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WORSHIP FROM CALVIN TO WESTMINSTER: CONTINUITY OR DISCONTINUITY? (PART 2)

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CONTENT

The conviction that worship must be ‘according to Scripture’ had a direct impact on the elements of worship, their content, and the order in which they were presented.

Elements

The Westminster Puritans, like Calvin before them, identify five basic elements of public worship:

Prayer

Calvin’s *Form* included a ‘call,’ confession of sin, five-fold intercessions, (civil authorities, church and its ministers, sick or suffering, sanctification of the saints), Lord’s Prayer illumination, benediction, and a post-communion thanksgiving.

The *Directory* provides an invocation; a comprehensive ‘Great Prayer’ that includes confession of sin and assurance of pardon, intercessions and illumination; a post-sermon thanksgiving, with the Lord’s Prayer; and concluding benediction. When one remembers that the invocation/call, intercessions, illumination and benediction were restored to the ordinary Lord’s Day public services of the church by the Reformers, the continuity is significant. One can even discern the five-fold categories of intercession reordered: sanctification of the saints, Christian mission (‘propagation of the gospel’), civil authorities (‘all in authority [...] especially for the King’s Majesty’), the church and its ministry (‘for the particular city or congregation in the ministry of the word, sacraments, and *discipline*’).¹ The influence of Calvin’s *Form* is unmistakable.

Singing

The Reformation restored congregational singing, as is well-known. Reformed Protestants primarily sang psalms. The *Directory* follows Calvin’s *Form* (1542) in designating two psalms to be sung. The Westminster Puritans’ commitment to psalm-singing may be measured by its commit-

¹ See Johnson, *Worshipping With Calvin*, pp. 111-15, with citations.

ment to producing a metrical psalter, the so-called 'Rous' psalter, which eventually resulted in the *Scottish Psalter* of 1650.²

Scripture Reading

The *Directory* provides extensive guidance as it recommends *lectio continua* readings ('It is requisite that all the canonical books be read in order') of both the Old and New Testaments, a chapter from each in each service ('where the reading in either Testament endeth on one Lord's day, it is to begin the next').³ In this respect, the *Directory* follows the larger Reformed tradition, including Bucer's *Strasbourg Liturgy* (1539), the Scots first *Book of Discipline* (1560), and the Puritans' *Middleburg Liturgy* (1586). Also Baxter's *Savoy or Reformed Liturgy* (1661) and Cranmer's *Book of Common Prayer* (1549, 1552) made up for the deficiencies of the Lord's Day *lectio selecta* through daily *lectio continua* readings that covered most of the Old Testament each year and the New Testament three times.⁴

Surprisingly, Calvin's *Form* gives no directions for either the reading or the sermon. However, his practice was *lectio continua* preaching, and a second reading that was determined not by a schedule but the content of the sermon, typically a parallel passage from the testament not being preached. At this point the Westminster Puritans are more representative of the Reformed tradition than Calvin.

Preaching

The *Directory*'s section on preaching represents a high point in the Reformation's pulpit revolution, excelling anything written by Calvin. B. B. Warfield calls it 'a complete homiletical treatise.'⁵ Sinclair Ferguson regards it as 'perhaps the finest brief description of expository preaching to be found in the English language.'⁶ A high view of preaching, its place at the centre of worship, is maintained by both the Westminster Puritans and Calvin. Of the former, Warfield highlights 'the dominant place it gives in the public worship of the Church to the offices of reading and preaching the Word.'⁷

² See Millar Patrick, *Four Centuries of Scottish Psalmody* (London: Oxford University Press, 1949), pp. 79-104.

³ *Directory*, p. 375.

⁴ See Johnson, *Worshipping With Calvin*, pp. 89-91.

⁵ Warfield, *Westminster Assembly*, p. 52.

⁶ Sinclair B. Ferguson, 'Westminster Assembly Documents', in *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, ed. by Nigel M. de S. Cameron (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 1993), p. 864.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 51. Mitchell cites with approval the statement of J. B. Marsden in his work *The History of the Later Puritans: From the Opening of the Civil War in*

Sacraments

Both the *Directory* and the *Form* recognize two dominical sacraments. Both provide extensive directions for the Lord's Supper on what is to be said, read, and prayed. Both urge frequent observance. Both urge due preparation. Both include the fencing of the table, exhortation, words of institution, distribution of the elements (separately), and a concluding thanksgiving.

