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A table of contents for *The Baptist Quarterly* can be found here:

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## C. H. SPURGEON AND THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY 1863-1866<sup>1</sup>

The denominational missionary societies founded in England at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were among the most characteristic expressions of the spirit of the Evangelical Revival. They were voluntary associations of Christian men, designed to promote the spread of the Gospel by all available means, and largely unfettered by theological or ecclesiological scrupulosity.<sup>2</sup> The relationship of the missionary societies to the component churches of their respective denominations was haphazard and ill-defined; the direction of the overseas missionary enterprise lay in the hands of missionary committees in London who understood their primary responsibility under God to be to the individual subscribers who elected them and provided the society with funds. Connections between missionaries on the field and the particular domestic churches from which they came were consequently weak or even non-existent. The missionary societies depended for their funds on a network of public meetings, itinerant lecturers, and local auxiliaries. Originally such means possessed inescapable connotations of political radicalism; like so many other voluntary organizations of the nineteenth century, the missionary societies responded by taking every opportunity to affirm their respectability.<sup>3</sup> Local missionary auxiliaries cultivated the patronage of local notables, whilst membership of both auxiliaries and parent societies was defined in terms of financial qualifications which effectively excluded the working classes. Until April 1866 membership of the Baptist Missionary Society (whose financial qualifications were lower than those of some of the other societies) was defined as follows:

All persons subscribing ten shillings and sixpence a year, or upwards, either to the Parent Society or to Auxiliaries, donors of ten pounds and upwards, pastors of churches which make an annual contribution, and ministers who collect annually for the Society, also one of the executors, on the payment of a bequest of fifty pounds or upwards, are considered as members thereof.<sup>4</sup>

The small but significant change made to these terms in April 1866 was due principally to the representations of C. H. Spurgeon.

In the first half of the nineteenth century voices dissenting from the prevailing voluntarist model of missionary agency were rare and little heeded. Edward Irving created no small controversy in 1824 by preaching an anniversary sermon before the London Missionary Society which advocated the sending out of missionaries on radically apostolic lines, "without purse or scrip".<sup>5</sup> Five years later, in 1829, the Exeter dentist Anthony Norris Groves sailed for Baghdad to undertake missionary work independently of any society connection.<sup>6</sup> Groves had in 1825

published a pamphlet, *Christian Devotedness*, which urged Christians to take at their literal face value the injunctions of the Sermon on the Mount instructing them to take no thought for their material needs but rather to live in absolute daily dependence on the provision of their heavenly Father.<sup>7</sup> Within the expanding circle of Brethrenism, such ideas gained wide currency, principally through the example and writings of Groves' brother-in-law, George Müller.<sup>8</sup> The application of "faith" principles to overseas missions bore fruit in James Hudson Taylor's formation of the China Inland Mission in 1865, the first of the so-called "faith" missions.

C. H. Spurgeon, it might be supposed, was too strongly wedded to Calvinistic orthodoxy to be much attracted by the romantic idealism of Irving or Hudson Taylor. Indeed, in a sermon preached on behalf of the BMS in April 1858, Spurgeon explicitly repudiated the radical primitivism advocated in Irving's sermon and insisted that missionaries should be given adequate guarantees of financial support.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, Spurgeon had by December 1858 become a firm believer in George Müller's principle that funds for Christian work were to be sought primarily through the instruments of faith and prayer.<sup>10</sup> At the laying of the foundation stone of the Metropolitan Tabernacle on 16th August 1859 Spurgeon claimed that he had asked scarcely an individual for a contribution towards the building costs, "because I have such a solid conviction that the money must come."<sup>11</sup>

