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# The Original Meaning of “religion” in the First Amendment: A Test Case of Originalism’s Utilization of Corpus Linguistics

Lee J. Strang

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# The Original Meaning of “religion” in the First Amendment: A Test Case of Originalism’s Utilization of Corpus Linguistics

Lee J. Strang\*

*Originalism is the theory of constitutional interpretation that identifies the constitutional text’s public meaning when it was ratified as its authoritative meaning. Corpus linguistics is the study of word-use regularities and patterns, primarily in written texts. In a prior article, I argued that originalists should utilize corpus linguistics to facilitate originalism’s capacity to accurately uncover this original meaning. However, my arguments there were theoretical; this Essay provides a “test case” of corpus linguistics’ capacity to increase originalism’s methodological accuracy.*

*This Essay accomplishes three modest goals. First, it provides a practical example of the application of corpus linguistics to originalism. This affords a first-cut illustration of the extent to which corpus linguistics can make originalism’s methodology more rigorous. Second, this Essay utilizes the tools of corpus linguistics to provide additional evidence of the original meaning of “religion” in the First Amendment. Third, based on this experience, it describes some of the challenges originalist scholars will likely face employing corpus linguistics.*

## CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION .....	1684
II. CORPUS LINGUISTICS AND ORIGINALISM.....	1685
III. “RELIGION” IN THE FIRST AMENDMENT.....	1687

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A. Introduction .....	1687
B. Jurisprudence and Scholarship on the Meaning of “religion” in the First Amendment.....	1687
C. My Prior Claims Regarding the Original Meaning of “religion” in the First Amendment.....	1691
IV. A TEST CASE: CORPUS LINGUISTICS APPLIED TO “RELIGION” IN THE FIRST AMENDMENT .....	1693
A. Introduction .....	1693
B. Methodology .....	1693
C. Findings.....	1697
1. Corpus of Founding Era American English findings .....	1697
2. <i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> findings.....	1702
V. BENEFITS AND CHALLENGES OF USING CORPUS LINGUISTICS TO UNCOVER ORIGINAL MEANING .....	1703
A. Introduction .....	1703
B. How Corpus Linguistics Facilitated Originalism .....	1703
C. Challenges of and Limits to Using Corpus Linguistics	1705
VI. CONCLUSION .....	1708
APPENDIX .....	1709

#### I. INTRODUCTION

This Essay accomplishes three modest goals. First, it provides a practical example of the application of corpus linguistics to originalism. This affords a first-cut illustration of the extent to which corpus linguistics can make originalism’s methodology more rigorous. Second, this Essay utilizes the tools of corpus linguistics to provide additional evidence of the original meaning of “religion” in the First Amendment.<sup>1</sup> Third, based on this experience, it describes some of the challenges originalist scholars will likely face employing corpus linguistics.

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1. U.S. CONST. amend. I.

## II. CORPUS LINGUISTICS AND ORIGINALISM

Corpus linguistics is the study of word-use regularities and patterns, primarily in written texts.<sup>2</sup> Today, scholars typically utilize computers to identify and analyze word usage in electronic and electronically-searchable databases called corpora.<sup>3</sup> Corpus linguists apply a variety of tools and analyses to corpora. For instance, “collocation” is a tool that permits identification of the words most commonly associated with (and within so many words of) a searched-for word.<sup>4</sup> Corpus linguistics is just beginning to have an impact on legal scholarship.<sup>5</sup> I describe my use of corpus linguistics for purposes of this Essay below, in Part IV.

Originalism is the theory of constitutional interpretation that identifies the Constitution’s text’s public meaning when it was ratified as its authoritative meaning.<sup>6</sup> The process of uncovering the original

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2. See Michael McCarthy & Anne O’Keeffe, *What are Corpora and How Have They Evolved?*, in THE ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF CORPUS LINGUISTICS 3, 3–13 (Michael McCarthy & Anne O’Keeffe eds., 2010) (describing the history and evolution of corpus linguistics).

3. See *id.* at 5–6 (describing the impact of technology on corpus linguistics).

4. SUSAN HUNSTON, CORPORA IN APPLIED LINGUISTICS 68 (2002).

5. See, e.g., James R. Hietala, Jr., *Linguistic Key Words in E-Discovery*, 37 AM. J. TRIAL ADVOC. 603, 609 (2014); Stephen C. Mouritsen, *Hard Cases and Hard Data: Assessing Corpus Linguistics as an Empirical Path to Plain Meaning*, 13 COLUM. SCI. & TECH. L. REV. 156, 190 (2011); Stephen C. Mouritsen, Note, *The Dictionary is Not a Fortress: Definitional Fallacies and a Corpus-Based Approach to Plain Meaning*, 2010 BYU L. REV. 1915, 1919; D. Carolina Núñez, *War of the Words: Aliens, Immigrants, Citizens, and the Language of Exclusion*, 2013 BYU L. REV. 1517, 1520; Daniel Ortner, *The Merciful Corpus: The Rule of Lenity, Ambiguity and Corpus Linguistics*, 25 B.U. PUB. INT. L.J. 101, 122 (2016); James C. Phillips, Daniel M. Ortner & Thomas R. Lee, *Corpus Linguistics & Original Public Meaning: A New Tool to Make Originalism More Empirical*, 126 YALE L.J. F. 21, 21 (2016) (proposing “the use of corpus linguistics to determine original public meaning”); Lawrence M. Solan, *Can Corpus Linguistics Help Make Originalism Scientific?*, 126 YALE L.J. F. 57, 57 (2016); Lawrence M. Solan, *The New Textualists’ New Text*, 38 LOY. L.A. L. REV. 2027, 2059–60 (2005); Lawrence B. Solum, *Triangulating Public Meaning: Corpus Linguistics, Immersion, and the Constitutional Record*, 2017 BYU L. REV. 1621 (arguing that corpus linguistics is one of three primary methods to reliably ascertain the original meaning).

6. This core claim cashes-out into two components: (1) the Constitution’s meaning was fixed at the time the text was ratified; and (2) the Constitution’s fixed original meaning contributes to constitutional doctrine. See Lawrence B. Solum, *What is Originalism? The Evolution of Contemporary Originalist Theory*, in THE CHALLENGE OF ORIGINALISM: THEORIES OF CONSTITUTIONAL INTERPRETATION 12, 32–38 (Grant Huscroft & Bradley W. Miller eds., 2011) (describing the fixation thesis and constraint principle); Lawrence B. Solum, *The Fixation Thesis: The Role of Historical Fact in Original Meaning*, 91 NOTRE DAME L. REV. 1 (2015) (describing the fixation thesis); Lawrence B. Solum, *The Constraint Principle: Original Meaning*

public meaning contains a number of distinct components.<sup>7</sup> One analytically distinct and important step is to identify the conventional meaning of the Constitution's words and phrases at the time of ratification.<sup>8</sup> In previous scholarship, I argued that originalists should utilize corpus linguistics to facilitate originalism's capacity to accurately uncover this original conventional meaning.<sup>9</sup> I labeled originalist use of corpus linguistics, "computer-assisted research technology," or "CART."<sup>10</sup>

However, my arguments there were theoretical; this Essay provides a modest, practical test of corpus linguistics' capacity to increase originalism's methodological accuracy. Below, in Part IV, I provide a test case that shows how corpus linguistics augments my previous originalist scholarship describing the original meaning of "religion" in the First Amendment.<sup>11</sup> This provides (preliminary) evidence of the practical capacity of corpus linguistics to enhance originalism, even for those texts over which there is substantial current interpretative disagreement.

At the same time, as I explain in Part V, this test case exemplifies some of the challenges originalist scholars will likely face employing corpus linguistics. Originalist scholars face both technical and professional obstacles. Technically, there does not yet exist the type of publicly available and robust corpora of sources from the framing and ratification period that will maximize originalism's benefits from

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and Constitutional Practice (Mar. 24, 2017) (unpublished manuscript) (available at [https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=2940215](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2940215)) (describing the constraint principle). My Essay focuses on the most prominent version of originalism, public meaning originalism.

7. See Lee J. Strang, *How Big Data Can Increase Originalism's Methodological Rigor: Using Corpus Linguistics to Reveal Original Language Conventions*, 50 U.C. DAVIS L. REV. 1181, 1195–97 (2016) (describing originalism's internal architecture).

8. Lawrence B. Solum, *Communicative Content and Legal Content*, 89 NOTRE DAME L. REV. 479, 487, 491, 497 (2013); Lawrence B. Solum, *Intellectual History as Constitutional Theory*, 101 VA. L. REV. 1111, 1126 (2015). After one accesses the text's original conventional meaning, then one applies the rules of grammar and syntax to arrive at the text's semantic meaning. Third, one evaluates how the text's publicly available context enriches the text's semantic meaning to arrive at the original public meaning.

9. Strang, *supra* note 7, at 1181. I also suggested that corpus linguistics could facilitate other aspects of originalism, such as constitutional construction, but I did not fully explore those potentialities.

10. *Id.* at 1184.

11. Lee J. Strang, *The Meaning of "Religion" in the First Amendment*, 40 DUQ. L. REV. 181, 181–82 (2002).

corpus linguistics. Professionally, most originalist scholars’ backgrounds do not include training in the theory, techniques, and terminology of corpus linguistics, and this creates challenges to originalists fully capitalizing on corpus linguistics’ promise.

### III. “RELIGION” IN THE FIRST AMENDMENT

#### *A. Introduction*

In this Part, I briefly review the history of the interpretation of “religion” in the First Amendment. Section B summarizes the history of the Supreme Court’s treatment of the term and the recent scholarly debate over its meaning. Section C describes my prior originalist scholarship, which reviewed the historical evidence and concluded that the original meaning of religion was a belief system that contained these three components: (1) belief in a deity; (2) with duties in this life; and (3) a future state of rewards and punishments.

#### *B. Jurisprudence and Scholarship on the Meaning of “religion” in the First Amendment*

Since the mid-twentieth century, there has been significant debate over the meaning of religion in the First Amendment both on the Supreme Court and among scholars.<sup>12</sup> This debate is complex, but a key aspect of the debate is whether the constitutional definition of religion includes only theistic<sup>13</sup> belief systems or whether it also includes non-theistic belief systems. This (potential) facet of the constitutional meaning of religion represents a major fault line in the debate over the term’s meaning and scope.

The conventional story is that the Supreme Court utilized a theistic definition of religion until the mid-twentieth century.<sup>14</sup> The Court’s use of a theistic definition was not accidental. In its first major case involving the Free Exercise Clause, *Reynolds v. United States*, the

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12. *Id.* at 200–10 (describing the history of the constitutional meaning of religion and scholarly debate over that meaning).

13. *See, e.g.*, MERRIAM WEBSTER’S COLLEGIATE DICTIONARY 1222 (10th ed. 1993) (defining “theism” as “belief in the existence of a god or gods”).

14. The significant cases include *Late Corp. of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints v. United States*, 136 U.S. 1 (1890); *Davis v. Beason*, 133 U.S. 333 (1890); and *Reynolds v. United States*, 98 U.S. 145, 162–63 (1878).

Court began its analysis by stating that “[t]he word ‘religion’ is not defined in the Constitution. We must go elsewhere, therefore, to ascertain its meaning, and nowhere more appropriately, we think, than to the history of the times in the midst of which the provision was adopted.”<sup>15</sup> The *Reynolds* Court then surveyed a modest selection of the historical materials, and these materials identified religion as theistic.<sup>16</sup> The examples of religion in the materials were theistic,<sup>17</sup> as were definitional statements of the term.<sup>18</sup>

Then, over a series of mid-twentieth century cases,<sup>19</sup> culminating in two conscientious objector cases decided in 1965<sup>20</sup> and 1970,<sup>21</sup> the Court moved toward a non-theistic definition of religion. Though the *Seeger* and *Welsh* cases involved statutory interpretation, the Court’s rationale strongly suggested—and was widely taken to mean<sup>22</sup>—that the constitutional definition of religion is non-theistic. Most importantly, the Court reasoned that a theistic conception of religion would be inconsistent with its then-regnant strict-separationist interpretation of the Establishment Clause.<sup>23</sup>

Scholars have struggled mightily, especially since *Seeger* and *Welsh*, to articulate a definition of religion that included some, but not all, non-theistic belief systems.<sup>24</sup> They have proffered a wide variety of

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15. *Reynolds*, 98 U.S. at 162.

16. *Id.* at 162–67.

17. *See id.* at 163 (“Christian religion”).

18. *See id.* (“... religion, or the duty we owe the Creator. . . .”); *id.* at 164 (“Believing with you that religion is a matter which lies solely between man and his God.”).

19. *Torcaso v. Watkins*, 367 U.S. 488 (1961); *United States v. Ballard*, 322 U.S. 78 (1944); *see also* *United States v. Kauten*, 133 F.2d 703 (2d Cir. 1943).

20. *United States v. Seeger*, 380 U.S. 163 (1965).

21. *Welsh v. United States*, 398 U.S. 333 (1970).

22. Jesse H. Choper, *Defining “Religion” in the First Amendment*, 1982 U. ILL. L. REV. 579, 579–80, 589.

23. *Seeger*, 380 U.S. at 165, 184; *id.* at 188–93 (Douglas, J., concurring); *Welsh*, 398 U.S. at 344–45 (Harlan, J., concurring). Since 1970, the Supreme Court has not returned to the question of the constitutional definition of religion, and the Court’s Establishment Clause case law has retreated from its aggressive strict-separationist interpretation. *E.g.*, *Town of Greece v. Galloway*, 134 S. Ct. 1811 (2014); *Van Orden v. Perry*, 545 U.S. 677 (2005); *Zelman v. Simmons-Harris*, 536 U.S. 639 (2002); *Mitchell v. Helms*, 530 U.S. 793 (2000) (plurality opinion); *Agostini v. Felton*, 521 U.S. 203 (1997). This has undermined the *Welsh* and *Seeger* Courts’ rationale and likely means that the Court today would not be compelled by precedent to articulate a non-theistic definition of religion.

24. *See* Andrew Koppelman, “Religion” as a Bundle of Legal Proxies: Reply to Micah Schwartzman, 51 SAN DIEGO L. REV. 1079, 1080 (2014) (stating that there is a “cottage

conceptions of religion grounded in a similarly wide variety of reasons. For example, a number of scholars have argued that religions are belief systems that have a functional role in human life like that of “traditional” religions.<sup>25</sup> Or, relatedly, religion concerns “matters of ultimate concern.”<sup>26</sup> Another argued that religion is a sociological concept, and belief systems that distinguish the sacred from the profane are religions.<sup>27</sup> Some scholars have even argued that “the court can and should treat the question as involving a phenomenological claim about what the claimant in fact believes,” instead of a constitutional definition of religion, because *the act of definition itself* would harm religious liberty.<sup>28</sup> In sum, the scholarship in this area has produced a cacophony of conceptions, but no consensus.

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industry of proposals to discard the category of religion”). Scholarship since 2002 has continued to wrestle with the constitutional meaning of religion. *See* ANDREW KOPPELMAN, DEFENDING AMERICAN RELIGIOUS NEUTRALITY 120–165 (2013); Mason Blake Binkley, *A Loss for Words: “Religion” in the First Amendment*, 88 U. DET. MERCY L. REV. 185 (2010); Christopher L. Eisgruber & Lawrence G. Sager, *Does It Matter What Religion Is?*, 84 NOTRE DAME L. REV. 807 (2009); Jonathan P. Kuhn, Note, *The Religious Difference: Equal Protection and the Accommodation of (Non)-Religion*, 94 WASH. U. L. REV. 191 (2016); Courtney Miller, Note, *“Spiritual But Not Religious”: Rethinking the Legal Definition of Religion*, 102 VA. L. REV. 833 (2016); Micah Schwartzman, *What If Religion Is Not Special?*, 79 U. CHI. L. REV. 1351 (2012); Mark Strasser, *Definitions, Religion, and Free Exercise Guarantees*, 51 TULSA L. REV. 1 (2015); Winnifred Fallers Sullivan, *Why Distinguish Religion, Legally Speaking?*, 51 SAN DIEGO L. REV. 1121 (2014); Jeffrey Omar Usman, *Defining Religion: The Struggle to Define Religion Under the First Amendment and the Contributions and Insights of Other Disciplines of Study Including Theology, Psychology, Sociology, the Arts, and Anthropology*, 83 N.D. L. REV. 123 (2007); *see cf.* Strang, *supra* note 11, at 204–10 (describing the state of the commentary as of 2002).

