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## The Sabbath Recorder.

From the Continental Monthly for August.  
THE FIRST CHRISTIAN EMPEROR.  
BY REV. DR. PHILIP SCHAFER.

The last great imperial persecution of the Christians, under Diocletian and Galerius, which was aimed at the entire uprooting of the new religion, ended with the edict of toleration of 311 and the tragical ruin of the persecutors. Galerius died soon after, of a disgusting and terrible disease, *morbus pedicularis*, described with great minuteness by Eusebius and Lactantius. "His body," says Gibbon, "swelled by an untemperate course of life to an unwieldy corpulence, was covered with ulcers and devoured by insupportable swarms of those insects which have given their name to a most loathsome disease." Diocletian had withdrawn from the throne in 305, and in 313 put an end to his bitter life by suicide. In his retirement he found more pleasure in raising cabbage than he had found in ruling the empire; a confession we may readily believe. (President Lincoln, of the United States, during the dark days of the civil war, in December, 1862, declared that he would gladly exchange his position with any common soldier in the tented field.) Maximian, who kept up the persecution in the East, even after the toleration edict, as long as he could, died likewise a violent death by poison; in 313. In this tragical end of their last three imperial persecutors the Christians saw a palpable judgment of God. The edict of toleration was an involuntary and irresistible concession of the incredible impotence of heathenism and the indubitable power of Christianity. It left but a step to the downfall of the one and the supremacy of the other in the empire of the Caesars.

This great epoch is marked by the reign of Constantine I. He understood the signs of the time, and acted accordingly. He was the man for the times, as the times were prepared for him by that Providence which controls both and fits them for each other. He placed himself at the head of true progress, while his nephew, Julian the Apostate, opposed it, and was left behind. He was the chief instrument for raising the church from the low estate of oppression and persecution to well-deserved honor and power. For this service a thankful posterity has given him the surname of the Great, to which he was entitled, though not by his moral character, yet doubtless by his military and administrative ability, his judicious policy, his appreciation and protection of Christianity, and the far-reaching consequences of his reign. His greatness was not indeed of the first, but of the second order, and is to be measured more by what he did than by what he was. To the Greek Church, which honors him even as a canonized saint, he has the same significance as Charlemagne to the Latin.

Constantine, the first Christian Caesar, the founder of Constantinople and the Byzantine empire, and one of the most gifted, energetic, and successful of the Roman emperors, was the first representative of the imposing idea of a Christian theocracy, or of that system of policy which assumes all subjects to be Christians, connects civil and religious rights and regards church and state as the two arms of one and the same divine government on earth. This was more fully developed by his successors, and animated the whole Middle Age, and is yet working under various forms in these latest times; though it has never been fully realized, whether in the Byzantine empire, the German, or the Russian empire, the Roman church-state, the Calvinistic republic of Geneva, or the early Puritan colonies of New England. At the same time, however, Constantine stands also as the type of an undeciphered and harmful conjunction of Christianity with politics, of the holy symbol of peace with the horrors of war, of the spiritual interests of the kingdom of heaven with the earthly interests of the state.

In judging of this remarkable man and his reign, we must by all means keep to the great historical principle, that all representative characters act, consciously or unconsciously, as the free and responsible organs of the spirit of their age, which moulds them first before they can mould it in turn, and that the spirit of the age itself, whether good or bad or mixed, is but an instrument in the hands of Divine Providence, which rules and overrules all the actions and motives of men.

Through a history of three centuries, Christianity had already overcome the world, and thus rendered such an outward revolution, as has attached itself to the name of this prince, both possible and unavoidable. It were extremely superficial to refer so thoroughly and momentously a change to the personal motives of an individual, be they motives of policy, of piety, or of superstition. But unquestionably every age produces and shapes its own organs, as its own purposes require. So in the case of Constantine. He was distinguished by that genuine political wisdom, which, putting itself at the head of the age, clearly saw that idolatry had outlived itself in the Roman empire, and that Christianity alone could breathe new vigor into it and furnish it moral support. He

which even the spirit of the age and the policy of an absolute monarch cannot excuse. After having reached, upon the bloody path of war, the goal of his ambition, the sole possession of the empire, yet, in the very year in which he summoned the great council of Nicaea, he ordered the execution of his conquered rival and brother-in-law, Licinius, in breach of a solemn promise of mercy (324). Not satisfied with this, he caused soon afterward, from political suspicion, the death of the young Licinius, his nephew; a boy of hardly eleven years. But the worst of all is the murder of his eldest son, Crispus, in 326, who had incurred suspicion of political conspiracy, and of adulterous and incestuous purposes toward his stepmother. But in general, domestic and political tragedy emerged from a vortex of mutual suspicion and rivalry, and calls to mind the conduct of Philip II. toward Don Carlos, of Peter the Great toward his son Alexis, and of Soliman the Great toward his son Mustapha. Later authors assert, though gratuitously, that the emperor, like David, bitterly repented of this sin. He had been frequently charged besides, though it would seem altogether unjustly, with the death of his second wife Fausta (326?), who, after twenty years of happy wedlock, is said to have been convicted of slandering her stepson Crispus, and of adultery with a slave or one of the imperial guards, and then to have been suffocated in the vapor of an overheated bath. But the accounts of the cause and manner of her death are so late and discordant as to make Constantine's part in it at least very doubtful.

At all events, Christianity did not produce in Constantine a thorough moral transformation. He was concerned more to advance the outward social position of the Christian religion, than to further its inward mission. He was praised and censured in turn by the Christians and pagans, the orthodox and the Arians, as they successively experienced his favor or dislike. He bears some resemblance to Peter the Great, both in his public acts and his private character, by combining great virtues and merits with monstrous crimes, and he probably died with the same consolation as Peter, whose last words were: "I trust that in respect of the good I have striven to do my people (the church), God will pardon my sins." It is quite characteristic of his piety that he turned the sacred nails of the Saviour's cross, which Helena brought from Jerusalem, the one into the bit of his war horse, the other into an ornament of his helmet. Not a decided, pure, and consistent character, he stands on the line of transition between two ages and two religions; and his life bears plain marks of both. When at last on his deathbed he submitted to baptism, with the remark, "Now let us cast away all duplicity," he honestly admitted the conflict of two antagonistic principles which swayed his private character and public life.