Spurgeon's faith in the divine provision of financial supplies had as its corollary a rooted aversion to Christian institutions running into debt.<sup>12</sup> In November 1863 the BMS, after nearly a decade free of debt, was seriously in debt with the prospect of worse to come at the close of the financial year. A meeting at the Mission House on 10th November launched a vigorous effort to clear the debt.<sup>13</sup> The BMS Committee were understandably anxious to enlist the aid of the rising star of the denomination, but their initial overtures to Spurgeon revealed that he was profoundly dissatisfied with the Society and would not co-operate. When E. B. Underhill suggested to Spurgeon that the Committee send him a deputation in an attempt to remove the grounds of his dissatisfaction, Spurgeon's reply was peremptory to the point of rudeness:

... I should be very sorry to appear rude or unkind, but I should greatly prefer to be let alone & would be glad if your deputation will kindly omit their visit. No good can possibly come of it, I am too much ruled by my own sense of duty to be persuaded into that which does not commend itself to me.-

It is not at all likely that, on the other hand, your society would listen to my notions, which are far too Utopian & spiritual to suit the lovers of the present organizations.

If your Society can heal the diversities among its own constituents it will be able to remove the debt & do its own work without appealing to those who have no

connection with it. I very distinctly told you my views & my desire to be in no way identified with your Society, although I wish it & all other societies such success as will honour God ...<sup>14</sup>

This blunt rebuff was read before the BMS General Committee on 24th November. The Committee meekly resolved to inform Spurgeon that "they do not by any means think their organisations perfect" and to request him to furnish them with a full statement of the reasons for his dissatisfaction with the Society.<sup>15</sup> Spurgeon responded to this "generous minute" with a lengthy epistle which displayed a far more eirenic spirit, and listed four chief reasons for his reluctance to identify himself with the BMS. His first two items of complaint deserve to be quoted at length:

1. From what I believe to be the teaching of the Holy Spirit I am led to believe that our works for Christ are most likely to be accepted & prospered when they are in the highest degree works of faith. My experience although brief has been very sweet while conducting my College upon something like the plan of B<sup>o</sup> Müller of Bristol, & I grow daily more & more attached to methods which without denying human effort are calculated to bring forward the God of providence before the eye of the worker as his trust & stay. Can this principle, if felt to be of God, be more distinctly recognized in connection with the Baptist Missionary Society? Or is it not the better way for those who are enabled to exercise faith to dare something at their own risk for the Lord.

2. It seems to me that *our churches* are responsible for the spread of the Gospel & not a Society *as such*. The Churches at present appear to me to live at a distance from Mission work because of the interposing medium of the Society. It w<sup>d</sup> meet my views precisely if the Churches would send out their own missionaries; the larger keeping one or two & the smaller combining in clusters to maintain *one*. Receiving reports from men who depended upon them & whose incomes should be dependant upon the liveliness of the churches at home, the churches & missionaries w<sup>d</sup> be bound together by ties of mutual relation unknown at the present time: & we might expect in answer to the more earnest prayer excited by a deeper personal interest a larger benediction than at present ...<sup>16</sup>

Spurgeon's third reason for remaining aloof from the BMS was his conviction that the Society was a divided house which could not stand: "... some of our brethren of no mean standing (one at least on your Committee) are thoroughly dissatisfied with the Society"<sup>17</sup> His final complaint was the most specific: the purely financial basis of membership of the Society was, in Spurgeon's opinion, likely neither to "glorify God" nor to "bless the Society". "The devil himself might be a member on

such terms", thundered Spurgeon: "Let the Society at least demand membership with the Church of Christ somewhere, but its present rule sets no limit & opens the door for the most godless" The apparently technical question of the terms of membership was for Spurgeon "a fundamental principle"; the current basis expressed "an unhallowed league with the world or the bond of Mammon".

