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THE
BIBLIOTHECA SACRA

ARTICLE I.

TRIBUTE TO CHARLES MARSH MEAD, BY HIS
FRIENDS.

EDITED BY GEORGE NYE BOARDMAN, NEW YORK CITY.

MANY friends of Professor Mead have requested that some permanent record of his life and work be prepared for publication. As a mere child he manifested an unusual diversity of natural gifts, and in every stage of his career he was the object of affection and high esteem. A few of his friends have accordingly coöperated in preparing this brief biography, for which Mrs. Mead, for more than forty years his constant companion, has furnished the dates and several other items.

Charles Marsh Mead was born in Cornwall, Vermont, on January 28, 1836. He was the son of Rufus and Anna (Janes) Mead. His boyhood was passed in one of those typical New England homes to which this country owes so much and in which many of her greatest men have been molded. He himself, when near the end of his life he read Curtis's admirable biography of Daniel Webster, was greatly struck with the many points of resemblance in the family life of the Websters and the Meads. Rufus Mead, like Ebenezer Webster, was a farmer who appreciated the value of study and of mental training. Although not rich, and with a family of nine chil-

dren, he laid by his little contributions for the aid of the College near by him in Middlebury, and in recent years one receipt has been found among old family papers crediting him with a gift of \$100 to it.

Charles was the youngest of seven sons, he had two sisters older than the brothers. Rufus Mead had the pleasure of seeing three of the sons become graduates from the college in which he had taken such interest, all of them doing credit to it and to him. Anna Janes, his wife, was the sister of Deacon Horace Janes, whose memory is still enshrined in the church at Cornwall. He and his other sister, Lucy (Janes) Bond, had homesteads not far distant in the town of Cornwall. Deacon Janes and the two sisters had numerous children, counting twenty-four when they sat down together at the Thanksgiving table. Charles was the youngest of the twenty-four cousins. Like the Websters, the Meads helped each other in their educational efforts. The eldest sister was unwearied in her endeavors to aid her brothers. She was a teacher of high reputation until deafness obliged her to give over work of that kind. For a time she taught in La Prairie, Canada, where Charles was with her nearly a year (1845-46). There he heard, and learned to speak, the French language. In 1849 this sister was the preceptress of the Female Seminary in Middlebury, where she had under her tuition two brothers, Charles and Martin, the latter of whom was two years the elder. An older brother, Hiram, later professor at Oberlin, Ohio, after graduating from Middlebury taught two years in the Flushing Institute, New York. Here, for about a year, he took the younger brothers to complete their preparation for college. In 1852 the three became connected with Middlebury College, Hiram as tutor, Martin a Sophomore, Charles a Freshman, though able to enter a year in advance.

In the winter of 1850-51, the Rev. Asa Hemenway served as pastor of the church in Cornwall. Under his ministry much religious interest was awakened among the young people. Charles always looked back to a drive home from meeting one evening as the time when he accepted forgiveness, and silently devoted himself to God. From that time forth his Christian life seems to have grown quietly with the steady purpose and progress characteristic of him. In July, 1852, after their return from Flushing and before entering college, both Martin and Charles joined the Congregational Church in Cornwall.

In 1856 Charles was graduated from Middlebury as valedictorian. A Professor during the last three years of his course, an honored and much-loved friend during the remainder of his life, writes: "I became acquainted with Professor Mead when he was a Sophomore in college, and was greatly attracted to him. I spoke of him to President Labaree, and he responded, 'Beautiful character, beautiful.' I had great pleasure in his eminently successful course at Middlebury, and in his progress in subsequent years." Another and younger friend writes: "I remember him as far back as when he gave his valedictory. . . . I still remember the impression it made on my boyish heart. I thought it was one of the finest addresses I had ever heard, and I have not changed my opinion in the more than fifty years that have gone by." After his graduation he taught from 1856 to 1858 in the classical department of Phillips Academy at Andover, Massachusetts. One of his pupils there writes: "My contact with him as his pupil at Andover and my all-too-infrequent meetings with him during our busy lives are precious memories for me now. He was a *companionable* teacher."

In 1858 he entered Andover Seminary and began his studies

for the ministry, that profession to which he had for years looked forward. When he had finished his Junior year he again helped out his resources by teaching, and spent the year of 1859-60 as tutor in Middlebury College. In 1859 he delivered his Master's oration there and received the degree of A.M. One of his pupils writes: "He was my tutor in Middlebury College when I entered in 1859, and I formed a great admiration for him as a man and as a most helpful teacher. He was so thorough in his work, and his insistence in requiring us to do our best was so mixed with justice, that I cannot remember that any of the boys were rebellious or inclined to think him too severe. I have ever since my freshman year felt proud that he was my early tutor." In 1860 Charles resumed his studies at Andover, and he was graduated in 1862.

In the autumn of that year he preached for a few weeks at North Adams, Massachusetts; but his Professors at Andover, and other friends, strongly advised him to pursue further studies in Europe. One of his farmer brothers lent him assistance to do so, and in February, 1863, he started in a sailing vessel for Europe. Professor Park of Andover had given him a letter to Rev. William Fairfield Warren, then theological Professor in Bremen, in the Seminary of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who now writes: "From the year of his graduation from Andover I have known and loved him. His first night in Germany was spent under my roof, and from that first meeting onward we were fast friends. His keenness of insight, transparency of character, appreciation of all things noble, his amiability, devotedness, and happy humor, made him a personality of rare and irresistible attractiveness." In April he settled in Halle in the family of Professor Jacobi. The Professor and his family were his fast friends through life. In Halle, he formed a friendship with Professor Tho-

luck, with whom he became a great favorite. The Professor had adjacent to his house a long promenade in which he was accustomed to take exercise in all weathers, and which was popularly called his *Rennbahn*. He often invited Charles to walk with him there, and they would walk and talk together for hours. From 1864 to 1866 most of his time was spent in Berlin, where he became intimate with Professor Isaac Dorner, and was with him again a favorite pupil. He was also a frequent visitant at Professor Piper's and Professor Messner's, and he made many other dear German friends. In Berlin he became a member of the Sing Akademie, then under the direction of the celebrated Grell, and in its meetings he found much recreation. He shared the family gift for music, and had a tenor voice of remarkable richness and power. In August of 1865 he received an appointment to the Hitchcock Professorship of Hebrew in Andover Theological Seminary. The following year was spent largely in preparation to teach in that department. In 1866 he spent a short time at Tübingen, and received the degree of Ph.D. from its University.

