the two recently-united Churches, which in turn set up committees charged with similar duties. The three groups finally decided to hold a Conference on Christian Unity. The date set was April 24 and 25, 1889; the place was to be a lecture room in Association Hall, a large building which stood on the corner of Yonge and McGill Streets, Toronto.

It has been asserted that the Congregationalists were overlooked when arrangements for the conference were made. 11 Any lack of courtesy on the part of the Anglicans must of course be deplored, but there is no clear evidence on which to judge this circumstance. In his Organic Union of Canadian Churches, published at the time, Dean Carmichael compared Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational polities, and drew the conclusion that little could be expected "from the great Congregational system in any initial movement towards organic union."12 It was undoubtedly this persuasion, shared by his Anglican colleagues, which explains the lack of a positive approach to Congregationalists and probably to Baptists as well at this stage of negotiations.

H

As the Anglicans had first proposed the conference they made the most preparation for it, and by common consent were allowed to lead in its proceedings. The 1886 synod committee met at least once, listened to papers

^{9.} Journal of the Proceedings of the Provincial Synod of the United Church of England and Ireland in Canada, 1880, p. 83.

10. Journal, Provincial Synod of Canada, 1886, pp. 54, 55, and 74.

11. Church Union in Canada, Its Causes and Consequences, by Claris Edwin Silcox, New York, 1933, pp. 109-10.

12. Carmichael, op. cit., p. 26.

on important topics, and circularized such papers to absent members. From the larger committee twenty-two clergymen and eight laymen attended the conference. Clerical members of this able delegation included Bishops Sweatman of Toronto, Hamilton of Niagara, and Baldwin of Huron, Provost Body of Trinity College, seven prominent rectors of Toronto diocese, four from Niagara, three from Ontario, two from Huron, and one each from Quebec and Montreal. The Presbyterians sent a powerful group of nine ministers and five laymen, including Dr. McMullen, Moderator of the General Assembly, and Principal Caven of Knox College. The Methodist delegates, who met together briefly on the opening day of the conference, numbered twelve ministers and two laymen, and included the General Superintendent Dr. Carman, President Nathanael Burwash of Victoria University, Dr. E. B. Ryckman and Dr. E. H. Dewart.

The delegations went into the first session of the conference at eight o'clock in the evening of April 24, 1889, under the chairmanship of Bishop Sweatman. The meeting was not open to the public and the press was excluded.¹³ Brief addresses on the spirit of the gathering were given by representatives of the three Communions. Bishop Baldwin set the right tone by declaring: "The secret of all unity is a growing nearness to Jesus Christ."14 Dr. Sutherland, Methodist, spoke of the importance of the conference, "which in its composition and its purposes has scarcely a parallel in the history of the Christian Church." Principal Caven referred to the recent Canadian Church unions and added: "This is a larger and more serious but not less blessed enterprize that we have undertaken."

The Chairman then gave an historical account of the movement for unity, tracing its immediate source to the action of the Provincial Synod of 1886. He emphasized that the conference was called to discover what basis existed for agreement, and he briefly advanced the Lambeth articles as a ground of union. It was then planned to deal, in short order, with six subjects. Two of these, Corporate Union, and Amount of Unity in Doctrine, Worship and Modes of Action between the Three Bodies, were intended to be preliminary. but in fact took up much time and produced lively discussion. The other four subjects, only the first two of which were debated, were Holy Scripture, the Creeds, the Sacraments, and the Historic Episcopate.

The opening address on Corporate Union was given by John Langtry, mover of motions in synods of 1880 and 1886. He put forward the scriptural basis for unity, painted the evils of division and rivalry, and pointed out the gains which unity would bring. The Anglican aim in calling the

of Mount Allison University.

^{13.} Exclusion of the press was condemned by the Dominion Churchman, and defended by one of the Anglican delegates, John Carry, in the May 28, 1889, issue.

14. Direct quotations from speeches delivered at the conference are taken from the Report on the Conference on Christian Unity held in the City of Toronto, April 24th and 25th, 1889, between Delegates appointed by the Superior Courts of the Anglican, Presbyterian and Methodist Churches (Toronto: Printed by C. Blackett Robinson. Printed for the members of the Conference Exclusively. Pp. 46.)

Few copies of this printed report survive. The copy consulted is preserved in the Library

conference, he asserted, was not that the representatives should make complimentary speeches to one another, or to parcel out the land between them and arrange not to interfere with one another's preserves, or even to bring about a federation, but to explore the possibility of corporate unity under one Head. He was so far a realist as to observe: "I do not venture to hope that we shall accomplish union tonight."

