

THE DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE OF WORSHIP

IN THE IRISH PRESBYTERIAN TRADITION

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When Scottish settlers went to Ireland at the beginning of the seventeenth century, they went from a land where the Church had had a presbyterian system of government since 1592. However, under the influence of James VI and I, this was in process of being changed once again, back to the episcopal system. In its worship, the Church had become accustomed to the form based on the *Book of Common Order* brought from Geneva by John Knox at the time of the Reformation in 1560. The main elements of this order were the Psalms, prayers, reading of the Bible, the reciting of the Apostles' Creed, the preaching and the two Sacraments. In 1618 James sought to impose the Articles of Perth which, among other things, required kneeling to receive the Sacrament and also the observance of the main Christian festivals. This caused much discontent, even more than was caused by the introduction of episcopacy. Though the Articles were not fully imposed, they left a suspicion of the King's intentions. These innovations increased the readiness of many Scots to seek a new way of life in Ireland.

In Ireland, the Scots found the established episcopal Church of Ireland in a parlous condition. It had the loyalty of only a minority of the people and was without sufficient clergy to staff the parishes. The new Scottish landowners presented Scottish ministers to the bishops for institution in the parishes. Some bishops were willing to accept them; they considered that any minister was better than none and also that the Scots came from a Church which was once again an episcopal Church. No question was raised about their previous presbyterian ordination. Some difficulty was encountered when Scottish licentiates went over and were presented to the bishops. The bishops said they would have to be ordained, but they scrupled about accepting episcopal ordination. However, a compromise was reached. Since the *Ordinal* in the *Book of Common Prayer* lays down that priests are to join the bishop in laying on hands, this could be looked upon as a bishop coming in among the priests and forming a presbytery. It is also reported that

some bishops were willing to modify some offending phrases in the *Ordinal*, though there is no evidence what these modifications were. The Scots agreed to accept ordination; they could call it ordination by presbytery while the bishop could regard his presence as making it a proper episcopal ordination; he entered it as such in his diocesan records.

There were soon as many as sixty Scots ministering in parish churches. Once in office, they conducted worship according to their Scottish usage. They were zealous and frequent in preaching in the churches and in other places. Their sermons were plain and pointed as they sought to bring the rough settlers to repentance and to some measure of stable behaviour. Services often lasted three hours; Livingston, one of the leading ministers said sermons should not normally exceed one hour in length. The ministers catechised their people about their Bible knowledge. They baptised the children. They celebrated the Lord's Supper; the people sat at long tables set up in the aisles. Bishop John Bramhall of Derry scornfully referred to a 'table ten yards long where they sat and received the Sacrament like good fellows drinking their pots of ale'. People went to the table in relays; table addresses were given for each sitting.

Such disregard for the directions of the *Book of Common Prayer* exasperated the bishops. As soon as they could muster sufficient power they now began to eject the Scots from the pulpits. This policy came to a climax upon Bramhall's appointment to Derry. Some ministers continued a clandestine ministry while others went back to minister in Scotland. The attachment of the settlers to their ministers and to the ordinances of the Church was shown when at Communion seasons hundreds of them crossed to Portpatrick to receive the Sacrament and to have their children baptised.

In Ireland, the surviving settlers came under fresh trial when the native Irish Roman Catholics rebelled in 1641 in an effort to recover their lands. The English settlers were the first to be attacked but soon the Scots also had to suffer. Many were massacred; these atrocities left an abiding memory among the Presbyterian community.

The Rebellion was hard to quell and the issue was long in doubt. In 1642, a Scottish army landed at Carrickfergus and helped to turn the tide. The chaplains in this army, along with some elders, formed the first Presbytery in Ireland. It became a rallying point for the settlers who at once began to ask for ministers to be provided. The Rebellion was not crushed until Cromwell arrive; by 1649 his thorough methods had largely brought it to an end.

Cromwell imposed the ecclesiastical policy he was applying in England; he appointed approved ministers of good character and ability to preach to be ministers in the parish churches. Soon, there were almost seventy ministers from Scotland in these churches.