25. Note, *Toward a Constitutional Definition of Religion*, 91 HARV. L. REV. 1056, 1058 (1978); *see also* Kent Greenawalt, *Religion as a Concept in Constitutional Law*, 72 CALIF. L. REV. 753, 762 (1984) (“My basic thesis is that for constitutional purposes, religion should be determined by the closeness of analogy in the relevant respects between the disputed instance and what is indisputably religion.”).

26. Peter D. Schmid, Comment, *Religion, Secular Humanism and the First Amendment*, 13 S. ILL. U.L. J. 357, 365 (1989); *see also* *Malnak v. Yogi*, 592 F.2d 197, 208–11 (3d Cir. 1979) (Adams, J., concurring) (identifying this standard).

27. *See* Timothy L. Hall, Note, *The Sacred and the Profane: A First Amendment Definition of Religion*, 61 TEX. L. REV. 139 (1982).

28. Eisgruber & Sager, *supra* note 24, at 808–13; *see also* George C. Freeman, III, *The Misguided Search for the Constitutional Definition of “Religion”*, 71 GEO. L.J. 1519, 1552–59 (1983) (arguing that no single conceptual definition of religion is possible).



Most modern scholarship on the constitutional meaning of religion formulated non-theistic definitions of religion.<sup>29</sup> Scholars purportedly did so for a variety of reasons. A common reason was that a theistic definition would exclude belief systems that the scholars believed were religious.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, scholars argued that a theistic definition of religion would be unfair to meaningfully analogous but non-theistic belief systems.<sup>31</sup> Non-theistic strains of Buddhism were given as examples.<sup>32</sup> A related and frequently given reason is that the Establishment Clause prohibits a theistic definition of religion because it proscribes privileging religion over “nonreligion.”<sup>33</sup>

One side-effect of most scholars’ advocacy of a non-theistic conception of religion is that—as the scholars themselves frequently recognized<sup>34</sup>—it is difficult to limit the category of religion to something less than all belief systems. The theism–non-theism line is relatively clear<sup>35</sup> and sets apart a relatively small subset of all human belief systems. Indeed, that is its (purported) problem!<sup>36</sup> Scholars perceive themselves as trying to find another line, one that includes *more* belief systems than theism, but not *all* belief systems.

29. For prominent exceptions, see Patrick McKinley Brennan, *The Liberty of the Church: Source, Scope, and Scandal*, 21 J. CONTEMP. LEGAL ISSUES 165 (2013); Michael W. McConnell, *Why Protect Religious Freedom?*, 123 YALE L.J. 770, 792 (2013); Michael Stokes Paulsen, *The Priority of God: A Theory of Religious Liberty*, 39 PEPP. L. REV. 1159 (2013).

30. See Victoria S. Harrison, *The Pragmatics of Defining Religion in a Multi-Cultural World*, 59 INT’L J. FOR PHIL. RELIGION 133, 134 (2006).

31. See RONALD DWORKIN, RELIGION WITHOUT GOD (2013); CHRISTOPHER L. EISGRUBER & LAWRENCE G. SAGER, RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND THE CONSTITUTION (2007); BRIAN LEITER, WHY TOLERATE RELIGION? (2013); JOCELYN MACLURE & CHARLES TAYLOR, SECULARISM AND FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE (Jane Marie Todd trans., 2011); Micah Schwartzman, *Religion as a Legal Proxy*, 51 SAN DIEGO L. REV. 1085, 1088 (2014).

32. See JAMES BOYD WHITE, FROM EXPECTATION TO EXPERIENCE 138 (1999).

33. See Sharon L. Worthing, “Religion” and “Religious Institutions” Under the First Amendment, 7 PEPP. L. REV. 313, 345–46 (1979); see also Scott C. Idleman, *The Underlying Causes of Divergent First Amendment Interpretations*, 27 MISS. C. L. REV. 67, 71–79 (2007) (making this descriptive claim). Scholars have continued to utilize this line of thought even after the Supreme Court’s abandonment of its strict-separationist position.

34. See Choper, *supra* note 22, at 599–601.

35. There are situations, however, where it may not be clear whether a particular belief system is theistic, such as some versions of Buddhism. See HELMUTH VON GLASENAPP, BUDDHISM—A NON-THEISTIC RELIGION 15 (George Braziller ed., Irmgard Schloegl trans., 1970) (1954) (“Buddhism believes in the existence of a great number of impermanent gods (deuas) and of men who became gods (buddhas). It believes in a moral world order (dharma), but emphatically denies the existence of an eternal creator and ruler of the world.”).

36. From the critics’ perspective.

Scholars make this effort because religion cannot include all or nearly all belief systems for both theoretical and practical reasons. Theoretically, the concept of religion would lose its distinctiveness if it included all belief systems, which is implausible. Americans in particular, and human cultures of all sorts, employ the concept of religion as a distinct form of belief system. Practically, the relatively robust protections our legal system affords religious beliefs and practices would apply very broadly if non-theistic belief systems were included, leading to negative consequences, such as undermining the rule of law.<sup>37</sup>

No scholars pursued the original meaning of religion prior to publication of my prior article on that topic, described below.

*C. My Prior Claims Regarding the Original  
Meaning of “religion” in the First Amendment*

In 2002, I published *The Meaning of “Religion” in the First Amendment*.<sup>38</sup> There, I concluded that the original meaning of religion in the First Amendment comprised belief systems that included: (1) belief in a deity, (2) with duties in this life, and (3) a future state of rewards and punishments.<sup>39</sup> (I’ll label this “the 2002 definition of religion.”)

To arrive at this original meaning of religion, I utilized the then-standard original meaning originalism research techniques<sup>40</sup>: I reviewed the Constitution’s text and structure; I surveyed contemporary dictionaries; I read the framing<sup>41</sup> and ratification debates; I examined the collected writings of the framers and ratifiers; I studied the background intellectual climate of the period; and I

37. This is the same concern that animated the Supreme Court in *Emp’t Div., Dep’t of Human Res. v. Smith*, 494 U.S. 872, 885 (1990) (“To make an individual’s obligation to obey such a law contingent upon the law’s coincidence with his religious beliefs, except where the State’s interest is ‘compelling’—permitting him, by virtue of his beliefs, ‘to become a law unto himself,’ contradicts both constitutional tradition and common sense.” (internal citation omitted)).

38. Strang, *supra* note 11.

39. *Id.* at 182–83.

40. These are primarily what Professor Solum has labeled the “Method of Studying the Constitutional Record.” Solum, *Triangulating Public Meaning*, *supra* note 5, at 20.

41. For the Religious Tests Clause, I read material from the Philadelphia Convention; for the First Amendment, I read the proceedings in Congress.

investigated collections of documents, such as the *Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*.<sup>42</sup> It was laborious,<sup>43</sup> time-consuming,<sup>44</sup> expensive,<sup>45</sup> frequently tedious,<sup>46</sup> and even dirty on occasion.<sup>47</sup> Though not perfectly executed, I was and remain confident that the article's conclusion fit the evidence.

This method of uncovering religion's original meaning had limitations, though. A significant limitation was the genre of the documents surveyed. They were primarily legal documents, such as colonial charters, and documents from important historical figures, including most American elites like James Madison. Sources from other genres and other strata of American society were less accessible. A related limitation was the quantity of documents evaluated. Though by the standards of the time the number of sources was large—especially when index searches are taken into account—it was still a relatively small sampling of the in-principle available evidence of the word's conventional meaning and its public meaning. The sources I utilized did include a variety of genres of sources from the *Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*, but the genre allocation of the documents I reviewed was determined more by accessibility than conscious weighting, and it leaned toward elite-authored documents. Qualitatively, my research relied on the accuracy of indices and my own judgment about the relative frequency and sense of the use of the word religion.

Corpus linguistics holds out the promise of offering new sources and tools for originalists to evaluate—and support or modify—their conclusions arrived at through traditional research techniques. Corpus linguistics may provide strong additional support for a previous conclusion, or it may show that the previous conclusion was incorrect

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42. The *Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution* is a (currently) 28 volume series edited over decades to include thousands of sources, including newspapers, sermons, and letters. THE DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION (John P. Kaminski et al. eds., 2008).

43. Here, I have in mind the many steps involved in recovering the historical evidence such as traveling to various libraries and reading through the indices of the prominent framers' and ratifiers' collected writings, copying the relevant pages, organizing them, and finally deploying them in scholarship.

44. The 2002 article took approximately a year of primary and secondary source research.

45. Here, I have in mind the costs of copying from the primary sources.

46. Here, I have in mind having to look in indices of many, many volumes of source materials looking for religion.

47. Because many of the sources were old, musty, dusty, and brittle.

and point the way to revise the prior scholarship’s conclusions. Either way, the accuracy of the foundational step in originalist analysis—identifying the original conventional meaning—is increased. Furthermore, corpus linguistics may make originalist research more efficient over time, as scholars have the capacity to access more data, more quickly and accurately. Finally—and, in the long term, most importantly—corpus linguistics may help originalist scholars develop a community practice of peer review of originalist scholarly claims and conclusions. Parts IV and V take up these tasks.

#### IV. A TEST CASE: CORPUS LINGUISTICS APPLIED TO “RELIGION” IN THE FIRST AMENDMENT

##### *A. Introduction*

In this Essay, I utilized corpus linguistics to uncover the original conventional meaning<sup>48</sup> of the word religion, thereby testing my prior scholarly conclusion arrived at through traditional originalist research techniques. Below, I first describe my methodology and then my findings. For reasons I explain in Part V, I limited my research to ascertaining whether the original meaning of religion included, as part of its definition, a belief in a deity.

##### *B. Methodology*

I employed two corpora to uncover the original conventional meaning of religion in 1791: the Corpus of Founding Era American English (COFEA) and the *Pennsylvania Gazette*.

First, I utilized COFEA. It provides one of the largest available corpora of original conventional English from the time period. It included 127,887 documents, 92,644,433 tokens, 75,814,912 words, and 730,747 types (or distinct words).<sup>49</sup> This data set provides relatively more reliable conclusions drawn from that data (than prior research methods) because of its size. COFEA also has the capacity to

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48. As a reminder, the original conventional meaning of a word is the word’s conventional meaning at the time of ratification. This language convention is a building block of the text’s semantic meaning which, in turn, is a building block of the text’s public meaning (after the incorporation of contextual enrichment). See *supra* Part II (summarizing originalism’s internal architecture).

49. Email from Wayne Schneider to author (Jan. 20, 2017) (on file with author).

utilize the tools of corpus linguistics to analyze the data, such as collocation and mutual information, which provide more and more-accurate information than standard originalist techniques.

The major advantage of utilizing COFEA is the various tools it provides to find patterns of language usage in a vast quantity of data. Likely the most valuable tool of analysis, from an originalist's perspective, is collocation. Collocation describes the number of times particular words appear within so many words of the target word in the corpus.<sup>50</sup> A researcher utilizes collocation to identify the most common or frequent sense of the searched-for word in the corpus. A related tool is mutual information, which gives the relative frequency of collocates compared to what one would expect if the words were randomly distributed.<sup>51</sup> Mutual information amplifies the relative weight of collocate senses compared to other collocates. Concordance lines is the tool that provides a document with all instances, or a random selection of a searched-for word, with a specified amount of text on both sides of the word.<sup>52</sup> Researchers use concordance lines to provide moderately more context. Researchers can compare this context to collocation results to refine the collocation results by clarifying which sense of a word suggested by collocation best fits the contextualized meaning from the concordance lines.

The current COFEA corpus contains significant limitations, however. First, and most importantly, the corpus is not yet publicly available, so my claims are currently subject to delayed testing and evaluation. Second, COFEA may not currently contain all the documents it will eventually contain. This means that, although the database is large, it remains possible for new data to alter initial conclusions. Third, the corpus' documents have not yet been fully catalogued, so it contains duplicate documents the removal of which may alter conclusions. Fourth, and relatedly, the corpus may not be weighted to account for the various economic, social, religious, and other perspectives of contemporary English speakers.

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50. S. Hunston, *Corpus Linguistics*, in *ENCYCLOPEDIA OF LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS* 234, 236 (Keith Brown et al. eds., 2d ed. 2006).

51. *Id.*

52. *Id.*

My research in COFEA was facilitated by Mr. Wayne Schneider, who assisted with construction of COFEA. Mr. Schneider, at my request, sent me the responses to different functions searching COFEA. We performed five different categories of searches. First, we created a series of n-grams<sup>53</sup> between three and five words in length with the word religion in different locations.<sup>54</sup> Second, we collocated COFEA for religion in a variety of formats, including nine words, five words, and two words before and after religion.<sup>55</sup> Third, we generated one thousand random concordance lines of religion from COFEA, called Key Words in Context (KWIC).<sup>56</sup> Fourth, we created the mutual information score of religion and its collocates.<sup>57</sup> Fifth, we created the log-likelihood of religion and its collocates.<sup>58</sup> All of my data is included in the attached appendix, except KWIC, because of space constraints.

I also utilized the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and for three primary reasons. First, the *Gazette* is currently widely available in electronic format for a small fee, so my claims are subject to immediate scrutiny.<sup>59</sup> Second, though it is one source, it was widely circulated and read in eighteenth century America, suggesting that it utilized conventional American English.<sup>60</sup> Third, prior scholars have effectively utilized it in originalist research.<sup>61</sup>

At the same time, the *Gazette* has limitations as well. One such limitation is that it is only one source and not a major corpus containing a large sampling of documents containing contemporary

53. N-grams are searches of corpora that identify two-to-five words with the searched-for word as part of the string of words.

54. Emails from Wayne Schneider to author (Nov. 11, 28 & 29, 2016) (on file with author).

55. *Id.*

56. Email from Wayne Schneider to author (Nov. 30, 2016) (on file with author).

57. Email from Wayne Schneider to author (Dec. 7, 2016) (on file with author).

58. Email from Wayne Schneider to author (Jan. 13, 2017) (on file with author).

59. See *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, ACCESSIBLE ARCHIVES, <http://www.accessible-archives.com/collections/the-pennsylvania-gazette/> (last visited Jan. 20, 2018) (describing the *Gazette* and how to search it).

60. See RALPH FRASCA, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S PRINTING NETWORK: DISSEMINATING VIRTUE IN EARLY AMERICA (2006) (describing the wide network of printers that Franklin established); Charles E. Clark & Charles Wetherell, *The Measure of Maturity: The Pennsylvania Gazette, 1728–1765*, 46 WM. & MARY Q. 279 (1989) (providing a review of the *Gazette's* history).

61. Randy E. Barnett, *New Evidence of the Original Meaning of the Commerce Clause*, 55 ARK. L. REV. 847, 856–57 (2003).

word usage. This may result in an insufficient sample size or, at least, reduce one's confidence in the evidence's explanatory power. Another limitation is that the *Gazette* has the potential to include a skewed sampling of language usage because it may have been directed to and purchased by an unrepresentative cohort of Americans.<sup>62</sup> Third, the online content owner of the *Gazette* does not provide access to standard corpus linguistics tools, such as collocation.

