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THE LEGACY OF ADONIRAM JUDSON

| Contents | |
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| 1. Spiritual Triumph Through Adversity | Intelligent, vigorous, visionary, and dedicated to his calling, Adoniram Judson was for several generations of American Protestants the first among American overseas missionaries. His premier standing was earned by the chronology of his appointment and service, as well as the quality of his work and devotion to service; his heroic stature has been enhanced by the literary interpretation of his life from the 1820s through the conclusion of the nineteenth century. |
| 2. Legacy of Missionary Service | Judson was the first child of Adohiram Judson, Sr., and Abigail Brown. Born August 9, 1788, in the parsonage of First Congregational Church of |

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| 3. Missionary Translator | Malden, Massachusetts (his father's first church), young Adoniram was the older brother of Abigail and Elnathan. His father was a graduate of Yale College and known for his evangelical views in accord with his mentors, |
| 4. The Hagiographic Judson | Samuel Hopkins (1721-1803) and Joseph Bellamy (1719-90). His mother was a homemaker and Christian activist in her local congregation. |
| 5. An Afterword | Adoniram, Jr., grew up in Wenham, Braintree, and Plymouth, Massachusetts, the locations of his father's subsequent ministerial appointments. As a young person, he rejected the faith of his parents and prided himself in being a skeptic. |
| 6. Notes | |
| 7. Bibliography | Adoniram went to the College of Rhode Island (later Brown University) at age sixteen. The school, under the denominational patronage of Baptists, was the preferred choice of his father, since Harvard was theologically unacceptable and Yale was suspected of infidelism by many contemporary evangelicals. Adoniram entered the sophomore class and graduated three years later in 1807 with the highest honors in his class. His youthful religious skepticism was enhanced by a close friend at college. Later, when that friend died, Adoniram had a crisis experience and sought the counsel of Moses Stuart (1780-1852), a theological professor at Andover Seminary. |
| 8. Works by Adoniram Judson | |
| 9. Works About Adoniram Judson | |

Adoniram completed his education at Andover Theological Seminary, matriculating on Stuart's recommendation in September 1808. He graduated two years later, in 1810, in its first class. During his seminary studies he became a believer and pursued an interest in overseas mission that soon became a passion. During this time he met and married Ann Hasseltine, a school teacher from Bradford, Massachusetts. On February 6, 1812, Judson and five of his friends were commissioned missionaries by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and they sailed for India immediately. Ann and Adoniram sailed with Samuel and Harriet Newell on the Caravan from Salem the next week; Samuel and Roxanna Nott, along with Gordon Hall and Luther Rice, embarked from Philadelphia on the Harmony some two weeks later. En route, the Judsons converted to Baptist principles and sought the support of the Baptist community in the United States. Originally intent on service in India, or more properly Madagascar, the Judsons went to Burma, and Adoniram served there for almost four decades as the first appointee of the newly formed Baptist Board of Foreign Missions and the General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States.

Adoniram and Ann settled first at Rangoon, where they lived from 1813 to 1823. They moved next to Ava (the royal city), where in 1824 Adoniram was taken prisoner as a suspected spy for the British government, then at war with Burma. Upon his release in 1826, they returned to Rangoon and eventually to Amherst. After Ann's death later that year, Adoniram moved between Moulmein, the new chief city of the Province of Tenasserim, and Prome and Rangoon. In 1834 Judson married the widow Sarah Boardman and moved permanently to Moulmein. There they remained until 1845, when Sarah died and Adoniram returned to the United States on furlough for 1845-46. Upon his return to Burma with his third wife, Emily, Judson returned to his home at Moulmein, and except for some time spent at Rangoon in 1847 to finish his dictionary project, there he remained until his final voyage.

In November 1849 Judson contracted a fever that greatly diminished his strength. Upon the advice of his physician, he took a voyage down the Burman coast, and in April 1850 he embarked for the Isle of France to continue his recuperation. On April 8, he succumbed to the illness and was buried at sea.

Judson was married three times. His first wife, Ann Hasseltine (1789-1826), served with him until her death from fever; they had two children. In 1834 he married the thirty-three-year-old widow of fellow missionary George Dana Boardman, Sarah Hall Boardman (1803-45), who bore him seven children. Sarah died of complications of childbirth. Finally after a furlough in upstate New York, in 1846 he married the fiction writer Emily Chubbock (1817-54), and they had one child. Emily survived Adoniram and helped to write his biography and create his heroic profile.