This letter was read before the BMS General Committee on 1st December, together with the letter to Spurgeon from Dr James Hoby conveying the Committee's resolution of 24th November, and a letter from the Treasurer, Sir Samuel Morton Peto, "on these documents, expressing concurrence in some of the principles laid down therein".<sup>18</sup> The Committee referred the correspondence for consideration at its next quarterly meeting, but invited Spurgeon to meet the Committee in the interim for a conference on the subject. The conference duly took place at Peto's home (at his invitation)<sup>19</sup> on 22nd December. After a full hour and a half of "singing, reading and prayer", the relevant correspondence was read once more, and Spurgeon then addressed the Committee on the four points detailed in his letter of 27th November.<sup>20</sup> Following "prolonged deliberation" the Committee made one modest concession to the most specific of Spurgeon's complaints by resolving to recommend to the next annual meeting that the qualification for membership of the Society should be altered to read as follows:

All persons professing themselves Christians subscribing 10/6 a year or upwards either to the Parent Society or to Auxiliaries, donors of £10 or upwards, and one of the Executors on the payment of a bequest of £50 or upwards; pastors of churches which make an annual contribution and ministers who collect annually for the Society; are considered as members thereof.<sup>21</sup>

However, on 13th January 1864 the General Committee referred this resolution to the consideration of the Constitution Sub-Committee, who were to report to the next quarterly meeting on what was "the best mode of expressing the terms of membership".<sup>22</sup> The Constitution Sub-Committee did not meet until 19th April. It recommended that the terms of membership should in future include the words "concurring in the Evangelical principles & objects of the Socy"<sup>23</sup> - a noticeably stronger formula than that proposed on 22nd December, and one that was reminiscent of the current basis of union accepted by the Baptist Union.<sup>24</sup> But at the General Committee meeting the following day the Sub-Committee's report was amended, and a third formula unanimously proposed for adoption at the general meeting of the Society:

The following persons shall be considered members of the Society viz: Pastors of Churches making an annual contribution, ministers who collect annually, and all persons concurring in the religious principles and objects of the Society, who are donors of £10 or upwards, or subscribers of ten shillings and sixpence annually to its funds.<sup>25</sup>

The proposed terms of membership had shifted from Christian profession (though this test appears to have been intended for subscribers only) to concurrence in evangelical principles, only to revert to an even more nebulous basis which can have afforded scant satisfaction to Spurgeon, who had presumably pressed for a qualification in terms of church membership. At the general members' meeting on 26th April E. B. Underhill gave notice that he would propose the new rule on membership, together with a number of other major constitutional changes, at the next general meeting.<sup>26</sup>

Despite the meagre extent of the concessions that had been made to him, Spurgeon had agreed to speak at the annual public meeting on 28th April.<sup>27</sup> He was preceded on the platform by Dr Joseph Angus of Regent's Park College. Referring to the doubts which some Baptists had long entertained about "society action" as opposed to individual and church action, Angus made the remarkable statement that he could see "no distinction between a church of 500 members and an association of Christian men of 10,000".<sup>28</sup> Spurgeon was not the man to allow such a challenge to fall to the ground.<sup>29</sup> What was at issue, he rejoined, was not the validity of the association principle itself, but whether the BMS was to be a mere association of ten-and-sixpences or, on the other hand, a distinctively Christian society, "having no members but those who profess to be Christians".<sup>30</sup> On a more practical level, Spurgeon repeated his conviction expressed in November that the current role of the Society diminished the Christian's sense of individual responsibility: Baptists, in terms of Carey's famous analogy, were looking to the Society to hold the rope supporting the missionaries at the bottom of the well, instead of realizing that each of them had a vital share in holding the rope.<sup>31</sup> The allusion to Carey was intentional, for Spurgeon concluded with an appeal for more of the "bold daring" of Carey, Ryland, and Fuller, a daring which had seemed imprudence to cautious men of their day. The time had once again come, pleaded Spurgeon, for a little rashness, "a little Quixotism", "something like extravagance for God".<sup>32</sup> Edward Irving's sermon of 1824 had found an echo in a most unlikely quarter.