From these general remarks we turn to the leading features of Constantine's life and reign, so far as they bear upon the history of Christianity, or from Romanism to Protestantism, have honestly so wavered between their old and their new position, that they might be claimed by both. With his every victory over his pagan rivals, Galerius, Maximian, and Licinius, his personal leaning to Christianity, his confidence in the magic power of the sign of the cross increased; yet he did not formally renounce heathenism, and did not receive baptism until, in 337, he was laid upon the bed of death.

He had an imposing and winning person, and was compared by flatterers with Apollo. He was tall, broad shouldered, handsome, and of a remarkably vigorous and healthy constitution, but given to excessive vanity in his dress and outward demeanor, always wearing an oriental diadem, a helmet studded with jewels, and a purple mantle of silk richly embroidered with pearls and flowers worked in gold. His mind was not highly cultivated, but naturally clear, strong, and shrewd, and seldom thrown off its guard. He is said to have combined a cynical contempt of mankind with an inordinate love of praise. He possessed a good knowledge of human nature and administrative energy and tact.

His moral character was not without noble traits, among which a chastity rare for the time, and a liberality and beneficence bordering on wastefulness were prominent. Many of his laws and regulations breathed the spirit of Christian justice and humanity, promoted the elevation of the female sex, improved the condition of slaves and of unfortunate, and gave free play to the efficiency of the church throughout the whole empire. Altogether, he was one of the best, the most fortunate, and the most influential of the Roman emperors; Christian and pagan.

Yet he had great faults. He was far from being so pure and so venerable as Eusebius, blinded by his favor to the church, depicts him, in his bombastic and almost dishonestly eulogistic biography, with the evident intention of setting him up as a model for all future Christian princes. It must, with all regret, be conceded, that his progress in the knowledge of Christianity was not a progress in the practice of its virtues. His love of display and his prodigality, his suspiciousness and his despotism, increased with his power. The very brightest period of his reign is stained with gross crimes,

are growing daily; while the heathen are diminishing. The utilitarian consideration of the highest good, who looked forward to the highest seat of power within the gift of his age. Whether his mother, whom he always revered, and who made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in her eightieth year (A. D. 325) planted the germ of the Christian faith in her son, as Theodoret supposes, or herself became a Christian through his influence, as Eusebius asserts, must remain undecided. According to the heathen Zosimus, whose statement is unquestionably false and malicious, an Egyptian, who came out of Spain (probably the bishop Hosius of Cordova), a native of Egypt, in the month of August, was the murderer of Crispus (which did not occur before 326), that by converting to Christianity he might obtain forgiveness of his sin.

The first public evidence of a positive leaning toward the Christian religion he gave in his contest with the pagan Maximian, who had usurped the government of Italy and Africa, and is universally represented as a cruel, dissolute tyrant, hated by the heathens and Christians alike. Called by the Roman people to their aid, Constantine marched from Gaul across the Alps with an army of ninety-eight thousand soldiers of every nationality, and defeated Maximian in three battles; the last in October, 312, at the Milvian bridge, near Rome, where Maximian found a disgraceful death in the waters of the Tiber.

Here belongs the familiar story of the miraculous cross. The precise day and place cannot be fixed, but the event must have occurred shortly before the final victory over Maximian in the neighborhood of Rome. As this vision is one of the most noted miracles in church history, and has a representative significance, it deserves a closer examination. It marks for us on the one hand the victory of Christianity over paganism in the Roman empire, and on the other the ominous admixture of foreign, political, and military interests with it. We need not be surprised that in the Nicene age so great a revolution and transition should have been clothed with a supernatural character.

The occurrence is variously described, and is not without serious difficulties. Lactantius, the earliest witness, some thirty years after the battle, speaks only of a dream by night, in which the emperor was directed (it is not stated by whom, whether by Christ, or by an angel) to stamp on the shields of his soldiers "the heavenly sign of God," that is, the cross with the name of Christ, and thus to go forth against his enemy. Eusebius, on the contrary, gives a more minute account, on the authority of a subsequent private communication of the aged Constantine himself under oath—not, however, till the year 338, a year after the death of the emperor, his only witness, and twenty-six years after the event. On his march from Gaul to Italy (the spot and date are not specified), the emperor, while earnestly praying to the true God for light and help at this critical time, saw, together with his army, in clear daylight toward evening, a shining cross in the heavens, above the sun, with the inscription: "By this conquer." and in the following night Christ himself appeared to him while he slept, and directed him to have a standard prepared in the form of this sign of the cross, and with that to proceed against Maximian and all other enemies. This account of Eusebius, or rather of Constantine himself, adds to the night dream of Lactantius the preceding vision of the day, and the direction concerning the standard, while Lactantius speaks of the inscription of the initials letters of Christ's name on the shields of the soldiers. According to Rufinus, a later historian, who elsewhere depends entirely on Eusebius, and can therefore not be regarded as a proper witness in the case, the sign of the cross appeared to Constantine in a dream (which agrees with the account of Lactantius), and upon his awaking in terror, an angel (not Christ) exclaimed to him: "Zoc vine!" Lactantius, Eusebius, and Rufinus are the only Christian writers of the fourth century, who mention the apparition. But we have besides one or two heathen testimonies, which, though vague and obscure, still serve to strengthen the evidence in favor of some actual occurrence. The contemporaneous orator Nazarius, in a panegyric upon the emperor, pronounced March 1, 312, apparently at Rome, speaks of an army of divine warriors and a divine assistance which Constantine received in the engagement with Maximian; but he converts it to the service of heathenism by recurring to old prodigies, such as the appearance of Castor and Pollux.