With the help of three research assistants,<sup>63</sup> all working independently and over a three-year period, I electronically searched for usages of the word religion in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* from 1728 through 1800, inclusive. I modeled my methods on those employed by Professor Randy Barnett to discern the original meaning of the word commerce.<sup>64</sup>

Every time the word religion appeared in the *Gazette*, the assistants identified it and then classified it. To classify it, the assistants looked at the context in which the word religion appeared. The assistants also used a stable of possible conventions taken from the Supreme Court's case law, scholarship, and history.<sup>65</sup> The stable was: (1) Christianity,<sup>66</sup> (2) monotheism,<sup>67</sup> (3) the 2002 definition of religion,<sup>68</sup> (4) theism,<sup>69</sup> (5) non-theistic belief systems,<sup>70</sup> and (6) unclear. This stable of candidates is in order from most-narrow to most-capacious. Importantly for purposes of this Essay, categories (1) to (4) are theistic conceptions of religion, and category (5) was non-theistic.

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62. Though possible, I do not think this is likely. See Strang, *supra* note 7, at 1220 (describing why the *Gazette* is likely to be representative of conventional original meaning).

63. My thanks to Bryant Green, Dan Marks, and Mike Stahl for their valuable research.

64. Barnett, *supra* note 61, at 856–57.

65. See Strang, *supra* note 7, at 1207–10 (describing the tool of a stable of conventions).

66. This included references to Christianity in general or particular Christian sects.

67. This included, primarily, Judaism and Islam but excluded Christianity (because Christianity was identified in category 1).

68. This definition was taken from my 2002 article: belief in a deity, with duties in this life, and a future state of rewards and punishments. See Strang, *supra* note 11, at 182.

69. This included polytheism and other references to theism but excluded references to Christianity, monotheism, and the 2002 definition.

70. This included, but was not limited to, science and philosophy.

### C. Findings

My major finding is that the original conventional meaning of religion was theistic. This conclusion is supported by both COFEA and the *Pennsylvania Gazette*.

#### 1. Corpus of Founding Era American English findings

*a. Collocation and key words in context.* The three collocations for religion produced both relevant and irrelevant words. Irrelevant words included articles such as *the*, prepositions like *to*, and pronouns including *their* that did not bear on the conventional meaning of religion.<sup>71</sup> Relevant words are words that, at least at first blush, potentially identify information about religion’s meaning, such as *christian* and *morality*.

The collocation of words within nine words before and after religion included large numbers of irrelevant words.<sup>72</sup> Indeed, the first thirty-eight words in the list were likely irrelevant.<sup>73</sup> The relevant collocated words suggested that religion meant a theistic belief system. For instance, *christian* appeared 247 times, *god* occurred 124 times, *protestant* 110, *catholic* 80, *piety* 73, *church* 59, *holy* 59, *roman* 58, and *worship* 47.<sup>74</sup>

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71. Collocation 9 Before and 9 After Religion (Nov. 28, 2016) (on file with author).

72. *Id.*

73. The words included mostly articles, prepositions, and pronouns: *the, of, and, to, in, a, that, is, be, it, their, as, or, for, not, by, which, I, have, with, all, are, this, our, but, they, his, from, no, on, any, he, will, them, was, and an.* *Id.* It also included the nouns *government* and *liberty* near the end of this list of words. *Id.*

74. *Id.* I tentatively determined that each of these collocates possessed theistic connotations during the time period. This judgment was based on my general reading of the history of the time and confirmed by the other corpus linguistics tools such as Key Word in Context. For instance, Document 9009 stated that: “And let us not forget to give thanks to God, for the late institution, in the commonwealth of Massachusetts, for propagating the christian religion among the aboriginal natives of America - Nor, to pray that it may be succeeded for the speedy conversion of those savage and heathen tribes to the practice of christian piety, religion and virtue.” 1000 Random Concordance Lines from COFEA (Nov. 30, 2016) (on file with author).



The five-before-and-five-after collocation yielded similar results.<sup>75</sup> The initial collocated words were again irrelevant,<sup>76</sup> and most of the relevant words suggested a theistic conception of religion. These included: *christian* (appearing 221 times), *protestant* (101 times), *catholic* (70), *piety* (56), *god* (56), *dictates* (56), *roman* (55), and *holy* (48).<sup>77</sup>

The two-words-before-and-after collocation displayed a similar pattern.<sup>78</sup> After a number of irrelevant words,<sup>79</sup> the relevant words consisted of *christian* (211 times), *protestant* (83 times), *catholic* (65), *roman* (46), *piety* (40), and *holy* (38).

Each collocation also contained words that, depending on their usage in context, may have suggested a non-theistic meaning of religion. *Morality*, for instance, can have<sup>80</sup> and has had<sup>81</sup> a non-theistic connotation, and its collocation may indicate that religion likewise had a non-theistic connotation. In the nine-before-and-nine-after collocation, the word *morality* appeared 243 times, *virtue* occurred on 171 occasions, *morals* 122 times, and there were 59 instances of *philosophy*.<sup>82</sup> The five-before-and-five-after collocation produced similar collocations,<sup>83</sup> as did the two-before-and-after collocation.<sup>84</sup>

The overall collocation results suggested that religion was a theistic concept, but the collocation of terms with possible non-

75. Collocation 5 Before and 5 After Religion (Nov. 28, 2016) (on file with author).

76. The first twenty-two collocated words included: *the, of, and, to, in a, is, that, their, as, or, be, it, which, for, by, not, our, with, I, and all*. *Id.* *Government* was also included among these words. *Id.*

77. *Id.*

78. Collocation 2 Before and 2 After Religion (Nov. 11, 2016) (on file with author).

79. These irrelevant words were more interspersed among the relevant words than in the other collocations. *Id.* For instance, only the initial ten words were irrelevant, compared to twenty-two and thirty-eight in the other collocations.

80. See Samuel Johnson, *Religion*, A DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE 1670, 1671 (1755), <http://johnsonsdictionaryonline.com/?p=6421> (“*Religion* or virtue, in a large sense, includes duty to God and our neighbour, but in a proper sense, virtue signifies duty towards men, and *religion* duty to God.”).

81. See *id.* (“If we consider it as directed against God, it is a breach of *religion*; if as to men, it is an offence against morality.”).

82. Collocation 9 Before and 9 After Religion (Nov. 28, 2016) (on file with author).

83. *Morality* collocated 222 times, *virtue* collocated 139 times, *morals* 102 times, and *philosophy* 52 occasions. Collocation 5 Before and 5 After Religion (Nov. 28, 2016) (on file with author).

84. *Morality* collocated 177 times, *virtue* 98, *morals* 57, and *philosophy* 32 times. Collocation 2 Before and 2 After Religion (Nov. 11, 2016) (on file with author).

theistic connotations left open the possibility that religion also had a non-theistic sense. For instance, if *morality* was non-theistic and was utilized conventionally with religion as a synonym, then that would be evidence that religion had a non-theistic sense. On the other hand, if *morality* was analogous to religion in some way—such as its effect on humans—and the sources utilized the terms in this manner—and not as synonyms—then that would not be evidence that religion was non-theistic.

To clarify whether the collocated words that possibly suggested a non-theistic conception of religion did in fact so suggest, I utilized KWIC to generate concordance lines. Concordance lines are lines of text in which the searched-for word is nestled. One may create a KWIC document that contains all the instances of the searched-for word, or a sampling of the instances. Because of the large number of concordance lines that COFEA would produce, I reviewed one thousand random concordance lines.<sup>85</sup> This size was humanly manageable, and its randomized sampling protected the data’s accuracy.

The source I employed included one thousand instances of text around the word religion. Its purpose was to provide a randomized sampling of the larger body of documents with sufficient text to provide context that has the capacity to disambiguate a word’s meaning. In particular, the thousand-line concordance provided context to *morality*, *virtue*, and *philosophy*, words that collocated with religion and may have suggested a non-theistic connotation of religion.

My review of the concordance lines suggests that *morality*, *virtue*, and *philosophy* were typically employed distinctly from religion. Sometimes these words collocated with religion because both had similar origins, purposes, or functions (from the speakers’ perspectives). For example, one source stated: “And you know that I look upon Religion as the most perfect System, and the most awfull Sanction of Morality.”<sup>86</sup> This concordance line suggests that religion and *morality* are related by religion’s capacity to push people to act

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85. 1000 Random Concordance Lines from COFEA (Nov. 30, 2016) (on file with author).

86. *Id.* at source 2136.

ethically. Another source identified both religion and *morality* as having “[d]uties.”<sup>87</sup> Yet another source suggested that both religion and *morality* have the capacity to make society more prosperous.<sup>88</sup> Religion and *morality* are both “system[s]” created by “imperfect beings,” according to another source.<sup>89</sup>

In other concordance lines, the collocated words (*morality*, *virtue*, and *philosophy*) were treated distinctly from religion. For instance, one source stated that “[n]o regard for religion or virtue remains among them.”<sup>90</sup> Similarly, another source identified a sociological list of subjects of investigation that identified religion and *morals* separately.<sup>91</sup> Some concordance lines described other types of relationships between religion and *morality*.<sup>92</sup>

A research assistant evaluated the KWIC document and identified into which category (from the stable of conventions listed above<sup>93</sup>) each particular instance of religion fell, utilizing his own judgment. The research assistant identified a total of 849 instances of religion. He identified that approximately 29% of instances fell into category one, Christianity; approximately 4% belonged in category two, monotheism; approximately 3% fell into category three, the 2002 definition of religion; 1% were in category four, theistic belief systems; 4% in category five, non-theistic belief systems; and 60% in category six, unclear.

Approximately 34% of usages of the word religion in the data set were clearly theistic. In contrast, only 4% had instances of religion compatible with a non-theistic meaning of religion. The raw numbers

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87. *Id.* at source 2128 (“My Opinion of the Duties of Religion and Morality, comprehends a very extensive Connection with society at large, and the great Interest of the public.”).

88. *Id.* at source 4912 (“As the happiness of a people, and the good order and preservation of civil government, essentially depend upon piety, religion and morality . . . .”); *id.* at source 5956 (“Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind . . . .”).

89. *Id.* at source 4799.

90. *Id.* at source 3758.

91. *Id.* at source 2249 (“I shall inquire into their Religion, their Laws, their Customs, their Manners, their Descent and Education, their Learning, their Schools and Colleges and their Morals.”).

92. *Id.* at source 4947 (“Ever since a pure and perfect religion has lent her mild lights to philosophy . . . .”).

93. The categories were: (1) Christianity; (2) monotheism; (3) the 2002 definition of religion; (4) theism; (5) non-theistic belief systems; and (6) unclear.

make this point more starkly: only 35 instances out of 849 total uses were clearly non-theistic. Below, in section IV.C.2, I perform the same analysis on the *Pennsylvania Gazette* database.

*b. Mutual information and log-likelihood.* I created a mutual information score for the collocates of religion<sup>94</sup> and a log-likelihood score.<sup>95</sup> Mutual information provides lexically ordered data on the relative frequency of collocates compared to what one would expect if the words were randomly organized. This data is valuable because it provides evidence of the relative frequency of collocates, which supplements the absolute collocation numbers provided through collocation. Mutual information therefore elucidates collocation results.

The mutual information scores suggest that religion was a theistic belief system. Most of the top scorers identified theism. *Mahometan* had a score of 4.00 and was the most significant word.<sup>96</sup> Other words, in descending order of score, included: *undefiled* at 3.76,<sup>97</sup> *revealed* at 3.66, *chrissian* at 3.5, *protestant* at 3.5, *revealed* at 3.47, *scriptural* at 3.39, *chrislian* at 3.38, *romish* at 3.35, *chriftian* at 3.17, and *christian* at 3.04.<sup>98</sup> This is strong evidence that religion was a theistic concept because of the high degree of correlation (above 3.0). This same basic pattern continued through words with a correlation 2 and higher.<sup>99</sup>

These mutual information scores also affirmed my earlier distinction between relevant and irrelevant collocates. For instance, the mutual information score relegated collocates like pronouns, articles, and prepositions to the bottom of the mutual information index. The mutual information scores likewise confirmed that the relatively high collocation results for *morality*, *virtue*, and *philosophy* did not show that religion had a non-theistic meaning. Instead, the

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94. M.I. Score of Religion (Dec. 7, 2016) (on file with author).

95. The log-likelihood score, which is a mechanism to analyze statistical significance of word occurrence, produced nearly identical results to mutual information. Log-Likelihood Score of Religion (Jan. 13, 2017) (on file with author).

96. *Id.*

97. Inclusion of *undefiled* is supported by the other corpus linguistics tools. For instance, the n-grams I performed identified *undefiled* as regularly occurring with religion.

98. *Id.*

99. *Id.*

first such word, *philosophical*, had a score of 2.18, and *morals* had a score of 1.39, and *virtue* did not register.<sup>100</sup>

c. *N-Grams*. I performed seven n-gram analyses on the COFEA. N-grams are searches of corpora that identify two-to-five words with the searched-for word as part of the string of words. I did three- and five-word n-grams with religion as the center word, and five five-word n-grams with religion at five different locations.<sup>101</sup>

These searches suggested a theistic meaning of religion and fit the results of the other forms of analysis described above. For instance, in the three-word n-grams (with religion in the middle), the word *christian* appeared 47 times, *catholic* 21 times, *protestant* occurred 9 times, *mahometan* 6 times, and *holy* 5 times.<sup>102</sup> Two words with potentially non-theistic connotations also appeared: *natural* appeared 6 times and *metaphysical* 5 times.<sup>103</sup>

## 2. Pennsylvania Gazette *findings*

The second corpus I searched was the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. I employed three research assistants over a period of three years. They worked independently of each other. I provided each assistant with access to an electronically searchable database of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, a stable of conventions, and instructions. Each assistant identified into which category (from the stable of conventions) each particular instance of religion fell utilizing his own judgment.<sup>104</sup>

The three research assistants identified an average of 1335 instances of religion.<sup>105</sup> They identified that approximately 55% of instances fell into category one, Christianity; approximately 8% belonged in category two, monotheism; approximately 7% fell into category three, the 2002 definition of religion; 4% were in category

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100. *Id.*

101. 3-Word N-Gram With Religion in Middle (Nov. 11, 2016) (on file with author); 5-Word N-Gram With Religion in Middle (Nov. 28, 2016) (on file with author); 5-Word N-Gram With Religion in Each Location (Nov. 29, 2016) (on file with author).

102. 3-Word N-Gram With Religion in Middle (Nov. 11, 2016) (on file with author).

103. *Id.*

104. The categories were: (1) Christianity; (2) monotheism; (3) the 2002 definition of religion; (4) theism; (5) non-theistic belief systems; and (6) unclear.

105. There was a variation of seven instances between the least and most identified number of instances of religion. I believe this attributable to one research assistant mistakenly searching documents other than the *Pennsylvania Gazette*.

four, theistic belief systems; 1% in category five, non-theistic belief systems; and 25% in category six, unclear.

Approximately 74% of usages of the word religion in the data set were theistic. Less than 1% had instances of religion compatible with non-theistic definitions of religion. The raw numbers make this point more starkly: only an average of 13 instances out of 1335 total uses were non-theistic. This conclusion is similar to Professor Barnett’s groundbreaking findings, where he determined that 31 out of 1594 instances of *commerce* fit the trade conception from Professor Barnett’s stable of conventions.<sup>106</sup>

## V. BENEFITS AND CHALLENGES OF USING CORPUS LINGUISTICS TO UNCOVER ORIGINAL MEANING

### *A. Introduction*

In this Part, I first summarize the ways in which corpus linguistics facilitated my search for the original meaning of religion, and second, I describe some of the obstacles and limits to corpus linguistics I encountered.

