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# Breaking the Strong Attachment to Home and Country: The Influence of a Friend of Fuller's Friends on Adoniram Judson

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To Merari belonged the clan of the Mahlites and the clan of the Mushites: these are the clans of Merari. Their listing according to the number of all the males from a month old and upward was 6,200. And the chief of the fathers' house of the clans of Merari was Zuriel the son of Abihail. They were to camp on the north side of the tabernacle. And the appointed guard duty of the sons of Merari involved the frames of the tabernacle, the bars, the pillars, the bases, and all their accessories; all the service connected with these; also the pillars around the court, with their bases and pegs and cords. (Numbers 3:33-37 ESV)

**F**ocusing on the detailed description of this Levite clan, Andrew Bonar (1810-1892), pastor in Scotland and mentor of Robert Murray McCheyne, crafted a sermon titled, "The Pins of the Tabernacle." Therein, Bonar reflects on God's design and plan for the designation of someone specific to carry the pins

during the days of the Israelites' wanderings. A potential source of discontent, Bonar sees where the sons of Merari might say, "Why do our brethren the Kohathites carry the Ark while we carry the pins?" To this question Bonar responds:

Because God said it; that is all. He that serves most is the greatest in the kingdom. He who carries the pins may get the greatest reward .... Do not say, 'I want to get out of the rut into another place.' If you get out of the rut of carrying pins when God put you there, you will not be blessed. Are we in the camp with God? That is the great thing.<sup>2</sup>

A century earlier, another Scot, Claudius Buchanan (1766-1815), faithfully lived out the kind of service Bonar would describe. Though largely forgotten today, Buchanan was a friend of William Carey (and thus a friend of Fuller's friends) who carried the

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“Tabernacle pins” of missions advocacy among his contemporaries to the degree that historian Wilbert Shenk noted Buchanan’s influence in “playing the decisive role in opening India to Christian missions in the early years of the nineteenth century.”<sup>3</sup>

## **A FAITHFUL SERVANT**

Through his memoirs, field reports, and sermon collections, Buchanan labored persistently to inspire others to the task of global evangelization. Yet, while he made a number of significant contributions in his own lifetime toward the expansion of the missionary task, it was a single sermon, an ordinary “Tabernacle pin” if you will, that God used to direct the heart and mind of the pioneer American missionary, Adoniram Judson at a time when he needed a word from God the most. The result of Buchanan’s influence was a decision finally by Judson to break with home and country and set out with the gospel for Burma. Since that day, Judson has been held in memory for two centuries and Buchanan has been forgotten. Yet, Buchanan’s faithfulness served Judson and thousands more. In this year that marks the bicentennial of Judson’s departure for missionary service, this essay seeks to review the events of Judson’s spiritual formation that brought him to the point of consecration to missionary task, with note of the specific influence of Claudius Buchanan’s sermon and Judson’s response thereto.

## **JUDSON’S FORMATION**

The story of Adoniram Judson’s formative years (1788-1812) is the story of the work of the Spirit of God on a man’s life by the sharp instrument of the Word of God. As one biographer noted, Judson’s earnest ambition would serve him his entire life.<sup>4</sup> Yet, prior to his conversion at age 20, Judson’s unregenerate ambition opposed the Spirit and the Word at every turn.

## **UNBRIDLED AMBITION**

The eldest son of a Congregationalist pastor, Judson was born August 9, 1788, in Malden, Massachusetts. In his early years, he showed remarkable intellectual ability, learning to read by the age of three. His first encounter with the Word of God came when his

mother trained him to read a chapter of the Bible as a surprise gift to his preacher-father. Indeed, though he drifted far from it, the Book that he later translated into the Burmese language was never far from him. Even as a young child, His father, who sought for Adoniram a life of great achievement, fanned Judson’s remarkable abilities into a competitive ambition.<sup>5</sup>