This famous tradition may be explained either as a real miracle implying a personal appearance of Christ, or as a pious fraud, or as a natural phenomenon in the clouds and an optical illusion, or finally as a prophetic dream.

The propriety of a miracle, parallel to the signs in heaven which preceded the destruction of Jerusalem, might be justified by the significance of the victory as making a great epoch in history, namely, the downfall of paganism and the establishment of Christianity in the empire. But even if we waive the purely critical objections to the Eusebian narrative, the assumed connection,

in case of the gentle Prince of peace with the god of battle and the subserviency of the sacred symbol of redemption to military ambition; is repugnant to the genius of the gospel and to sound Christian feeling, unless we stretch the theory of divine accommodation to the spirit of the age and the passions and interests of individuals beyond the ordinary limits. We should suppose, moreover, that Christ, if he had really appeared to Constantine either in person (according to Eusebius) or through angels (as Rufinus and Sozomen modify it), would have exhorted him to repent and be baptized rather than to construct a military ensign for a bloody battle. In no case can we ascribe to this occurrence, with Eusebius, Theodoret, and older writers, the character of a sudden and genuine conversion, as to Paul's vision of Christ on the way to Damascus; for, on the one hand, Constantine was never hostile to Christianity, but most probably friendly to it from his early youth, according to the example of his father; and, on the other, he put of his baptism quite five and twenty years, almost to the hour of his death.

The opposite hypothesis of a mere military stratagem or intentional fraud is still more objectionable, and would compel us either to impute to the first Christian emperor, at a venerable age, the double crime of falsehood and perjury, or, if Eusebius invented the story, to deny to the "father of church history" all claim to credibility and common respectability. Besides, it should be remembered that the older testimony of Lactantius, or whoever was the author of the work on the Deaths of Persecutors, is quite independent of that of Eusebius, and derives additional force from the vague heathen rumors of the time. Finally, the *Zoc vine*, which has passed into proverbial significance as a most appropriate motto of the invincible religion of the cross, is too good to be traced to sheer falsehood. Some actual fact, therefore, must be supposed to underlie the tradition, and the question only is this, whether it was an external, visible phenomenon, or an internal experience.

The hypothesis of a natural formation of the clouds, which Constantine by an optical illusion mistook for a supernatural sign of the cross, besides smacking of the exploded rationalistic explanation of the New Testament miracles, and deriving an important event from a mere accident, leaves the figure of Christ and the Greek or Latin inscription, "By this sign thou shalt conquer," altogether unexplained.

We are shut up, therefore, to the theory of a dream or vision, and an experience within the mind of Constantine. This is supported by the oldest testimony of Lactantius, as well as by the report of Rufinus and Sozomen, and we do not hesitate to regard the Eusebian cross in the skies as originally a part of the dream, which only subsequently assumed the character of an outward objective apparition, either in the imagination of Constantine or by a mistake of the memory of the historian, but in either case without intentional fraud. That the vision was traced to supernatural origin, especially after the happy success, is quite natural and in perfect keeping with the prevailing ideas of the age. Tertullian and other ante-Nicene and Nicene fathers attributed many conversions to nocturnal dreams and visions. Constantine and his friends referred the most important facts of his life, as the knowledge of the approach of hostile armies, the discovery of the holy sepulchre, the founding of Constantinople, to divine revelation through visions and dreams.

Now are we disposed in the least to deny the connection of the vision of the cross with the agency of Divine Providence, which controlled this remarkable turning point of history. We may go farther and admit a special providence, or what the old doctors call *providentia specialissima*; but this does not necessarily imply a violation of the order of nature or an actual miracle in the shape of an objective personal appearance of the Saviour. We may refer to a somewhat similar, though far less important, vision in the life of the pious English Colonel James Gardiner. The Bible itself sanctions the general theory of providential or prophetic dreams and nocturnal visions through which divine revelations and admonitions are communicated to men.

The facts, therefore, may have been these: Before the battle, Constantine, leaning already toward Christianity as probably the best and most hopeful of the various religions, seriously sought in prayer, as he related to Eusebius, the assistance of the God of the Christians, while his heathen antagonist, Maximian, according to Zosimus, was consulting the sibylline books and offering sacrifices to the idols. Filled with mingled fears and hopes about the issue of the conflict, he fell asleep, and saw in a dream the sign of the cross of Christ with a significant inscription and promise of victory. Being already familiar with the general use of this sign, among the numerous Christians of the empire, many of whom no doubt were in his own army, he constructed the *labarum*, afterward so called, that is, the sacred standard of the Christian cross with the Greek monogram of Christ, which he had also put upon the shields of the soldiers. To this cross-standard, which now took the place of the Roman eagles, he at-

tributed the decisive victory over the heathen Maximian. Accordingly, after his triumphal entrance into Rome, he had his statue erected upon the forum with the inscription in his right hand, and the inscription beneath: "By this saving sign, the true token of bravery, I have delivered your city from the yoke of the tyrant." Three years afterward the senate erected to him a triumphal arch of marble, which to this day, within sight of the sublime ruins of the pagan Colosseum, indicates at once the decay of ancient art and the downfall of heathenism; as the neighboring arch of Titus commemorates the downfall of Judaism and the destruction of the temple. The inscription on this arch, of Constantine, however, ascribes his victory over the hated tyrant, not only to his masterful spirit, but indirectly also to the impulse of Deity; by which a Christian would naturally understand the true God, while a heathen, like the orator Nazarius, in his eulogy on Constantine, might take it for the celestial guardian power of the *urbs aeterna*.

At all events the victory of Constantine over Maximian was a military and political victory of Christianity over heathenism; the intellectual and moral victory having been already accomplished by the literature and life of the church in the preceding period. The emblem of ignominy and oppression became thenceforward the badge of honor and dominion, and was invested in the emperor's view, according to the spirit of the church of his day, with a magic virtue. It now took the place of the eagle and other field badges, under which the heathen Romans had conquered the world. It was stamped on the imperial coin, and on the standards, helmets, and shields of the soldiers. Above all military representations of the cross the original imperial *labarum* shone in the richest decorations of gold and gems; was intrusted to the trust and bravest fifty of the body guard; filled the Christians with the spirit of victory, and spread fear and terror among their enemies; until, under the weak successors of Theodosius II., it fell out of use, and was lodged as a venerable relic in the imperial palace at Constantinople.