[Spiritual Triumph Through Adversity](#)

Like numerous young people who mature in the family of a minister, Adoniram rebelled and in his college years traveled extensively and caroused. He was shocked into reconsidering his moral condition in the summer of 1807 when, in a New England country inn, he happened upon a classmate who fell ill and died during the night. Within a year he reversed the direction of his life, turned aside a teaching position at his alma mater, and committed himself to a life of missionary service. Two of the most influential books Judson read were Claudius Buchanan's *Star in the East* (1809) and Michael Symes's *Account of the Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava* (1810).

Health difficulties plagued the pilgrimage of Adoniram Judson. In 1815 and again in 1817 he suffered an eye infection that required him to sit still for hours. He used the opportunity to dictate to a servant for the dictionary project. In 1838 he contracted an irritated throat condition, which continually limited his primary activity to study and writing rather than public speaking and evangelism. He was continuously laid low by loss of voice, sore throat, and painful breathing, which his biographer termed consumptive. (n1) But most trying of all was the grueling experience in 1824-25 during his imprisonment and forced march. Turned into what Ann called a "haggard, unshaven scarecrow," he suffered a fever, was deprived of food, was subjected to cut and bruised feet through undergoing a long march, and was confined to a death prison in intense sunlight, filth, and degradation. During his darkest moments of incarceration, he devised a plan to continue his translation work and protect the manuscript by hiding it in a pillow on which he slept. Upon his release, he returned to his work of translation and actually served as an emissary of negotiation between the British and Burmese treaty agents.

Death was an important factor in spiritual maturity for Adoniram Judson. When his wife, Ann, died in 1826 at Amherst, Adoniram was facilitating diplomatic negotiations in Rangoon. He learned of her sufferings and death and her attitude of resignation from a "black-sealed letter" that bore the ill tidings that "Mrs. Judson is no more." Following intense grief, he plunged into new projects writing astronomical and geographic catechisms, translating the Psalms, and working on missionary living quarters. Similarly in 1845 when Sarah died, he returned to the States and traveled ceaselessly in the interests of the board and his work. The four children Judson lost in childbirth also caused a good deal of sorrow for Adoniram, out of which grew increased dependence upon God's inscrutable purposes and a resignation to do the work to which he was called. When Roger Williams Judson died in his crib in 1816, it caused the parents to conclude that their attachment to their children had been too great. In 1841 when one-year-old Henry died from convulsions and fever at Serampore, Adoniram assuaged his grief by evangelizing the ship's company on the return from Calcutta to Port Louis.

Like most chronically sick persons, depression set in frequently for Judson. On one occasion in 1839 he admitted, "I have lived long enough, I have lived to see accomplished the particular objects on which I set my heart when I commenced a missionary life. And why should I wish to live longer?" (n2)

[Legacy of Missionary Service](#)

The biographers of Adoniram Judson found in him a paradigm of missionary service. First in

Judson's persona was a lifelong commitment to missionary service. At the time of his acknowledged call and interviews by the Congregationalist board, Judson expressed his desire to devote himself to a "mission for life." The tenor of his departure for India in 1812 was that of a permanent commitment; when his wife, Ann, became ill in 1825, he sent her back to the United States but remained on the field himself. Even after losing his second wife in 1845 and suffering from his chronic throat ailment, Judson felt obligated to return to Burma to resume his duties. Upon reflection on his career, he wrote to potential missionary candidates back in the United States, "Let it be a missionary life; that is, come out for life, and not for a limited term." ([n3](#)) The correspondence between the missionary and his Baptist board in his declining days in 1849-50 leaves the distinct impression that he had finished his life's major work but would remain in Asia.

Second, Judson was a denominational missionary, and he understood how polity and process worked in a churchly context. His initial inclination to become a missionary was expressed to the Bradford Congregationalist Association. Having met with a half dozen pastors and a layman, he and five others were the catalysts for the formation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. With little financial support for his ideas, Adoniram went to Great Britain in early 1811 as an emissary of this board to negotiate with the London Missionary Society, an interdenominational organization heavily supported by Congregationalists, for a possible American appointment. Following successful negotiations with the London connection, Adoniram returned to the United States to secure support among fellow Congregationalists.