In the meantime, the Westminster Assembly had met and produced its *Confession*, *Catechisms*, and *Directory of Public Worship*. These documents were to have a great influence upon Irish Presbyterianism. The *Confession* became the standard of doctrine, the *Catechism* the means of instruction, and the *Directory* a guide to the form of worship.

The Declaration crystallised much that was already common practice among the Scots. It laid down that worship is to be based on the Bible which traced God's purposes from the creation to the New Jerusalem; a chapter from each Testament is to be read at each meeting. Psalms are to be sung. Prayer is to be offered, based on the comprehensive model of the Lord's Prayer which is recommended for use in worship; set forms of prayer are not provided but guidance is given as to elements to be covered in prayer. The Word is to be preached painfully, plainly, wisely, gravely and 'with loving affection and as taught by God'. The Sacraments are to be observed. When parents, one or both of whom are members of the visible Church, present their children for baptism and are ready to confess their faith in God and to promise to live lives befitting their confession these children are to be baptised. No provision is made for the minister to refuse to baptise them.

This *Directory* shaped presbyterian worship through succeeding generations. Some, including Dr Charles L Warr have blamed the Westminster Assembly and its work for introducing Independent and Brownish features into Scottish worship, stripping it of noble features such as the Apostles' Creed and the Gloria at the end of the Psalms, features which had been used by Calvin and Knox. I think this charge is overdone. Regrettably, the *Directory* does not mention the Creed, but all its affirmations are included in the *Confession* and in the guidance for prayers. The *Directory* gives a clear guide to the shape and content of services, though it does leave much scope for ministers to put their own imprint upon their services.

What Independent influence there was in Ireland came through Independent ministers who secured appointment to some parish churches and devised services in their own mould. This had an influence upon the Scottish Ministers.

The settlers were soon called upon to face another trial. The Restoration of the monarchy and the full episcopal system in 1660 threatened the position of the Scottish ministers. Under Bramhall, now Archbishop of Armagh, a rigid policy of conformity was imposed. All ministers had to prove their episcopal ordination. About eighty Scottish ministers were ejected, but the Presbyterians were not too well-established to be crushed into conformity; they now organised themselves into a network of congregations. Presbyterian ministers led worship in congregations which survived by sheer persistence and occasional indulgences. Despite many limitations the weekly round of worship continued, each service having the traditional presbyterian pattern but also reflecting the gifts, the interests and even the eccentricities of each minister.

Relief came with the Revolution which brought William and Mary to the throne in 1688. King James made his last stand in Ireland; the tale of the defeat of his case at Derry, Enniskillen, and the Boyne is woven into Irish history. William, coming as he did from a Reformed heritage in Holland, disappointed some Presbyterians by deciding that the Church of Ireland should retain its position as the established episcopal Church, but he granted toleration to others and he gave to the Presbyterians a *Regium Donum* for the support of their ministers. Despite punitive limitations in matters of marriage, burial and entitlement to public office, the Presbyterians continued to meet for worship, to form new congregations, and to set up a General Synod. The situation was complicated by the founding of a rival chain of Seceder Presbyterian churches, the first at Lylehill in 1748. These congregations were even more austere in their forms of worship and even firmer in their adherence to the teaching of the Westminster Confession. Worship in both strands had similar and fairly fixed patterns; indeed, it often seems to have been rather slovenly and lifeless. In 1791, the well-known Rev William Steel Dickson said the singing of the Psalms was 'more like the tumultuous world of riot and confusion than the soft entrancing melody which attunes the soul to peace and love divine'.

Early in the nineteenth century, storms arose in the General Synod over the place of the *Westminster Confession* in the life of the Church. Some wanted subscriptions to the Confession to be required from students and ministers as evidence of their soundness in the Faith and as a guarantee against the spread of Arianism which had seriously affected English nonconformity and had its disciples in Ireland. Some objected to subscribing to any man-made document, but others, including the outstanding leader of the opposition, Henry Montgomery, were Arian in outlook. Henry Cooke, a great orator and a man of great intellectual power and

Christian zeal, led the campaign for subscription. This was passed in 1829 and led to the secession of a number of ministers and congregations to form the Non-subscribing Presbyterian Church, a Church which continues its witness to this day.