### *B. How Corpus Linguistics Facilitated Originalism*

The most important way that corpus linguistics facilitated originalism is that it provided additional tools to analyze additional evidence. The five types of analysis of COFEA I performed did not exist when I researched my 2002 article. Furthermore, nothing like COFEA existed. Coupling corpus linguistics’ tools to COFEA is a new avenue to research and provide evidence of the Constitution’s original meaning.

First, regarding tools, the relatively large number of tools of analysis corpus linguistics provided was its most valuable aspect. This variety of tools had two primary benefits. First, each tool offered a different perspective on the data, which ultimately furnished a more well-rounded view of the evidence. Second, the convergence of the tools on a proposition gave relatively greater confidence in that proposition’s accuracy.

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106. Barnett, *supra* note 61, at 857–59.

The tool I found most effective for giving me confidence in my judgements arrived at via collocation—particularly what I *thought* the other tools of analysis were telling me—was KWIC and its one-thousand randomly selected concordances of religion. For instance, my collocation results collocated religion and *morality*. It was unclear whether this was evidence that religion had a non-theistic meaning, like morality, or whether religion was like morality in some other way. Reviewing the concordance lines, and repeatedly seeing religion and *morality* employed with different meanings, clarified the collocation results for *morality* and suggested that *morality* appeared 222 times with religion as conveying a distinct concept.

N-grams helped me distinguish synonyms from distinct concepts. For instance, the words religion and *philosophy* collocated 52 times (within five words of each other). This may suggest that they were synonyms, or it may suggest that they referred to distinct concepts. The five-word n-gram “precepts of religion or philosophy” appeared 6 times (the seventh highest rate), and this suggests that both religion and *philosophy* have “precepts” and are related in this manner.

The multiple corpus linguistics tools also aided originalist research because they provided mechanisms of mutual reinforcement. If, from employment of one tool, a researcher believes that a conclusion is suggested, then other tools may also support that conclusion and thereby strengthen the researcher’s confidence in the conclusion. For example, the collocation results produced collocations with words that, based on my general historical research, I tentatively believed possessed theistic connotations. *Undefiled* was one such word.<sup>107</sup> However, *undefiled* also may have a non-theistic connotation; at least today we say that one may “defile” nonreligious objects. So, I looked to n-grams of religion and found that *undefiled* was a common n-gram, which gave me greater confidence that my judgment regarding *undefiled* as theistic was correct.

Corpus linguistics also facilitated originalist research by reducing the practical obstacles to originalist research. Instead of a year of research using books and collections of documents, corpus linguistics provided data quickly and easily.

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107. See, e.g., James 1:27 (Douay Rheims) (“Religion clean and undefiled before God and the Father, is this . . .”).

Second, regarding evidence, corpus linguistics facilitated originalist research because the new evidence it offered will support and challenge existing scholarly claims regarding the original meaning, both of which are valuable additions to originalism. Over time, through scholarly application of corpus linguistics to the same questions, scholars will evaluate prior work and converge on a consensus.

Third, corpus linguistics facilitated originalist research because its analyses, evidence, and conclusions are relatively more open to review by other scholars. Once it is available, scholars will have the capacity to relatively quickly and easily execute the five analyses I performed on COFEA and confirm or rebut my claims based on those analyses. Scholars can relatively easily replicate even the one thousand random concordance lines analysis I performed, which involves the most time and personal judgment. Instead of having to spend months or years of research to accumulate a representative sampling of a large amount of data, corpus linguistics reduces the effort to dozens of hours.

### *C. Challenges of and Limits to Using Corpus Linguistics*

Utilizing corpus linguistics to uncover original language conventions presented a variety of challenges. Though it may seem trivial, the initial obstacle to utilizing corpus linguistics was its relatively thick jargon. Labels like collocation and log-likelihood are part of the practice of corpus linguistics, but legal education and practice do not provide training in this terminology.

Beyond the jargon, the first major challenge to my effective utilization of corpus linguistics was the difficulty evaluating the data to assess two of the three facets of the 2002 definition of religion. The 2002 definition of religion contained three facets: (1) belief in a deity; (2) duties in this life; and (3) a future state of rewards and punishments. Initially, my goal in this Essay was to evaluate all three components of the definition but, after struggling to find adequate evidence on the second and third components, I redirected and limited my search to only the first component, for which there was substantial evidence.

On the other hand, COFEA did provide some evidence on components (2) and (3). For instance, a number of concordance lines



supported one or both components.<sup>108</sup> However, this evidence was subject to the criticisms that it was a relatively small quantity and that it was arrived at through the more-subjective KWIC analysis. There was other evidence of components (2) and (3) as well, such as the fact that mutual information top-scorers were traditional religious belief systems that included both components, such as *mahometan* and *protestant*. However, one could argue that this sort of evidence was too attenuated. In the end, I was not yet confident enough in my capacities to engage beyond the point where the evidence was most clear.

The second major challenge I faced was understanding which tools were available to evaluate COFEA, what those tools did, and how to effectively utilize those tools. Corpus linguists have developed a stable of tools to analyze corpora in different ways and for different goals. I was new to the field of corpus linguistics in general and in particular to the tools employed by corpus linguists when they electronically search corpora. The tools provided by COFEA provided a number of different ways to look at the data. However, their correct use was not patent.

Though collocation was the key tool provided by corpus linguistics, its usage still presented a number of challenges. First, collocation returned a large amount of information that appeared to be irrelevant. For example, most of the words collocated within nine words of religion appeared irrelevant for evaluating its original meaning. For example, the top-10 collocates were: *the* (5754 collocations), *of* (5029 collocations), *and* (3872), *to* (2585), *in* (1756), *a* (1341), *that* (1166), *is* (1114), *be* (731), and *it* (673).<sup>109</sup> This quantity of irrelevant words is especially pronounced when one considers that the first clearly relevant collocation was *christian* with 247 uses.<sup>110</sup>

Second, collocation provided a list of collocates, some of which were clearly relevant, some clearly irrelevant, and some which were not clearly relevant or irrelevant. The first two classes of words are easy to

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108. 1000 Random Concordance Lines from COFEA, at source 2128 (Nov. 30, 2016) (“My Opinion of the Duties of Religion and Morality . . .”).

109. Collocation 9 Before and 9 After Religion (Nov. 28, 2016) (on file with author).

110. *Id.*

evaluate; the last class of unclear collocates presented challenges. For instance, *morality* collocated 243 times.<sup>111</sup> That term is not clearly theistic or non-theistic.

Third, and relatedly, the precise import of collocation results was not patent. It was not clear, for instance, what the relationship was between the two highest-collocated relevant words, *christian* and *morality*. *Christian* collocated 247 times, and *morality* collocated 243 times.<sup>112</sup> Is this evidence that morality is a type or facet of religion, or that religion is non-theistic (like ethics), or that religion is theistic (because morality is separately identified from religion)?

Fourth, it was challenging to ascertain how much evidence was adequate to support a conclusion. At what point did collocates become statistically insignificant? Or, and relatedly, at what point was a mutual information score reliable evidence of a linguistic relationship?

Fifth, I noted above that one of the most valuable tools of corpus linguistics was the one thousand random concordance lines. However, at the same time, evaluating so many concordance lines was time consuming and introduced an element of human subjectivity.

Sixth, at this time, there are no publicly available corpora of the framing and ratification period. Therefore, a challenge scholars will face is identifying and constructing corpora to analyze. Until COFEA becomes publicly available, scholars have to piece together their own corpora, which is time-consuming. More problematically, both the size and representativeness of the resulting corpora will not be ideal.

Lastly, one of the most powerful theoretical benefits of corpus linguistics is that it provides a research community with the capacity to replicate or falsify claims of language meaning. The practical challenge I encountered to facilitate this replicability is creating an appendix that contains the results of my research—one that is accurate and yet sufficiently succinct to be published by a law journal. The initial appendix I created was 150 pages long. That appendix included all of the data I utilized from COFEA, but it was too lengthy. The attached appendix includes all of my data except the KWIC concordance lines.

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111. *Id.*

112. *Id.*

## VI. CONCLUSION

This Essay accomplished three modest goals. First, it provided a practical example of the application of corpus linguistics to originalism. Second, it utilized the tools of corpus linguistics to provide additional evidence of the original meaning of religion in the First Amendment. Third, it described some of the challenges originalist scholars will likely face employing corpus linguistics.

## Appendix

### I. COLLOCATION

#### *A. Religion Within Two (2) Words (Before and After)*

Collocate Count			
1738 of	96 not	46 roman	30 system
1482 and	93 liberty	46 principles	29 about
1121 the	83 protestant	45 manners	29 yet
454 in	83 this	45 de	29 we
442 to	78 i	44 will	28 subject
309 that	77 matters	44 according	27 difference
288 is	75 with	43 without	27 whose
246 a	71 was	42 against	27 support
244 or	70 all	40 piety	27 my
243 their	69 are	38 than	26 revealed
211 christian	69 no	38 holy	26 learning
177 morality	68 have	38 la	26 what
164 which	65 catholic	37 he	25 ought
137 as	65 exercise	37 your	24 both
136 our	62 from	37 when	24 good
130 government	59 laws	35 same	23 its
124 for	57 morals	35 would	23 jesus
119 his	55 politics	34 if	23 law
117 by	55 they	33 established	22 shall
108 true	54 on	33 language	22 well
108 but	53 has	32 philosophy	22 god
98 it	49 reason	32 establishment	22 account
98 be	48 upon	32 natural	22 romish
98 virtue	48 any	32 there	21 them
97 freedom	48 may	32 cause	21 sentiments

#### *B. Religion Within Five (5) Words (Before and After)*

Collocate Count			
the 3426	that 614	for 297	all 223
of 3215	their 406	by 286	morality 222
and 2436	as 385	government 267	this 222
to 1329	or 381	not 252	christian 221
in 1042	be 372	our 251	are 220
a 751	it 343	with 238	have 202
is 648	which 303	i 224	from 197

but 193	people 76	such 46	then 31
his 191	good 75	influence 46	her 31
they 182	my 75	power 45	principle 31
liberty 174	your 75	into 44	believe 31
on 165	its 75	whose 43	national 31
no 165	those 74	both 42	think 31
any 147	de 73	do 42	account 31
will 140	catholic 70	knowledge 41	revealed 31
virtue 139	reason 68	other 41	opinions 31
them 139	us 68	honour 41	jesus 31
laws 138	should 66	very 40	am 31
true 133	you 66	truth 40	many 31
an 128	well 66	never 39	conscience 30
was 127	only 65	duty 39	1 30
he 127	would 64	where 38	establish 30
freedom 123	what 64	profess 38	practice 30
principles 119	some 64	under 38	equally 29
every 119	most 61	even 38	persons 29
has 117	at 61	pure 37	general 29
exercise 113	nor 60	press 37	first 29
free 111	established 60	among 37	2 29
may 109	must 60	men 37	sacred 29
upon 105	support 59	difference 37	science 29
than 105	one 59	about 37	divine 28
morals 102	civil 59	nation 37	education 28
protestant 101	system 58	property 37	prohibiting 27
against 97	piety 56	ought 36	political 27
if 97	god 56	therefore 36	zeal 27
there 89	dictates 56	justice 36	made 27
politics 88	roman 55	nothing 36	spirit 27
when 87	natural 54	him 36	others 27
who 87	philosophy 52	respecting 36	teachers 27
we 87	were 52	yet 35	itself 27
law 85	establishment 51	policy 35	nature 26
so 85	more 51	rights 35	different 26
can 85	la 51	duties 34	order 26
without 85	own 50	because 34	nations 26
religion 84	learning 49	world 33	customs 26
manners 83	cause 48	say 33	professing 26
matters 83	much 48	these 33	said 25
country 80	holy 48	america 33	right 24
had 79	public 48	over 33	whatever 24
man 79	subject 48	author 33	me 24
great 79	being 47	let 32	church 24
language 78	according 47	does 32	part 24
been 78	state 47	humanity 32	article 24
shall 77	liberties 47	make 32	friends 24
same 77	thing 46	ministers 32	better 24

regard 24	peace 18	colonies 15	similarity 12
romish 23	promote 17	character 15	become 12
too 23	though 17	mild 15	sound 12
society 23	professed 17	best 15	states 12
christ 23	insult 17	indeed 15	open 12
sentiments 23	see 17	dominant 15	religious 12
neither 23	respect 17	happiness 15	bible 12
like 22	words 17	england 14	friend 12
habits 22	chriitian 17	thus 14	since 12
false 22	lives 17	especially 14	sir 12
common 22	themselves 17	long 14	ideas 12
congress 21	up 17	secure 14	relation 12
might 21	consider 17	particular 14	undoubtedly 12
ever 21	sense 17	things 14	necessary 12
while 21	out 16	alone 14	interfere 12
obligations 21	benevolence 16	patriotism 14	supporting 12
means 21	sect 16	defence 14	tolerated 12
precepts 20	form 16	slavery 14	thank 12
mahometan 20	universal 16	supported 14	3 12
between 20	mr 16	prevent 14	several 12
mind 20	another 16	greater 14	produced 12
either 20	human 16	within 14	le 12
contrary 20	could 16	sects 14	france 11
wisdom 19	trade 16	moral 14	taught 11
interest 19	force 16	uniformity 14	consolations 11
reformation 19	encourage 16	whom 14	heaven 11
also 19	former 16	says 14	brings 11
belief 19	maintain 16	essential 13	clergy 11
give 19	purposes 16	she 13	done 11
generally 19	matter 15	attachment 13	children 11
now 19	founded 15	enthusiasm 13	judge 11
each 19	motive 15	whether 13	flourish 11
opinion 19	favour 15	subjects 13	war 11
love 19	conduct 15	expressly 13	4 11
undefiled 19	blessed 15	que 13	rather 11
authority 19	honor 15	denomination 13	receive 11
point 18	rational 15	security 13	lutheran 11
interests 18	etcetera 15	foundation 13	wish 11
commerce 18	private 15	perfect 13	devotion 11
here 18	mankind 15	et 13	moreover 11
concerning 18	united 15	place 13	recommend 11
toleration 18	hand 15	exempt 13	enjoin 11
speech 18	far 15	blood 13	social 11
relating 18	above 15	down 13	enjoyment 11
life 18	constitution 15	unless 13	find 11
importance 18	times 15	philosophical 12	kind 11
enjoy 18	called 15	purity 12	act 11
before 18	whole 15	hope 12	establishing 11

really 11	wholly 10	few 9	f 8
important 11	& 10	engine 9	safety 8
heart 11	sensible 10	fathers 9	go 8
colour 11	added 10	together 9	depend 8
honesty 11	teaches 10	certain 9	except 8
encouragement 11	sentiment 10	take 9	how 8
modes 11	iii 10	old 9	doctrines 8
sovereignty 11	number 10	care 9	consists 8
given 11	due 10	submission 9	gods 8
profession 11	bill 10	sake 9	faite 8
received 11	present 10	stead 9	les 8
change 11	zealous 10	separated 9	countenance 8
crimes 11	teach 10	intermeddle 9	decay 8
little 11	ancient 10	appear 9	fame 8
full 10	motives 10	once 9	temporary 8
object 10	minister 10	< 9	worst 8
flourished 10	equal 10	show 9	friendly 8
cases 10	became 10	congregational 9	besides 8
protestants 10	disturb 10	hazard 9	next 8
promoting 10	pious 9	else 9	philanthropy 8
advantage 10	introduced 9	defend 9	kindled 8
countries 10	provided 9	obvious 9	mysteries 8
worship 10	humane 9	increase 9	sincere 8
prosperity 10	genuine 9	revelation 9	educated 8
peculiar 10	course 9	industry 9	service 8
having 10	dictate 9	soon 9	internal 8
least 10	mean 9	adopted 9	original 8
real 10	liberal 9	plan 9	oaths 8
two 10	maintained 9	conceive 9	consistent 8
fear 10	however 9	often 9	insulte 8
points 10	employ 9	history 8	administration 8
genius 10	lead 9	suffer 8	third 8
always 10	effects 9	small 8	union 8
harmony 10	restraint 9	still 8	settled 8
preservation 10	superstition 9	printing 8	literature 8
require 10	introduction 9	himself 8	revolution 8
leaving 10	during 9	des 8	three 8
faith 10	province 9	guardian 8	renounce 8
decency 10	withheld 9	dangerous 8	foundations 8
know 10	inhabitants 9	defiance 8	sometimes 8
benevolent 10	europe 9	modern 8	look 8
left 10	chrislian 9	new 8	humble 8
fall 10	further 9	word 8	total 8
wild 10	secured 9	en 8	come 8
heresy 10	gospel 9	lord 8	perhaps 8
gentleman 10	contempt 9	touching 8	taken 8
firm 10	whilst 9	known 8	health 8
ordinances 10	name 9	murder 8	british 8