Judson's conversion to the Baptist persuasion could have been a hurtful turn of events for both the young missionary and the New England base of support, not to speak of his parents in the Congregational ministry. Judson, however, followed an ethical pathway and resigned from the service of the board with full disclosure. He then wrote of his new convictions to friends in the United States, hoping for a positive response. Only afterward did he announce his readiness to accept an appointment from an "appropriate society." His friend Luther Rice (1789-1836), a consummate publicist, actually maneuvered Judson into a favorable light in the American Baptist community, which was rapidly developing an interest in supporting overseas missions.

Committed to both the field of Burma and Baptist principles, Judson waited patiently for support to materialize, and he wrote tirelessly of his work to American Baptist editors and a board he did not know. The Baptist community in the United States owed an incalculable debt to Judson, for he gave them not only an overseas missionary program but also a sense of national denominational identity and purpose. ([n4](#)) The Baptist family, originally organized to support the Burman Mission, split asunder in 1844-45. At the time Judson was caring for, and later grieving, his second wife, Sarah. His position on the divisive issue of slavery was mildly antislave, and his support for the Baptist board was unwavering. The great catalytic figure who rallied denominational forces in 1813 came to be associated with the Baptists of the North after the schism. His deceased colleague Luther Rice became the Southern Baptist ideal of missionary promotion for having spent the final years of his life itinerating in the South. ([n5](#)) Few Southern Baptist histories gave more than passing attention to the work of Judson for this reason. ([n6](#))

Perhaps it surprised many of his own family in New England, but when Judson returned in 1845 for his only furlough, it was spent largely visiting the Baptist community and recuperating from a throat ailment on the campus of Baptist-related Madison (later Colgate) University in upstate New York. Here he became fast friends with many of the leading northern Baptist educators of the era, including Nathaniel Kendrick (1777-1848) and William Colgate (1783-1857).

From an administrative point of view, Judson was an ideal appointment. Unlike William Carey, he did not become involved in troubling employment outside the mission, and he seemed to follow instructions respectfully. Rather, he pledged not to engage in secular employment and to

relinquish all private rights to remittances from America; all money and property were placed in the mission fund. He corresponded regularly with the board, which in turn published his letters and journal. The correspondence reveals much dependence of the board upon Judson for advice and insights into foreign service. The board could rightly take deep pride in Judson when their emissaries returned or wrote of observing his work firsthand and finding that things were as they should be. He became the folk hero of American Baptist life in the nineteenth century. ([n7](#))

While one could argue that there were few if any alternatives to denominational service in Judson's era, there was the real possibility, exhibited by William Carey, of support from other sources of income, as well as the starting of a new society like the Church Missionary Society, or among the Bible society enthusiasts, a new organization based upon theological distinctiveness. He could have followed the example of his one-time friend J. Lewis Shuck, who transferred his allegiance from the Baptist board to the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board. Instead, Judson chose to remain in the mainstream.

[Missionary Translator](#)

One of the most important facets of the Judson legacy was his identification of translation as a primary task of pioneer missionaries. The first indication of his interest in language came in 1808, when he published an introductory textbook for use in academies, *Elements of English Grammar*. This interest was enhanced when he met William Carey, Joshua Marshman, and William Ward at Serampore, India, and viewed firsthand their long-term efforts in translation of Scripture and other language tools in Indian languages and dialects.

Upon his arrival in Burma, Judson planned to conduct evangelistic and church planting ministries but soon realized the enormity of the language and cultural differences. This led him to make the first priority of his work translation of Scripture and suitable tracts for evangelical purposes. He wrote to a friend in the United States of his singular purpose. "My only object is to prosecute in a still, quiet manner the study of the language, trusting that for all the future, God will provide" ([n8](#)) His own contribution in this regard was very large. In 1826 he published the first edition of his Burmese dictionary, followed in 1840 by a translation of the entire Bible, which he considered his major literary accomplishment. He either translated or assisted in several other Bible projects, including Karen, Peguan, Pali, and Toungou. At the end of his life he was near completion on a Burmese-English dictionary, which his friend and protege Jonathan Wade completed. Having most of his linguistic work behind him in 1840, he reported to the board that he was returning to evangelistic preaching and itinerant work, which he believed was then greatly facilitated by his lifelong efforts in language-tool preparation.