The Judson family relocated to Wenham, Massachusetts, in January 1793, where they remained until Adoniram was 11. Leaving Wenham in May 1800, the Judsons spent two years in Braintree, Massachusetts before settling in Plymouth May 11, 1802. At the age of 14, Judson contracted a debilitating illness that effectively suspended his life for an entire year. During that time, he realized that his well-conceived plans for personal greatness as an orator, poet, or statesman were in danger of failing. Gradually he began to think that the attainment of all his worldly goals might not satisfy him in the end. Attributing such rationale to his illness, Judson attempted to return his thoughts to future greatness only to find himself faced with the words of Psalm 115:1: “Not unto us, not unto us, but to Thy name be the glory.” The Holy Spirit’s conviction did not sit well with Judson, for he was fully aware that becoming a Christian would threaten his ambitious plans.<sup>6</sup>

## **YEARS AT THE UNIVERSITY**

After recovering from the illness, Judson enrolled at Providence College, later known as Brown University in August 1804. Due to his intellectual accomplishments he gained admittance a year early at the age of sixteen. Even though Brown aimed to produce orthodox and committed evangelicals, Judson found avenues to satisfy both his prideful ambitions and skeptical intellect. At a school that promoted the study of the Word of God, Judson’s ambition continued to oppose the Spirit and the Word, and he subsequently became ensnared in secular philosophies. One early biographer of Judson observed that

In the years which Mr. Judson spent at Providence, French infidelity was extremely popular. It is no wonder that with the general tendencies of young men to favor novel and extreme views, and when leading minds were entangled in its sophistical

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mazes, that it found many to welcome it in the colleges of the land. Not a few soon learned contempt for the Bible. Mr. Judson was of their number.<sup>7</sup>

Deistical philosophy, sometimes called French infidelity, made inroads in New England following the Revolutionary War. Thus by the time Judson went to Brown, skeptical philosophy was not only readily available, but it was seen as intellectually superior and sought by those with ambitious minds.

While at Brown, Judson befriended Jacob Eames. Eames, a year older, embodied the attributes to which Judson aspired—including the rejection of Christianity in favor of Deism. The two became close friends and encouraged one another in their pursuit of greatness. At one time they considered entering the practice of law to open the door for later political opportunities. On another occasion they marveled at their own dramatic prowess and planned to climb the ranks of society as playwrights.<sup>8</sup> The friendship stoked Judson's ego and, consequently, his rejection of Christianity.

At Brown Judson met every challenge his worldly ambition set for him. Fearful of a health-related setback, he never took a break from his studies, pushing himself to excel through academic rivalries. One contemporary had “no recollection of his ever failing, or even hesitating, in recitation.”<sup>9</sup> Judson set his heart on achieving the highest marks in his class and anticipated the day when he would be chosen to give the valedictory address at his commencement.

## LIFE OF THE PRODIGAL

After graduating at age 19, Judson returned home to Plymouth to operate a private academy and publish two textbooks. However, his newfound philosophy did not fit with the Congregationalist commitments of his family. Therefore in August 1808 Judson closed his academy, and, much like the Prodigal Son, left town on an undisciplined tour of the surrounding states. His father provided him with a horse, and, after spending time with an uncle in Connecticut, Judson went to New York, traveling down the Hudson River on a steamer. Embracing the anonymity of the journey, he referred to himself as Mr. Johnson, and upon

arrival in New York sought to become a playwright.<sup>10</sup> Later in life, he would recount to a friend:

In my early days of wildness, I joined a band of strolling players. We lived a reckless, vagabond life, finding lodgings where we could, and bilking the landlord where we found opportunity—in other words, running up a score, and then decamping without paying the reckoning.<sup>11</sup>

Following his New York experience, Judson returned to his uncle's house to retrieve his horse before heading west in search of further adventure.

***An encounter with death.*** The next evening, Judson found lodging in a small inn. The caretaker explained that he had to place him in a room next to a young man who was very ill and possibly dying. Such circumstances led to a sleepless night. Sounds of visitors and the groans of the ill man continued unabated. More than the noise, the prospect that a man in an adjacent room might die disturbed the prodigal wanderer. Was he himself ready to die? His philosophy could not calm his fears or answer his questions. Embarrassed over his weak moment, he considered how Jacob Eames surely would chide him in that hour. Yet, the thoughts of his and the neighboring man's eternal state would not leave him.<sup>12</sup> Edward Judson recounts the ensuing conversation the next morning that would forever change Adoniram's life:

When the morning arrived, Judson dismissed his nightmares with the light of dawn and asked the caretaker about the ill man.