In July of 1866 he returned to the United States by way of Scotland and England. On August 10, he was ordained for the ministry in Cornwall, his native town, Professor Park of Andover preaching the sermon, and his brother Hiram giving the charge. In the early autumn he was inaugurated Professor at Andover, and entered on his new duties. His colleague at Andover, who occupied the chair of Greek Exegesis, was Dr. J. Henry Thayer, who had been a classmate and intimate friend of his brother Hiram, when they were students at Andover. On August 2, 1867, he married Caroline Thayer, Professor Thayer's youngest sister. Their married life was a peculiarly happy one. Professor Mead was eminently do-

mestic in his tastes, and they were never so happy as when in each other's society, engaged in kindred pursuits.

Before speaking of Professor Mead's work at Andover it will be in place to notice his career as a student. At Middlebury he took the leading place in his class without difficulty, and seemed equally prominent in any department of the prescribed curriculum. He had a remarkable facility in the acquisition of languages. In later years, educated Germans did not detect any grammatical defects in his use of their tongue, and in written composition he was almost as much at home in German as in English. In college he exhibited the tendency to humor, and argument through good-natured irony and travesty, that followed him through life. No one thought of questioning his claim to the appointment of valedictorian, though there were able and promising young men among his classmates, notably the Right Reverend Ozi W. Whitaker, D.D., for many years Bishop of Pennsylvania.

The ten years that followed his college graduation may perhaps be described as years of self-culture. The period seems to have been one of intellectual ranging and grazing. It is true he was connected with educational institutions during those years, but his eager and restless mind would not be restricted to their demands. These ten years of Mead's life, when he was for the most part accountable to no one but himself, must have had a formative and decisive influence upon his entire intellectual labors. The variety of themes of which he has treated in his numerous publications discloses both a broad range of thought and a persistent pursuit of the topics receiving his attention. He by no means confined himself to those themes from which a salary was to come, nor did he stop work when his task was done. He arrived at definite conclusions,

entertained and expressed positive opinions, in natural science, ethics, and metaphysics. He translated some abstruse articles from the German, discussed the nature of time and of space, crossed swords with such men as Bowne, and the critics of the Pentateuch, and at Princeton stated his own personal views on theological doctrine and the infallibility of the Scriptures where Hodge and Green had spoken. In philosophy he was a realist, in epistemology he rested upon intuition,—allied with common sense.

As has been noticed, in 1865 the chair of Hebrew at Andover became vacant, and he was appointed to it. It was not the professorship that he would have chosen, but he accepted it. Before entering on his duties he was ordained in his native town, Cornwall. It was, at least in part, due to the friendship of distinguished men that so weighty a council was gathered in the little white meeting-house of that small community. In the council were two presidents of Middlebury College (one retiring from, one just entering, that office), a distinguished classical scholar and teacher from New York City, the most prominent theologian of New England, and two young pastors soon to be theological professors, one at Bangor and later at New Haven, the other at Oberlin.

A few weeks after his ordination he was inaugurated at Andover, where he remained fifteen academic years. He gave instruction in his department regularly during that period, except that he was allowed a year's absence (1871-72) for travel in the East, specially for visiting Palestine. Besides classroom work, preaching in the Chapel was no inconsiderable part of his service; and perhaps no one of his numerous gifts was greater than his gift as a preacher. He was seldom

more effective of good than when uttering the truths of the gospel in his own simple, consecutive, forceful, spiritual way. There was a good degree of prosperity during his occupancy of his professorship, the graduates of the year of his inauguration and of his retirement being the same in number — twenty-three. Some of the classes in the intervening years were large. There was a theological unrest in the Congregational churches while he was in the Seminary, but it did not amount to agitation till after he left the Institution.

The following remarks by Rev. Francis B. Denio, D.D., Professor of Old Testament Literature in Bangor Theological Seminary, will be read with interest:—

"The first sight I had of Professor Mead was at Middlebury College when he was present at the commencement of 1870. I was introduced to him as I was to be a future student of Andover Seminary. Six years later I began his acquaintance in the classroom. There I began the specific studies which have engaged the larger share of my attention during the past thirty years. The quality of his work, the temper of his mind, the tone of his thinking were a fitting example, and had great power over me as a student, and also over the earlier years of teaching when the example and influence of a guide means much to a young man in the opening of his professional career. The definiteness of statement resulting from the clearness of thinking and keenness of insight was a delight, and a stimulus to attempt similar modes of thought and utterance. The notebooks of his lectures came to be of much practical service by members of the class during the subsequent years in their active pastorates.

"A dry humor, a genial irony were easily near the surface in the classroom. Not infrequently the irony passed into the

reductio ad absurdum. This excited especial admiration. He was so adroit and so subtle that one was reminded of the story of the Eastern juggler who passed his sword through the neck of a man, leaving the head in place, and the man unconscious of what had occurred, until he was told to shake himself and then his head fell from his shoulders. Thus, sometimes the utterer of an absurd opinion did not realize how deftly his absurdity had been exposed. Such skilful rapier practice left the victim more admiring than resentful, for no bruises were left. I have often thought that I would gladly give a year of life to attain such skill in this mode of argument.

" My indebtedness to Professor Mead was not confined to the classroom. Probably because we were both Vermonters and graduates of Middlebury College, and certainly because of his cordial bearing, I found myself seeking him on all sorts of occasions, and I found him always helpful and in every way considerate.

" The current undergraduate rumor correctly regarded him as thoroughly conversant with German theology in its full breadth. For this reason also I went to him with many questions, the free discussion of which might have led the way to many embarrassments which I then little suspected. At a later time, when I came to know the real infelicities involved, I could not but admire the man for his freedom from embarrassment and also for his replies or discussions, which were such as to give no human being the right to take exception to what he did or said.

" Professor Mead was seen at his best when preaching in the Seminary Chapel. There, when his intellectual powers were fully seconded by all the moral earnestness of his nature, his hearers felt the white glow of zeal with which he expounded and enforced the obligations of the Christian life. A

sermon on Christian forgiveness stands out in the memory of the writer more vividly than any other heard in Andover. At about the same time I heard Dr. William Taylor preach on Agrippa's 'Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian.' That sermon is fully matched in its permanent impression by the sermon of Professor Mead.

"My indebtedness is great to each member of the Andover Faculty of 1876-79. Each man had his own specific gift. Professor Mead's helpfulness was second to none during my student days. The abiding impression which has been with me during all these years is that he was more than teacher, more than preacher, excellent as he was in these capacities, he was a single-hearted Christian man. After all, this was the fundamental thing which led me to turn to him as friend and adviser through all the years that have intervened."