At the general members' meeting on 25th April 1865 Underhill's motion restricting membership to "persons concurring in the religious principles and objects of the Society" was duly put, immediately followed by an alternative motion, moved by James Spurgeon and Charles Stovel, which would have limited membership to contributors "avowedly holding fellowship with Christ in his Kingdom ... on conditions of their not being disapproved by the Committee or by a General Meeting".<sup>33</sup> But both motions, and the whole of the Committee's package of constitutional reforms, were lost when Dr T. Price of Aberdare and William Brock of Bloomsbury successfully moved that the previous question be put.<sup>34</sup> The only crumb of comfort to the advocates of reform was a notice by the Rev. B. Davies of Greenwich that he would move a motion in the following year proposing a formula confining membership to "all lovers of Christ who, by subscription or otherwise", aided the Society.<sup>35</sup>

C. H. Spurgeon, who had not been present at the 1865 general meeting, remained strangely unaware of Davies's forthcoming motion. Shortly before the 1866 general meeting, however, E. B. Underhill asked Spurgeon whether he would be prepared to second Davies's motion, without (apparently) telling him precisely what the motion was.<sup>36</sup> Spurgeon, assuming that Davies had proposed another vacuous formula about mere assent to the Society's objects, insisted that he could not second any motion which did not require the governing body of the BMS to be "professors of faith in the Lord Jesus", and went on to adapt a favourite slogan of James Hudson Taylor's:<sup>37</sup> "That the Lord's people will have a blessing when they do the Lord's work in his own way I fully believe, but that small alterations in their own ways are of any great concern I hardly think".<sup>38</sup>

Davies proposed his motion at the general meeting on 24th April 1866, but two amendments to it were immediately moved. The first repeated *verbatim* the well-worn formula of April 1864 ("concurring in the religious principles and objects of the Society"), and was lost.<sup>39</sup> The second, moved by William Landels and seconded by C. H. Spurgeon himself, proposed the following rule relating to membership:

The following persons shall be considered Members, viz., Pastors of Churches making an annual contribution, Ministers who collect annually, and all Christian persons concurring in the objects of the Society who are donors of Ten Pounds and upwards, or subscribers of Ten Shillings and Sixpence annually to its Funds.

This second amendment was carried, and then put as an original motion, whereupon J. H. Hinton and Mr A. Burnett moved a last-ditch wrecking amendment, proposing that the word "Christian" be omitted.<sup>40</sup> Hinton's amendment was lost and Landels's motion carried. From April 1866, therefore, membership of the BMS was determined by the above formula.

Spurgeon's letter to Underhill of 21st April 1866 had predicted correctly that "I asked a great deal more of you than I shall ever get".<sup>41</sup> On only one of the four items of complaint listed by Spurgeon in November 1863 had the Society moved towards his position. The formula "all Christian persons" was scarcely more precise than Davies's proposal of "all lovers of Christ", and fell a long way short of Spurgeon's original demand that the BMS should at least require "membership with the Church of Christ somewhere". Nonetheless, Spurgeon evidently felt that the concession was of sufficient significance to warrant a closer identification on his part with the BMS, for in July 1867 he agreed to become a member of the BMS General Committee.<sup>42</sup> Participation in the Society offered increased scope for making his views heard. Preaching before the Young Men's Association in aid of the BMS in April 1868, Spurgeon appealed to his hearers to send out some of their own number in connection with the BMS, but directly supported from their own earnings.<sup>43</sup> In his own congregation Spurgeon's ideals first saw partial realization in 1875, when one of the Metropolitan Tabernacle Bible Classes under-

took to contribute £50 a year towards the support of a China Inland Mission missionary; in subsequent years the Tabernacle undertook the direct support of other missionaries.<sup>44</sup> One of the first students from the Pastors' College to enter missionary service, N. H. Patrick, went out to Tangiers in 1888 with the North Africa Mission directly dependent upon Spurgeon and the fellowship of the College for his financial support.<sup>45</sup>