The decision by the General Synod paved the way for union of the Synod and the Seceder congregations. This union in 1840 issued in the formation of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. Worship in the various congregations of the Assembly continued on lines shaped by the Westminster Directory. The Assembly authorised revisions of the Directory in 1841, 1859 and 1866, each one, according to Dr Tosh, giving more liberty to ministers and providing even less guidance on the form and content of sermons or prayers. Dr John Barkley holds that the Church lost its hold of the heritage of worship from the centuries and from Calvin's scheme of worship.

In 1859, another strand entered the stream of the church's life. This was the year of the Revival which brought a new vitality to the Church. Thousands were awakened to a sense of sin, to an awareness of the saving grace offered in Christ and to the call to lead a life worthy of that great gift of God. Fervent preaching, zealous outbursts of prayers, and many transformed lives were marks of those days. Dr John T Carson, the most recent historian of the Revival, call his book *God's River in Spate*. At the time, one minister produced a book entitled *The Year of Delusion*. While there were some ephemeral and extravagant aspects of the movement, the Revival had a transforming power for good in many lives and a lasting impact upon the faith and outlook of the Church. It left a longing for further times of revival; prays for fresh outpourings of the Spirit of God became and continue to be a common element in prayer. The Revival also increased resistance to any form of imposed pattern of worship; prayers should be the spontaneous outpouring from hearts and minds moved by the Holy Spirit. A further effect was to give to sermons a fresh grasp of the great truth that Christ had died for our sins and not for ours only but for the sins of the whole world; this tended to balance the emphasis upon the doctrine of Election which had a large place in the Confession; it also gave an impetus to the work of foreign missions to take the Gospel to the ends of the earth. The Gospel is a free Gospel offered to all.

Never in history has the fervour and exuberance of revival times continued indefinitely. This is not necessarily because people believe less firmly or think less deeply, but it is part of the shape of life. Movements have to be continued on the lower level of regular worship, firm instruction, and practical living. It is good to give thanks for movements of the Spirit but it is equally necessary to sustain the steady round of life, trusting that God is alive and active at all times. This steady routine has its perils, notably barrenness of thought, thinness of worship, and

boredom among ministers and people.

In the later part of the nineteenth century, many people in Scotland and Ireland became dissatisfied with the rut into which worship tended to fall. In Scotland, this was expressed in the foundation of the Church Service Society in 1865. In 1867, this Society produced *Euchologian*, a book giving guidance for worship and drawing prayers from sources across the centuries, including the *Book of Common Order*. Dr Douglas Murray says eleven editions were published by 1924. At first, it aroused storms of protest in the Church of Scotland; many saw it as an aping of Anglicanism. Dr Warr said "Many a promising career was ruined by the mere whisper of the word 'ritualist'". Nevertheless, the seed was sown and many ministers who were opposed to the Society were influenced to think of their own standards in the conduct of worship.

In Ireland, this seed was slow to take any root, though a few ministers did buy and esteem *Euchologion*. The storm in Ireland broke out over two other issues, the use of organs and the introduction of hymns.

At meetings of the General Assembly there were continual laments about the low standard of Psalm-singing in the churches. Pleas to congregations to employ competent precentors and to hold Psalm-singing practices evoked little response.