‘He is dead,’ came the reply.

‘Dead!’

‘Yes, he is gone, poor fellow! The doctor said he would probably not survive the night.’

‘Do you know who he was?’

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‘O, yes; it was a young man from the Providence College—a very fine fellow; his name was Eames.’

Judson was completely stunned. After hours had passed, he knew not how, he attempted to pursue his journey. But one single thought occupied his mind, and the words, ‘Dead! lost! lost!’ were continually ringing in his ears. He knew the religion of the Bible to be true; he felt its truth; and he was in despair.<sup>13</sup>

## A GROWING CONVICTION

For the first time in his life, Judson suspended his ambition in the face of a growing conviction from the Spirit and the Word of God. He discarded his plans to travel west and in September 1808 headed toward Plymouth. His future wife, Ann, provides the following account:

His mind became so deeply impressed with the probability of the Divine authenticity of the Scriptures, that he could no longer continue his journey; but returned to his father’s house, for the express purpose of examining thoroughly the foundation of the Christian religion. After continuing his investigations for some time, he became convinced that the Scriptures were of Divine origin, and that he himself was in a lost situation by nature, and needed renovation previous to an admittance into heaven. It now became his sole enquiry, ‘What shall I do to be saved?’<sup>14</sup>

Having returned home to his parents, Judson still could not find spiritual relief. After delving for so long into intellectual pursuits he could not bring his mind to trust what he believed to be true from the Word of God. Two professors from the new Andover Theological Seminary, after visiting with Judson’s father, suggested that Judson should enter the seminary to aid in his search for truth.<sup>15</sup> The seminary, formed in reaction to the drift toward Unitarianism at Harvard, was a bastion of orthodoxy at which Judson could work through his difficulties.<sup>16</sup>

## THE SAVING WORK OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

Judson eventually entered Andover Theological Seminary on October 12, 1808, as a special student. In the years ahead, Judson stated that he knew at the time of his admittance that he was still “a wretched infidel,”<sup>17</sup> and Professor Leonard Woods observed that he “was naturally the subject of manifest pride and ambition.”<sup>18</sup> In the weeks following Judson’s arrival, a professor observed that he “became thoughtful and anxious; and after a time he showed signs of a change, which we hoped was the saving work of the Holy Spirit.”<sup>19</sup> In November, Judson recorded that he began “to entertain hope of having received the regenerating influences of the Holy Spirit.”<sup>20</sup> Finally on December 2, 1808, Judson dedicated himself to God, and on May 28, 1809, he joined the Third Congregational Church in Plymouth as a public profession of his new faith. After his conversion Judson continued as a regular student at Andover and became known for his devotion to the Bible.

## THE DRAW TO MISSIONS

In the years that followed, God harnessed Judson’s ambition for His glory. At the start of his second year at Andover, Judson began to “reflect on the personal duty of devoting his life to the cause of missions.”<sup>21</sup> The idea of consecrating his life to go to the ends of the earth, though perhaps an abrupt concept for his family, was not a novel development in 1809 New England.

***The influence of David Brainerd.*** As one historian relates, “To get through Andover without reading Brainerd was virtually unthinkable.”<sup>22</sup> Jonathan Edwards’ *Diary and Journal of David Brainerd* appeared on the reading list for all students because “theological students could not neglect this kind of reading, without experiencing an essential loss both as to their present advancement in holiness, and their future usefulness in the ministry.”<sup>23</sup> Edwards’ work told the story of the years of sacrifice of the young New England minister, David Brainerd, who spent his life in reaching Native Americans with the gospel.<sup>24</sup> The volume, published in 1749, found