Spurgeon's debate with the BMS from 1863 to 1866 might perhaps be interpreted as a partial prefiguring of the "Down Grade" controversy with the Baptist Union in 1887-88. Spurgeon's chief concern in the 1860s was to secure recognition of the principle that the BMS was an avowedly Christian society whose terms of membership could be no wider than the limits of Christian fellowship. His ideal, it may be surmised, would have been a restriction of membership to those who were both committed to evangelical principles and in membership with a Baptist church. The issue in 1887 was, to Spurgeon's mind, not so very dissimilar: was the Baptist Union prepared to declare that it was "a confederacy of evangelical churches" and to adopt a basis of membership which made it clear that those who were unable to subscribe to the truths "commonly known as evangelical" were not rightly in fellowship with it?<sup>46</sup> A restoration of the declaration dropped in 1873 - that the Union professed to unite those churches and ministers "who agree in the sentiments usually denominated evangelical" - would have gone some way at least towards satisfying Spurgeon.

The issue of the boundaries of Christian fellowship was thus implicit in both controversies: It would, however, be misleading to draw too close a parallel between the two. Spurgeon in the 1860s made no complaint about the doctrinal position of BMS officers or missionaries (though his remarks about the divisions within the Society presumably had some doctrinal reference), nor did he attempt to impose a basis of faith on the Society. Those who favoured a change in the terms of membership in the 1860s were not united by any particular theological viewpoint. Charles Stovel supported Spurgeon in his concern to give a specific ecclesiological basis to BMS membership, yet appears to have been a leading architect of the removal of the reference to "evangelical sentiments" from the Baptist Union constitution in 1873.<sup>47</sup> William Landels, who proposed the successful motion of 1866, displayed marked Morisonian tendencies in doctrine and found himself on the opposite side to his former friend Spurgeon in the Down Grade controversy.<sup>48</sup> Towards the end of 1863 Landels had delivered a lecture on Edward Irving before the Young Men's Christian Association in Exeter Hall. Landels' unreserved eulogy of Irving aroused much hostile criticism, but it was, significantly, Spurgeon himself who, according to Landels' biographer, "took his stand by his side, and defended his generous and outspoken utterances".<sup>49</sup> Landels and Spurgeon, it may be suggested, shared an admiration for Irving's "apostolic" idealism and a romantic impatience with the apparently "unspiritual" nature of Baptist missionary organization. Samuel Morton Peto, Spurgeon's chief supporter among the officers of the Society, was Landels'



chief patron at Regent's Park Chapel as well as a generous benefactor to the Metropolitan Tabernacle.<sup>50</sup>

Theology was not the stuff of the argument from 1863 to 1866. The dispute was rather about the principles and methods of Christian practice. Spurgeon, and those who in varying measure supported his stance - Peto, Stovel, Davies, Landels and James Spurgeon - were concerned that the BMS should be seen to be the missionary agency of the churches of the Baptist denomination, and not a mere voluntary society ruled by its subscribers. In expressing that concern they showed at least a partial anticipation of one of the central emphases of twentieth-century thinking on mission - that mission is the task of the whole Church and must therefore be rooted in the life of the local churches. For Spurgeon himself the technical question of the terms of membership, fundamental though it was, was in origin merely a part of a wider but unsuccessful attempt to impose upon the BMS some of the thinking which was to become characteristic of the "faith-mission" tradition. His efforts reveal the extent of his attraction to those aspects of Brethren spirituality and practice which were so powerfully exemplified in the life of George Müller.<sup>51</sup> Spurgeon had made James Hudson Taylor's acquaintance no later than October 1864,<sup>52</sup> and in years to come enjoyed the company of both Taylor and Müller while on holiday at Menton.<sup>53</sup> The conference in Peto's home in December 1863 evidently convinced Spurgeon that there was little point in pressing his "faith-mission" views of missionary support upon the Society. The debate thus narrowed to the issue of the terms of membership, an issue which raised in Spurgeon's mind ultimately theological questions about the basis of Christian fellowship which were to re-surface with consequences of infinitely greater seriousness in the different theological climate of twenty years later.