In 1882 Professor Mead resigned his chair at Andover. The Board of Trustees sent to him a letter of which the following is an extract:—

"The undersigned were instructed to communicate to you the regret which the Trustees feel at parting with one who in all his official relations, and in all social and private intercourse has been so uniformly faithful and true. The Trustees have learned to value your learning, your devotion to the Seminary, your personal generosity to the students, your public spirit in all matters of general concern, your charity and forbearance under peculiar trials which have again and again befallen the Seminary, and those graces of Christian character and piety which it does not become men to praise, but which men cannot fail to recognize and admire."

A few of the events of Mr. Mead's Andover life apart from professional work may with propriety receive brief notice.

What was known as the "Old South Controversy" moved his feelings very much, a few years after he went to Andover. He was in a position to know the conflict between the majority of the church members and the majority of the pew owners. The former desired to preserve the historic church edifice, the latter would have it demolished lest the name "Old South" should not be retained by the new building, in Dartmouth Street. Dr. Mead was indefatigable in his efforts to preserve the old structure. He procured a multitude of signers to a petition, and sent it to the Legislature when the question of the right to sell was pending. By extensive writing to neighboring ministers he secured a year's supply by individuals for the pulpit. He also wrote many articles for newspapers to arouse a public sentiment opposed to the destruction of the time-honored house of worship. And when, at the final crisis, Mr. George W. Simmons interposed to save the building, Professor Mead was one of the first to encourage him by telegraphing "Five hundred dollars from me. Go ahead. Others will respond." Nevertheless, it was sold at public auction, and in 1876 too, as old bricks, for \$1350. Finally, however, Mr. Simmons succeeded in his efforts; he bought the building, and it still stands on its old site, purchased subsequently. But George W. Simmons it was who saved the Old South Meeting-House.

In 1869 Dr. Mead became a member of the American Philological Association, organized that year. In 1870 he delivered the noted lecture on the "Uncertainties of Natural Science and of Religious Science" in the series of Boston Lectures on Christianity and Skepticism. He gave a second lecture the year following. In 1871-72 he, with his wife, spent sixteen months in travel in Europe and the East. The journey through Palestine was then a difficult one, made on horseback.

Mr. Mead examined places of interest with his characteristic thoroughness and accuracy. He saw that Stanley's interesting account of el-Mohrakah (place of Elijah's sacrifice) did not quite conform to the locality. He therefore made a second journey and ascent to the place, and prepared a description of it for the *BIBLIOTHECA SACRA* (vol. xxx.) which is still considered as the most accurate known to travelers or Bible students.

It was while Professor Mead was at Andover, just after his return to the United States, that he began work as a member of the American Committee on Bible Revision. He then entered on a task that lasted not only through his remaining years at Andover, but nearly through life. (This subject will be referred to again.) In 1881 Middlebury College conferred on him the degree of D.D.

After his resignation at Andover, Professor Mead returned to student life. The ten years which followed his professorship, like the ten which preceded it, were a period in which he was his own master. Again he ranged through authors and questions of philosophy and science at his own will. In September of 1882 he and Mrs. Mead went to Europe for a prolonged stay. After transient calls upon old friends, they settled for the winter at Bonn. Here he formed acquaintances with some well-known men, especially with Dr. Lange, Judge von Niebuhr, and Professor Christlieb. His time was given to close study, notwithstanding long walks with his new friends. In the spring of the following year he, with President Chapin of Beloit College, went, by appointment of the American Board of Foreign Missions, to Constantinople to aid in adjusting differences that had arisen between the Armenians and our missionaries at that place. The work of this Commission was considered to have produced a very happy effect.

The same year (1883) Mr. Mead attended the memorable celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of Luther at Wittenberg. In June of the following year (1884) he went, with Professor George E. Day of Yale, to London, where, in the first week of July, they, as representatives of the American Committee, attended the session of the English Revisers, in the Jerusalem Chamber, at the completion of their joint work. After the visit to London, the remainder of the summer and several succeeding summers were spent in Switzerland. Both Professor Mead and his wife greatly enjoyed fine scenery, and specially frequented the Bernese Oberland. Dr. Mead sometimes said of Beatenberg, "This is the most beautiful place in the world!" It was there that he wrote the following lines:—

AT BEATENBERG.

WHILE ENVELOPED IN CLOUDS IN WHICH OCCASIONAL RIFTS DISCLOSED
THE SUMMIT OF THE JUNGfrau.

"The mists that thick around me lie
Conceal from sight both earth and sky;
But now they break, and gleaming through
The Jungfrau's summit comes to view,
Bedimmed with haze and faintly seen,
Like Eastern dames whose covered mien
Peers through the gauzy veil, and shines
More fair because of softer lines.

"But now again the surging clouds
Come rolling by in denser crowds;
And mountain, lake, and Alpine green
Are hid behind the vapory screen;
Yet see! the screen is rent once more,
And still the Jungfrau, as before,
Looks downward from her lofty height
Unmoved, unchanged, majestic, bright.

"And so when mists of sin and doubt
Shut heavenly truths and beauties out,
Faith bursts the veil which hides above
The Lord of glory and of love;
Though dimly seen, and oft again
Concealed by clouds of care and pain,
Unmoved in his celestial height,
God sits in majesty and light."

In the autumn of 1884 Professor Mead went to Berlin, his favorite German city, and returned there the two succeeding winters. Professor Isaac A. Dorner, his revered friend of former days, had died, but many old acquaintances were still living. He also formed valued new friendships, with the court-preachers Stöcker, Frommel, and others. In the winter of 1885-86, besides other work, he translated, in part, Dorner's "System of Christian Ethics," a posthumous work of the author which was published by his son, Dr. August Dorner. Dr. Mead's chief work on the volume related to the bibliography. He went to London in the spring and spent three months at the British Museum, enlarging the lists of books given by the author and editor; emending the titles and dates of publication of those already given; ascertaining which of the foreign works have been translated into English, and giving the titles of the translations; also adding a number of English and American works to the lists. The result is a valuable contribution to the bibliography of Ethics.

Still later he gathered up the results of prolonged study into a volume entitled, when published, "Supernatural Revelation." It was not published till parts of it had been delivered before the theological students of Princeton University. He gave at that Seminary the lectures on the Stone foundation, February, 1889. (This work will be referred to in another place.) In the spring of 1889 an informal proposal was made to him to become a Professor at Princeton. But, highly agreeable to

him as this in most respects appeared, he could not conscientiously assent to the Westminster Confession; and on his frankly stating his own views, they were found to differ too widely from those held at Princeton to make it wise for him to accept the position.