The second speaker, Dr. Stewart, Principal of the Theological Department of Sackville College, N.B., disagreed with the concept of corporate unity, and with the interpretation commonly put on the words which Christ uttered in his great intercessory prayer (John 17, 20–23). He felt that there was a unity quite compatible with differences of government, and he hoped for intercommunion and exchange of pulpits.

On the following morning the discussion was resumed, with Dr. Cochrane, Presbyterian, in full agreement with Langtry's address. Dr. Dewart, Methodist, slightly toned down the remarks which Stewart had made on the previous evening, but he was mainly in agreement with them. He explained that he held doctrines of the church and the ministry different from those of Langtry, and that in consequence he held a different idea of unity. He gently pointed out that unity of organization such as Anglicans possessed did not necessarily promote unity of doctrine, as anyone knew who had read Langtry's writings in the public papers. 15

Provost Body put the discussion back on the rails by affirming that Anglicans had come to the conference with practical proposals, and to get Methodists and Presbyterians to state whether in their thought of the matter union should be attained. "We are not here to minify differences," he said. "We will give up everything which we do not believe our Blessed Lord intended us to keep." Principal Caven then spoke strongly in favour of organic union, and indeed later on he prepared a resolution to that effect which was debated by the conference but not put to a vote. Dr. Sutherland reminded his hearers that corporate unity prevailed in the middle ages and yet Christian truth had become overlaid by error. He cautioned against haste and the holding of too high expectations. Dr. Proudfoot, Presbyterian, expressed the opinion that unity would strengthen the moral power of the church in national affairs, but his experience in Presbyterian unions had taught him how slowly the process worked. Dr. Charles Mockridge declared that forces making for unity were also operating in Anglicanism, and he urged union as an aid to foreign and domestic missions. He brought in a light touch by relating, as a practical application of unity, that when he was in parish life his horse and that of the local Presbyterian minister shared the same pasture. When the latter's beast strayed one day the Presbyterian's manservant hitched up Mockridge's horse, and the minister set out for a

^{15.} John Langtry was exceedingly plain-spoken. Examples of his vivacity of style may be culled from his published writings such as a lecture on *Presbyterianism*, and even his *History of the Church in Eastern Canada and Newfoundland*, for long the only Canadian Anglican history.

service, not noticing the substitution until it was too late to return. Mused Dr. Mockridge: "Perhaps he was so busy studying out his sermon that he forgot all about it." The final speaker on the subject, Dr. Williams, Methodist, reverted to the idea that the Saviour did not mean corporate unity, that cooperation was the better way, and that he could not rid himself of his intellectual perceptions on the subject.

The second item on the program was the reading and discussion of a paper by Dean Carmichael on "The Amount of Unity in Doctrine, Worship and Modes of Action between the Three Bodies." It was based on a comparative study of the Westminster Confession of Faith, the Methodist Articles, and the Anglican Thirty-nine Articles. The paper abundantly illustrated that basic doctrines of the Christian faith were held in common by all three confessions, and expressed the conviction that differences in worship and church order were not insurmountable. Non-Anglican members of the conference were somewhat overwhelmed by the paper and approached it with caution, but after being dryly reminded by G. C. Mackenzie of Brantford that it was simply a statement of facts, and that a beginning had to be made somewhere, the conference finally reviewed certain ideas with which the paper had dealt. In the course of the discussion Professor Maclaren of Knox said that he was not sanguine of seeing corporate union in his day. But as Columbus had set out for India and had made an unexpected discovery, so the churches might attain something of equal value with organic union, a united spirit and brotherly love. Dr. E. B. Ryckman followed shortly after with the warmest Methodist speech up to that point. He hoped to see union in his time, and likewise hoped that Anglicans would surprise the conference with the extent of their concessions so that faster progress might be made.

By that time the afternoon was well advanced, and the Anglican bastion of the Quadrilateral had not even been approached. The first side was ably dealt with by Bishop Baldwin in a paper on Holy Scripture. He was able to satisfy the conference of the soundness and orthodoxy of the Anglican position. The second side was approached by Provost Body who made a lucid exposition of the three creeds in relation to Anglican belief and practice. In the discussion which followed, it became clear that Methodists and Presbyterians did not make as much use of creeds in worship, or pay the same respect to them as Anglicans apparently did. Presbyterians thought that the creeds were sketchy, and they preferred the Westminster Confession as a fuller statement of belief. One Methodist speaker objected to being asked to accept the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds as part of a basis of union, but all professed to maintain the doctrines contained in these ancient symbols.

The paper on the third side of the Quadrilateral, "Conditions of Administration of the Sacraments," had gone astray in the mail and failed to arrive, hence that important topic had to be omitted from the program. This meant that time was still left to hear the final paper on the most contentious side

of all, "The Historic Episcopate," ably and carefully presented by John Carry, Rector of Port Perry, Ontario.