Before this victory at Rome (which occurred Oct. 27th, 312), either in the spring or summer of 313, Constantine, in conjunction with his Eastern colleague, Licinius, had published an edict of religious toleration, now not extant, but probably a step beyond the edict of the still anti-Christian Galerius in 311, which was likewise subscribed by Constantine and Licinius as co-regents. Soon after, in January, 313, the two emperors issued from Milan a new edict (the third) on religion; still extant both in Latin and Greek, in which, in the spirit of religious eclecticism, they granted full freedom to all existing forms of worship, with special reference to the Christian. This religion edict not only recognized in its existing limits, but also, what neither the first nor perhaps the second edict had done—allowed every heathen subject to adopt it with impunity. At the same time the church buildings and property confiscated in the Diocletian persecution were ordered to be restored, and private property owners to be indemnified from the imperial treasury.

In this notable edict, however, we should look in vain for the modern Protestant and Anglo-American theory of religious liberty as one of the universal and inalienable rights of man. Sundry voices, it is true, in the Christian church itself, at that time and even before, declared firmly against all compulsion in religion. But the spirit of the Roman empire was too absolutistic to abandon the prerogative of a supervision of public worship. The Constantinian toleration was a temporary measure of state policy, which, as indeed the edict expressly states the motive, promised the greatest security to the public peace and the protection of all divine and heavenly powers, for emperor and empire. It was, as the result teaches, but the necessary transitional step to a new order of things, which opened the door to the elevation of Christianity, and specifically of Catholic hierarchical Christianity, with its exclusiveness toward heretical and schismatic sects, to be the religion of the state. For, once put on equal footing with heathenism, it must soon, in spite of numerical minority, bear away the victory from a religion which had already inwardly outlived itself.

From this time Constantine decidedly favored the church, though without persecuting or forbidding the pagan religions. He always mentions the Christian church with reverence in his imperial edicts, and uniformly applies to it, as we have already observed, the predicate of catholicity. For only as a catholic, thoroughly organized, firmly compacted, and conservative institution, did it meet his rigid monarchical instincts, and afford the splendid state and court dress he wished for his empire. So early as the year 318 he and the bishop Hosius of Cordova among his counsellors, and heathen writers ascribe to the bishop even a magical influence over the emperor. Lactantius, also, and Eusebius of Caesarea belonged to his confidential circle. He exempted the Christian clergy from military and municipal duty (March, 313); abolished various customs and ordinances offensive to the Christians (315); facilitated the consecration of Christian places

(before 316); legalized the episcopal catholic church (325); and the civil tribunals of the empire, though not as yet *dominus et fons legis*, in conformity to the edicts of Apollo, and in consequence of an ordinance for his regular observance of the *habetus* (317); countermanded the building of new temples and the support of the *curiae*; granted the heathen *curiae* the same rights as the imperial *curiae* (321); and gave his own Christian *curiae* the same rights as the imperial *curiae* (321). This ministry example was followed as might be expected by a general transition of *curiae* to *ecclesiae* (more influenced in the *curiae* by inward conviction and *ecclesiae* by outward circumstances). The *curiae* were thus transformed into *ecclesiae* and *ecclesiae* into *curiae*. The emperor had promised to each *curia* a white garment and twenty pieces of gold, in at least in *curiae* (now with the spirit of the *curiae* though the fact itself is all *curiae* ability, is greatly exaggerated. *Curiae* Constantine came out with *curiae* greater *curiae*, which by his *curiae* over his Eastern colleague, his brother-in-law, Licinius, he *curiae* sole head of the whole *curiae* *curiae* fire. "To strengthen his *curiae* Licinius had gradually placed *curiae* self at the head of the *curiae* still very numerous, and *curiae* ed the Christians first with *curiae* ridicule, then with exclusion from civil and military offices; with *curiae* ment, and in some instances *curiae* even with bloody persecution. *Curiae* gave the political strife for the *curiae* archy between himself and *curiae* line the character of a *curiae* religions; and the defeat of *curiae* in the battle of Adrianople, in *curiae* 321, and at Chlodion, in *curiae* was a new triumph of the *curiae* of the cross over the *curiae* of the gods; and that Constantine *curiae* ed himself and his *curiae* execution of Licinius and his *curiae* The emperor now issued a *curiae* exhortation to his subjects to *curiae* brace the Christian religion, *curiae* leaving them, however, to their *curiae* free conviction. "In the year *curiae* patron of the church, he *curiae* the council of Nice, and himself *curiae* tended it; banished the *curiae* though he afterward recalled *curiae* and, in his monarchical spirit *curiae* firmly, showed great real *curiae* settlement of all theological *curiae*, while he was blind to their *curiae* significance. He first introduced *curiae* practice of subscription to the *curiae* of a written creed and of the *curiae* fiction of civil punishments *curiae* conformity. In the year *curiae* in connection with his mother, *curiae* na, he erected magnificent *curiae* on the sacred spots in Jerusalem.

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At all events the victory of Constantine over Maximian was a military and political victory of Christianity over heathenism; the intellectual and moral victory having been already accomplished by the literature and life of the church in the preceding period. The emblem of ignominy and oppression became thenceforward the badge of honor and dominion, and was invested in the emperor's view, according to the spirit of the church of his day, with a magic virtue. It now took the place of the eagle and other field badges, under which the heathen Romans had conquered the world. It was stamped on the imperial coin, and on the standards, helmets, and shields of the soldiers. Above all military representations of the cross the original imperial *labarum* shone in the richest decorations of gold and gems; was intrusted to the trust and bravest fifty of the body guard; filled the Christians with the spirit of victory, and spread fear and terror among their enemies; until, under the weak successors of Theodosius II., it fell out of use, and was lodged as a venerable relic in the imperial palace at Constantinople.