In 1891 Professor Mead, again in Europe, was a delegate to the Evangelical Alliance, holding its meeting that year in Florence, Italy. The same year he published a parody on some forms of Biblical criticism. It was composed in both German and English. In German it was entitled "Der Römerbrief beurtheilt und geviertheilt"; in English, "Romans Dissected." These were designed not, as has been sometimes assumed, to travesty The Higher Criticism, which, as he says (*Irenic Theology*, p. 249), is "an attempt to determine (so far as possible) the exact facts concerning the origin and composition of the Biblical Books," and "in this sense it should be welcomed and honored." But they were intended to show how higher criticism has been sometimes counterfeited by mere conjecture, and how plausible such conjectures can be made to appear.

In December, 1892, Dr. Mead returned to the United States, and for about five years was professor of Dogmatics in Hartford Theological Seminary. During this period he published a little book entitled "Christ and Criticism." He also delivered several addresses; as, one in Washington, in 1894, before the Church History Society, on Ritschl's Theology; in 1896, at Princeton, at the celebration of the jubilee of Professor William Henry Green, D.D., LL.D., his dear friend, and collaborer in the revision of the Bible; at Rochester Theological Seminary, on Ritschl; and, in 1897, at Fairfax County Theological Seminary, Virginia. He was invited to the sesquicentennial of Princeton University, in 1896, where he received the honorary degree of D.D.; in 1898 he delivered an address

at the Mount Holyoke College anniversary. The same year he resigned his chair at Hartford, and gave his time almost wholly for the following six years to the American recension of the revised Bible. A large file of letters from his Hartford pupils came to him at this time, expressing their appreciation of his teaching and their regret at his resignation.

The following statements of his connection with Hartford Seminary, by a colleague in the faculty, will be of interest.

"Professor Charles M. Mead came to the chair of Christian Theology in Hartford Theological Seminary in 1893 with a well-deserved reputation for biblical and theological learning, won by contributions to these sciences which had obtained wide recognition on both sides of the Atlantic. He had just returned from a prolonged residence in Germany, and was able to bring to his classroom the latest discussions of the Fatherland as well as the ripe product of American scholarship. No better equipped scholar has ever occupied an American theological professorship. At Hartford Seminary for about five years he gave to the students of his utmost endeavor. Careful, conservative in the best sense, yet fully cognizant of current discussions, he initiated those under his charge into the deep things of Christian theology, and gave evidence to all of his essentially irenic temper and of his earnest Christian faith. The perplexities and difficulties of his students, to many of whom the questions of the classroom were new and baffling, aroused his most sympathetic interest, and enlisted his utmost endeavor to lead them to what he believed to be the eternal verities. Their personal struggles he made his own; and he gave himself to their aid in a large and helpful spirit. All who came in contact with him in these years of service were impressed with his learning, his candor, and his Christian consecration.

"The labors of the classroom did not prevent those of the study. During his service at Hartford, Professor Mead published a volume entitled 'Christ and Criticism,' besides many articles in learned periodicals, and his unremitting labor on the American revision of the translation of the Bible. His work reflected high credit on the institution of sacred learning with which he was connected.

"In his relations with his colleagues of the faculty Professor Mead was cordial, fraternal and helpful, showing himself ready to coöperate in all ways in his power, even at the cost of personal sacrifice, in all that had for its aim the advancement of the interests of the seminary.

"When Professor Mead laid down his professorship, in 1898, his going from the seminary was felt by his associates to be a distinct loss to the scholarship of the Institution, and the high respect in which they held him, as well as the estimate which they placed on his services, is witnessed by the representation of Hartford Theological Seminary at his funeral. Though associated with its teaching force for about five years only, Hartford Theological Seminary is honored to have numbered this American scholar among its instructors."

As the real burden of Bible Revision began to be felt by Professor Mead while he was still at Hartford and increasingly after his resignation, this is the place to call attention to that part of his service to the public. Taken up as an accessory for which his professorship fitted him, it proved to be the most distinguishing if not the most important labor of his life. He must have had it in hand fifteen years, and as an object of attention, at times of earnest and anxious attention, for fifteen more. When he was in England, Rev. Dr. Angus informed him of the then recent resolution to invite the coöp-

eration of American scholars with the English Committee in the work of Bible Revision, which had been begun in England in 1870. On his return to the United States, while employed at Andover in his office as professor, he was appointed a member of the Old Testament Revision Company, and began service in 1873. The Committee's work was not a slight one. The report of the revising process in the English Committees will give us some intimation of it. The preface of the edition of the Revised Bible published at Oxford in 1884 informs us that the work of that Committee was commenced June 30, 1870, and completed June 20, 1884; it occupied 792 days; that the greater part of the sessions were for ten days each, and each day the Company generally sat for six hours. The American Committee performed the same work as the English, but in such ways as circumstances required. They met ten times in the year, once each month except July and August, generally in New York City. The two Andover members took a night train for New York Wednesday evening, and returned as far as Boston on Saturday. The work of this Committee was not limited to their sessions, but they gave much time to preparation for their meetings. The English revisers, who initiated the work, had, as was fitting, the decisive vote on whatever changes were proposed, and the Americans pledged their support for fourteen years to the editions thus made. But it was proposed, on the English side, that in these editions the American preferences should, for the same period, be published as an Appendix. But this Appendix, for reasons given in the Prefaces of the American Bible, was exceedingly imperfect, and itself needed laborious revision. The British Committee disbanded, but the American Committee continued its organization with a view to a later edition of its own, and did not allow the fourteen-years

interval to pass without some partial preparation for such an issue. At length in 1897 systematic and organized work was begun for amending the Oxford edition by incorporating the American preferences. This threw a large amount of work upon Mr. Mead. He had entered upon this service before his resignation at Hartford in 1898. After his resignation it occupied his entire time. Between 1885 and 1897 many of the original Committee had died. Mr. Mead had been the youngest member of the Old Testament Company, and was obliged to take the largest share of the burden in this new work. Some of his colleagues said to him that Providence had raised him up to complete the undertaking. The members of the Old Testament Company were at this time so widely separated that with most of them the work had to be carried on by correspondence. Dr. Mead was appointed to go through the Old Testament and make his "Notes and Suggestions." These he had typewritten and sent to the other members, to be returned to him with their votes. He collated and recorded these votes. He took up his residence in New Haven, Connecticut, that he might be near Dr. George E. Day, who was Secretary of the Old Testament Company and also of the Joint Committee. Dr. Day's opinion and vote were highly important; but his vision was so greatly impaired by cataract that it was necessary for Dr. Mead to go over most of the ground with him orally. In addition to the work on the text of the Scriptures, in which the coöperation of all the members was required, Dr. Mead himself prepared the topical page-headings, a careful Appendix, the Preface, and a large part of the Scripture references, giving all prepared by others a careful review; he also revised the paragraph divisions given in the English edition. Finally, the reading of the proof rested on him. The proof-reading was very

exacting, and it greatly impaired his health for several years, affecting the nerves of his ears, and causing attacks of dizziness. He recovered from it later, however, and regained his usual health. His work on the Old Testament was regarded by the other members of both companies as necessarily far exceeding that of any other one member; and when in 1901, the American Bible (first edition) was issued, Professor J. Henry Thayer, Secretary of the New Testament Company, wrote to him: "We ought to be thankful that we have lived through it, especially YOU." On the second edition Dr. Mead spent again a great deal of time; and, in fact, to the end of his life, he was very often consulted by the publishers and their correspondents on a multitude of little points.