use 8	embraced 7	party 7	conceits 6
just 8	away 7	inform 7	reserved 6
thy 8	essentially 7	hate 7	believed 6
useful 8	attached 7	advancement 7	espouse 6
closets 8	embrace 7	propagating 7	connection 6
danger 8	crying 7	rulers 7	continually 6
destroy 8	> 7	promises 7	forms 6
pour 8	maintaining 7	high 7	il 6
quebec 8	connecticut 7	formed 6	did 6
main 8	tyrants 7	unenlightened 6	extinguished 6
personal 8	preserve 7	destruction 6	patronize 6
vain 7	mode 7	almighty 6	off 6
sure 7	speculative 7	observe 6	amiable 6
entire 7	originally 7	possession 6	plus 6
comfort 7	none 7	excellent 6	5 6
notwithstanding 7	way 7	legal 6	subversion 6
founder 7	separation 7	ed 6	land 6
lasts 7	professors 7	circumstance 6	shew 6
supposition 7	partly 7	concerned 6	going 6
call 7	requires 7	t 6	inculcate 6
terms 7	contre 7	conform 6	inefficacy 6
16 7	_ 7	existed 6	dissimilarity 6
sober 7	noble 7	produce 6	pretend 6
calculated 7	house 7	mrs 6	prejudice 6
clause 7	office 7	tame 6	charity 6
proceed 7	candor 7	revere 6	principals 6
amongst 7	enough 7	board 6	sanctity 6
comforts 7	after 7	families 6	found 6
appeared 7	aid 7	pleased 6	persuasion 6
answer 7	basis 7	time 6	grace 6
hath 7	oath 7	deacon 6	violence 6
through 7	person 7	molestation 6	overturn 6
progress 7	lay 7	derived 6	source 6
veneration 7	toute 7	sophisms 6	asked 6
l'autre 7	proper 7	charter 6	christianity 6
prosess 7	hold 7	native 6	teacheth 6
whenever 7	systems 7	despotism 6	preacher 6
o 7	institution 7	rome 6	less 6
absurd 7	tend 7	prevail 6	christians 6
doubt 7	exemplary 7	protector 6	seen 6
ceremonies 7	president 7	hopes 6	ties 6
regulate 7	institutions 7	professes 6	strongly 6
necessity 7	last 7	choice 6	comforters 6
excite 7	7 7	implicit 6	supports 6
efficacy 7	supposed 7	explained 6	understanding 6
* 7	towards 7	infidelity 6	overthrow 6
sa 7	instructions 7	devout 6	clashed 6
ment 7	liberality 7	helpful 6	conceiving 6



invented 6	bend 5	preserved 5	indispensable 5
barber 6	superiour 5	deceived 5	ou 5
replied 6	injurious 5	absurdities 5	convention 5
peaceably 6	conquered 5	noblest 5	un 5
mere 6	topic 5	attributes 5	falsity 5
politician 6	contradicted 5	attention 5	wherever 5
forbid 6	injur 5	prove 5	seek 5
wiser 6	save 5	proof 5	oppressed 5
errors 6	page 5	unite 5	northern 5
D 6	disseminate 5	city 5	excepted 5
countrymen 6	benefit 5	promotion 5	afternoon 5
fell 6	enervates 5	illiberal 5	formidable 5
immediately 6	required 5	recover 5	offer 5
circumstances 6	opposite 5	contradiction 5	powerful 5
introduce 6	attending 5	partiality 5	concern 5
able 6	aera 5	second 5	gives 5
jury 6	thought 5	expense 5	consolation 5
confidence 6	rings 5	effusions 5	undeniable 5
manner 6	colony 5	distant 5	guardians 5
violated 6	commanded 5	bell 5	stalking 5
exercises 6	ourselves 5	view 5	operate 5
flow 6	treaties 5	expected 5	raised 5
experience 6	persecution 5	b 5	enlightened 5
weakness 6	strange 5	doing 5	grant 5
carry 6	disarms 5	flatly 5	reasonable 5
guarded 6	bigoted 5	american 5	's 5
alike 6	throughout 5	enemies 5	tenets 5
turns 6	french 5	standing 5	stomach 5
manifest 6	remain 5	deering 5	lustre 5
similitude 5	habit 5	certainly 5	design 5
september 5	batteries 5	grand 5	feudal 5
born 5	obliges 5	flate 5	void 5
easily 5	pretentions 5	seems 5	laid 5
text 5	vainly 5	utter 5	similar 5
meant 5	reasoning 5	testimony 5	reinstated 5
early 5	keep 5	despot 5	empire 5
processing 5	persecuted 5	governments 5	revered 5
expect 5	fashions 5	prevails 5	sovereign 5
favor 5	uncommon 5	bring 5	ambition 5
overturning 5	wonder 5	affecting 5	20th 5
individual 5	contribute 5	poetry 5	obligation 5
writer 5	promised 5	divinely 5	wanting 5
observed 5	equitable 5	twelfth 5	stifle 5
art 5	mayor 5	ibid 5	inducements 5
fundamental 5	deluded 5	writing 5	metaphysical 5
rites 5	bear 5	9 5	tell 5
ware 5	edward 5	talk 5	ne'er 5
immense 5	attacked 5	connexion 5	proportion 5

highest 5	attack 5	destitute 5	professor 5
priviledges 5	although 5	beneficent 5	cognizance 5
ridiculing 5	professer 5	fabric 5	reverence 5

*C. Religion Within Nine (9) Words (Before and After)*

Collocate Count

the 5754	christian 247	one 141	make 86
of 5029	morality 243	would 141	these 85
and 3872	we 239	us 141	where 84
to 2585	who 217	same 140	nor 83
in 1756	every 208	your 139	under 83
a 1341	has 206	man 139	catholic 80
that 1166	can 202	good 134	nation 79
is 1114	upon 199	without 133	system 78
be 731	religion 194	manners 133	property 75
it 673	if 188	what 130	established 75
their 671	may 185	civil 130	him 74
as 664	there 182	should 128	natural 74
or 647	laws 181	more 125	piety 73
for 553	principles 173	god 124	into 71
not 551	been 172	morals 122	truth 71
by 537	virtue 171	politics 119	cause 70
which 500	shall 170	protestant 110	world 69
i 484	freedom 170	public 110	made 67
have 442	you 168	only 110	influence 67
with 436	than 167	were 106	whose 65
all 428	so 160	such 105	general 65
are 422	those 157	de 102	political 64
this 411	true 155	well 102	first 64
government 392	law 152	some 100	establishment 63
our 390	against 149	must 97	right 63
but 375	had 148	power 96	thing 63
they 367	men 147	own 95	her 63
his 366	other 147	language 95	la 63
from 351	exercise 146	do 94	me 62
no 310	when 145	much 91	never 62
on 298	most 145	support 91	peace 62
any 277	free 145	conscience 90	america 61
he 270	its 144	very 90	among 61
will 270	my 143	rights 88	according 60
them 265	people 142	reason 88	persons 60
was 264	great 142	being 87	liberties 60
liberty 253	country 142	matters 86	dictates 60
an 251	at 141	state 86	society 60

duty 60	does 47	sentiments 36	article 29
think 60	etcetera 46	heart 36	unless 29
ever 59	1 46	best 36	consider 29
church 59	divine 46	professing 35	maintain 29
holy 59	authority 46	character 35	says 29
philosophy 59	spirit 46	mr 35	see 29
subject 59	religious 45	thereof 35	& 29
even 58	indeed 45	enthusiasm 35	either 28
nothing 58	ministers 45	jesus 35	reformation 28
learning 58	equally 45	itself 35	less 28
roman 58	then 45	romish 35	heaven 28
policy 58	mankind 44	france 35	favour 28
am 58	customs 44	equal 34	founded 28
justice 57	2 44	friends 34	whole 28
order 57	nations 44	give 34	thus 28
necessary 56	common 43	benevolence 34	plan 28
said 56	states 43	sense 34	words 28
believe 55	about 43	out 34	generally 27
ought 55	respecting 43	opinion 34	place 27
many 55	another 42	up 34	prohibiting 27
therefore 54	establish 41	new 33	lives 27
press 54	here 41	now 33	attention 27
because 54	far 41	christ 33	private 27
difference 54	between 41	might 33	left 26
yet 53	zeal 40	belief 32	respect 26
congress 53	education 40	enjoy 32	war 26
let 53	opinions 40	before 32	making 26
nature 53	science 40	habits 32	interests 26
both 52	better 39	sir 32	blood 26
happiness 52	could 39	united 32	above 26
life 52	promote 39	still 32	foundation 26
say 51	present 38	whatever 32	how 25
honour 51	sacred 38	commerce 32	friend 25
different 50	subjects 38	love 31	know 25
principle 50	part 38	moral 31	undefiled 25
constitution 50	themselves 38	revealed 31	precepts 25
mind 50	means 38	owe 31	universal 25
others 49	duties 38	interest 31	full 25
humanity 49	england 37	teachers 30	given 25
also 49	time 37	bill 30	name 25
over 48	human 37	whom 30	purposes 25
profess 48	account 37	3 30	though 25
knowledge 48	while 37	importance 30	former 25
like 48	regard 36	et 29	clergy 24
national 48	too 36	neither 29	several 24
pure 48	author 36	speech 29	contrary 24
worship 47	force 36	long 29	obligations 24
practice 47	honor 36	each 29	little 24

form 24	rulers 21	motive 19	arms 16
point 24	security 21	manner 18	4 16
take 24	judge 21	call 18	rather 16
two 24	insult 21	maintained 18	encourage 16
person 24	vain 21	however 18	within 16
aid 24	liberal 21	uniformity 18	provision 16
kind 23	professed 21	superstition 18	prevent 16
find 23	restraint 21	bear 18	individuals 16
become 23	attachment 20	province 18	prejudice 16
sound 23	she 20	children 18	fall 16
particular 23	useful 20	slavery 18	moreover 16
faith 23	minister 20	few 18	members 16
hope 23	ancient 20	expressly 18	defence 16
himself 23	taken 20	increase 18	maintaining 16
sect 23	citizen 20	benevolent 18	purity 16
change 23	ties 20	certain 18	des 16
often 23	denomination 20	hand 18	obligation 16
concerning 23	colonies 20	almost 18	advantage 16
false 23	formed 20	proper 18	similarity 16
wisdom 23	cases 20	having 17	hold 16
> 23	mahometan 20	legislature 17	trial 16
wish 23	institution 20	real 17	infidelity 16
greater 23	way 20	genius 17	fixed 16
example 23	secure 20	once 17	fame 16
danger 23	sincere 20	christian 17	important 16
pious 23	perfect 20	open 17	congregational 16
citizens 23	really 20	preservation 17	doctrines 15
mean 23	fear 19	patriotism 17	gods 15
sects 23	least 19	ideas 17	points 15
conduct 23	establishing 19	did 17	always 15
essential 22	after 19	gentlemen 17	les 15
le 22	< 19	industry 17	_ 15
rational 22	since 19	prosperity 17	appear 15
europe 22	relating 19	object 17	governments 15
french 22	en 19	received 17	decency 15
whether 22	word 19	idea 17	creator 15
devotion 22	sovereign 19	enemies 17	connection 15
trade 22	countries 19	away 17	empire 15
toleration 22	institutions 19	recommend 17	dominant 15
especially 22	profession 19	purpose 17	last 15
times 22	cognizance 19	remain 17	rest 15
old 22	que 19	done 17	families 15
alone 22	found 19	further 17	down 15
go 21	seen 19	blessed 17	mild 15
act 21	supported 19	matter 17	day 15
things 21	during 19	british 16	crimes 15
standing 21	gospel 19	circumstances 16	supporting 15
called 21	fundamental 19	three 16	american 15

view 15	house 14	doubt 13	protestants 12
whilst 15	harmony 13	family 13	president 12
enjoyment 15	show 13	future 13	dangerous 12
christians 15	speak 13	ourselves 13	guardian 12
renounce 15	grand 13	sentiment 13	follow 12
teaches 15	certainly 13	calculated 13	deacon 12
effects 15	none 13	protection 13	modes 12
number 15	pretence 13	zealous 13	colour 12
perhaps 15	kindled 13	teach 13	tend 12
jury 15	arts 13	able 13	charles 12
thy 15	virtues 13	went 13	declare 12
introduced 15	require 13	supposition 13	obvious 12
produced 14	repugnant 13	disturb 13	9 12
provided 14	design 13	experience 13	partly 12
became 14	large 13	humane 13	devout 12
pour 14	safety 13	meant 12	dear 12
motives 14	defend 13	born 12	besides 12
earth 14	lord 13	appears 12	money 12
use 14	peculiar 13	health 12	next 12
taught 14	exempt 13	king 12	suppose 12
course 14	encouragement 13	confidence 12	lost 12
errors 14	honesty 13	glory 12	prohibit 12
freely 14	adopted 13	come 12	oath 12
entitled 14	teaching 13	look 12	understood 12
delivered 14	sovereignty 13	foundations 12	scriptures 12
thought 14	shades 13	sometimes 12	ou 11
revolution 14	armies 13	tolerated 12	happy 11
firm 14	proofs 13	affairs 12	enough 11
gentleman 14	history 13	persecuted 12	countenance 11
flourish 14	philosophical 13	equitable 12	office 11
christianity 14	produce 13	* 12	consists 11
union 14	why 13	excite 12	basis 11
progress 14	although 13	thank 12	passions 11
minds 14	towards 13	wholly 12	seems 11
social 14	educated 13	hearts 12	stead 11
receive 14	service 13	embrace 12	tyranny 11
party 14	age 13	numbers 12	leaving 11
suffer 14	interfere 13	undoubtedly 12	forms 11
year 14	preserved 13	foreign 12	brought 11
defiance 14	enjoin 13	drawn 12	reserved 11
soon 14	relation 13	declaration 12	intermeddle 11
body 14	hath 13	contradiction 12	parts 11
unalienable 14	persecution 13	fathers 12	mass 11
known 14	privileges 13	land 12	wise 11
care 14	late 13	printing 12	else 11
together 14	necessity 13	existed 12	derived 11
speculative 14	ceremonies 13	republic 12	slight 11
bible 14	administration 13	legal 12	priests 11