But Judson's leadership in translation went beyond his own work. He set forth rules in 1839 for translation by other missionaries under appointment by the Baptist board. He was the chief catalyst in the appointment of the first American Baptist missionary printer, George Hough (1788-1859), and the subsequent setup of the American Baptist Missionary Press at Rangoon, for many years the premier Christian publisher of non-English-language materials in South Asia.

Judson's role model as a missionary dedicated to large linguistic projects had a great impact upon several generations of American Baptist missionaries in Burma and elsewhere. In his image were George Dana Boardman (1801-31), Eugenio Kincaid (1797-1883), Jonathan Wade (1798-1872), William Dean (1807-95), J. Lewis Shuck (1814-63), Josiah Goddard (1813-54), and Josiah Nelson Cushing (1840-1905). Aware of his influence and mindful of the great opportunities, Judson advised visiting board member Howard Malcolm (1799-1879) in 1836 that candidates for missionary service should first learn the language of their proposed field before setting upon the work. The faculty at Hamilton Literary and Theological Institution (later Madison, then Colgate University) in upstate New York took Judson's advice seriously and

developed an entire curriculum for missionary candidates, including tutorial instruction in Burmese.

Judson's work, advice, and continual prodding caused the Baptist board to develop strict criteria for missionary training. American Baptists were among the first sending agencies to develop policies for language training and education of their missionary personnel. The fruits of their labors were seen in the unusually high number of published dictionaries, language study aids, and Scripture portions from their presses in the nineteenth century.

[The Hagiographic Judson](#)

During his own lifetime, Adoniram Judson became a mythic figure, but even more so in his death. Tall and handsome, he had the profile of an American frontiersman. His struggles with Burmese officials and exploits during the Anglo-Burmese War marked him as a rugged religious individualist in the mold of Davy Crockett (1786-1836) or Andrew Jackson (1767-1845), his contemporaries back home in the United States. Woodcuts prepared for the religious press depicted him as a survivor against impossible odds of political treachery and religious infidelity. Accounts of his trial and imprisonment generated pride in American piety and indignation at the denial of his civil and human rights.

During his lifetime, Judson was recognized as a heroic figure. He first appeared in the public consciousness of New England at the celebrated commissioning service at Salem, Massachusetts, on February 6, 1812. Throngs of people attended the service and noted the leadership of the young Mr. Judson. A few days later on February 18, as he and his colleagues embarked for India, a great crowd attended the departure of his ship, as though they thought this was the beginning to a great American evangelical foreign mission. Even Judson's early colleagues--Gordon Hall, Luther Rice, Samuel Nott, Jr., and Samuel Newell--deferred to his judgment he was chosen to represent their interests both in Massachusetts and before the English Christian community.

The American Baptist press made the most of Judson's missionary exploits. In May 1817 the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine became the American Baptist Magazine, the official organ of the General Missionary Convention. Not an issue passed without notice of the Judsons; excerpts from Adoniram's or Ann's journals, edited letters to the board, and general articles about the geography and politics of the Far East filled the issues. These accounts were quickly picked up by other denominational periodicals in the United States and abroad. Most riveting were the accounts of Judson's torture and imprisonment in 1824-25 and Ann's devoted attempts to secure his release.

When Judson returned to the United States on his first furlough in 1845, he was hailed as a national hero. After almost thirty-four uninterrupted years on the field, he returned to a public hungry for news. His tour took him through most of the eastern U.S. urban centers. Boston, Providence, New York, Albany, Utica, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C. He met with churches, associations, schools, colleges, ministerial gatherings, and the rich and famous. At a convocation at his alma mater, Brown University, students gazed upon him, "the story of whose labors and sorrow and sufferings had been familiar to them from childhood, and whose name they uttered with reverence and affection as that of the pioneer and father of American missions to the heathen." (n9) Everywhere people literally reached out to touch him. The mystique about his appearances was further enhanced by his inability to speak at most events, owing to his chronic throat condition. He usually just stood mute and offered friendly gestures.

During his national tour, he was accorded the privileges of a visiting statesman. Leading capitalists like soap manufacturer William Colgate received him and offered to help finance his

work. Secretary of War William Marcy introduced him to President James K. Polk. He narrowly missed being presented to the United States Senate by luminary Daniel Webster of New Hampshire. Ever the statesman, Judson did venture south of the Mason-Dixon Line to visit some of the older southern friends of the Burman Mission, notably in Baltimore and Richmond, where he was honored by speeches of the new Southern Baptist leaders.