Before this victory at Rome (which occurred Oct. 27th, 312), either in the spring or summer of 313, Constantine, in conjunction with his Eastern colleague, Licinius, had published an edict of religious toleration, now not extant, but probably a step beyond the edict of the still anti-Christian Galerius in 311, which was likewise subscribed by Constantine and Licinius as co-regents. Soon after, in January, 313, the two emperors issued from Milan a new edict (the third) on religion; still extant both in Latin and Greek, in which, in the spirit of religious eclecticism, they granted full freedom to all existing forms of worship, with special reference to the Christian. This religion edict not only recognized in its existing limits, but also, what neither the first nor perhaps the second edict had done—allowed every heathen subject to adopt it with impunity. At the same time the church buildings and property confiscated in the Diocletian persecution were ordered to be restored, and private property owners to be indemnified from the imperial treasury.

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In this notable edict, however, we should look in vain for the modern Protestant and Anglo-American theory of religious liberty as one of the universal and inalienable rights of man. Sundry voices, it is true, in the Christian church itself, at that time and even before, declared firmly against all compulsion in religion. But the spirit of the Roman empire was too absolutistic to abandon the prerogative of a supervision of public worship. The Constantinian toleration was a temporary measure of state policy, which, as indeed the edict expressly states the motive, promised the greatest security to the public peace and the protection of all divine and heavenly powers, for emperor and empire. It was, as the result teaches, but the necessary transitional step to a new order of things, which opened the door to the elevation of Christianity, and specifically of Catholic hierarchical Christianity, with its exclusiveness toward heretical and schismatic sects, to be the religion of the state. For, once put on equal footing with heathenism, it must soon, in spite of numerical minority, bear away the victory from a religion which had already inwardly outlived itself.

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The Sabbath Recorder.

WESTERLY, N. Y., FIFTH DAY, DEC. 8, 1864.

ORIGIN AND NATURE OF THE SABBATH.

CHAPTER IV.—CONCLUDED.

There is another theory, or rather a medley of theories, which demands brief notice. It is a union of the "Legal" and "Domestic"...

Let us look closely, first, at the Sabbath law. The advocates of this theory all claim the eternity of the Sabbath as an institution, as a law...

How well Dr. Bownde—so he spells his name—succeeds in reconciling his assertions, that the Sabbath must be upon the day God blessed, and that it is not to be upon that "very same seventh day," but upon another, the first, I leave the reader to decide.

This theory, half legal, and half evangelical, was made the key-note in the Sabbath Convention at Saratoga, in August, 1863, and found a candid expositor in Dr. Philip Schaff, in an essay read before that body.

Of course the purely legal theory is never brought to support First-day observance, and hence there remains only the *quæstio* argument claimed from apostolic example, which will be the subject of the next chapter.

THANKSGIVING AT SHILOH. Thanksgiving Day was observed at Shiloh, N. J., with a good degree of unanimity. The turn-out was larger than usual on such occasions.

Arrangements having been made, without the knowledge of Eld. Gillette, (though his lady was informed the day previous,) a tremendous raid was made on his premises at Shiloh on the evening of Thanksgiving Day, by marauders of all ages and of both sexes, from the old and gray-headed to the young and promising of the society, aided by accomplices

from Marlborough. They came armed with baskets, boxes, bags, &c., containing something for the inner man, and pocket-books and wallets with something to be handled with the thumb and finger for other uses.

THE WINTER TERM OF THIS SCHOOL will open Wednesday, Dec. 14th, and we hope to see the ranks full.

A FINE PERORATION. The sermon recently delivered in Hartford for the Sanitary Commission, by Bishop Clark, of Rhode Island, contained this eloquent closing passage:

THE SUPPOSED REBEL INCENDIARIES.—Rewards, amounting in the aggregate to twenty-five thousand dollars, are now offered for the detection and conviction of the incendiaries who tried to burn New York—namely, \$20,000 by the hotel-keepers; and \$5,000 by the Mayor.

A WORTHY EXAMPLE.—Seven years since, David Wilkinson, of Hartford, Conn., deceased, leaving the bulk of his property to found a library for reference. It was a favorite idea with Mr. Wilkinson, who often spoke of the necessity of a place where books could be available for occasional reference by scholars, historians and literary men.

THE AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY does not slacken its efforts on account of the war. At a recent meeting of the Board, an unusual number of appropriations were made, including \$1000 to print a Syriac Testament of large size, and a quantity of Bibles to the Presbyterian Board of Publication at Richmond, Virginia, for rebel soldiers.

ATTORNEY GENERAL BLAIR HAVING resigned, his place in the Cabinet was offered to Judge Holt, who declined it. The place was then offered to Hon. James Speed, of Kentucky, who accepted it.

DRINK BEQUESTS.—The habit of keeping property as long as life lasts, and then leaving a part of it to charitable objects, is strong upon men. It is better to aid such objects in that way than not at all; but better still to do it while you live.

THE WILL OF REV. FREDERICK S. WILEY, after dividing the money into twenty equal shares, bequeaths two shares thereof to the Protestant Episcopal Society for the Promotion of Evangelical Knowledge; five shares to the American Church Missionary Society; five other shares to the same society for the purpose of preparing young men for the ministry in the Protestant Episcopal Church; two shares to the American Bible Society; two shares to St. Luke's Hospital; one share to the American Tract Society of Boston; two shares to Children's Aid Society; and one share to the trustees of Griswold College, of Davenport, Iowa.

BAPTIST COLLEGES.—The Examiner says that the Baptists of these Northern States have undertaken a great work in the noble cause of education. They have now under their control nine universities and colleges, in actual operation, with buildings, facilities, and students, without reckoning several new college enterprises not yet in a condition to begin the service of collegiate instruction.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE will come too late for us to print any part of it this week. A correspondent of the N. Y. Tribune says that the President will take high ground in vindication of the national effort to maintain its authority and integrity.