A leader in the house that put the work in type, writing to Mrs. Mead of this more recent work, said: "We are pleased to say that during the long connection we had with Dr. Mead, although sometimes we asked a great many questions which must have taken days of time to answer, we found him ever pleasant and ready to answer every question which was submitted to him in connection with the revision of the Bible. Such a labor of love as your late husband was permitted to render to the Christian public, not only of the United States but of the whole world, is an honor granted only to a few of the great scholars of the world."

Another member of the same house at an earlier period writes: "Dr. Mead was truly a great scholar, and during the years this work was in progress he freely gave his time and labor, without any remuneration whatever, to the making of what is conceded by scholars generally to be the most perfect translation of the Bible. In all this time under the trying delay incident to the completion of so great a task he was always patient and resourceful, ever looking upon the bright

side. The whole Bible-reading world is the gainer by his noble and generous life.

The following remarks upon Bible Revision were prepared by a college companion who had lifelong acquaintance with Professor Mead:—

"Dr. Mead's work was confined to the Old Testament. He was unquestionably one of the very ablest Hebrew scholars on the Committee. Some of the original members had died and upon him fell far more than his share of the work remaining — particularly the Herculean task of reading the entire proof of the Old Testament as it came from the press of Nelson and Sons.

"The Revisers, British and American, had all along felt that the rare English of the King James Version must not suffer at their hands; that its purity, simplicity, beauty, vigor, and homelikeness — qualities that have made it so potent in molding the style of English authors since its appearance — must, at all hazards, be preserved. One is quite safe in saying that they have been; and that, in the American Edition especially, these virtues shine in even clearer light. Scholarship had grown profound and accurate in the intervening three hundred years. The Hebrew and Greek texts were better understood in 1901 than in 1611.

"In general, the changes made in the revision by the two Committees are retained in the American Edition, though in a number of instances the American Revisers have restored the renderings of the King James Version. But these Revisers, released from the old condition, went further in their effort to render the text more faithful to the original and simple to the common mind. They made complete, changes that were only partial. They eliminated all uncouth, obsolete and obscure locutions and unidiomatic constructions, modern-

ized the grammar, and brought the punctuation up to date; and this without marring the beautiful household diction of the old Version. There is good reason to believe that this Edition of 1901 will gradually supplant, in pulpit and popular use, on both sides of the Atlantic, all preceding Versions of the Bible, however excellent.

"No arithmetic can compute the debt the world will forever owe to Dr. Charles Marsh Mead for the wise, patient, and protracted service that finally devolved on him alone as member of the American Committee of Bible Revision."

It is worthy of remark that all of the Revisers referred to have refused to receive any pecuniary compensation for their labor, or from the sale of books.

In 1900 Dr. Mead received a proposal to become Professor of Dogmatics at Montreal. This his Bible work did not allow him to accept. Again, in 1901, he was asked to lecture for the current year in the Congregational College of Canada on Dogmatics, but was compelled to decline because of the same pressing occupation.

In July, 1902, Dr. and Mrs. Mead again visited Europe, and were absent two years. Dr. Mead was then suffering much from deafness and dizziness, which physicians and aurists in this country and abroad agreed in ascribing to his overwork in proof-reading. The climate of London was unfavorable in the winter, and he crossed over to the Continent, stopping at Berlin, Mentone, North Italy, and Switzerland, spending the following winter at Mentone, the climate of which place he had found beneficial. The following summer he spent in Switzerland, and in August, 1904, he came back to this country. In the following years he spent the winters, at first in Boston, then in New Haven, the summers in Middlebury. In

October, 1905, he published his book entitled "Irenic Theology." In 1906 he attended the class gathering at the fiftieth anniversary of his college graduation, when his Alma Mater conferred on him the degree of LL.D.

In the last three or four years of his life Professor Mead seemed to have entirely recovered his health. His hearing was well-nigh perfect. As several of his friends said, he seemed to have taken a new lease of life. He seemed wholly well when he went to church on the morning of February 12, 1911. After the service he took a long walk with an old ministerial friend who was visiting New Haven. The midday was uncommonly warm for the season, and his return, after leaving his friend, lengthened his walk. He came home overheated and very tired. Precautions were taken to guard against a chill, but it became evident, after a day or so, that he was suffering from pneumonia. He was so much exhausted that he had no strength to throw off the disease. His pulse was rapid, and the strain upon his heart was great. On the forenoon of Wednesday he was thought by physician and nurse to be rallying. He said to his wife a little after noon, "Monday was my sickest day." About half an hour later, after a brief nap, in the twinkling of an eye as it were, acute dilatation of the heart took place, and he was gone. This at 2.30 P. M., February 15.

A few extracts from letters of sympathy to Mrs. Mead on the occasion of her husband's death will be of interest.

The President of the College wrote: "Only a very few of the graduates of Middlebury College have shed upon her greater lustre than did Dr. Mead. A great scholar, our most distinguished in the Old Testament field, he was also a great and noble man. His mastery in research never dimmed his evangelic fervor."

A prominent Trustee of the College wrote: "I deeply feel the loss of the greatest scholar Middlebury College has upon the rolls of her alumni. His life has been an inspiration to us — devoted always to the things of the spirit — master of the wisdom of the ages — his was a character whom the young shall be taught to venerate in the halls of his Alma Mater as long as she endures."

A younger friend wrote: "His interest in me and his great kindness made an impression on my boyhood that has endured until now. The love of God was in his face as truly as in his soul, and the thought of divine things expressed itself in his very smile. I am grateful that I should have had even the infrequent fellowship with this man of God."