Dr. Carry began by quoting (in the original Latin) from correspondence between Archbishop Wake on the one side, and Jean Le Clerc of Amsterdam, the Gallican theologian L. E. Du Pin, and the Professors and Pastors of Geneva on the other, during union negotiations in 1715-1719. Methodically, he then established the following points: (1) That members of the conference had a sincere desire to attain the objects for which they had come together; (2) That all compromise should be disclaimed, and that it was to be hoped that none would swerve from truth and conscience to secure a semblance of success: (3) That it was the business of the conference to secure truth and to reconcile claims of individual consciences in the interests of corporate reunion; (4) That neither truth nor conscience would be aggrieved by the admission of episcopacy as a fact; (5) That the origins of parliament and of Sunday are obscure, vet citizens have duties to perform in relation to the one, and Christians are bound to observe the other: that the formation of the New Testament Canon is obscure, and so is the origin of the episcopate, yet the same authorities as witness to the Canon witness as well to the antiquity of the episcopate; (6) That

By acting on this fact we should be able to make union a fact. No one proposes the acceptance of any theory or thinks of the imposition of any dogma. There can hardly be any broader platform than that of the Church of England. She is content to state the historic fact of the continued existence of Three Orders in the ministry from the Apostles' days, and she leaves opinion free—absolutely it seems. Thus within her bosom is found a variety of opinions respecting the nature, rise, powers and offices of the Christian ministry, while there will be found a steady determination not to surrender or abandon an institution which, so far as we know, is coeval with the Church, and, at any rate, has come down to this day, side by side with the New Testament, as part of her inalienable heritage.

(7) That there is a presbyterian element in the Anglican rite of ordination to the priesthood; (8) That episcopacy is normally constitutional; (9) That all that experience has shown useful in circuits, conferences and presbyteries could easily be retained by or adapted to the new order; (10) Is the surrender of names too great a sacrifice for unity? (11) What other basis of unity could there be? (12) "We are convinced that the position we advocate in this conference is more likely to secure Faith and Freedom and Union than existing systems; and so we commit the matter to your loving and faithful consideration, and to the Guiding Hand of God."

As the lateness of the hour, 9.55 p.m., precluded discussion of Dr. Carry's paper the conference decided not to report it to the newspapers, but to reproduce it in the full minutes which were to be circulated to the members. Then the gathering closed, as it had begun, with brief remarks by denominational representatives. John Langtry said that "by brethren of the

Church of England he was held responsible for having brought the matter into discussion." He confessed that although he had come to the meeting with trepidation yet it had been good to be there. Dean Carmichael said that few acts of the lives of the members would give them greater pleasure to reflect upon. Principal Caven soberly prophesied that although corporate union might be difficult, even impossible, to attain, yet the spiritual results of the meeting would not be lost. Dr. Williams commented that the idea had taken hold of his mind, thought and judgment. So with the confirming of minutes, the singing of the Doxology, and the pronouncing of the Benediction, the conference ended.

TTT

Bishop Sweatman, chairman of the Anglican committee, gave a report of the conference to the Provincial Synod of the following September. He told that although no formal resolutions had been adopted, grounds existed for hope that at least three of the Lambeth articles might be arrived at as a basis of agreement. 18 Synod then appointed a further committee which in turn brought in a report in the session of 1892. In this latter document it was related that letters had been sent to the General Assembly and the General Conference conveying the Synod's willingness to take further steps towards reunion. In July, 1892, the Presbyterians had replied, telling of General Assembly's action in 1890. This action, in short, was to appoint another committee and to declare that the Nicene Creed was insufficient as a confession of faith. The Assembly accepted the Historic Episcopate in harmony with New Testament teaching. Methodists, at their General Conference of 1890 had insisted on the parity of presbyter and bishop, and had also appointed a standing committee. At the conclusion of the report of 1892 the Synod committee expressed its regret at the general indifference of Christians to reunion, recommended that special forms of prayer for unity be drawn up, and that the committee be reappointed.¹⁷

After the first Anglican General Synod in 1893 a Bishops' Pastoral was issued, again proposing the Lambeth articles of 1888 as a basis of union.¹⁸ The same basis was reasserted by the General Synod of 1896, with the added statement that the object of the Church of England was indeed reunion, not absorption.¹⁹ But by this time interest in Canadian church union with Anglican participation had temporarily failed. The machinery of committees existed but the will to operate the machinery was lacking. To this day, however, General Synod has always discussed the problem at its triennial gatherings. The 1955 Journal of that body contains a carefully prepared "Report of the Committee on the Reunion of Christendom," as well as a "Report of the Committee on Ecumenical Affairs."