THE BOSTON TRAVELER tells of an attempt to destroy a steamer on Long Island Sound. It seems that a torpedo was found in one of the berths of the steamer City of New London. The fuse had been lighted, but had become extinguished before the torpedo was ignited, and the design of the perpetrators was provisionally frustrated.

A REBEL CALL FOR PEACE.—The *Ensign*, a Methodist Episcopal organ, published in Marion, Va., in commenting upon Jeff Davis's Thanksgiving proclamation, says: "We hope the day will generally be observed, and that there will be fastings, prayers, intercessions and giving of thanks for all men, and especially for those that are in authority, that we may lead a peaceable and quiet life in all godliness and honesty."

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more than one hundred years ago since there was 'slaying' going on in London. Many of them, no doubt, had heard of Thomas Watt. When he went to London to learn philosophical instrument making, there were as many as forty press-gangs out every night, and sometimes they captured many gangs in one night, and these were not all intended for the army, some of them being sent out and sold in Pennsylvania. This was about one hundred years ago, so that it had taken them a long time to bring themselves to their present status, and he must say they needed a good deal more doing yet.

FRANZ MULLER, the German, who was arrested in New York, a few months ago, for the murder of a man named Briggs, in a British railroad car, was hung in London on the 15th of November, in the presence of a crowd estimated at one hundred thousand. The following account is given of the closing scene:

HARPER'S PICTORIAL HISTORY OF THE REBELLION is progressing, Nos. 6, 7, and 8 having recently appeared. No. 6 narrates the process of secession, shows the state of both sections of the country at the time, with the leading characteristics of each, especially in a military aspect.

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RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE. The Seventh Annual Convention of the New Jersey State Sunday School Association closed its session at New Brunswick on the 18th of November. Reports from most of the churches of the State were received, showing a large gain in the number of Sunday school scholars, and reporting over two thousand conversions during the year.

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CAPTURE OF REBEL PRISONERS. A plot of rebel pirates to capture a California steamer has been discovered...

On the 25th of October, the American Consul in Panama received a dispatch from Consul Sheffield, at Havana...

From New Orleans, we learn that an expedition, organized by Gen. Bailey...

Newburyport, Mass., has filled her quota in advance for another call of a half million men...

Capt. Semmes, late of the Confederate pirate Alabama, is said to be again afloat in a new steamer adapted to the work of destruction.

An order has been issued prohibiting the use of all shoulder straps, sashes, saddle-tappings, or other prominent insignia of rank...

The Navy Department has been officially informed that the yellow fever has disappeared from Newbern, N. C.

Out of 135 loyal Georgians that were captured by the rebels a few weeks since, 100 were murdered in the most inhuman manner.

A HORRIBLE AFFAIR occurred in the Tombs, in New York, about four o'clock Friday morning, Nov. 2d...

It is stated that the President, in his forthcoming Message, will recommend an advance of one grade in the Navy similar to that given in the army...

A Chattanooga paper says that one of Sherman's latest orders is the one authorizing soldiers to dispose of guerrillas as they "see fit."

Gen. A. L. Lee, commanding the Union cavalry forces at Baton Rouge, returned to that point on the 22d Oct...

A Military Commission recently tried a citizen who was enrolled at Washington nearly two years ago...

Among Gen. Sherman's troops is the 1st Alabama Cavalry, which was first organized at Corinth in the early part of 1863.

One of our fortifications fronting Petersburg is called Fort Hell, and is described as a very dangerous place...

Gen. Blunt has given orders that hereafter, throughout the District of the Upper Arkansas, the Assistant-Quartermasters and Commissaries of Subsistence...

The rebel ex-General Roger A. Pryor, now a private soldier in the Confederate army, was captured on Friday, Nov. 25th...

\$25,000, as returned under the special income tax. Tax payers in the Fourth district are assessed upon incomes of more than \$100,000 each...

SUMMARY OF NEWS. The exclusive currency of California has been gold, and "greenbacks" have been of more or less value according to the specie standard.

A large cheese has been shipped from California for the use of the army. Its weight is 3,930 lbs. It was made from the milk of 600 cows...

A newly invented paddle-wheel for steamboats has been tried with great success in New York. It was placed upon a boat whose speed was known to all steamboatmen as about eleven miles an hour...

A man was arrested recently, near Ferrisburg, Vt., for putting obstructions on the railroad. After being locked up he committed suicide by hanging himself.

A torpedo was recently found in one of the berths of the Sound steamer City of New London, supposed to have been placed there by some secessionist...

The house of John Chipman, in Cronwell, Conn., was burned on the 17th Nov., and Mrs. Chipman lost her life in the flames.

Several important officers are to be filled by the incoming Governor of New York, which were not filled last January through the disagreement of the Governor and Senate.

The Taunton Gazette says that Martin Handy, twelve years of age, a recent graduate of the State Reform School, in a fit of anger, stabbed a little boy five years of age...

A mole killer, of Montney, Switzerland, was lately arrested for fraud; he was paid so much a mole, the tails being his vouchers.

There is a company organized in New York to manufacture fuel out of the dust of coal. They have discovered a process by which the dust is formed and kept in a solid compact mass...

The Worcester Spy says Mr. Sargent, of Southboro, Mass., has raised this year four pounds of genuine coffee, from the real Java coffee seed.

Bridget Hamilton, an expert female thief, has been arrested in Brooklyn, and about \$2500 worth of stolen goods found upon her premises.

William Hutchings recently celebrated his hundredth birthday at his home, in Penobscot, Me. He has seven great-grandchildren, and seven great-granddaughters...

Seth Kinnam, a hunter and pioneer of California, has given President Lincoln a chair constructed from the antlers of two stags which he shot on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada.

Among the curiosities at the recent Mechanics' Fair in San Francisco, was a ten-toed ox, a three-legged calf, a three-legged dog, and the celebrated upright game cock...