Some people began to think of organs as aids to better worship. This was stimulated by reports of the work of Moody and Sankey. This raised memories and fresh hopes of revival. Sankey, singing moving hymns to his own accompaniment on a harmonium, evoked much admiration. Some ministers introduced a harmonium for use at weeknight services and in Sunday Schools, but, when the minister of Enniskillen ventured to bring a harmonium into the Church to accompany the Psalms at the regular services, a storm erupted which threatened to split the Church. In 1868, the Synod of Armagh and Monaghan asked the Assembly to deal with this innovation. The Assembly condemned the innovation, ordered the organ to be removed and sent a high-powered delegation to enforce the order. The congregation refused to obey; the assembly threatened to remove the congregation from the roll of the Assembly, but in the end was reluctant to impose such a sentence. For several years, the Assembly debates were star attractions with a packed house, press coverage and all-night sittings. There was no time-limit to speeches. The famous Francis Petticrew, minister of Faughanvale and later a professor in Magee College in Derry, once spoke for two hours and refused to give way when the Moderator asked him to draw to an end, claiming his need of more time to set out the full Scripture case against organs. Another opponent of organs was Archibald Robinson, minister of First Broughshane and later a professor in the

Presbyterian College in Belfast. By intense campaigning inside and outside the Assembly, these two led the anti-organ phalanx. One critic labelled them as St Francis of Faughanvale and St Archibald of Broughshane. Some quaint arguments were used in the debates; one was that there was no organ in the Upper Room at the Last Supper and, even if there had been, neither Peter nor any of the Twelve could have played it. The Assembly passed stern and threatening resolutions for many years; delegations were sent to entreat and threaten the increasing number of small congregations who were disobeying the order. In 1879, a committee reported that little had been achieved. Petitions poured into the Assembly. A petition in 1879 asked the Assembly to take no further action but to allow congregations to exercise their spiritual freedom; this was signed by 1,879 people, but it was countered by another signed by 5,098 people asking the assembly to enforce its own orders.

Fresh fury was aroused by Robert Workman, a pioneer of Church Extension in the area of Newtownbreda on the fringes of Belfast. He gathered a large congregation and had a harmonium to lead the praise. He was also an able debater and could rouse the Assembly by his able defence. Petticrew was specially incensed by his actions and said one innovation would lead to another: he cited the parish of Duns in Scotland where the minister had introduced an organ; this had been followed by an embroidered white cloth on the Table, embroidered with the letters IHS; the next thing would be voluntaries to play the people in and out! Workman replied that the Psalms which Petticrew regarded as the only lawful vehicle of praise in the Church contained twenty Psalms commanding the use of instruments. Petticrew replied that if the Psalms were taken literally it would be necessary to bring harps and trumpets into the sanctuary! If organs were allowed, then 'Farewell to the grand simplicity of Gospel worship and farewell also to pulpit power'. In 1885, petitions signed by 18,592 people came to the Assembly from all over the Church asking for firm action to eject the organs; the petition from Belfast was on a roll fourteen and a half years long. On the other hand, reports came in that some leading Belfast churches were following Workman's example. Workman himself further raised the temperature of debate when he proposed to introduce into his fine new Gothic-style church not just a moveable harmonium but a permanent pipe organ. He resisted pleas from presbytery and Assembly. At the inaugural service the preacher was none other than John Macleod of Govan who was hailed in a local paper as the high-priest of the Gaderene mob of organ-worshippers who were heading for the cliffs over which they would fall into the open jaws of the waiting papal Apollyon.

However, Assemblies weary of controversy. Professor Todd Martin who had been on many delegations sent to plead with disobedient congregations confessed to the

Assembly in 1892 that his visits to many congregations, including Rathgar in Dublin and Dundela in Belfast, had failed to persuade them to cease using musical instruments. It was proposed that the Assembly express its disappointment at the disrespect shown by the congregations, but an amendment was proposed asking the Assembly to pass from the question. The amendment was passed by a show of 98 hands against 91; on a card vote being demanded, the decision was even clearer, 111 voting for the amendment and 86 against. The small number voting, the brevity of the debate and the clear vote showed that the battle was now over. Soon, organs were being installed in many churches and opening recitals were often given by Dr Alfred Hollins, the blind organist of St George's West Church in Edinburgh.