Significant in the making of a mythic image was Judson's reputation beyond his own denomination. People generally interested in missions, members and clergy of various denominations, and many others acclaimed Judson as "a good man," according to Robert Middleditch, a contemporary biographer. ([n10](#)) Perhaps the greatest evidence of his overall "living impact" came among his former brethren in the Congregationalist fold. He was officially received at a meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and described as a "brother beloved." In an emotional 1845 moment at a public gathering at Bowdoinham Square Baptist Church in Boston, he reunited with his former colleague Samuel Nott, Jr., who rejoiced at the sight of his early missionary companion. Nott and Judson were the only surviving members of the original first five American foreign missionaries.

Judson's name became a useful fund-raiser and consciousness-raiser among American evangelicals in the late nineteenth century. His 1846 visit to Philadelphia raised over \$14,000, while other visits led to the formation of numerous new missionary societies in the Baptist family. Still another means of recognizing the accomplishments of America's great missionary was to name a child after him this was seen in the case of Adoniram Judson Gordon (1836-95) and Adoniram Judson Joslin (1819-68), to name just two prominent examples. Judson's name was displayed nationally on the centenary of his birth in Malden, Massachusetts, in 1888, and significantly on the anniversary of the establishment of the Baptist mission in Burma. In 1913 his son Edward (1844-1913) made much of this event along with other Northern Baptists in the United States and Burma. Edward launched a financial campaign to underwrite the construction of a church edifice in New York City to which John D. Rockefeller contributed, known as the Judson Memorial Church.

Even the accounts of Judson's final hours and death were cause for veneration. Exhausted as his work on the Burmese dictionary project drew to a close, he continued his vast correspondence to the end. Isolated from his wife and children, he died in the company of a fellow missionary and was buried at sea, as he had wished, without a service of committal. The picture painted by his biographers, beginning with his wife, Emily, was one of lifelong and final devotion to his work and its reception into God's hands.

The creation of Judson's literary image began during his 1846 furlough. John Dowling, a well-known religious writer, published in that year *The Judson Offering*, which included not only details of the mission and the sacrifices but also numerous poems created for the theme. Adoniram, recognizing the notoriety that attended his first wife, Ann Hasseltine, worked diligently on his furlough to secure the services of an adequate biographer for his second wife, Sarah Hall Boardman. Following his death in 1850, Judson biographies proliferated on an official basis and in the general evangelical press as well. The authoritative work, edited by the eminent Francis Wayland, president of Brown University, included well-selected letters and papers relating to the late missionary's career. That, plus Robert Middleditch's biography, sold tens of thousands of copies through the next three decades. The American Baptist Mission Press, named the Judson Press in 1913, retained an ample supply of the literature.

The hagiographic image of Adoniram Judson is best illustrated in assessments like those of mission historian George Smith, who said, "Adoniram Judson is surpassed by no missionary since the Apostle Paul in self-devotion and scholarship, in labors and perils, in saintliness and

humility, in the result of his toils on the future of an empire and its multitudinous people."([n11](#))

[An Afterword](#)

American Baptist mission historian Robert G. Torbet commented that Adoniram Judson provided a constant source of inspiration for the denominational family of American Baptists, and Yale University Sterling Professor of History Kenneth Scott Latourette concurred that Judson caused the Baptists of the United States to unite in owning Burma as their first mission field.([n12](#)) Colleges and seminaries, as well as distinguished chairs in theological schools, were named for him.([n13](#)) He is recalled on the campuses of Brown University and in Malden, Massachusetts, the place of his birth. Judson himself avoided recognition of his accomplishments, declining, for example, the conferral of a doctor of divinity degree at Brown in 1823. He wanted to be remembered for his observation, "The future is as bright as the promises of God."

[Notes](#)

([n1.](#)) *Francis Wayland, A Memoir of the Life and Labors of the Rev. Adoniram Judson D.D.* (Boston: Phillips, Sampson, 1853), 2:131.

([n2.](#)) Quoted in Courtney Anderson, *To The Golden Shore: The Life of Adoniram Judson* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1956), p. 424.