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wide reading as the first full missionary biography ever published. As the modern missionary movement advanced, Brainerd's *Diary and Journal* could be found in various missionary settings, often consulted as a field manual.<sup>25</sup>

***The impact of William Carey.*** Also in New England, especially among evangelicals, there existed a wide following of William Carey. Motivated by the Great Commission in Matthew 28:18-20, Carey, with the publication of his *Enquiry* in 1792, led British Baptists to support an effort to take the gospel to “those who have no Bibles, no preachers, nor many other common advantages which are taken for granted at home.”<sup>26</sup> By the early nineteenth-century, many in America also sought to support Carey's work. In an evangelical publication, *The Panoplist*, in March 1806 a notice was posted “to all who love the prosperity of Zion, and are disposed to aid in propagating the Gospel among the Heathen,” seeking aid “for the purpose of printing the sacred scriptures in one of the languages” of India. It referenced the missionaries to whom such support would go including, “the laborious, learned, and pious Mr. Carey, Professor of Oriental languages, in the college of Fort William, at Calcutta.”<sup>27</sup>

Judson's reading of Brainerd and awareness of Carey prepared him to respond to a sermon he read in September 1809 by Claudius Buchanan. Months earlier, on February 26, 1809, Claudius Buchanan, preached the sermon *The Star in the East*, in Bristol, England on Matthew 2:2: “For we have seen His Star in the East, and are come to worship Him.”<sup>28</sup> Buchanan was to have a direct and lasting influence on Judson's call to mission service.

## CLAUDIUS BUCHANAN

In his biographical essay, Shenk relates that Buchanan, an Anglican priest and a chaplain in the East India Company, was first discipleshiped by John Newton and later Charles Simeon while a student at Cambridge. Following Cambridge he served in India in the chaplaincy. While in India Buchanan met William Carey and joined in his passion for

missions and missionary strategy. The approach of translating the Bible into the vernacular of the people intrigued Buchanan, and he found himself tasked with starting a college for Britons working in India. As vice-provost of The College of Fort William he secured a place for William Carey to teach Bengali and Sanskrit.<sup>29</sup>

## BOUNDLESS CONFIDENCE IN THE SCRIPTURE

Buchanan's relationship with Carey and the Baptists was strong but obviously not uniform in all doctrine or methodology. Despite their differences, Buchanan joined the Baptists in a common “enthusiasm for producing as many translations in as many languages as possible. This tactic was buttressed by his almost boundless confidence in the power of the Christian Scriptures to ‘witness’ to people, if only they were given access.”<sup>30</sup> Buchanan said of Carey, “He considers himself as sowing a seed, which haply may grow up and bear fruit. He is prosecuting his translation of the Scriptures. This is a good work .... I told Mr. Carey, that I thought he could not employ his time better than in translating the Scriptures.”<sup>31</sup> While Buchanan's friendship with the Serampore Trio was strong, Brian Stanley notes that Andrew Fuller remained skeptical of the potential effect of the relationship and warned Carey that his fraternization with Buchanan might draw them “off from the simplicity of Christ into a ‘worldly, political religion.’”<sup>32</sup>

## ADVANCING THE CALL

While the tedious labor of Scripture translation could be compared to the “carrying of Tabernacle pins,” so also could Buchanan's service as a publicist. Shenk tells of Buchanan's persistence, often during times of ill health, in writing and finding ways of “stimulating others to write in support of the cause of missions.”<sup>33</sup> This started in journeys throughout India to gather research on the state of Christianity in various regions and concluded in the publication of his sermons upon his return to England. Though Buchanan would die at age 49 in 1815, his sermons went on to be widely read—one of his most popular being *The Star in the East*.

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**Need for the Gospel in the East.** In *The Star in the East*, Buchanan told the account of Jesus' birth, emphasizing the uniqueness of the Gentile visitors, the wise men following a star, as "representatives of the whole heathen world."<sup>34</sup> The star's eastern location, Buchanan noted, is significant because "millions of the human race inhabit that portion of the globe." Therefore, just as in the day of the arrival of God's Son, the East will once again bear witness to the Messiah, "not indeed by the shining of a Star, but by affording luminous evidence of the divine origin of the Christian Faith."<sup>35</sup> Buchanan then proceeded to give evidence for the spread of Christianity in the East and the need for men to take the gospel to that region of the world.