With such instruments, there came the demand for a wider range of music. Here also, the influence of Sankey was felt. There was also the feeling that the Psalms contained no mention of the name of Jesus. The General Synod had allowed the use of hymns and five hymns were printed in a supplement to the Psalter. Only one of these had a clear declaration on the life, death and resurrection of Jesus; that was

*Blest morning! whose first dawning rays
Beheld the Son of God
Arise triumphant from the grave,
And leave his dark abode.*

This was a fine hymn by Isaac Watts. However, at the union of the two Synods in 1840, permission to use these hymns had been withdrawn; this met the desire of the Seceders that only the Psalms should be sung in the united Church. Yet, the yearning for more remained. In 1880, the use of the Scottish Paraphrases was sanctioned. It soon became clear that some congregations were using collections of hymns, some of which seemed out of accord with the Church's teaching. It was felt that the only answer was to provide an approved collection. In agreement with the three Presbyterian Churches in Scotland, the *Church Hymnary* was issued in 1898 and was approved for use in Irish Presbyterian churches. Gradually, it came into use. After some years, thought was given to a revised edition. A memorial from 800 elders asked the assembly to take no part in this project. The Assembly decided to take a full part in the revision. In 1927, the *Revised Church Hymnary* appeared. It won immediate support. In Ireland, 40,000 copies were sold in the first three years after publication. Among the Irish representatives on the revision committee were Professor Ernest Davey, a former Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and a polymath, and Professor R.A.S. Macalister, a distinguished Egyptologist and Celtic archaeologist, and Associate of the Royal College of

Organists and a Professor in the National University of Ireland. This book is still widely used in Ireland.

The third edition of the *Church Hymnary* appeared in 1973. Professor John Barkley, a distinguished liturgical scholar, and an Irish representative on the revision committee, had a share in giving the book a liturgical pattern with hymns arranged to match the usual steps in the order of presbyterian services. He also edited the handbook to this edition.

Irish Presbyterians had to get an edition bound up with the Psalter and Paraphrases, even though the book itself contained a wide selection of Psalms and Paraphrases. The book has been adopted in many congregations, but there is a sales resistance to it in some places, a resistance based on the omission of hymns such as 'What a friend we have in Jesus' and also on a coolness to the liturgical pattern. Kenneth Leighton's settings of the sacramental elements, the *Sanctus*, the *Agnus Dei*, and the *Gloria*, however admirable musically, are beyond the scope of many choirs and do not seem to have commended themselves to congregations. Dr Tosh thinks that the book appeared at a time when linguistic and musical taste was changing; the use of "Thou" and "Thee" was fading, regrettable as that may be, and there was also a desire for inclusive language. The book was, in Tosh's view, outdated as soon as it was published. The Church of Scotland soon felt there was need for a supplement; *Songs of God's People* has been published; it contains 'What a friend we have in Jesus', as well as many modern compositions, including some from Taizé and Iona. At the General Assembly in Edinburgh in 1994, approval was given to consider the production of a fourth edition of the *Church Hymnary*. The Irish Church has just published its own supplement *Glory to God*. Many congregations make use of books such as *Mission Praise*, a collection with many fine hymns, old and new, and also modern repetitive choruses.

As for the form and content of services, little attention was given to the idea of providing fresh guidance until well into the present century. Interest in *Euchologion* and its successors remained a minority concern. Nevertheless, there were complaints about the ruts into which prayers had fallen and about the lack of care in preparation. One writer said that what was supposed to be 'free prayer' was neither free nor what could rightly be called prayer. In 1911, a memorial came to the General Assembly from the Synod of Dublin asking the Assembly to take into consideration the whole subject of worship and to prepare a *Directory for Public Worship*. Some voices were raised about the barrenness of much presbyterian worship and the neglect of features prescribed by Calvin and Knox. Others opposed any interference with ministerial reliance upon the immediate guidance of the Holy Spirit in prayer.