The U. S. Circuit Court, New York, has given a verdict of \$4000 to a person for damages sustained while crossing the street from a stage.

The Hartford Times gives the following as a substitute for butter: "Take a few slices of salt pork, partly fry it, and add water and flour; after boiling it will make an excellent gravy, a substitute for butter."

There was another sale of coal last week by the Delaware Company, at the prices averaged 37 cents per ton higher than at the last sale.

The Adams Express Co. carried sixty tons of Thanksgiving gifts to the soldiers from Boston.

Hones are very scarce in Washington, and rents are consequently very high. One gentleman who put up two buildings under one roof at a cost of \$600, rents each of them for sixty dollars per month.

A dancer in the National Theatre at Cincinnati came to a sad death lately. She had been dancing, and in passing from the greenroom to the stage, in response to a second encore, drank a tumbler full of ice water...

A large bear was shot at Farmington Falls, Me., on the 30th Nov., after a chase of about half an hour. After his death parties arrived from Weld, Salem and Phillips, who said that they started him on his daily hunt and had been following him daily without coming up with him.

A lad fifteen years old recently captured a shoplifter at Lewiston, Maine. Seeing a man steal a cap and walk off, the boy followed him, and presenting an unloaded pistol, threatened to shoot him if he did not return the article.

The people of the Northwest propose to hold another great sanitary fair at Chicago, to open on the 23d of February, and close on the 4th of March, 1865.

Over seven thousand acres of land have been leased in Perry county, Indiana, by a wealthy Louisville company, for the purpose of operating in the oil business.

Purchasers of phosphorus in Boston are to be traced by the dealers, so that it will be almost impossible to obtain any for the purpose of incendiarism.

A few days ago a boy fifteen years of age was killed in Nashville by a youth of twelve years, during a quarrel.

The internal revenue receipts for November were fourteen million dollars.

From the army hospital—the bloody battle-field—the mansion of the rich, and the bleached bones of the poor—from the ornate and the sordid desk—from the mast-head of the ocean—land valleys and far-off islands of the civilized world—is pouring in the evidence of the astonishing effects of Dr. Cass's PLANTATION BITTERS.

Several important officers are to be filled by the incoming Governor of New York, which were not filled last January through the disagreement of the Governor and Senate.

The Taunton Gazette says that Martin Handy, twelve years of age, a recent graduate of the State Reform School, in a fit of anger, stabbed a little boy five years of age...

A mole killer, of Montney, Switzerland, was lately arrested for fraud; he was paid so much a mole, the tails being his vouchers.

There is a company organized in New York to manufacture fuel out of the dust of coal. They have discovered a process by which the dust is formed and kept in a solid compact mass...

The Worcester Spy says Mr. Sargent, of Southboro, Mass., has raised this year four pounds of genuine coffee, from the real Java coffee seed.

Bridget Hamilton, an expert female thief, has been arrested in Brooklyn, and about \$2500 worth of stolen goods found upon her premises.

William Hutchings recently celebrated his hundredth birthday at his home, in Penobscot, Me. He has seven great-grandchildren, and seven great-granddaughters...

Seth Kinnam, a hunter and pioneer of California, has given President Lincoln a chair constructed from the antlers of two stags which he shot on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada.

Among the curiosities at the recent Mechanics' Fair in San Francisco, was a ten-toed ox, a three-legged calf, a three-legged dog, and the celebrated upright game cock...

The U. S. Circuit Court, New York, has given a verdict of \$4000 to a person for damages sustained while crossing the street from a stage.

The Hartford Times gives the following as a substitute for butter: "Take a few slices of salt pork, partly fry it, and add water and flour; after boiling it will make an excellent gravy, a substitute for butter."

There was another sale of coal last week by the Delaware Company, at the prices averaged 37 cents per ton higher than at the last sale.

The Adams Express Co. carried sixty tons of Thanksgiving gifts to the soldiers from Boston.

Wm. R. Porter, P. M. of Roxbury, Oxford county, Me., having lost quite a number of sheep, went to work to trap the robbers, and succeeded in trapping five full-grown bears within two months.

The Selectmen of Spencer, Mass., gave each volunteer's family in town a turkey for Thanksgiving. Men enough have been recruited in the same town to clear it from another graft of 300,000, and more are enlisting.

A Springfield (Mass.) baby has six grandmothers living, whose united ages are 437 years. The great-grandmother is 93; three great-grandmothers 84, 77, 73; and the two grandmothers are 55 and 49.

A weekly paper in Hartford suspends publication once in a while, on account of the high price of paper. The editor says his subscribers prefer an occasional week's suspension to an increase of subscription price.

The Cleveland papers announce important discoveries of rock oil in the vicinity of that city. Speculators are rapidly buying up the oil-lands. Some of the owners hold back for higher bids.

A young lady died in a dentist's office in Pittsburgh last week, from the effect of inhaling chloroform, when about to undergo a surgical operation.

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The Adams Express Co. carried sixty tons of Thanksgiving gifts to the soldiers from Boston.

and is twice the value. The ingredients are simple, and can be obtained at any drug store. We will send Recipe for making on receipt of 25 cents, with stamps. Address: Dr. J. QUINCY FROST, New York City.