**The impact on Judson.** Brumberg notes that *The Star in the East* appeared in the *Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine* right at the time Judson indicated he read it.<sup>36</sup> What might have caught Judson's attention was Buchanan's description of his passion to see the translation of the Scripture into various languages. Buchanan states:

When the Gospel was first to be preached to all nations, it was necessary to give a diversity of *tongues*; a *tongue* for each *nation*; and this was done by the Divine Power. But in this second promulgation, as it were, of the Gospel, the work will probably be carried on by a diversity of *translations*, a diversity of Scriptures; a *translation* for each *nation*. Instead of the gift of tongues, God, by his providence, is giving to mankind the gift of Scriptures.<sup>37</sup>

Buchanan and Carey's approach as linguists and translators resonated with Judson. Indeed, one biographer says that Judson's reverence for the Word of God fueled his desire to translate the Bible:

A third peculiarity of his character—and one that tinged his whole life—was his reverence for the Bible. This habit is significant in connexion with his work as a translator, and it often influenced his plans, himself unconscious of its power.<sup>38</sup>

Buchanan's faithfulness in carrying the "Tabernacle pins" of Bible translation and promotion of missions had a profound affect on the American Adoniram Judson, struggling himself with the call of God an ocean away.

## JUDSON'S RESPONSE

Judson said that the reading of Buchanan's sermon had two effects on him. First, it enabled him to "break the strong attachment [he] felt to home and country, and to endure the thought of abandoning all [his] wonted pursuits and animating prospects."<sup>39</sup> Though even Judson acknowledged that he would not consider Buchanan's sermon "peculiarly excellent," it still had an epoch-making impact on his life.

## THE BEGINNING OF A NEW LIFE

In a letter to a friend, Judson wrote of the pervading affect of Buchanan's sermon on his life:

"[It] produced a very powerful effect on my mind. For days I was unable to attend to the studies of my class, and spent my time wondering at my past stupidity, depicting the most romantic scenes in missionary life, and roving about the college rooms, declaiming on the subject of missions. My views were very incorrect, and my feelings extravagant; but yet I have always felt thankful to God for bringing me into that state of excitement."<sup>40</sup>

Although the excitement faded, the sermon led him to the woods to contemplate and pray about becoming a missionary. In February 1810, while walking alone, he arrived at a moment of decision: "The command of Christ, 'Go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature,' was presented to my mind with such clearness and power, that I came to a full decision, and though great difficulties appeared in my way, resolved to obey the command at all events."<sup>41</sup> Thus, at age 21, the Word of God, brought to his mind by the Spirit, solidified his future course.

## A FOCUSED PASSION

Buchanan's sermon also focused Judson's ambition

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and passion on the East. His future wife Ann, writing in 1823, recounted that “the subject harassed his mind from day to day, and he felt deeply impressed with the importance of making some attempt to rescue the perishing millions of the East.”<sup>42</sup> Judson began to read all that he could regarding countries in the East. He soon discovered Michael Symes’s, *An Account of an Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava*, and within its pages found his future home.<sup>43</sup>

**A home in Burma.** Symes, a British army officer, was sent to Burma in 1795, and in the two-volume work that detailed his experiences, he described the country: “There are no countries on the habitable globe, where the arts of civilized life are understood, of which we have so limited a knowledge, as of those that lie between the British possessions in India and the Empire of China.”<sup>44</sup> Of their religion, Symes explained, “The Birmans [sic] are Hindoos: not votaries of Brahma, but sectaries of Boodh.”<sup>45</sup> As Anderson concludes, a civilized society in the East that was completely pagan and without the Word of God held forth a great opportunity in the mind of Judson.<sup>46</sup>