The *Directory* does not include the Creed or the Ten Commandments, as does Calvin's *Form*, though both were bound together with the confessional documents and the *Directory*, implying, perhaps, their readiness for use.⁸ Yet the absence of fixed forms beyond the Lord's Prayer does not imply their prohibition. Use of the Creed or Ten Commandments was not forbidden by the *Directory*.

Given the common theology of Westminster and Geneva, we are not surprised to find substantial agreement in the elements of worship. We note as well their shared omissions. The various liturgical responses of the congregation in the medieval mass (usually spoken by priests or monks) have been removed from both the *Form* and *Directory*. The *sanc-tus* ('Holy, holy, holy Lord [...]'), *Kyrie eleison* ('Lord have mercy, Christ have mercy'), *Gloria* ('Glory to God in the highest...'), *Sursum corda* ('Lift up your hearts'), and other congregational responses (e.g. to the greeting, to Scripture readings), have been eliminated.⁹ In the Reformed service the congregation responds by singing. These deletions were made by Farel in his order, *La Maniere et fasson* in 1524, and by Bucer in the *Strausbourg Psalter* of 1526, and were never restored by Reformed Protestants. At their meetings with Charles II in 1661, the Westminster Puritans were still complaining of 'unmeet repetitions or responsals.'¹⁰

We note again the absence of processionals, incense, genuflecting, bowing to the east, and clerical garb. Vestments, the sign of the cross at

1642, to the Ejection of the Non-Conforming Clergy in 1662, 2nd edn (London: Hamilton, Adams & Co., 1854), p. 88: 'So much good sense and deep piety, the results of great and diversified experience, and of a knowledge so profound, have probably never been gathered into so small a space on the subject of ministerial teaching.' Mitchell, *The Westminster Assembly*, p. 240.

⁸ The Creed did appear in early versions of the *Directory*, yet without explanation was not included in the final edition.

⁹ W. D. Maxwell comments in the Reformer's decision to eliminate the responses: 'The responses of course had long ago disappeared from the people's usage, but now they were excised from the text' (in *The New Westminster Dictionary of Liturgy & Worship*, ed. by J. G. Davies (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1986), p. 458).

¹⁰ Fawcett, *Liturgy of Comprehension*, p. 2.

baptism, and kneeling at communion have all been eliminated. The five basic elements are unencumbered by extraneous actions or movements.

Order

It is in connection with the order of service that we see the greatest contrast between Calvin and the Westminster Puritans. The movement of Calvin's service is clear, and will prove influential. It moves from praise (metrical Psalms and call),¹¹ to the confession of sin (confession, absolution, law of God, commitment), to the means of grace (Scripture reading, sermon, prayer of intercession, sacraments), to thanksgiving (psalm, benediction). This is essentially the flow of the gospel, driven by the logic of the gospel, and is evident in virtually all the historic liturgies. It should be noted that Calvin favoured a strong statement of absolution. In this he followed the pattern of Bucer's *Strasbourg Psalter* (1539), as well as John Oecolampadius' *Form & Manner* (1525), used in Basel.¹² The absolution was considered a novelty in Geneva and was resisted by the authorities. Calvin 'yielded to their scruples,' though the absolution was retained in the Strasbourg edition of the *Form of Prayers* (1545).¹³ The Reformed tradition has tended not to follow the Genevan practice, typically replacing a formal absolution with words of assurance, expressed either in the prayer itself or immediately following.¹⁴

The *Directory* appears to treat the order of service with a light touch. There are references to sequence. Worship is to 'begin with prayer.'¹⁵ The first psalm is parenthetically inserted before the 'Great Prayer;' likewise the 'Great Prayer' is placed 'after the reading.'¹⁶ The second prayer is 'after the sermon,'¹⁷ along with the Lord's Prayer, and perhaps the Creed.¹⁸ The

¹¹ At least by 1552 the Genevan service began with a psalm, as Elsie McKee has demonstrated (Calvin, *Writings on Pastoral Piety*, pp. 99, 100.) It is likely that John Knox's 'The Form of Prayers' (1556) follows the same pattern. So also the Puritan's Genevan-dependent 'Waldegrave' or 'Middleburg Liturgy.' Subsequent practice in Presbyterian churches which adopted the *Directory* also would suggest an opening metrical psalm.