NEW YORK MARKETS—DEC. 5, 1864. Wheat—No. 1, 110 1/2; No. 2, 110; No. 3, 109 1/2; No. 4, 109; No. 5, 108 1/2; No. 6, 108; No. 7, 107 1/2; No. 8, 107; No. 9, 106 1/2; No. 10, 106; No. 11, 105 1/2; No. 12, 105; No. 13, 104 1/2; No. 14, 104; No. 15, 103 1/2; No. 16, 103; No. 17, 102 1/2; No. 18, 102; No. 19, 101 1/2; No. 20, 101; No. 21, 100 1/2; No. 22, 100; No. 23, 99 1/2; No. 24, 99; No. 25, 98 1/2; No. 26, 98; No. 27, 97 1/2; No. 28, 97; No. 29, 96 1/2; No. 30, 96; No. 31, 95 1/2; No. 32, 95; No. 33, 94 1/2; No. 34, 94; No. 35, 93 1/2; No. 36, 93; No. 37, 92 1/2; No. 38, 92; No. 39, 91 1/2; No. 40, 91; No. 41, 90 1/2; No. 42, 90; No. 43, 89 1/2; No. 44, 89; No. 45, 88 1/2; No. 46, 88; No. 47, 87 1/2; No. 48, 87; No. 49, 86 1/2; No. 50, 86; No. 51, 85 1/2; No. 52, 85; No. 53, 84 1/2; No. 54, 84; No. 55, 83 1/2; No. 56, 83; No. 57, 82 1/2; No. 58, 82; No. 59, 81 1/2; No. 60, 81; No. 61, 80 1/2; No. 62, 80; No. 63, 79 1/2; No. 64, 79; No. 65, 78 1/2; No. 66, 78; No. 67, 77 1/2; No. 68, 77; No. 69, 76 1/2; No. 70, 76; No. 71, 75 1/2; No. 72, 75; No. 73, 74 1/2; No. 74, 74; No. 75, 73 1/2; No. 76, 73; No. 77, 72 1/2; No. 78, 72; No. 79, 71 1/2; No. 80, 71; No. 81, 70 1/2; No. 82, 70; No. 83, 69 1/2; No. 84, 69; No. 85, 68 1/2; No. 86, 68; No. 87, 67 1/2; No. 88, 67; No. 89, 66 1/2; No. 90, 66; No. 91, 65 1/2; No. 92, 65; No. 93, 64 1/2; No. 94, 64; No. 95, 63 1/2; No. 96, 63; No. 97, 62 1/2; No. 98, 62; No. 99, 61 1/2; No. 100, 61; No. 101, 60 1/2; No. 102, 60; No. 103, 59 1/2; No. 104, 59; No. 105, 58 1/2; No. 106, 58; No. 107, 57 1/2; No. 108, 57; No. 109, 56 1/2; No. 110, 56; No. 111, 55 1/2; No. 112, 55; No. 113, 54 1/2; No. 114, 54; No. 115, 53 1/2; No. 116, 53; No. 117, 52 1/2; No. 118, 52; No. 119, 51 1/2; No. 120, 51; No. 121, 50 1/2; No. 122, 50; No. 123, 49 1/2; No. 124, 49; No. 125, 48 1/2; No. 126, 48; No. 127, 47 1/2; No. 128, 47; No. 129, 46 1/2; No. 130, 46; No. 131, 45 1/2; No. 132, 45; No. 133, 44 1/2; No. 134, 44; No. 135, 43 1/2; No. 136, 43; No. 137, 42 1/2; No. 138, 42; No. 139, 41 1/2; No. 140, 41; No. 141, 40 1/2; No. 142, 40; No. 143, 39 1/2; No. 144, 39; No. 145, 38 1/2; No. 146, 38; No. 147, 37 1/2; No. 148, 37; No. 149, 36 1/2; No. 150, 36; No. 151, 35 1/2; No. 152, 35; No. 153, 34 1/2; No. 154, 34; No. 155, 33 1/2; No. 156, 33; No. 157, 32 1/2; No. 158, 32; No. 159, 31 1/2; No. 160, 31; No. 161, 30 1/2; No. 162, 30; No. 163, 29 1/2; No. 164, 29; No. 165, 28 1/2; No. 166, 28; No. 167, 27 1/2; No. 168, 27; No. 169, 26 1/2; No. 170, 26; No. 171, 25 1/2; No. 172, 25; No. 173, 24 1/2; No. 174, 24; No. 175, 23 1/2; No. 176, 23; No. 177, 22 1/2; No. 178, 22; No. 179, 21 1/2; No. 180, 21; No. 181, 20 1/2; No. 182, 20; No. 183, 19 1/2; No. 184, 19; No. 185, 18 1/2; No. 186, 18; No. 187, 17 1/2; No. 188, 17; No. 189, 16 1/2; No. 190, 16; No. 191, 15 1/2; No. 192, 15; No. 193, 14 1/2; No. 194, 14; No. 195, 13 1/2; No. 196, 13; No. 197, 12 1/2; No. 198, 12; No. 199, 11 1/2; No. 200, 11; No. 201, 10 1/2; No. 202, 10; No. 203, 9 1/2; No. 204, 9; No. 205, 8 1/2; No. 206, 8; No. 207, 7 1/2; No. 208, 7; No. 209, 6 1/2; No. 210, 6; No. 211, 5 1/2; No. 212, 5; No. 213, 4 1/2; No. 214, 4; No. 215, 3 1/2; No. 216, 3; No. 217, 2 1/2; No. 218, 2; No. 219, 1 1/2; No. 220, 1; No. 221, 1/2; No. 222, 1/4; No. 223, 1/8; No. 224, 1/16; No. 225, 1/32; No. 226, 1/64; No. 227, 1/128; No. 228, 1/256; No. 229, 1/512; No. 230, 1/1024; No. 231, 1/2048; No. 232, 1/4096; No. 233, 1/8192; No. 234, 1/16384; No. 235, 1/32768; No. 236, 1/65536; No. 237, 1/131072; No. 238, 1/262144; No. 239, 1/524288; No. 240, 1/1048576; No. 241, 1/2097152; No. 242, 1/4194304; No. 243, 1/8388608; No. 244, 1/16777216; No. 245, 1/33554432; No. 246, 1/67108864; No. 247, 1/134217728; No. 248, 1/268435456; No. 249, 1/536870912; No. 250, 1/1073741824; No. 251, 1/2147483648; No. 252, 1/4294967296; No. 253, 1/8589934592; No. 254, 1/17179869184; No. 255, 1/34359738368; No. 256, 1/68719476736; No. 257, 1/137438953472; No. 258, 1/274877906944; No. 259, 1/549755813888; No. 260, 1/1099511627776; No. 261, 1/2199023255552; No. 262, 1/4398046511104; 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