#### NOTES

- 1 This article is a revision of a section of my 1979 University of Cambridge PhD thesis, "Home Support for Overseas Missions in Early Victorian England, c.1838-1873". I wish to express my thanks to the Baptist Missionary Society for permission to use and quote from the Society's archives.
- 2 See W. R. Ward, "The Baptists and the Transformation of the Church, 1780-1830", *Baptist Quarterly*, xxv (1973), pp.167-84.
- 3 See Patricia Hollis (ed.), *Pressure from Without in Early Victorian England* (London, 1974), pp.4-5, 280-1.
- 4 BMS *Annual Report* for 1864-5, p.viii.
- 5 See A. L. Drummond, *Edward Irving and his Circle* (London, 1937), pp.107-8; Mrs Oliphant, *The Life of Edward Irving* (2nd edn., 2 vols, London, 1862), i, pp.195-207.
- 6 F. Roy Coad, *A History of the Brethren Movement* (2nd edn., Exeter, 1976), pp.22-3.
- 7 The second edition (1829) of the pamphlet is printed in full in G. H. Lang, *Anthony Norris Groves, Saint and Pioneer* (London, 1939), pp.89-127.

- 8 Müller derived his inspiration for operating his orphanages on faith principles chiefly from the example of the seventeenth-century German pietist, A. H. Francke.
- 9 C. H. Spurgeon, *The New Park Street Pulpit* (1964 edn.), iv, p.207.
- 10 Charles Ray, *The Life of Charles Haddon Spurgeon* (London, 1903), p.257; C. H. Spurgeon *Autobiography Volume 2: The Full Harvest 1860-1892* (Edinburgh, 1973), p.6.
- 11 C. H. Spurgeon, *The New Park Street Pulpit*, v, p.352.
- 12 Ian Shaw, "Charles Spurgeon and the Stockwell Orphanage: A Forgotten Enterprise", *Christian Graduate* XXIX, (1976), p.78.
- 13 *Baptist Magazine* (hereinafter BM) IV (1863), pp.797, 808-9.
- 14 C. H. Spurgeon to E. B. Underhill, n.d. (20 November 1863), Box H/45, Baptist Missionary Society archives, London (hereinafter BMSA).
- 15 General Committee minutes, vol. "O" (1860-4), pp.330-1, BMSA.
- 16 C. H. Spurgeon to (BMS General Committee), 27th November 1863, Box H/45, BMSA.
- 17 It is clear from the General Committee minutes of 1st December 1863 that the Treasurer, Sir S. M. Peto, sympathized with Spurgeon's position. But Spurgeon's words here suggest an ordinary ministerial member of the Committee - perhaps Charles Stovel, who gave notice at the 1864 general meeting that he would move in the following year a motion restricting membership to contributors "in communion with some recognised Baptist Church" (see note 26 below).
- 18 General Committee minutes, vol. "O" (1860-4), pp.333-4, BMSA.
- 19 *ibid.*, p.339.
- 20 *ibid.*, pp.341-2. These minutes are incorrectly dated 22nd December 1864.
- 21 General Committee minutes, vol. "O" (1860-4), p.342, BMSA.
- 22 *ibid.*, p.349.
- 23 Sub-Committee minute book 1853-68, fol.36, BMSA.
- 24 From 1832 to 1873 the Baptist Union professed to unite those churches and ministers "who agree in the sentiments usually denominated evangelical".
- 25 General Committee minutes, vol. "O" (1860-4), pp.384, 386-7, BMSA.
- 26 *BMS Annual Report* for 1863-4, p.xi. The Committee had prepared a report recommending means of "effecting a more thorough representation of the Denomination in the choice of the Committee". Charles Stovel also gave notice that he would move a motion granting membership to subscribers, donors and executors of wills in favour of the BMS only if they were "each and severally in communion with some recognised Baptist Church".
- 27 General Committee minutes, vol. "O" (1860-4), pp.365, 377, BMSA.
- 28 *BM*, LVI (1864), p.432; cf. Ward, "The Baptists and the Transformation of the Church", pp.172-4.
- 29 G. H. Pike, *The Life and Work of Charles Haddon Spurgeon* (6 vols., London, n.d.), iii, p.83.
- 30 *BM*, LVI (1864), pp.433-4.
- 31 *ibid.*, pp.434-5; cf. S. Pearce Carey, *William Carey* (revised edn., London, 1934), p.366.