^{16.} Journal, Provincial Synod of Canada, 1889, pp. 103-5.
17. Journal, Provincial Synod of Canada, 1892, pp. 114-18.
18. Journal of Proceedings of the General Synod of the Church of England in the Dominion of Canada, 1893, p. 93.
19. Journal, General Synod, 1896, pp. 31-32.

It is clear that in 1889 the churches were not of one mind, even within themselves, on the need for reunion. Principal Caven had spoken at the conference itself with enthusiasm, but in presenting his committee's report to the 1890 General Assembly he warned that body not to infer that great progress had been made. Professor Maclaren had indeed counselled caution, but at the opening exercises of Knox College in the autumn of 1889 he came out in flat opposition to the movement, remarking that the need of the world was more Christian lives rather than a vast ecclesiastical corporation. A contemporary journal commented that at the end of Maclaren's address "there was little left of organic union but the funeral."20 In the next issue of the same journal, a correspondent, "Knoxonian," agreed with the professor's position.

The Methodist approach was also negative. Shortly after the conference Dr. Dewart printed in the paper which he edited a list of what he considered to be the weak points of the plan. Some of these points had been exposed at Association Hall, but they still retain interest. The writer maintained that members of different churches held honest differences in respect to intellectual truth; that the most earnest promoters among the Anglicans were those who held the unscriptural doctrine of apostolical succession, and that a strong desire for corporate unity follows from this exclusive theory of the Church; that it was assumed without proof and in the face of history that union would cure existing evils; that union would cause serious disturbances within the Churches; and that it was constantly assumed that Christ meant corporate unity when he prayed that all might be one. The writer believed that the rise of Methodism was providential even if it meant the breaking of such unity. He concluded by asserting that the Churches had much to learn and to do in charity, fellowship and cooperation, before they were ripe for organic union.21

Anglicans, too, were divided on the subject. One church paper of the time printed a violent editorial headed "A Rock Ahead of the Union Bark" in which dark prognostications were made of what would happen to the Church of England if the Low Church view of unity should prevail.²² That view, possibly the idea of a federation of Protestant churches as a step on the way towards organic union, had indeed been mildly proposed by another church paper in an editorial, but the writer had evinced no great enthusiasm one way or the other.²³ Both editors were frustrated in commenting on the conference itself because of lack of information.

From the Anglican viewpoint little was accomplished by this early effort to attain unity, yet the meeting of 1889 undoubtedly had a part in preparing for future unions. Within thirteen years action was taken at Winnipeg which

^{20.} Canada Presbyterian, October 16, 1889, The Dominion Churchman commented with some acidity on Maclaren's address, October 31, 1889.

^{21.} Christian Guardian, May 1, 1889.
22. Dominion Churchman, May 30, 1889.
23. Evangelical Churchman, April 25 and May 1, 1889.

led to the eventual union of Methodists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists in the United Church of Canada in 1925. But Canadian Anglicans continue to work and to pray for the unity of all Christian people. John Langtry, still hopeful, made a contribution by publishing a candid appeal on behalf of reunion in 1900.²⁴ Herbert Symonds, President of the Canadian Society of Christian Unity, had a short series of lectures printed at the same time.²⁵ Later, as Dean of Montreal, he carried on the succession begun in that city by Fulford, Oxenden and Carmichael.

With the advance of the twentieth century Christian unity has assumed a vastly greater importance and attracted wider attention than was possible even two generations ago. The development of the World Council of Churches has lifted the whole discussion to a higher level than in past years. True, it is not the function of that Council to negotiate unions between churches, yet its end will not be attained until churches come more closely together in godly union and concord. That difficult accomplishment, the incorporation of episcopal, presbyteral and congregational elements has already been achieved by the Church of South India, and similar unions are even now in the making.

The Toronto Conference of 1889 was almost entirely the concern of Canadian church leaders, indeed only of a small number within that group. The subjects with which it dealt held little interest for the rank and file of church members. It was undertaken in secretive fashion, with inadequate preparation. It failed to reach any positive or ultimate end, although in a negative way it gained its immediate objective by demonstrating that agreement on the necessity of corporate unity did not in fact exist at the time. Yet it was an honest attempt, the first of its kind in Canada, to reach a common understanding on matters of the deepest importance to Christian communions even yet separated from one another. It threw light on "The Nature of the Unity We Seek," a quest which will be intensely pursued at the Faith and Order Conference to be held in Oberlin, Ohio, next September. Because of these things the Toronto Conference merits remembrance and praise.

^{24.} Come Home: An Appeal on Behalf of Reunion, by the Rev. John Langtry, M.A., D.C.L. (Toronto, MDCD).

25. Lectures on Christian Unity, by Herbert Symonds, M.A. (Toronto, 1899).