¹² Thompson, *Liturgies*, pp. 171, 213.

¹³ Ibid, pp. 191, 198.

¹⁴ e.g. Knox's *Form of Prayers* (1556), Ibid., p. 297; Puritans' *Middleburg Liturgy* (1586), Ibid. p. 323; *Book of Common Prayer* (1552), Ibid., pp. 278, 279.

¹⁵ *Directory*, p. 375.

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 376.

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 381.

¹⁸ Maxwell maintains that the Creed was 'sometimes' said at this point 'following old Scottish use' (*Worship in the Church of Scotland*, p. 103).

second psalm is after the sermon and final prayer and prior to the benediction.

The directions for 'The Singing of Psalms,' are placed at the end of the *Directory* as if an afterthought, following directions for funerals, weddings, and visitation of the sick. The *Directory's* order is as follows:

1. Prayer
2. Reading of the Old and New Testament
3. Psalm sung
4. Prayer
5. Sermon
6. Prayer
7. Lord's Prayer
8. Psalm sung
9. Benediction

Charles G. M'Crie points out that the first three elements look like the 'Reader's Service' from the Scots *Book of Common Order* (1560), only now being led by a minister.¹⁹ The lack of any language of sequence in connection with the Scripture reading and sermon, plus the placement of the directions for singing psalms, indicate that either order was assumed, order was regarded as of secondary importance, or structure was regarded as a matter of liberty.

Given that the subcommittee that prepared the *Directory* was made up of representatives of the Presbyterian majority, the Scottish commissioners, and the independent Thomas Goodwin, in the end the *Directory* was a compromise document. It reflects the resistance of Goodwin and the Independents to prescribed forms, and the Scots affinity for aspects of the structure of Knox's *Form* found in *The Book of Common Order*.

Nevertheless, a number of authorities see the outlines of the Genevan order in the *Directory*. James Hasting Nichols (1915-1991), former Professor of History at Princeton Theological Seminary and author of *Corporate Worship in the Reformed Tradition* (1968), maintains that the *Directory* 'lays out materials for a Lord's Day service in a structure recognizably of the Strasburg-Geneva pattern.'²⁰ Yet, he observes, 'the structure could be freely reordered and other material presented, as in fact the Independents intended to do.'²¹ Similarly, Howard G. Hageman (1921-1992), in his

¹⁹ Charles Greig M'Crie, *The Public Worship of Presbyterian Scotland* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1892), pp. 438, 439.

²⁰ J. H. Nichols, *Corporate Worship in the Reformed Tradition* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1968), p. 100.

²¹ Ibid.

Pulpit and Table, based on his Stone Lectures at Princeton Seminary in 1960, commends the *Directory*'s directions as 'generally excellent' as well as 'scrupulously faithful to the Calvinistic structure of worship.'²² For John Leith (1919-2002), Professor of Theology at Union Theological Seminary in Virginia, 'the *Directory* suggests an order of worship that is not very different from that of Geneva and of the *Scottish Book of Common Order*.'²³ Even Horton Davies, in the end, finds for the Lord's Day services 'an exact structural similarity to the Genevan *Form and Prayers*.'²⁴

Biblical language

Little more remains to be said about content given all of the preceding. We are left merely to underscore the shared concerns from Strasburg to Geneva and Westminster that the Bible supply the content of Christian worship. Bucer repeatedly underscored this commitment in *Grund und Ursach* (1524), the first systematic defence of Protestantism's reforms of medieval worship. The call to worship was to be biblical. The sung praises were to be biblical in content. The prayers were to be biblical in content. The readings were to be biblical in content, not apocryphal. The sermons were to be biblical in content. The sacraments were to be biblically administered.