An intimate college friend wrote: "In the best sense of the word he was a large man — large in native endowments, large in his acquisitions, large in his accomplishments, but in nothing larger than his heart."

One with whom there had been a cherished friendship from college days wrote: "We are no more to see that mild but firm countenance and that dome-like brow, more than once said to bear a remarkable resemblance to Shakespeare's, but we have before us the thoughts and words that have cheered and strengthened many. He was wise and witty, patriotic with a deep sense of justice, bold yet always self-controlled. His writings exhibit a style combining simplicity and strength to a remarkable degree. In general information on theological and philosophical subjects his opinions were of great value."

A friend of peace wrote: "His lofty patriotism and untiring efforts for the true welfare of America and of humanity, during the last dozen years, when the country has so sorely needed such a spirit and such service as his, are something which I shall never forget."

Another wrote: "The country, I may say the world, has suffered a great loss: from time to time I have read his articles with deep interest and profit. He was a teacher of the highest rank, both in the subjects he presented and in his thorough and clear way of treating them."

A highly-valued friend of fifty years' duration, at times in intimate association, writes of student days at Andover: "Among other accomplishments he was a fine singer, and our common interest in music drew us together. There was a quartette club of which we both were members. In these years a friendship was formed that continued unbroken until the end of his life. . . . When he retired and came to New Haven to reside in 1898, a very intimate association began anew. Almost daily we took our exercise together for several years. He impressed me in all our intercourse as a laborious student; an accomplished scholar; a thoughtful mind; a man of wide information, especially in Biblical Criticism and Historical Theology; of an earnest and devout spirit; a sincere and conscientious Christian. . . . He was exceedingly independent in his convictions and not easily shaken in them when once they were formed.

"No doubt his greatest service to his generation was his work upon the American Revision of the Old Testament. He was one of the latest survivors of the distinguished body of scholars to whom that work was committed, and very naturally the final stages of that work, its completion and preparation for the press, and its actual publication, fell into his hands. Upon this task he wrought with an industry that was immense, and that, for several years, seriously impaired his health. It was the toil of his days and his nights for a number of years, and the ripe result of the studies of his life. If, as has been said on both sides of the sea, this version is

the best English version ever yet made, I think we must give to him a large share of the credit. This is his best monument."

The following public expressions deserve record: "The New Haven Association of Congregational ministers has heard with deep regret of the death of Professor Charles M. Mead. Some of us have known him intimately, all of us have known of his honorable record as a man, a scholar and a teacher. We have known of his leadership in lifting the American Revision of the Old Testament so much above the English Revision on which it was based. We have felt the stimulus of his participation in our meetings, and remember with satisfaction the clear vision of truth and duty that inspired his utterances on social and political questions."

At the meeting of the Harvard Biblical Club held in Boston, October 14, the President, Dr. Toy, in the chair, the following notice was read by Professor Hincks: "The death on February 15, 1911, of Professor Charles Marsh Mead, one of the early members of this Club, leads us to put on record our high regard for his character, and our appreciation of the important service rendered by him to biblical knowledge, as Professor of Hebrew in Andover Seminary for sixteen years, as a member of the Old Testament Revision Company, and as a Commentator."

A notice of Professor Mead would be incomplete without some allusion to his characteristics as a man and a thinker. He did more than live and work: he left an impression behind him. We have ample means for understanding his cherished sentiments, especially his theological views. Besides numerous magazine articles in philosophy and theological criticism, he published two volumes of carefully written doctrinal

disquisitions. In 1889 he gave at Princeton University the six lectures on the L. P. Stone foundation, in which he treated of the Divine Existence and of Revelation. These lectures were embodied and published in a volume of 450 pages, entitled "Supernatural Revelation: An Essay Concerning the Basis of the Christian Faith." In 1905, after sixteen years of study and contemplation, he published a second volume of more than 350 pages, entitled "Irenic Theology: A Study of Some Antitheses in Religious Thought."

These two volumes present the most serious convictions of the author, and almost constitute a portraiture of his intellectual life. The Lectures bring to view the settled faith, on religious topics, of a man who had spent fifteen years in Bible teaching and seven years in review of his own thoughts and the thoughts of other men. "Irenic Theology" presents the views of which he had become persuaded after an intimate acquaintance with the struggles of progressive orthodoxy that had occurred at Andover, and after an extensive familiarity with English and German speculation. He was perfectly at home amid the teachings of Caird, Harnack, Ritschl, and other European authors.

The Princeton lectures treat of topics on which those entering the ministry should be well grounded. They were addressed specially to students, and related to the system of Christian doctrines, rather than points in dispute among advanced thinkers. The origin of theistic belief is the opening subject. This is followed by the grounds of theistic belief. As a preliminary topic the question arises, What is belief or knowledge? "Sure knowledge," he says, "is the product of the combination and comparison of individual cognitions." "All knowledge is thus seen to be a composite thing." Each one seems to have a direct perception of the

external world. He becomes confident of the accuracy and reality of his perception by learning that others have the same experience. The author bases the belief of the divine existence upon a tendency to believe in the supernatural; upon indications of an overruling power; and upon Christ's belief in God. "That God is a living reality is made certain to the Christian mind by the fact that God has manifested himself in Christ to the world."

The treatise of the doctrine of revelation is a thorough one; but the main interest, at the present time, is connected with the doctrine of miracles. Nearly one-fourth of the entire volume is devoted to this theme. This is not the place to discuss the topic itself; but recent discussions make it of interest to say, that he accepted the fact and evidential value of miracles, yet with some modification of the traditional orthodoxy. He says, "Miracles are to be defined as events produced by special extraordinary divine agency." Those ascribed to Christ must be regarded as real; and the general presumption that a special revelation must be authenticated by supernatural manifestations he considers valid. He admits, however, that we cannot deny one's right to question the accuracy of certain particular narratives of miracle. In any case, Christ's authority and headship did not depend on the miracles but upon his character.

He taught the doctrine of inspiration — not verbal inspiration in the sense that the words of the Bible record were dictated to the writers, but in this sense, that the thoughts imparted to them gave form to their expression. He taught, also, that the scripture narratives were not above criticism. They were written by fallible men, and discrepancies were to be expected. But he believed that criticism is limited in its range; it cannot eradicate man's tendency to believe, cannot

essentially change the canon of Scripture, cannot convince the world that there is any resort to pious frauds in the Bible.