After a year of consulting with the London Missionary Society, the newly formed American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions voted, on September 19, 1811, to appoint Judson, Samuel Nott, Samuel Newell, and Gordon Hall as missionaries “to labor under the direction of this Board in Asia, either in the Birman [sic] Empire, or in Surat, or in the Prince of Wales Island or elsewhere, as in the view of the Prudential Committee, Providence shall open the most favorable door.”<sup>47</sup>

## A LIFE OF SACRIFICE

On February 19, 1812, Adoniram and Ann Judson departed for the East. Ann would die in 1826. Judson would lose several children and another wife, Sarah, before returning home in 1846 to a hero’s welcome. After a short stay, he met Emily Chubbuck, married again, and returned to his Burman home. Four years later in 1850 illness caused him to attempt to return again, but he died en route and was buried at sea. In the end, Judson gave the

Burmese a translation of the Bible and a life lived in sacrifice for the gospel.

## CONCLUSION

With the marking of the bicentennial of Judson’s departure for Burma, Judson’s name will once again return to conversation, and his story of sacrifice and gospel advance will circulate lecture halls and computer screens. Yet, the instrument used first to push Judson to the East was a mere “Tabernacle pin” – a sermon of a now unknown preacher, Claudius Buchanan. A friend of Fuller’s friends, Buchanan’s sermon led Judson to finally break his strong attachment with home and country in exchange for a 200-year legacy of influencing many others to do the same for the sake of Christ. As Andrew Bonar said, “He who carries the pins may get the greatest reward.”

## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> Portions of this essay are taken from Jason G. Duesing, ed., *Adoniram Judson: A Bicentennial Appreciation of the Pioneer American Missionary* (Nashville, TN: B&H Academic, 2012). Originally presented at the Annual Meeting of the Andrew Fuller Center, 21 September 2012, Louisville, Kentucky.
- <sup>2</sup> Andrew Bonar, “The Pins of the Tabernacle,” in Marjory Bonar, ed., *Reminiscences of Andrew A. Bonar, D. D.* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1895), 287-88.
- <sup>3</sup> Wilbert R. Shenk, “The Legacy of Claudius Buchanan,” in *IBMR* (April 1994): 78.
- <sup>4</sup> H. C. Conant, *The Earnest Man* (Boston, MA: Phillips, Sampson & Co., 1856).
- <sup>5</sup> Edward Judson, *The Life of Adoniram Judson* (New York: Ansom D. F. Randolph, 1883), 2.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 9-10.
- <sup>7</sup> E. H. Fletcher, *Records of the Life, Character, and Achievements of Adoniram Judson* (New York, NY: Edward H. Fletcher, 1854), 15; Brumberg, *Mission for Life*, 33.
- <sup>8</sup> Francis Wayland, *A Memoir of the Life and Labors of the Rev. Adoniram Judson, D.D.* (Boston: Phillips, Sampson, and Company, 1853), 1:22-23.
- <sup>9</sup> Edward Judson, *The Life*, 7.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.
- <sup>11</sup> Henry Gougher, *A Personal Narrative of Two Years’ Imprisonment in Burmah, 1824-26* (London: John Murray,