ambition 11	september 10	excellent 10	opposed 9
question 11	equity 10	admire 10	speaking 9
high 11	side 10	consequence 10	originally 9
supposed 11	neighbouring 10	modern 10	utter 9
instead 11	genuine 10	town 10	amendment 9
maintenance 11	generation 10	revelation 10	friendship 9
expected 11	due 10	trust 10	separated 9
engine 11	humble 10	promoting 10	measure 9
lutheran 11	employ 10	murder 10	f 9
session 11	introduction 10	feudal 10	tribunals 9
oaths 11	case 10	degree 10	distinguished 9
book 11	worthy 10	native 10	render 9
understanding 11	half 10	's 10	rules 9
sensible 11	du 10	tenets 10	innocent 9
religions 11	aim 10	characters 10	judgment 9
through 11	secured 10	submission 10	possession 9
ordinances 11	ment 10	il 10	welfare 9
salvation 11	asked 10	ibid 10	destruction 9
inhabitants 11	preacher 10	sake 10	7 9
contempt 11	g 10	plus 10	mrs 9
supreme 11	prosess 10	exposed 10	head 9
source 11	settled 10	5 10	conceive 9
wild 11	deemed 10	considered 10	convinced 9
heresy 11	impious 10	philanthropy 10	want 9
third 11	charity 10	deity 10	liberality 9
vice 11	violence 10	hazard 10	stand 9
added 11	consistent 10	rome 10	10 9
till 11	effect 10	reality 10	b 9
fact 11	essentially 10	faite 10	tends 9
lead 11	p 10	honest 10	corpus 9
brings 11	connecticut 10	concern 10	inculcate 9
iii 11	commonly 10	please 10	internal 9
agreeable 11	young 10	un 10	days 9
notwithstanding	going 10	si 10	crying 9
11	6 10	seek 9	charge 9
just 11	preserve 10	objections 9	remove 9
sent 11	shew 10	friendly 9	dans 9
consolations 11	tyrants 10	something 9	persuasion 9
latter 11	small 10	dispositions 9	frequent 9
sober 11	ed 10	disposed 9	original 9
immediately 11	characteristics 10	assembly 9	treaties 9
held 11	conform 10	depend 9	temper 9
destroy 11	admit 10	offer 9	veneration 9
sure 11	kingdom 10	wrong 9	strongly 9
entire 10	destroyed 10	afraid 9	chrislian 9
comfort 10	flourished 10	heard 9	l'autre 9
parties 10	promises 10	securing 9	o 9
violent 10	hardly 10	bring 9	withheld 9

probably 9	frequently 9	lasts 8	member 8
thereby 9	personal 9	heathen 8	ce 8
gave 9	objects 9	favor 8	sole 8
pays 9	punish 9	sunday 8	magistracy 8
contribute 9	oppose 9	injurious 8	legislative 8
generous 9	controversies 9	sight 8	business 8
literary 9	quebec 9	D 8	abolishing 8
invented 9	turns 9	countrymen 8	emoluments 8
ye 9	expect 9	total 8	consequences 8
answer 9	particularly 9	judges 8	ruin 8
catholics 9	exercises 8	literature 8	seem 8
mere 9	closets 8	came 8	grace 8
forbid 9	carry 8	comforts 8	father 8
n 9	separately 8	appeared 8	desire 8
rank 9	resist 8	amongst 8	embraced 8
pagan 9	allowed 8	prevailed 8	obtain 8
train 9	main 8	principal 8	principals 8
fully 9	rites 8	h 8	declared 8
blessings 9	introduce 8	insulte 8	
evidence 9	leave 8	residence 8	
dictate 9	used 8	evil 8	

## II. COLLOCATES OF RELIGION IN DESCENDING ORDER BASED ON “MUTUAL INFORMATION SCORE”

Collocate (Word and Count)    Mutual Information Score

mahometan 19	4.00539716506928
ancestral 2	3.87277159979468
undefiled 16	3.76513772139485
traduce 3	3.696680340739
revealed 13	3.6644956573676
chriissian 3	3.53697949787149
protestant 82	3.52294938359029
revealed 5	3.47483159112265
scriptural 2	3.39565034507502
chrislian 9	3.38768141540375
romish 22	3.35786178418562
dominant 10	3.21955908601934
chriftian 15	3.17670658610207
espouse 5	3.05985824315183
christian 209	3.04277572405718
patronize 6	2.97422924055346
catholic 65	2.94889020151318

## Collocate (Word and Count)    Mutual Information Score

popish 3	2.94335267408039
bonheur 2	2.90662986705565
overturn 3	2.85853116068007
metaphysical 5	2.83137891463646
ridiculing 2	2.8216190773473
overturning 3	2.76443212500585
holy 37	2.75882824748785
pagan 3	2.74783286318638
authoritative 4	2.74647780910142
persecuted 2	2.74243783129968
exempts 4	2.65528765558078
beneficent 4	2.63598250038539
reigning 3	2.55401283717027
congregational 3	2.53034891897248
supporting 7	2.52335529792647
subverting 2	2.50634864256871
blessed 9	2.45594624696227
stern 2	2.42950861233599
reformed 2	2.39565034507502
predominant 4	2.28031724924018
vital 3	2.25998774307495
established 17	2.23310936580856
quaker 2	2.22197856014275
philosophical 11	2.17578016144075
received 3	2.14441781777346
benevolent 9	2.11689674412219
pure 13	2.02886831839337
peaceful 3	2.01543910336342
quelle 2	1.89504799450584
true 105	1.88809429698924
bible 2	1.85158230072475
favourite 2	1.81682019446553
unites 2	1.79449607770808
genuine 5	1.79250597245484
touching 4	1.78330806895449
attacked 2	1.76386847212737
false 12	1.73512742257626
abolish 2	1.72975679954059
visible 2	1.63409835651084
natural 27	1.62284888992559
la 8	1.6018017790616
interior 2	1.56795805640058
regulate 6	1.54848914449699



## Collocate (Word and Count) Mutual Information Score

sa 5	1.53851895746045
fathers 3	1.51610847985787
mild 2	1.5129361174548
rational 3	1.48895623381425
divine 4	1.48738878618685
promoting 3	1.4736750139227
save 5	1.43708646185305
employ 5	1.4020671700719
toute 2	1.40147988873575
morals 2	1.3884717604479
concerning 12	1.37601487407371
prevailing 2	1.36289731478997
notre 2	1.29070823688298
national 19	1.28556296558138
added 6	1.28524770972241
extending 2	1.21309304377011
recommend 2	1.21119552253454
about 29	1.18593508479777
la 19	1.09103511613515
plain 2	1.06405435774544
la 3	1.06287535319225
but 4	1.04411170325936
sound 2	1.04266432168006
secure 4	1.04162198235117
respecting 11	1.01827233579743
promote 3	1.01735340762424
very 6	0.972586603446148
over 11	0.968326558717775
their 191	0.964692403926273
la 5	0.917228157334941
leur 2	0.914446668150631
consider 3	0.863462375659913
that 126	0.860555574475947
preserve 2	0.847773127121657
better 7	0.840901672376356
votre 2	0.822681985720994
perfect 4	0.821377869631076
indeed 8	0.813089874534298
connecticut 3	0.810628518566892
similar 3	0.804833269820344
same 35	0.800831760512383
whilst 2	0.792145112872879
of 33	0.79036162732876

Collocate (Word and Count)	Mutual Information Score
establish 2	0.762602921503111
of 1136	0.731389044888653
our 74	0.72924832340448
language 2	0.714032279491929
against 19	0.690567252187547
common 7	0.656567983602897
hence 2	0.631287379177012
own 15	0.622945702110168
his 78	0.576356754976898
whose 5	0.561293232356617
both 4	0.55964288594949
believe 2	0.549210136331818
because 7	0.539223572604777
no 33	0.530097746876964
even 6	0.499798260127646
particular 5	0.481130896302297
without 13	0.428822950541137
less 2	0.420141948172667
in 232	0.416028720292485
upon 24	0.403717024344733
except 2	0.374978371238265
old 3	0.364646063711485
and 331	0.329629737659705
all 32	0.31627310755462
will 2	0.310092206831214
every 15	0.308002989461915
what 13	0.294846958550045
make 2	0.292616725855111
reason 3	0.280668897217294
different 3	0.271907563484845
london 2	0.2447404713739
best 3	0.228152502141861
further 2	0.227496740465191
de 8	0.211467781509719
little 2	0.204548807157434
to 136	0.202744491124443
] 5	0.198829601160597
or 49	0.19852175329442
between 5	0.183649287562732
say 2 0	0.179066629892875
where 4	0.159144573596993
both 2	0.15306751004715
when 2	0.12582619017958

## Collocate (Word and Count)    Mutual Information Score

when 7	0.115581703708248
one 11	0.112997340246745
as 4	0.0981634053121173
nor 3	0.0963973490605676
fame 2	0.0832085135756702
if 17	0.0605603630260665
a 91	0.0593409222890382
with 39	0.0551511481773875
for 49	0.0443589951210457
any 18	0.0428945079051091
as 10	0.0354767883178927
" 13	0.0182903803850828
your 22	0.000884360266396143
this 33	-0.000459142339249303
taken 3	-0.0416068213807949
much 3	-0.068913714580442
its 4	-0.0734103752834465
general 3	-0.122124519439834
the 250	-0.137736886877128
some 6	-0.151142431794179
my 14	-0.162656708846755
's 6	-0.165570333858922
from 19	-0.167101516282453
much 2	-0.168482878767083
, 221	-0.192688128909497
other 6	-0.203714101176927
new 2	-0.209807341860579
by 23	-0.210586106397773
out 2	-0.216568207976347
on 16	-0.221890560675886
her 2	-0.222894551423697
? 3	-0.23335127421197
- 18	-0.256148861296396
public 2	-0.261596784808695
then 2	-0.282275824478589
which 16	-0.304196410440575
but 10	-0.319931026870418
. 98	-0.332031416113306
that 21	-0.333936727218519
as 9	-0.440706595882636
government 2	-0.444915740691499
: 5	-0.445982298704292
into 2	-0.492444866186525

## Collocate (Word and Count)    Mutual Information Score

there 2	-0.561114190471646
is 12	-0.57341205435985
; 5	-0.766003099477296
at 3	-0.899782353240534
not 4	-0.941249464284512
was 2	-1.03498227777363

## III. LOG LIKELIHOOD

## Collocate (Word and Count)    Log Likelihood

mahometan 19	18.44553561
ancestral 2	17.83477231
undefiled 16	17.33909998
traduce 3	17.02384209
revealed 13	16.87562615
chrissian 3	16.28839253
protestant 82	16.22378147
revealed 5	16.00219084
scriptural 2	15.63754773
chrislian 9	15.60084945
romish 22	15.46352498
dominant 10	14.82661751
chriftian 15	14.62927446
espouse 5	14.09116795
christian 209	14.01250005
patronize 6	13.69683182
catholic 65	13.58014124
popish 3	13.55463998
bonheur 2	13.38552521
overturn 3	13.16402248
metaphysical 5	13.03898176
ridiculing 2	12.99403605
overturning 3	12.7306804
holy 37	12.70487359
pagan 3	12.65423798
authoritative 4	12.64799772
persecuted 2	12.62939294
exempts 4	12.22805155
beneficent 4	12.13914802
reigning 3	11.76166377

## Collocate (Word and Count)    Log Likelihood

congregational 3	11.6526874
supporting 7	11.62048059
subverting 2	11.54216204
blessed 9	11.31005043
stern 2	11.18830063
reformed 2	11.03237755
predominant 4	10.50124901
vital 3	10.40762818
established 17	10.28384867
quaker 2	10.23258942
philosophical 11	10.01983793
received 3	9.875409001
benevolent 9	9.748669773
pure 13	9.343283891
peaceful 3	9.28144007
quelle 2	8.727018525
true 105	8.694995565
bible 2	8.526851608
favourite 2	8.366766193
unites 2	8.263959836
genuine 5	8.254795063
touching 4	8.212437152
attacked 2	8.1229145
false 12	7.990557075
abolish 2	7.965824442
visible 2	7.525301032
natural 27	7.473495324
la 8	7.376569797
interior 2	7.220713694
regulate 6	7.131056042
sa 5	7.085141633
fathers 3	6.98193757
mild 2	6.967328301
rational 3	6.856896856
divine 4	6.849678493
promoting 3	6.786524238
save 5	6.618027729
employ 5	6.45675793
toute 2	6.4540534
morals 2	6.394148755
concerning 12	6.336782674
prevailing 2	6.276374081
notre 2	5.943931091

## Collocate (Word and Count)    Log Likelihood

national 19	5.920236241
added 6	5.918784434
extending 2	5.586499918
recommend 2	5.57776151
about 29	5.461432895
la 19	5.024402389
plain 2	4.900151405
la 3	4.894721888
but 4	4.808312087
sound 2	4.801646648
secure 4	4.796846498
respecting 11	4.689317402
promote 3	4.685085581
very 6	4.478926829
over 11	4.459308599
their 191	4.442572697
la 5	4.223991764
leur 2	4.211182533
consider 3	3.976391189
that 126	3.963004875
preserve 2	3.90413953
better 7	3.872495311
votre 2	3.788590553
perfect 4	3.782584876
indeed 8	3.744417249
connecticut 3	3.733082286
similar 3	3.706394179
same 35	3.687966548
whilst 2	3.647963057
of 33	3.639749802
establish 2	3.511916238
of 1136	3.368171024
our 74	3.358312637
language 2	3.288240165
against 19	3.180179721
common 7	3.023607303
hence 2	2.907185817
own 15	2.868770975
his 78	2.654220945
whose 5	2.584850859
both 4	2.577250733
believe 2	2.529206146
because 7	2.48321632

## Collocate (Word and Count)    Log Likelihood

no 33	2.44119034
even 6	2.301656047
particular 5	2.215689659
without 13	1.974802667
less 2	1.934825174
in 232	1.915883059
upon 24	1.859185604
except 2	1.726839216
old 3	1.679257181
and 331	1.51800104
all 32	1.456491486
will 2	1.428027386
every 15	1.418406184
what 13	1.357820423
make 2	1.347549822
reason 3	1.292528038
different 3	1.252180605
london 2	1.127071522
best 3	1.050681101
further 2	1.047661207
de 8	0.973845123
little 2	0.941982068
to 136	0.933672886
] 5	0.915644151
or 49	0.91422646
between 5	0.845736224
say 2 0	0.824632305
where 4	0.732887846
both 2	0.704901934
when 2	0.57945102
when 7	0.532273416
one 11	0.520371982
as 4	0.452059187
nor 3	0.443926198
fame 2	0.383189366
if 17	0.278890778
a 91	0.273275046
with 39	0.253980423
for 49	0.204280722
any 18	0.197536509
as 10	0.163376648
" 13	0.084230314
your 22	0.00407263

## Collocate (Word and Count)    Log Likelihood

this 33	-0.002114429
taken 3	-0.191606493
much 3	-0.317359384
its 4	-0.338067272
general 3	-0.562404196
the 250	-0.634301805
some 6	-0.696036621
my 14	-0.749061826
's 6	-0.762479565
from 19	-0.769530921
much 2	-0.77589233
, 221	-0.887361626
other 6	-0.938138105
new 2	-0.966198516
by 23	-0.969784859
out 2	-0.997333455
on 16	-1.021843795
her 2	-1.026467343
? 3	-1.074622331
-18	-1.179609099
public 2	-1.204697714
then 2	-1.299928211
which 16	-1.40087624
but 10	-1.473336827
. 98	-1.529061178
that 21	-1.53783546
as 9	-2.029528876
government 2	-2.048912704
: 5	-2.053824385
into 2	-2.267792416
there 2	-2.584026341
is 12	-2.640660097
; 5	-3.527574636
at 3	-4.143650867
not 4	-4.334613971
was 2	-4.766269529