The Assembly reluctantly appointed a committee to consider the matter. Rev.J.C.Johnston, minister of the Abbey Church, Dublin, was appointed Convenor. After twelve years, including the years of the Great War, a book was ready for publication. Johnston said that in its preparation he had met "appalling opposition and a hereditary hatred of anything in the form of a liturgy". The Assembly refused to authorise its publication, saying that church money could be better spent on other things. The Committee issued it as a private publication. It was not widely used, but the controversy did stimulate ministers to pay more attention to the form of their services; it helped to restore the practice of public baptism and to encourage greater care over the observance of the Lord's Supper. Dr Tosh judges that it was too didactic and repetitive and treated the Lord's Supper as an appendage to an ordinary service rather than as the peak of one total act of worship.

A second edition appeared in 1931, again a committee issue without Assembly authority. At last, in 1942, the Assembly gave its authority to the publication of a third edition, *The Public Worship of God*. This introduced services for the Christian Year. Dr Tosh again judges that the Order for the Lord's Supper is skeletal and far from satisfactory. Unfortunately for this book, the Church of Scotland had produced in 1940 its edition of the *Book of Common Order*. This at once commended itself to ministers who had an interest in the church's heritage of worship; they adopted it for use, particularly at funeral services, at baptism and marriage services; thus, the Irish book found the ground already occupied.

It was reported to the Assembly in 1957 that an approach to the Church of Scotland about the publication of a new joint book had not been favourably received. Dr John Barkley now became convener of the Committee which set about the preparation of a new Irish book. When a draft was issued, it met with many criticisms. The Coleraine Presbytery asked for it to be withdrawn as it represented "an historic and classical type of liturgy, archaic in language, unduly emphatic on externals and ritual" and was a move from "the Scriptural simplicity and evangelical emphasis of our Church and its worship in the past". In fact, it contained few responses and common prayers and did not increase stress on externals and ritual. Tosh rightly says the basic objection was to any service book at all. A move to have it rejected was defeated by 239 votes to 164. Tosh points out that those voting were less than half the number on the Roll and he holds that this shows an apathy on the subject.

The *Book of Public Worship* was published in 1965 and it had a large market.

Tosh holds it was a serious attempt to return to the principles on which Reformed worship is based and was not content to reflect what was current presbyterian practice. He also thinks that, like the hymn book, the traditional language made it outdated as soon as it was published. Even more, in my view, its fine and dignified prayers became ill-suited to a generation which stressed informality and spontaneous expression of praise and prayer. Informal acts of worship can bring people near to God and to one another, but as a continual diet they can be ephemeral and lose contact with the great truths of the Faith and with the heritage of the ages. The book also met with the mundane criticism that its bulky form made it inconvenient to slip into a pocket at a funeral.

Dr Barkley rightly claims that when Irish Presbyterianism is true to its principles it has a firm theological basis. First, there are the great Catholic doctrines set forth in the ancient Creeds and held by the main branches of the Church. Second there are the Evangelical doctrines stressed by the Reformers; these are the Bible as the source and measure of all sound teaching, the justification won by Christ and offered to sinners with a call to faith, the Lordship of Christ and not of any Pope or prelate over the Church, and the priesthood of all believers. Third, there are the doctrines stressed in the Reformed tradition; the sovereignty of God, the dependence upon grace, the free Gospel offered to all, and the Christian life nourished by the Sacraments and practised day by day. All these convictions ought to be reflected in the Church's worship.

Dr Tosh thinks that the Irish Church has lost this balance and has not heeded Barkley's call to grasp afresh its basic principles. This is probably too sweeping a generalisation, but it contains much truth. When the balance is not sustained and is not reflected in the church's worship, it is a serious loss. When, for example, as often happens today, services do not include the Psalms and the Lord's Prayer, that is a break from good presbyterian usage and from part of the Biblical heritage. Those who have sought and still seek to remind ministers and people of the privilege to offer worship worthy of God, the Almighty Father, the Glorious Redeemer and the ever-present Spirit, have enriched the Church's life. They have linked the worship of the present pilgrim Church with the Church of all ages and with the praises of the company of heaven.



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