- 1860), 179.
- <sup>12</sup> Edward Judson, *The Life*, 12.
- <sup>13</sup> Edward Judson, *The Life*, 12-13. Brumberg, *Mission for Life*, 35, contends that this story recounted by many biographers “is probably apocryphal” since Judson never mentioned it. However, both Wayland and Edward Judson cite the account as the recollection of close family members. Since Judson did not speak much about his pre-conversion days, one should not be surprised that he never mentioned the incident.
- <sup>14</sup> Ann Judson, *An Account of the American Baptist Mission to the Burman Empire* (London: J. Butterworth & Son, 1823), 6.
- <sup>15</sup> Wayland, *Memoir*, 1:26.
- <sup>16</sup> Wayland, *Memoir*, 1:26.
- <sup>17</sup> Woods, *History*, 136-137; Brumberg, *Mission for Life*, 35.
- <sup>18</sup> Leonard Woods to Daniel C. Eddy, 25 Nov. 1850, quoted in Eddy, *A Sketch of Adoniram Judson*, v.
- <sup>19</sup> Leonard Woods to Daniel C. Eddy, 25 Nov. 1850, quoted in Eddy, *A Sketch of Adoniram Judson*, v.
- <sup>20</sup> Edward Judson, *The Life*, 562.
- <sup>21</sup> Wayland, *Memoir*, 1:29.
- <sup>22</sup> Brumberg, *Mission for Life*, 25.
- <sup>23</sup> Woods, *History*, 168-169.
- <sup>24</sup> Jonathan Edwards, *Diary and Journal of David Brainerd with Preface and Reflections by Jonathan Edwards* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 2007).
- <sup>25</sup> Iain Murray, *Jonathan Edwards: A New Biography* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1987), 307, 470.
- <sup>26</sup> William Carey, *Enquiry*, E.8.
- <sup>27</sup> *The Panoplist* 1 (March 1806): 462-463; Brumberg, *Mission for Life*, 25.
- <sup>28</sup> Claudius Buchanan, *The Star in the East* (New York, NY: Williams & Whiting, 1809). For further context for this and other of Buchanan’s sermons see Karen Chancey, “The Star in the East: The Controversy Over Christian Missions to India, 1805-1813,” in *Historian* (Spring 1998).
- <sup>29</sup> Shenk, “The Legacy,” 78-79.
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.
- <sup>31</sup> Hugh Pearson, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Claudius Buchanan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1817), 1:184. Shenk, “The Legacy,” 81n9.
- <sup>32</sup> Brian Stanley, *The History of the Baptist Missionary Society* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1992), 22-23, “Although the missionary awakening encouraged a ‘pan-evangelical’ spirit of interdenominational co-operation in the cause of domestic and foreign mission, there were clear limits to the scope of ecumenical enthusiasm, at least as far as Andrew Fuller was concerned. Fuller was glad to associate publically with the Anglican Evangelicals who founded the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in 1799 ... Yet Fuller retained a profound conviction of the harmful consequences of religious establishment, and in 1806 felt bound to warn the Serampore Trio (Carey, Joshua Marshman, and William Ward) that their friendship with the East India Company’s Evangelical chaplains Claudius Buchanan and David Brown might draw them off from the simplicity of Christ into a ‘worldly, political religion.’” Stanley continues, “While the Serampore missionaries derived from their strengthening Anglican contacts a new breadth of Christian sympathy, the BMS secretary [Fuller] remained typically eighteenth-century Particular Baptist in his staunch attachment to Baptist and Calvinistic principles. Carey’s famous proposal in 1806 of ‘a general association of all denominations of Christians,’ to meet every ten years or so at the Cape of Good Hope, was politely dismissed by Fuller as ‘one of bro[ther] Carey’s pleasing dreams.”
- <sup>33</sup> Shenk, “The Legacy,” 80.
- <sup>34</sup> Buchanan, *The Star in the East*, 4.
- <sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 5-6.
- <sup>36</sup> Brumberg, *Mission for Life*, 36n72. See *Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine* (Sept 1809): 202-206.
- <sup>37</sup> Buchanan, *Star*, 22.
- <sup>38</sup> Joseph Angus, “Introduction,” in H. C. Conant, *The Earnest Man: A Memoir of Adoniram Judson* (London: J. Heaton, 1861), viii.
- <sup>39</sup> Adoniram Judson to Stephen Chapin, 18 Dec. 1837, quoted in Wayland, *Memoir*, 1:51-52.
- <sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>42</sup> Ann Judson, *An Account*, 7-8.
- <sup>43</sup> Courtney Anderson, *To the Golden Shore: The Life of Adoniram Judson* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 1956), 54.
- <sup>44</sup> Michael Symes, *An Account of An Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava, in the Year 1795*, Vol. 1 (Edinburgh: Constable & Co., 1827), 7.
- <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.
- <sup>46</sup> Anderson, *To the Golden Shore*, 56.
- <sup>47</sup> Wayland, *Memoir*, 1:79; *The Panoplist* 4:4 (Sept 1811): 186.