A central complaint of the English Puritans from Elizabeth I to Charles I was that the Anglican liturgy was insufficiently scriptural. Consequently, the *Directory* is saturated with Bible. At the restoration of Charles II, the commitment to scriptural content continued as they urged a revision of the prayer book that would be 'as much as may be in Scripture words.' Where the old language was to be retained, they urged the 'addition or insertion of some other form of scripture phrase.'²⁵ Even the Collects were deemed to be in need of biblical supplementation. Baxter, in his 'Reformed' or 'Savoy Liturgy,' sought to construct his service almost entirely out of scriptural phrase, a project he had already defended in his *Five Disputations of Church Government and Worship* (1659). Baxter, says Thompson, 'was remarkably successful at the difficult task of building divers phrases of Scripture into sustained orders of worship.'²⁶ At the final attempt at comprehension in 1689, the Collects were actually revised for the sake of the Dissenters, fortified with scriptural expression. Calvin and

²² H. G. Hageman, *Pulpit and Table: Some Chapters in the History of Worship in the Reformed Churches* (Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1962), p. 42.

²³ Leith, *Introduction to the Reformed Tradition*, p. 190.

²⁴ Davies, *Worship of the English Puritans*, p. 130.

²⁵ Fawcett, *Liturgy of Comprehension*, p. 2.

²⁶ Thompson, *Liturgies*, p. 383.

the Westminster Puritans agree: the language of the Bible is to supply the language of worship. While structure is not a strength of the *Directory*, its handling of the elements, their contents, its specific directions with respect to the tone of the service and the handling of each element, marks positive development, not regression.

EVALUATION

Our view then is that the *Directory* not only descends from, but improves its Genevan predecessor. We may point to the following twelve points under six headings;

1. Regarding preparation for worship

i) The *Directory* provides several paragraphs addressing the congregation's preparation, attitude, and behaviour in worship; the *Form* has no such directions.

2. Regarding prayers

ii) The *Directory* provides a model invocation. Calvin's *Form* has no invocation beyond Psalm 124:8. It provides no model for the opening prayer of praise. Hughes Old classifies the *Directory's* invocation as among the 'most mature devotional insights' that Protestant theology produced.²⁷

iii) As noted, the *Directory* includes substantial prayer both before and after the sermon; the *Form* envisions only the prayer of illumination prior to the sermon. Old finds that the 'sense for the full range of prayer found *implicitly* in the Strasburg and Genevan psalters is elaborated *explicitly* in the *Westminster Directory for Worship*.²⁸

iv) The *Directory* commends only one fixed form, the Lord's Prayer, yet it does not forbid the moderate use of creeds and written prayers, leaving the decision to use or not use to individual pastors and churches.

3. Regarding Scripture reading

v) The *Directory* provides substantial and specific directions for Scripture reading including the reading of canonical books only, one chapter of each Testament in each service, *lectio continua* and the text being read by the ministers; the *Form* has no directions at all.

²⁷ Hughes O. Old, *Themes and Variations for Christian Doxology: Some Thoughts on the Theology of Worship* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992), p. 37.

²⁸ Old, *Worship*, p. 173 (my emphasis).

4. Regarding preaching

vi) The *Directory* includes classic directions for preaching of which Calvin's Form has no parallel. Indeed, B. B. Warfield calls the *Directory's* instructions 'a complete homiletical treatise.'²⁹

5. Regarding the sacraments

vii) Old points out that the Westminster Puritans 'developed a number (of Eucharistic) insights of the 16th century Reformers in a most positive manner.'³⁰ The *Directory* includes the requirement that there be a communion preparatory service that 'all may come better prepared to that heavenly feast.'³¹ Indeed, Mitchell argues that 'the materials of the preliminary exhortation supply the outlines of one of the most complete and impressive addresses to be found in any of the Reformed Agenda.'³²

viii) Old cites the *Directory's* superior communion epiclesis, in which the minister calls upon the Holy Spirit,

to sanctify these elements both of bread and wine, and to bless his own ordinance, that we may receive by faith the body and blood of Jesus Christ consecrated for us, and so feed upon him, that he may be one with us, and we one with him.³³

The continental Reformers invoked the Holy Spirit, Old notes, 'but in nothing like the fullness we find here.'³⁴

ix) The *Directory* requires a collection for the poor following the post-communion thanksgiving. This too, says Old, 'had been an important aspect of the eucharistic piety of Continental Reformed churches,' but rarely specified in liturgical documents as it was in the *Directory*.³⁵ Mitchell's view is that the *Directory's* communion service as a whole is 'more complete in all that such a service should embrace than any similar office either in the reformed or the ancient church.'³⁶

x) The *Directory* includes a more fully developed covenantal theology, as evidenced in the baptismal administration with multiple references to the 'covenant' or 'covenant of grace,' and baptism's 'sealing' function. (see also *Shorter Catechism* #'s 92 and 94; *Larger Catechism* #'s 162, 165, 167, 174, 176; *Westminster Confession of Faith* XXVII.1; XXVIII.1)

²⁹ Warfield, *Westminster Assembly*, p. 52.