The volume of 1905, "Irenic Theology," was written for the purpose of pouring oil on troubled waters. It does not aim to stifle debate, but to cherish toleration, and to foster the thought that, perhaps, there is something to be said on the other side. "The general purpose of the book is not to encourage an agnosticism which, because knowledge can not be made incontrovertible, despairs of all knowledge, but rather to show that theological knowledge, like knowledge in general, though partial, or even inaccurate, is yet an apprehension of real truth, and that the hope of progress in this apprehension lies, not in a spirit of intolerant exclusion but in one of tolerant inclusion." The author prepares the way for harmony in accepting variant views by pointing out certain discrepancies that must be admitted and passed over in the natural sciences. What is the nature of matter? Is it composed of atoms or is it a manifestation of energy? What is motion? Is it something that occurs in time? If so, it must occur in present time; but present time has no duration, and so affords no opportunity for motion. Theologians are not beset by any peculiar difficulties if they are compelled to admit that there are mysteries connected with their speculations which still await solution. He thinks, for instance, that all parties can agree on the origin of sin. It has two sources — innate depravity, and the free action of the moral agent. Some theologians give prominence to one source, some to the other. Every attempt to clear up the problem aids to an ascertainment of the truth. "It is only when each one in a one-sided way tries to exclude the other, that the failure to explain the difficulty becomes obvious."

The Professor held that other theological doctrines are to

be treated in like manner. Affirmations are to be maintained, denials cannot be supported. "We must maintain side by side with the Calvinistic doctrine of divine sovereignty the Arminian doctrine of human freedom." He believed that the adherents of Christian truth could harmonize their views on the agencies human and divine engaged in regeneration and sanctification; that they could come to an agreement on the deity of Christ and the incarnation.

This view he advocates after a thorough study of the history of these doctrines. He believes in salvation by Christ, in some sense by the death of Christ, but he rejects decidedly the schemes in New England called orthodox. He has no patience with vicariousness, substitution, sacrifice to justice, appeasing the wrath of God, paying the penalty due the guilty by the sufferings of the innocent. To him these sentiments are overstrained and absurd. "This theory of vicarious satisfaction therefore conflicts on every side with the enlightened moral instincts of men." He looks upon life in this world as a school rather than a court of justice: God orders affairs in kindness and seeks the salvation of men. "So far then as human analogies have any weight, they indicate that the more correct theory of the atonement is not the juridical or governmental, but (if I may so designate it) the paternal theory."

The literary character of Professor Mead has been brought to view sufficiently, perhaps, in preceding statements. He was not a voluminous writer, yet he did much with his pen. Four volumes of his own composition bear his name. He translated, from the German, Lange's Commentary on Exodus, and Dorner's Ethics partly; wrote also "Romans Dissected" and "Der Römerbrief," etc.; and some articles for encyclopædias. He wrote also more than thirty articles of criticism and philosophy — some original, some translated — published in various

forms, some in small bound volumes. Most of these were thrown off as occasion called for them — none of them hasty productions, but the expression of thought long cherished and often reconsidered. His thoughts were expressed in a clear style, fit words woven into sentences in the order suggested by the thought. It might be said he had no style; that is, he was not a stylist. His mind was not a prism that unfolded light into its composite colors, but was transparent, and the light emitted was pure and unalloyed. He had a mastery of language and found a simple expressive word for his thoughts, however subtle. His perfect knowledge of German never led him into its ponderous sentences. He never drew upon foreign languages to express his thoughts, as many reputable authors, for instance Matthew Arnold, have done. He was disgusted with pedantry, and protested against the use of *Zeitgeist* when English has *spirit of the times*. He was very loyal to the English tongue, and protested against coining new terms or giving strange meanings to old ones. The simplicity of his style, however, never hindered him from a powerful and an emphatic utterance of his convictions and impassioned feelings. He never claimed to be a poet, but he wrote many beautiful lines in verse — both original and translations.

Professor Mead was also an instructive and impressive *preacher*. While he was professor at Andover the pulpit of the Seminary Chapel was supplied by the five professors, each taking a term of Sundays for his portion of the work. Professor Mead's services elicited special attention, and many people came up the Hill from the village to hear him. The following is from the same hand that wrote concerning Bible revision:—

"It has always seemed a marvel that Professor Mead could

preach as he did. He was a profound student of men and of books, but he wrote his sermons in the scholastic air of a theological seminary. He never had a pastorate though he mingled much with men. He found no subject-matter in, and gleaned no suggestions from, the daily trials and struggles and needs and aspirations of parishioners. He must have had, in the background of his mind, his own and his neighbors' life in the country parish of his birth, and he must have taken himself as representative of his fellows. What he felt and desired he thought they also must feel and desire. And so he met his hearers on a plane which was both theirs and his.

"The charm and the power of his sermons lay in the fact that *he* was in and through and behind what he said. There are those who preach simply from what they know intellectually. Between what they say and themselves there is a wide gulf of separation. The staple of their discourse is not the truth they have felt and have proved, and know by having lived it, but it is what they have seen or heard or found out by study. It was not so with Mr. Mead. His own strong but sweet and lovable nature pervaded his speech. The cogent argument, enforcing all others, was the quickening personality behind his utterance.

"Dr. Mead was a man easily aroused and enkindled, but he was not effervescent: he never preached sermons addressed primarily to the feelings. He strove to capture the intellect. He knew that only thus would those emotions be awakened that would lead to the permanent conquest of the will. He tried to convince the reason, get fast hold of the conscience, and so mold the life.

"It was a pleasure to see him in the pulpit, in his fugitive articles, and in his books, gather together all the shreds of evidence pertinent to his theme, twist them into strands, and

twine these deftly into cords that hold like the cables of ocean liners. And the verbal expression always matched and mated the thought. His German and Oriental studies had not vitiated his native tongue. Every word was apt—none other could be a fit substitute. No needed word was lacking, no needless word was used. And all, level to the apprehension of those addressed and carrying the thought on their surface, were marshalled in becoming order. Read his preface to the Old Testament of the American Revision if you would get an illustration of the simple, direct, lucid, trenchant, and forceful style of this master of English."

Another friend of Professor Mead, competent to speak on this subject, who has gone through the whole range of political appointments from town representative to United States Senator, writes: "The profound scholarship of the late Professor Charles M. Mead was recognized by Biblical scholars at home and abroad. I think this reputation, high and deserved as it was, served to obscure and overshadow his extraordinary gifts as a preacher. In this field, had he chosen the pulpit, he could have easily excelled. The style of his discourse was simple, elegant, and crystalline in clearness. It was never sensational, yet strong, forceful; for it had the force of truth clearly conceived and clearly and beautifully uttered. These are the attributes of a great preacher, and Professor Mead had them to an extent I have rarely seen equalled. To these he added a winning and gracious personality. In a life not now short I have listened to much so-called pulpit oratory, some good, some otherwise. Without making comparisons I can affirm that Professor Mead met my idea of a great preacher."