## IV. N-GRAMS

*A. Three (3) Word N-Gram (Religion in Middle Position)*


---

181 of religion and	8 that religion or	5 christian religion in
139 the religion of	7 undefined religion of	5 dominant religion in
43 in religion and	7 his religion in	5 catholic religion in
34 of religion is	7 of religion as	5 dominant religion is
29 their religion and	7 about religion and	5 as religion is
28 of religion to	7 all religion and	5 a religion founded
27 that religion is	6 both religion and	5 this religion i
26 of religion or	6 catholic religion and	5 in religion do
26 of religion in	6 natural religion and	5 no religion at
23 christian religion is	6 and religion are	5 protestant religion as
20 and religion of	6 national religion be	5 this religion both
19 true religion and	6 that religion do	5 of religion by
17 to religion and	6 of religion extinguished	5 employ religion as
14 the religion and	6 christian religion itself	5 our religion and
14 a religion that	6 their religion while	5 concerning religion and
13 a religion which	6 a religion whose	5 his religion according
13 the religion which	6 and religion will	5 for religion and
13 of religion are	6 of religion will	5 metaphysical religion a
13 of religion according	6 mahometan religion	5 this religion a
11 if religion be	was	4 their religion according
11 in religion or	6 his religion to	4 between religion and
11 true religion is	6 and religion ought	4 and religion and
11 of religion which	6 his religion teacheth	4 because religion and
11 of religion was	5 added religion too	4 one religion and
10 that religion which	5 the religion then	4 is religion and
10 catholic religion is	5 the religion they	4 protestant religion and
10 of religion of	5 his religion with	4 what religion and
10 that religion and	5 that religion whose	4 christian religion by
9 christian religion and	5 holy religion which	4 their religion by
9 la religion de	5 their religion is	4 common religion as
9 our religion is	5 in religion is	4 the religion he
9 and religion in	5 christian religion offer	4 with religion has
8 indeed religion is	5 the religion never	4 exempts religion from
8 established religion of	5 a religion not	

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*B. Five (5) Word N-Gram (Religion in First Position)*


---

19 religion according to the dictates	4 religion shall be established by
9 religion and morality enjoin this	4 religion to be introduced by
8 religion is kindled into enthusiasm	4 religion in his own house
7 religion or the duty which	4 religion go hand in hand
6 religion ought to lay no	4 religion from the cognizance of
6 religion of the church of	4 religion do not flourish in
6 religion was helpful to the	4 religion and morality dictate it
6 religion was tolerated in america	4 religion must be established by
6 religion are the only sure	4 religion noble comfort brings disarms
6 religion and devotion on board	4 religion in their own way
5 religion and civil slavery i	4 religion is said to be
5 religion a matter of importance	4 religion and leaving it open
5 religion a pious confidence in	4 religion and liberty are the
5 religion and his text was	4 religion and morality are essential
5 religion and morality are indispensable	4 religion and law he pleased
5 religion and to our charter	3 religion and government are so
5 religion and the government of	3 religion and government have been
5 religion as an engine of	3 religion and government have both
5 religion as well as to	3 religion and liberties of my
5 religion be exempt from the	3 religion against which they have
5 religion both existed and flourished	3 religion and a full and
5 religion is going to decay	3 religion as the most perfect
5 religion is to be excepted	3 religion and the dictates of
5 religion is that it brings	3 religion and the fear of
5 religion is wholly exempt from	3 religion but not to exercise
5 religion it is meant to	3 religion and morality in the
5 religion not invented by human	3 religion is neither the cause
5 religion as in most others	3 religion is not necessary to
5 religion do not bend to	3 religion in the united states
5 religion does not stifle every	3 religion is better than the
5 religion founded upon humanity and	3 religion from that which we
5 religion i wonder what is	3 religion must of course change
5 religion in the province of	3 religion obliges us to bear
5 religion in this city is	3 religion is so perfect and
5 religion which by professing vainly	3 religion of america as that
5 religion which enervates the mind	3 religion is too modest and
5 religion which we believe to	3 religion itself may become a
5 religion while i am in	3 religion by the administrations of
5 religion whose first principle is	3 religion i mean to recommend
5 religion whose main object is	3 religion has produced amongst its
5 religion then of every man	3 religion to them and their
5 religion to recommend the most	3 religion under the name of
5 religion offer to excite us	3 religion that should never be
5 religion with the same equal	3 religion that has deluged your

---

3 religion that reveals the attributes	2 religion should so long perservere
3 religion which he both professes	2 religion shall be the religion
3 religion teacheth him in all	2 religion shall not be violated
3 religion teacheth him that no	2 religion steps in where my
3 religion than for the other	2 religion which i was afraid
3 religion require it should be	2 religion which teach a patient
3 religion require us to educate	2 religion which teaches peace and
3 religion revealed in the word	2 religion which commands us to
3 religion only to such persons	2 religion who may be able
3 religion of the country and	2 religion which we think is
3 religion of our blessed redeemer	2 religion were rather loose i
3 religion of our own country	2 religion where there is none
3 religion of this lower world	2 religion we may possibly retain
3 religion you are no strangers	2 religion was offered as the
2 religion with the pious emlene	2 religion were not only agreeable
2 religion yet i conceive it	2 religion was until his conversion
2 religion would not suffer them	2 religion was only made to
2 religion will for the future	2 religion upon a rational system
2 religion will not willingly bid	2 religion was even tolerated there
2 religion will prejudice you against	2 religion that is disagreeable to
2 religion of the white inhabitants	2 religion that was known in
2 religion of which she is	2 religion the creature is apt
2 religion of this country requires	2 religion the only remaining motive
2 religion of your own country	2 religion the stalking horse to
2 religion of the majority of	2 religion thy force can alone
2 religion of a country by	2 religion was a matter that
2 religion of the protestant cantons	2 religion to which you have
2 religion of the country obliges	2 religion too often answers to
2 religion of the gospel a	2 religion in england is it
2 religion or systems of faith	2 religion in all the northern
2 religion or virtue remains among	2 religion holds out to us
2 religion ought forever to enjoy	2 religion in its coolest state
2 religion ought not to be	2 religion in man being the
2 religion opposing and baffeling so	2 religion in my estimation is
2 religion or addicted to idolatry	2 religion in our brains and
2 religion seems to be periodical	2 religion by the eloquence of
2 religion reassumes its original	2 religion dispersed in early life
benignity	2 religion by temporal punmts or
2 religion quench'es the unwilling flame	2 religion can not help confessing
2 religion pose for my civil	2 religion especially without orders from
2 religion our sons look a	2 religion etcetera which is undoubtedly
2 religion out of the dictates	2 religion et l'attachement aux anglois
2 religion professed in those countries	2 religion for the support of
2 religion than in all the	2 religion frequently inculcates universal
2 religion than in your philosophy	benevolence
2 religion than you really have	2 religion give to mankind by
2 religion only can receive consolation	2 religion grecque commenca en effet
2 religion that ever desolated the	2 religion had the intrepidity of

---

2 religion has been a source	2 religion morals decency or delicacy
2 religion has happily nothing to	2 religion is it that they
2 religion itself there is nothing	2 religion is good that teaches
2 religion language customs and some	2 religion is ever a matter
2 religion may be in danger	2 religion is calm in its
2 religion not as a state	2 religion is concerned than the
2 religion n'ait pas excite de	2 religion is distinguished peculiarly
2 religion must tend to solemnize	from
2 religion manners laws habits and	2 religion is a concern between
2 religion morality you have with	

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*C. Five (5) Word N-Gram (Religion in Second Position)*

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15 the religion of the country	5 his religion to recommend the
12 of religion according to the	5 if religion be exempt from
8 indeed religion is kindled into	5 if religion be not within
8 that religion or the duty	5 in religion and to our
6 the religion of jesus christ	5 of religion which by professing
6 the religion of the church	5 protestant religion as in most
6 of religion was helpful to	5 of religion is generally professed
6 mahometan religion was tolerated in	5 that religion is wholly exempt
6 of religion and devotion on	5 that religion is going to
6 of religion and good morals	5 that religion is to be
6 of religion are the only	5 that religion whose first principle
6 of religion as well as	5 the religion of the state
6 and religion ought to lay	5 the religion then of every
6 catholic religion and civil slavery	5 the religion which we believe
5 catholic religion in the province	5 their religion while i am
5 christian religion is that it	5 this religion i wonder what
5 christian religion offer to excite	5 this religion a pious confidence
5 concerning religion and the	5 this religion both existed and
government	4 very religion it is meant
5 dominant religion in this city	4 what religion and law he
5 dominant religion is the lutheran	4 their religion according to the
5 employ religion as an engine	4 the religion and government of
5 a religion founded upon humanity	4 the religion and liberties of
5 a religion not invented by	4 that religion do not flourish
5 a religion which enervates the	4 of religion is said to
5 a religion whose main object	4 of religion to be introduced
5 natural religion and his text	4 or religion they might be
5 metaphysical religion a matter of	4 one religion and leaving it
5 his religion with the same	4 one religion must be established
5 in religion do not bend	4 is religion and morality alone
5 his religion according to the	4 of religion in their own

---

4 because religion and morality dictate	3 true religion is too modest
4 exempts religion from the cognizance	3 traduce religion under the name
3 fathers religion must of course	3 true religion is neither the
3 established religion of that country	3 to religion from that which
3 every religion that reveals the	3 upon religion as the most
3 christian religion require it should	3 which religion obliges us to
3 christian religion to be true	3 with religion has produced amongst
3 catholic religion is better than	2 will religion the only remaining
3 blessed religion revealed in the	2 with religion yet i conceive
3 because religion has much to	2 without religion in my estimation
3 and religion of your country	2 without religion we may possibly
3 and religion you are no	2 your religion or your policy
3 and religion require us to	2 your religion than in your
3 and religion of this lower	2 which religion only can afford
3 and religion of our own	2 what religion was until his
3 and religion go hand in	2 when religion began to revive
3 a religion against which they	2 to religion of the protestant
3 a religion in the world	2 to religion a moderate stock
3 a religion that has deluged	2 to religion were rather loose
3 a religion that should never	2 to religion and good morals
3 of religion in humanizing mankind	2 true religion is nothing else
3 of religion in all cases	2 to religion can not help
3 no religion is so perfect	2 true religion is adapted to
3 no religion shall be established	2 true religion and virtue shine
3 national religion established by law	2 true religion and civil liberty
3 no religion but their priests	2 true religion and internal principles
3 of religion and a full	2 the religion of the majority
3 of religion and government have	2 the religion of the nation
3 his religion teacheth him in	2 the religion of the white
3 his religion teacheth him that	2 the religion of which she
3 his religion in the world	2 the religion of your own
3 for religion than for the	2 their religion is like the
3 our religion has taught us	2 their religion was aimed at
3 of religion to them and	2 their religion would not suffer
3 of religion to be reasonable	2 then religion thy force can
3 of religion ought not to	2 there religion and government mar
3 protestant religion in all europe	2 the religion professed in those
3 romish religion only to such	2 their religion and liberties by
3 the religion i mean to	2 the religion of this country
3 the religion of a country	2 their religion as well as
3 the religion of america as	2 that religion may be in
3 that religion which he both	2 that religion is not a
3 that religion is not necessary	2 that religion than in all
3 that religion should be secure	2 that religion was only made
3 their religion but not to	2 that religion which god commanded
3 their religion by the administrations	2 of religion is or ever
3 the religion of the people	2 that religion who may be
3 the religion of the gospel	2 the religion and morality of

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2 the religion in old amsterdam	2 of religion or systems of
2 the religion is neither roman	2 of religion only can receive
2 the religion of north america	2 of religion opposing and baffeling
2 the religion of our fathers	2 of religion or addicted to
2 romish religion and a despotism	2 our religion in our brains
2 romish religion must tend to	2 our religion any more than
2 own religion in his own	2 our religion for their security
2 quaker religion and possessing great	2 our religion frequently inculcates
2 reason religion and philosophy had	universal
2 stern religion quench'es the unwilling	2 our religion give to mankind
2 that religion and benevolence will	2 protestant religion by their good
2 same religion with the pious	2 protestant religion among his worst
2 same religion language customs and	2 protestant religion and of these
2 same religion manners laws habits	2 peaceful religion of jesus christ
2 some religion for the support	2 or religion which i was
2 of religion that ever desolated	2 of religion which we think
2 of religion that was known	2 of religion will not willingly
2 of religion shall not be	2 of religion will prejudice you
2 of religion too often answers	2 of religion which teach a
2 of religion is the belief	2 genuine religion is calm in
2 of religion may be entertained	2 government religion and manners
2 of religion in general suffers	unfit
2 of religion is extremely applauded	

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*D. Five (5) Word N-Gram (Religion in Third Position)*

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15 of the religion of the	5 deering concerning religion and the
13 exercise of religion according to	5 dictates of religion and honour
12 on the religion of others	5 duties of religion and morality
9 principles in religion and government	5 encourage true religion and virtue
8 when indeed religion is kindled	5 because if religion be exempt
7 principles of religion and philanthropy	5 and that religion is wholly
6 principles in religion or government	5 a la religion de l'autre
6 point of religion of it	5 against their religion while i
6 precepts of religion or philosophy	5 and a religion founded upon
6 roman catholic religion and civil	5 and a religion which enervates
6 subject of religion and devotion	5 for a religion not invented
6 the mahometan religion was tolerated	5 had the religion never appeared
6 for his religion teacheth him	5 interest in religion and to
6 and undefiled religion of jesus	5 matters of religion and a
6 any national religion be established	5 may employ religion as an
6 conscience and religion ought to	5 of his religion according to
6 consolations of religion are the	5 of his religion to recommend
5 call this religion i wonder	5 of his religion with the

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5 observe the religion which we	3 defence of religion and liberty
5 the dominant religion in this	3 disseminate his religion in the
5 the dominant religion is the	3 be the religion of the
5 the protestant religion as in	3 being the religion of america
5 that this religion both existed	3 advancement of religion and learning
5 the christian religion is that	3 government and religion of our
5 the christian religion is undoubtedly	3 government and religion of quebec
5 the christian religion offer to	3 freedom of religion in all
5 to a religion whose main	3 expressly that religion is not
5 was natural religion and his	3 exercise of religion in their
5 shew of religion was helpful	3 for every religion that reveals
5 supposition that religion is going	3 far as religion is concerned
5 system of religion is generally	3 have no religion but their
5 system of religion which by	3 insult the religion of others
5 roman catholic religion in the	3 in their religion but not
5 roman catholic religion is dominant	3 influence of religion and government
5 profess this religion a pious	3 laws and religion of this
5 protector of religion and liberty	3 is the religion of jesus
5 opinions in religion do not	3 liberty and religion of your
5 ordinances of religion as well	3 look upon religion as the
4 of true religion and virtue	3 matters of religion no man
4 proportion of religion and morality	3 no national religion established by
4 power over religion would remain	3 of a religion that is
4 preserved their religion and morals	3 of our religion has taught
4 says that religion do not	3 of all religion and morality
4 uniformity of religion to be	3 the established religion of that
4 those of religion and morality	3 the established religion of the
4 which exempts religion from the	3 the protestant religion in all
4 that very religion it is	3 the romish religion only to
4 that one religion must be	3 them their religion and properties
4 the christian religion to be	3 that the religion of the
4 of one religion and leaving	3 that true religion is neither
4 nation or religion they might	3 the blessed religion revealed in
4 it is religion and morality	3 the christian religion require it
4 intermeddle with religion has	3 the christian religion is the
produced	3 to the religion of the
4 have what religion and law	3 when a religion is good
4 expense of religion and good	3 those of religion in humanizing
4 friends of religion and humanity	3 those of religion and freedom
4 freedom of religion is said	3 to that religion which he
4 and the religion of the	3 to the religion and government
4 both in religion and politics	3 to their religion and clergy
4 both in religion and government	3 tolerate a religion against which
3 but the religion i mean	3 sentiments in religion and politics
3 cause of religion and virtue	3 sentiments in religion were not
3 country a religion that has	3 system of religion and politics
3 decency and religion you are	3 revolution in religion and government
3 declaring that religion should be	3 roman catholic religion is better