³⁰ Old, *Worship*, p. 137.

³¹ *Directory*, p. 384.

³² Mitchell, *The Westminster Assembly*, p. 234.

³³ *Directory*, p. 385.

³⁴ Old, *Worship*, p. 138.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Mitchell, *The Westminster Assembly*, p. 235.

xi) The *Directory* includes a baptismal epiclesis, the minister offering a prayer 'for sanctifying the water for this spiritual use.'³⁷ D. B. Forrester, assessing the *Directory's* handling of the sacraments, notes that 'the sections on baptism and the Lord's Supper have attracted favourable comment from liturgists of many traditions.'³⁸

6. Regarding other helps for ministers

xii) The *Directory* includes far more substantial guidance for both the 'Solemnization of Marriage' and for the 'Visitation of the Sick.'

Old regards the *Directory* section on preaching as a 'considerable departure from the approach of the Continental Reformers.'³⁹ He has in mind particularly their commitment to *lectio continua* preaching. Yet, should it be regarded as such? On the one hand, *lectio continua* reading is more clearly articulated in the *Directory* than in any continental documents. On the other hand, the commitment to simple, plain-style, textual preaching is clear. The *Directory* insists that truths taught be 'contained in, or grounded in that text, that the believers may discern *how God teacheth it from thence*.'⁴⁰ The *Directory* is silent on *lectio continua* preaching per se. A number of Westminster Puritans were famous for the book-length expositions: William Bradshaw on 2 Thessalonians; Thomas Manton on James and Jude; Joseph Caryl on Job; Thomas Adams on 2 Peter; and John Cotton (who was invited to participate in the Assembly) on 1 John.

Yet consideration should be given to the way in which the *lectio continua* developed among the Reformed in England, Scotland, and New England. Increasingly the objection to 'dumb reading' led to what we might call an 'expository reading,' to which, typically, a half-hour of *lectio continua* reading with explanation was devoted prior to the sermon. This practice was first recommended by Martin Bucer in *Grund und Ursach* (1524). The *Directory* attempts to regulate the expository reading by requiring that 'when the minister who readeth shall judge it necessary to expound any part of what is read, let it not be done until the whole chapter or psalm be ended.' The *Directory* also takes care to guard the sermon proper so that the expository reading, virtually a sermon in its own right, not be too long ('regard is always to be had unto the time') so as to interfere with the reception of the sermon.⁴¹

³⁷ *Directory*, p. 383.

³⁸ Forrester, 'Worship', in *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, p. 846.

³⁹ Old, *Worship*, p. 80.

⁴⁰ *Directory*, p. 379 (my emphasis).

⁴¹ *Directory*, p. 376.

The expository reading, already a practice at the time of the Assembly, developed further among English Dissenters, the Scottish Presbyterians, and the New England Puritans, and persisted in some circles into the late 19th century.⁴² The *lectio continua* expository reading became a common feature among the Reformed. This is *development*, not *departure*. The importance of systematic Bible instruction was recognized at Westminster as well as Geneva.

INFLUENCE

The *Directory* was adopted by the Scots in 1645, but it never had any practical governing authority in England. Warfield's view is that while the *Directory* was neglected in England, in Scotland 'it gradually made its way against ancient custom and ultimately very much molded the usages of the churches.'⁴³ Following the Act of Uniformity in 1662 and the forming of non-conforming denominations, Presbyterian, Congregationalist, and Baptist, dissenting worship was essentially uniform for 250 years. Writing in 1962, Hageman could say, 'To this day the *Directory* remains a standard of worship not only for the Church of Scotland but for most English-speaking Presbyterian churches as well.'⁴⁴ To this we can add the English-speaking Baptist, Congregationalist, and even the Methodist and free churches into the 20th century, including their mission churches throughout the world.⁴⁵

William D. Maxwell (1901-1971), in his Baird Lectures of 1953, published as *A History of Worship in the Church of Scotland*, was overly critical of the impact of the *Directory* and its Puritan originators. He speaks of the result being bare worship becoming 'barer still.' 'Tedious' lectures replaced Scripture reading; 'long, detailed, exhaustive, and exhausting extemporary prayers' became the norm.⁴⁶ Metrical psalmody was 'stulti-

⁴² See Johnson, *Worshipping with Calvin*, pp. 91-94.