In church polity he was a decided Independent. He had no admiration of orders and rank in the clergy. He looked upon

ritualism as an empty, if not a vain, show. Religious virtues and powers he looked upon as individual possessions, bestowed directly by the Divine Lord of the church. He repeated more than once his ingenious and eloquent sermon on the text, "And there ran a young man and told Moses and said, Eldad and Medad do prophesy in the camp. And Moses said unto him. Enviest thou for my sake? Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put his spirit upon them."

As a member of the body politic, Mr. Mead had a deep interest in the welfare and policy of the country. It was the land of the fathers that he loved. He regretted the island additions to the country, and really abhorred what is known as "imperialism." The acquisition of the Philippine Islands he considered as an unspeakable mistake, would not now wait to place them in an improved condition, but thought that we ought to draw back at once, and "wash our hands of the whole thing." He desired that everything that might provoke international differences should be avoided, and wrote newspaper articles deprecating the fortification of the Panama Canal, earnestly arguing for its neutralization. In advocating this he spent the last weeks of his life. He suggested that the nations ought to enter into an agreement never to use aviation to aid in any way the conduct of military movements. He strongly disapproved of the increase of our navy. The cruise of the battle-ships he felt was not only a wicked waste of money, but was an example to other nations greatly to be deplored. He was an active member of the American Peace Society and of the Anti-Imperialist League.

His death was noticed by the League as follows: "The Executive Committee of the Anti-Imperialist League, meeting in Boston, voted that the following resolution, signed by

Moorfield Storey, President, and Erving Winslow, Secretary, be placed upon the records of the Committee and communicated to the family of the late Professor Mead: Rev. Prof. Charles Marsh Mead, LL.D., D.D., who has successively represented the Anti-Imperialist League in Vermont and Connecticut, was its devoted friend and untiring advocate. The Executive Committee desires to record here and to express to his family and friends its appreciation of the service which our late Vice-President rendered in contributions to the press and publications of the League, inspired by a moral enthusiasm and conscientiousness which even those who were unable or unwilling to accept his arguments did not fail to recognize and respect. Professor Mead's loss is a great one to many causes and in many fields, but will be felt no more deeply than by the Anti-Imperialist League."

SOCIETIES AND CLUBS.

American Oriental Society,

Exegetical Society,

Biblical Club,

American Philological Association,

Victoria Institute,

Anti-Imperialist League,

Peace Society,

Elected member of the National Geographical Society just after his death.

PUBLICATIONS.

1863. Art. "Stoddard's Theological Lectures," Bib. Sac. xx. 734-751.
1865. Arts. "More Recent Works on the Life of Christ," Bib. Sac. xxii. 207-222; "George Calixtus" (translated from Henke), 315-343; "The Berlin University," 513-518.
1866. Art. "Professor Hermann Hupfeld" (translated from the German), Bib. Sac. xxiii. 673-679.
1867. Arts. "The Twofold Fundamental Law of Rhythm and Accentuation" (translated from Professor Hupfeld), Bib. Sac. xxiv. 1-40; "The Study of Monuments" (translated from Professor F. Piper), 276-296.

1870. Lect. "The Uncertainties of Natural and of Religious Science," Boston Lectures, pp. 103-144. Boston: Cong. S. S. and Pub. Soc.
1871. Lect. "The Primeval Revelation," Boston Lectures, pp. 47-85.
1873. Art. "El-Mohrakah, or the Place of Elijah's Sacrifice," Bib. Sac. xxx. 672-696.
1874. Art. "The Use of **שׁ** with Negative Particles," Bib. Sac. xxxi. 487-506.
1875. Art. "Metaphysical Idea of Eternity," New Eng. xxxiv. 222-252.
1876. Trans. of Exodus, Lange's Com. II. 1-179. New York: Scribner.
1879. The Soul Here and Hereafter. Boston: Cong. Pub. Soc.
1885. Art. "The Revised Old Testament," And. Rev. III. 493-508.
1886. "Is Time a Reality? An Examination of Professor Bowne's Doctrine of Time," Bib. Sac. xliii. 601-631.
1887. Trans. (in part) of Dorner's System of Christian Ethics. New York: Scribner.
1889. Supernatural Revelation. New York: Randolph.
1890. Art. "Is Space a Reality? Observations on Professor Bowne's Doctrine of Space, Motion, and Change," Bib. Sac. xlvi. 415-444.
1891. Art. "Ritschl's Theology," Pres. Rev.
1891. Romans Dissected. By E. D. McRealsham (Pseudonym). New York: Randolph.
1891. Der Römerbrief. By Carl Hesedamm (Pseudonym). Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.
1891. Art. "Paulus und Seneca?" in Beweis des Glaubens.
1893. Art. "Paul and Seneca," Pres. Rev.
1893. Christ and Criticism. New York: Randolph.
1894. Inaugural Address, "Some Current Notions concerning Dogmatic Theology. Hartford Sem. Rec. iv. 185-205.
1895. Art. "Ritschl's Place in the History of Doctrine," Hartford Sem. Rec. v. 158-175.
1896. Address at Professor William Henry Green's Jubilee, May 5.
1896. Art. "The Gospel of Paul," Hartford Sem. Rec. vii. 9-27.
1897. Art. "Summons Back to Christ," Prot. Epis. Rev., April.
1897. Art. "The Fatherhood of God," Am. Jour. Theol. i. 557-600.
1898. Art. "The Age of Man as Indicated by the Natural Increase of Population," Bib. Sac. iv. 356-359.
1898. Address, "Personal Independence," at Mount Holyoke College.

1898. Art. "Phenomenalism in Philosophy and Theology," Hartford Sem. Rec. viii. 121-133.
1899. Art. "Tendencies of Recent Theistic Thought," Hom. Rev. xxxvii. 392-401.
1900. Review of George Trumbull Ladd's "Theory of Reality," Bib. Sac. lvii. 167-172.
1902. Art. "Intuitive Criticism," Am. Jour. Theol. vi. 507-510.
1903. Review of Ladd's "Philosophy of Conduct," Bib. Sac. lx. 182-186.
1905. Irenic Theology. New York: Putnam.
1910. Review of Ladd's "Knowledge, Life, and Reality," Bib. Sac. lxvi. 166-169; art. "Paul on the Resurrection of Christ," 391-414.
1911. Various articles against fortifying the Panama Canal, and against the increase of the Navy, and in favor of Philippine Independence and Neutralization.