([n3.](#)) *Adoniram Judson to the Foreign Missionary Association of Hamilton Literary and Theological Institution, June 25, 1832.*

([n4.](#)) Numerous Baptist historians have pointed out that it was missions that united a fragmented and localistic movement of churches in the United States. See, for instance, Robert G. Torbet, *Venture of Faith: The Story of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society and the Woman's American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, 1814-1954* (Valley Forge, Pa.: Judson Press, 1955), pp. 90ff.

([n5.](#)) For an insight into the lifelong friendship that Judson and Rice maintained, consult *Dispensations of Providence: The Journal and Letters of Luther Rice, 1803-1830*, ed. William H. Brackney (Rochester, N.Y.: American Baptist Historical Society, 1984), pp. 155-56.

([n6.](#)) See William R. Estep, *Whole Gospel--Whole World: The Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1845-1995* (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1994), pp. 27ff.

([n7.](#)) Modern writers think that part of Adoniram's image as a folk hero was earned by and through his wives, Ann, Sarah, and Emily. For this perspective, see Joan J. Bruinberg, *Mission for Life: The Story of the Family of Adoniram Judson* (New York: Free Press, 1980), pp. 79ff.

([n8.](#)) *Adoniram Judson to Reverend Emerson, January 7, 1814.*

([n9.](#)) *William Gammell, History of American Baptist Missions* (Boston: 1845), p. 177.

([n10.](#)) *Robert Middleditch, Burmah's Great Missionary: Records of the Life of Adoniram Judson* (New York: E. H. Fletcher, 1854), pp. 354-55.

([n11.](#)) Quoted in John Caldwell Thiessen, *A Survey of World Missions*, rev. ed. (Chicago: Moody

Press, 1961), p. 57.

(n12.) Kenneth S. Latourette, The Nineteenth Century Outside Europe: The Americas, the Pacific, Asia, Africa (New York: Harper, 1961), p. 420.

(n13.) For instance, Judson College in Alabama, Judson College in Illinois, and the Judson Chair in World Missions at Andover Newton Theological School in Massachusetts.

Bibliography Works by Adoniram Judson

Adoniram Judson was the author of a series of tracts in Burmese (1816-34), catechetical works (1817-27), and published letters (1816-32). Several other major works are listed below.

- 1808 Elements of English Grammar. Boston: Cushing & Lincoln.
- 1812 Christian Baptism: A Sermon Preached in the Lall Bazaar Chapel, Calcutta. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press.
- 1826 Dictionary of the Burman Language, with Explanations in English. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press.
- 1829 Memoir of Mee Shway-ee. Moulmein: American Baptist Mission Press.
- 1830 The Golden Balance; or, The Christian and Buddhist System Contrasted. Moulmein: American Baptist Mission Press.
- 1839 A View of the Christian Religion. Madras: American Mission Press.
- 1840 The Holy Bible [in Burmese]. Moulmein: American Baptist Mission Press.
- 1840 Digest of Scripture in Peguan. Moulmein: American Baptist Mission Press.
- 1850 A Grammar of the Burmese Language. Rangoon: American Mission Press.
- 1852 Burman and English Dictionary. Serampore: G. H. Hough. Revised and completed by Jonathan Wade.

Works About Adoniram Judson

Because Judson was such a large, heroic figure of nineteenth-century American religious literature, he is the subject of many biographies. The most reliable and useful accounts are listed below.

Anderson, Courtney. *To the Golden Shore: The Life of Adohiram Judson*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1956.

Babcock, Rufus. *A Discourse Commemorative of the Life and Labors of the Rev. Adoniram Judson*. New York: E. H. Fletcher, 1851.

Brumberg, Joan J. *Mission for Life: The Story of the Family of Adoniram Judson, the Dramatic Events of the First American Foreign Mission, and the Course of Evangelical Religion in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Free Press, 1980.

Carver, W. O. "The Significance of Adoniram Judson," *Baptist Review and Expositor* 10 (October 1913).

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Hague, William. *The Life and Character of Adoniram Judson: A Commemorative Discourse Delivered Before the American Baptist Missionary Union, Boston, May 15, 1851*. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1851.

Middleditch, Robert. *Burmah's Great Missionary: Records of the Life of Adonirarn Judson*. New York: E. H. Fletcher, 1854.

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Wayland, Francis. A Memoir of the Life and Labors of the Rev. Adohiram Judson, D.D. 2 vols. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, 1853.

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