⁴³ Warfield, *Westminster Assembly*, p. 51.

⁴⁴ Hageman, *Pulpit and Table*, p. 42; Before him William Beveridge could say in 1904, 'at the present day worship in Presbyterian Churches is conducted to a very large extent on the admirable lines of the Westminster Assembly's *Directory*.' William Beveridge, *A Short History of the Westminster Assembly* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1904), pp. 91, 92.

⁴⁵ Nichols cites with approval a late 19th century historian who recognized that the order of worship in these denominations was 'recognizably related to the *Directory*' (*Corporate Worship*, p. 107).

⁴⁶ William D. Maxwell, *A History of Worship in the Church of Scotland* (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), pp. 106, 107.

fied' for two hundred years by the 'revolting practice of "lining."⁴⁷ Worship 'sank to a very low' as 'worship became tedious and dismal in the extreme, and continued so for a century or more.⁴⁸ One wonders how anything so universally bad became so universally practiced, accepted, aggressively defended, and beloved.

What Maxwell described was bare-bones dissenting worship *poorly done*. Any form of worship poorly done is likely to be tedious, dismal, and exhausting. He failed to recognize that the *Directory's* order, devoid of fixed forms, was not imposed by outside authority but demanded by the actual participants. The standard service with its reverential tone, the progression from praise to prayer to Scripture reading to sermon, the richness of the prayers, the joy of the psalmody, the delight in the Scripture readings, the inspiration of the sermons, drew crowds and was cherished. By the middle of the 18th century the 'bare-bones' worship of low-church Protestantism in the English-speaking world had become the predominant form of worship.

Warfield, for his part, leaves us with a happier assessment. He commends the *Directory* 'for the emphasis it places upon what is specifically commanded in the Scriptures,' for its 'lofty and spiritual' tone, for its 'sober and restrained' conception of acceptable worship that is 'at the same time profound and rich.⁴⁹ 'The paradigms of prayers which it offers,' he says, 'are notably full and yet free from over-elaboration, compressed and yet enriched by many reminiscences of the best models which had preceded them.⁵⁰ The word of God, read and preached, is given the prominence it deserves 'as a means, perhaps we should say *the* means, of grace.'⁵¹ He finds the paragraph on preaching to be 'remarkable at once for its sober practical sense and its profound spiritual wisdom,' and finds it 'suffused with a tone of sincere piety, and of zeal at once for the truth and for the souls which are to be bought with the truth.'⁵² He finds the *Directory* 'notable for its freedom from petty prescriptions and "superfluities."⁵³ In

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 110. He later calls lining 'insufferable' (p. 129).

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 111.

⁴⁹ Warfield, *Westminster Assembly*, pp. 51, 52. William M. Hetherington (1805-1865) commends the *Directory* as 'both full of sound and well-expressed instruction, and eminently suggestive.' (*History of the Westminster Assembly of Divines*, 3rd edition (1856; Edmonton, Canada: Still Waters Revival Books, 1991), p. 344).

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 52.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid. Mitchell comments similarly: 'I know of no formulary of the same sort which is so free from minute and harassing regulations as to postures, ges-

summary, the *Directory* ‘can scarcely fail to commend itself as an admirable set of agenda, in spirit and matter alike well fitted to direct the public services of a great church.’⁵⁴ High praise, indeed, from one of the greatest theologians and historians of the Reformed tradition.

tures, dresses, church pomp, ceremonies, symbolism, and other “superfluities,” as Hales terms them, which ‘under pretext of order and decency’ had crept into the church and more and more had restricted the liberty and burdened the consciences of its ministers.’ (*The Westminster Assembly*, p. 231).

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 51.