- 32 *BM*, LVI (1864), p.435.
- 33 *BMS Annual Report* for 1864-5, pp.xi-xii. Charles Stovel withdrew his motion announced in 1864 (see note 26 above) in favour of James Spurgeon's motion.
- 34 *Ibid.*, p.xii; *BM*, LVII (1865), p.397.
- 35 *BMS Annual Report* for 1864-5, p.xii.
- 36 This is clear from Spurgeon's reply of 21st April 1866.
- 37 For Hudson Taylor's motto of "God's work done in God's way will never lack God's supplies" see Dr and Mrs H. Taylor, *Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission: The Growth of a Work of God* (London, 1918), p.42.
- 38 C. H. Spurgeon to E. B. Underhill, 21st April 1866, Box H/45, BMSA.
- 39 *BMS Annual Report* for 1865-6, p.xii. This amendment was moved by the Rev. J. Aldis of Reading and the Rev. J. Stock of Devonport.
- 40 *Ibid.*, p.xii. It was perhaps feared that Spurgeon had inserted the thin end of a wedge and would ultimately demand a qualification in terms of membership of a Baptist Church. Spurgeon, though an open-communionist, believed that membership of Baptist churches should be restricted to those baptized as believers.
- 41 C. H. Spurgeon to E. B. Underhill, 21st April 1866, Box H/45, BMSA.
- 42 General Committee minutes, vol. "P" (1864-8), pp.340, 342, BMSA.
- 43 *C. H. Spurgeon's Autobiography: Compiled from his Diary, Letters, and Records, by his Wife and his Private Secretary* (4 vols., London, 1897-1900), iii, pp.89-90.
- 44 *Ibid.*, iii, pp.90-1.
- 45 C. H. Spurgeon to (N. H.) Patrick, 14th December (1887 or 1888), Original Correspondence of C. H. Spurgeon, 1863-1886, Spurgeon's College; *The Baptist Handbook* for 1944-45-46, p.321.
- 46 C. H. Spurgeon to J. C. Culross, (December 1887), Bristol Baptist College MSS, cited in Norman S. Moon, *Education for Ministry: Bristol Baptist College 1679-1979* (Bristol, 1979), p.56.
- 47 Ernest A. Payne, *The Baptist Union: A Short History* (London, 1959), p.109.
- 48 Thomas D. Landels, *William Landels, D.D.: A Memoir* (London, 1900), pp.280-5, 331-2. James Morison (1816-93) was expelled from the ministry of the United Secession Church on account of his insistence on the universal nature of the atonement and in 1843 founded the Evangelical Union.
- 49 *Ibid.*, pp.174-6, 271. I owe this reference to Dr D. W. Bebbington.
- 50 Landels, *William Landels*, pp.95-8; (Henry Peto), *Sir Morton Peto: A Memorial Sketch* (London, 1893), pp.85-6.
- 51 See W. B. Neatby, *A History of the Plymouth Brethren* (London, 1901), p.275; Shaw, "Charles Spurgeon and the Stockwell Orphanage", pp.72, 77-78.
- 52 MS Journal of J. H. Taylor for 23rd October 1864, Overseas Missionary Fellowship archives, Sevenoaks.
- 53 *C. H. Spurgeon Autobiography Volume 2*, pp.215, 283-4; *Autobiography of George Müller: Compiled by G. Fred. Bergin; with a Preface and Concluding Chapter by Dr Arthur T. Pierson* (London, 1905), p.532.