3 sake of religion and liberty	2 relationship of religion to politics
3 restraint of religion and of	2 reputation of religion in general
3 renounce the religion and liberties	2 regard for religion or virtue
3 respect to religion from that	2 propagate his religion by temporal
3 reason and religion require us	2 reverence for religion should so
3 reformation in religion or morals	2 sanctuaries of religion are some
3 pretensions of religion and honesty	2 roman catholic religion was even
3 practice of religion and virtue	2 science and religion dispersed in
3 plant a religion in the	2 seat of religion in man
3 propagating any religion by conquest	2 spirit of religion and piety
3 of their religion by the	2 teachers of religion and morals
3 of the religion of a	2 than upon religion or philosophy
3 ordinances of religion to them	2 that both religion and the
3 our fathers religion must of	2 that his religion was a
2 our holy religion and the	2 that holy religion which we
2 patriot without religion in my	2 sentiments of religion which teach
2 ou la religion n'ait pas	2 seek my religion out of
2 one common religion as protestants	2 sense of religion and honour
2 or that religion is not	2 sense of religion will not
2 of that religion who may	2 roman catholic religion within this
2 of some religion for the	2 sentiments in religion among its
2 of the religion professed in	2 similarity of religion is a
2 of the religion which they	2 virtue and religion in him
2 of their religion and governments	2 to the religion he profess
2 of their religion was aimed	2 to a religion which teaches
2 offence against religion morals	2 to that religion and government
decency	2 they consider religion not as
2 professing the religion of the	2 to its religion by the
2 quarrelled about religion and politics	2 when true religion and internal
2 processing the religion of the	2 which natural religion was offered
2 profess that religion than in	2 where stern religion quench'es the
2 pretend to religion can not	2 whom the religion of the
2 principles of religion and morality	2 whose government religion and
2 principles of religion instilled into	manners
2 principles of religion or systems	2 which reason religion and philosophy
2 poems of religion and society	2 which true religion is adapted
2 overthrow of religion and government	2 whole of religion and morality
2 have less religion than you	2 would my religion pose for
2 our common religion as protestants	2 zeal for religion and that
2 our holy religion which commands	2 the christian religion and a
2 politics or religion which i	2 the christian religion and in
2 principals of religion and morality	2 the christian religion in this
2 reformation of religion is or	2 the christian religion ought forever
2 que la religion grecque commenca	2 the benevolent religion of our
2 reason and religion can carry	2 the christian religion and stop
2 regard to religion were rather	2 the christian religion and that
2 relationship between religion and	2 the christian religion by their
politics	2 supporting the religion of the



2 that the religion of this	2 intolerance in religion 4 weakness
2 them to religion and virtue	2 he attacked religion because it
2 theory of religion and government	2 grimace and religion upon a
2 the same religion language customs	2 exercise his religion in his
2 the same religion manners laws	2 had no religion nor government
2 the same religion with the	2 has no religion at all
2 the romish religion and a	2 has on religion and manners
2 the romish religion must tend	2 has the religion of nations
2 the protestant religion by their	2 his own religion in his
2 the quaker religion and possessing	2 if our religion were gone
2 the philosophical religion gives no	2 extinguish the religion of the
2 the philosophical religion of infidelity	2 first the religion of your
2 the peaceful religion of jesus	2 exercise their religion according to
2 the protestant religion and of	2 either in religion or politics
2 the protestant religion and the	2 espece de religion etait inconnue
2 the established religion of this	2 freedom of religion is extremely
2 the christian religion never can	2 for our religion any more
2 the mahometan religion and	2 freedom of religion of speech
obedience	2 for the religion of jesus
2 of our religion frequently inculcates	2 for the religion of our
2 of our religion give to	2 foundation of religion is the
2 object of religion being god	2 god that religion and benevolence
2 obligations of religion and morality	2 a better religion a better
2 obligations of religion or morality	2 a better religion and government
2 matters of religion shall not	2 abuses in religion and government
2 matters of religion which we	2 1 because religion and morality
2 nothing of religion nor morals	2 and beneficent religion of the
2 notions of religion may be	2 all our religion in our
2 necessity of religion to public	2 all the religion and morality
2 motive of religion and virtue	2 and false religion are withheld
2 mantle of religion covers a	2 and general religion in all
2 massacres of religion that ever	2 and in religion itself there
2 matter of religion especially without	2 and of religion opposing and
2 language and religion will for	2 and protestant religion among his
2 like the religion in old	2 besides as religion in its
2 men make religion the stalking	2 be his religion or his
2 ministers of religion to meet	2 because their religion would not
2 morality and religion must be	2 as the religion of north
2 jealousy that religion may be	2 as a religion that is
2 knew what religion was until	2 as christian religion should increase
2 knowledge of religion and civil	2 as to religion a moderate
2 heroes of religion had the	2 attention to religion and good
2 his favourite religion and government	2 and the religion of which
2 in london religion seems to	2 and true religion were unknown
2 in your religion than in	2 appearance of religion in any
2 instructions in religion and morality	2 america true religion and civil
2 instructors in religion and morals	2 and our religion for their
2 interests of religion and learning	2 and their religion according to

2 and true religion and virtue	1 colour of religion any man
2 difference of religion will prejudice	1 come of religion to be
2 distinguishes connecticut religion	1 ceque la religion protestante est
from common	1 ceremonies of religion to which
2 difference de religion et l'attachement	1 change the religion 120 z3
2 difference of religion and government	1 character and religion of its
2 difference of religion has been	1 charge against religion in gene
2 despiser of religion he was	1 chris tian religion to be
2 destitute of religion or addicted	1 christian protestant religion shall be
2 enthusiasm of religion only can	1 cause of religion and liberty
2 duties of religion and piety	1 cause of religion is with
2 else of religion or morality	1 cause of religion or good
2 essence of religion consists in	1 contempt for religion is by
2 establishment of religion that was	1 contentions about religion kept up
2 cruising for religion is not	1 contrary to religion and the
2 danger to religion of the	1 contre la religion et contre
2 adorned the religion they profess	1 corrupting that religion which god
2 consolation which religion can afford	1 corruption of religion and morals
2 compulsion in religion is distinguished	1 council of religion and learning
2 consolations which religion only can	1 conform their religion and
2 cause of religion and humanity	government
2 certain that religion and morality	1 conformity of religion to the
2 cemented by religion ends not	1 connected with religion and virtue
2 cloak of religion too often	1 connection between religion and good
2 come then religion thy force	1 consolation of religion and philosophy
2 but there religion and government	1 dangerous to religion than another
1 but what religion shall we	1 dans votre religion and dans
1 but when religion was once	1 de la religion au bien
1 by their religion and particularly	1 de la religion des sujets
1 by uncorrupted religion and morals	1 de la religion qu'il a
1 call out religion and freedom	1 de la religion qui ont
1 called the religion of benevolence	1 de la religion toutes les
1 care of religion into their	1 de leur religion a londres
1 case for religion never was	1 de notre religion protestante soit
1 caufing this religion and worthip	1 de quelle religion il etoit
1 but the religion most prevalent	1 de quelque religion que soit
1 but the religion of the	1 debate over religion and the
1 both in religion and in	1 customs and religion of the
1 both in religion and liberty	1 customs manners religion language
1 both to religion and policy	and
1 bound by religion from withstanding	1 declension in religion hath left
1 bringing our religion down from	1 country and religion we humbly
1 but as religion is very	1 consolations of religion or philosophy
1 but if religion be the	1 establishment of religion which is
1 but in religion each one	1 establishments of religion is clerical
1 comfort from religion must be	1 et de religion est etablie
1 committee of religion to be	1 et la religion d'un peuple
1 compare this religion with christianity	1 even in religion we disagree

1 even ridiculing religion they will	1 difference of religion is not
1 events that religion and learning	1 difference of religion ought not
1 evidences of religion and is	1 difference of religion was not
1 example recommend religion to those	1 difference of religion and of
1 except the religion of nature	1 difference of religion diverting them
1 exclusively the religion of the	1 difference in religion and government
1 exercisc the religion they proress	1 difference in religion is not
1 establish a religion fraught with	1 do with religion in their
1 establish a religion to which	1 does the religion of christ
1 establish the religion which they	1 done both religion and virtue
1 establishment in religion by human	1 down your religion pure and
1 establishment of religion by human	1 drawn from religion and the
1 establishment of religion in the	1 drunk with religion or with
1 establishment of religion or	1 diflurbances that religion might
prohibiting	occallon
1 embrace that religion which is	1 distinguish the religion he means
1 eminence for religion and literature	1 and true religion be the
1 en chaque religion il y	1 and true religion go hand
1 e hd religion of that	1 and true religion to be
1 e~lablithment of religion by the	1 and their religion and country
1 education and religion in the	1 and their religion countenances the
1 eftablith a religion where there	1 and this religion contained not
1 enthusiastic in religion and liberty	1 and overturn religion and liberty
1 ercife of religion thould be	1 and overturning religion and liberty
1 esla bliicd religion with a	1 and peaceful religion they profess
1 endeavours that religion may be	1 and perfect religion has lent
1 enemies of religion more advantage	1 and perfect religion of the
1 enough of religion of any	1 analogy of religion and of
1 enthusiasm in religion lately revived	1 and that religion left to
1 destroy all religion and liberty	1 and the religion of a
1 destroyers of religion and government	1 ark of religion by human
1 destruction of religion and	1 article about religion is most
encouragement	1 article of religion is deemed
1 determine the religion it would	1 article of religion so far
1 detrimental to religion and to	1 as a religion but as
1 devoted to religion were used	1 and undefiled religion benevolence
1 dictate of religion and reason	and
1 defend their religion and liberties	1 and the religion which they
1 defy all religion but that	1 and undermine religion has been
1 denominate a religion to be	1 and undissembled religion may spread
1 denomination of religion and another	1 and vital religion will be
1 denomination of religion the tenets	1 and well-endowed religion frequently
1 dictates of religion and humanity	become
1 did not religion receive a	1 and whose religion hath ever
1 difference between religion sinking	1 ano there religion have a
and	1 any certain religion to conform
1 difference of religion in individuals	1 authority of religion would
1 difference of religion is a	recommend

1 basis of religion and virtue	1 and even religion and reason
1 be his religion or descent	1 and even religion is so
1 as to religion and adds	1 and every religion has and
1 as to religion as to	1 and every religion reassumes its
1 assessment for religion is also	1 1 the religion then of
1 assistance of religion and chiefly	1 11 wollastans religion of nature
1 attachment to religion and liberty	1 127 of religion internal and
1 attacks the religion that persecuted	1 & to religion 220 60
1 as if religion were intended	1 & to religion or ec
1 as in religion to desert	1 > the religion and government
1 as of religion and literature	1 > with religion yet i
1 as the religion of the	1 _ of religion on government
1 as the religion which is	1 a la religion de pau
1 any other religion besides the	1 a little religion or let
1 become the religion of the	1 a particular religion and wotihip
1 being of religion among us	1 a public religion have always
1 be no religion of divine	1 a pure religion that was
1 became the religion of rome	1 a revealed religion and morals
1 between bible religion and state	1 a similar religion and kindr
1 between the religion they see	1 a that religion or the
1 blessings of religion and civilization	1 abjure the religion of his
1 boasting its religion and morality	1 abolish the religion of their
1 bodies the religion of jesus	1 account of religion and liberty
1 bosoms that religion which would	1 account of religion for inflance
1 believing what religion he pleases	1 account of religion to be
1 believes no religion will take	1 addresses of religion to the
1 benefit of religion in the	1 adoptera la religion de made
1 and pure religion do better	1 a detested religion amongst us
1 and pure religion may universally	1 a different religion _ the
1 and puts religion in danger	1 a different religion from that
1 and revealed religion always speak	1 a better religion and a
1 and scriptural religion full justice	1 aids of religion are wanting
1 and seek religion in the	1 advancement of religion and virtue
1 and sometimes religion into politics	1 affairs of religion to be
1 and state religion i shall	1 affairs or religion are submitted
1 and strange religion etcetera probleme	1 against the religion of the
1 and on religion but with	1 government and religion must be
1 and our religion and country	1 government and religion of france
1 and our religion are dearer	1 freedom of religion is universal
1 and mild religion from above	1 government and religion of quebeck
1 and mild religion lead thee	1 government and religion the formed
1 and my religion is to	1 government and religion was excellent
1 and of religion are found	1 government in religion in england
1 and in religion come to	1 friends of religion and morality
1 and in religion have gone	1 friends of religion are the
1 altar of religion and liberty	1 friends of religion in america
1 all the religion and governments	1 friends to religion and virtue
1 and established religion consist in	1 from friendships religion and relative

1 from the religion established by	1 importance of religion and good
1 from the religion of those	1 importance of religion should be
1 from the religion originally professed	1 importance of religion to civil
1 fubjea of religion is this	1 importance of religion to the
1 glory of religion to prevent	1 impose a religion upon us
1 glory on religion and liberty	1 in a religion the pure
1 god and religion within us	1 in every religion except the
1 foundations of religion and virtue	1 in external religion and its
1 fountains of religion and morality	1 in his religion and in
1 frained the religion of jefus	1 in invading religion and liberty
1 for the religion or modes	1 ho ly religion flourifli in
1 forbid that religion should receive	1 hopes of religion support the
1 formty of religion became necessary	1 horse of religion may yet
1 freedom of religion or property	1 however when religion has been
1 friend of religion and morals	1 humanity and religion are concerned
1 friend of religion from pure	1 hurt to religion but i
1 friends of religion among us	1 idea of religion and virtue
1 for propagating religion in foreign	1 idea that religion was essential
1 for the religion of a	1 iety and religion have an
1 especially our religion and such	1 if our religion is given
1 especially to religion and politics	1 have a religion established by
1 essence of religion and the	1 guardian of religion and good
1 either of religion or government	1 heard more religion talked and
1 exercise of religion contrary to	1 here of religion only as
1 exercise of religion hath stocked	1 have no religion left among
1 exercise their religion without molestation	1 have no religion themselves to
1 exerdife- of religion in their	1 have their religion as well
1 extend their religion over the	1 intollerance in religion and government
1 exercise of religion should be	1 intrude into religion any thing
1 exercise of religion unto the	1 is a religion eftablithed by
1 exercise of religion was allowed	1 is no religion different from
1 flers of religion of every	1 interests of religion and of
1 followed the religion of the	1 into the religion of our
1 for in religion nobody cao	1 infidelity in religion and democracy
1 for no religion at all	1 integrity and religion has done
1 for no religion or property	1 interests and religion bid fair
1 f his religion in a	1 interests of religion and for
1 f his religion within his	1 in the religion of their
1 f of religion 546 105	1 in their religion and manners
1 fabrics of religion and government	1 his own religion as he
1 fait de religion fait complettement	1 his favorite religion and government
1 far as religion is connected	1 has added religion to the
1 fatal to religion and morality	1 influence of religion on government
1 favor of religion or against	1 influence of religion on the
1 favour of religion and virtue	1 influence of religion upon the
1 fears of religion have a	1 ing a religion which recommends
1 fet all religion at variance	1 institutions of religion have been

1 institutions of religion or charity	1 ment of religion 1z6 x3
1 in their religion there was	1 ment of religion or learning
1 in their religion without attachment	1 mention of religion first paragraph
1 in whatever religion are pleasing	1 ministers of religion are placed
1 in which religion and education	1 ministers of religion are under
1 in which religion robes the	1 ministers of religion by withholding
1 la seule religion utile et	1 ministers of religion fubjetl to
1 its own religion without molestation	1 ministers of religion t2 z4
1 learning and religion has been	1 look for religion in the
1 learning and religion have been	1 laws and religion of the
1 leparation between religion and civil	1 matters of religion and that
1 lessons of religion and morality	1 matters of religion essential to
1 let their religion be wliat	1 matters of religion is useful
1 liberty and religion may universally	1 matters of religion or the
1 kind of religion is equally	1 matters of religion ought not
1 kinds of religion came much	1 may that religion to which
1 kings overturning religion and liberty	1 means of religion and virtue
1 is the religion of many	1 measures about religion also tend
1 is the religion of the	1 meddle with religion further than
1 it > religion is the	1 motives of religion actuate many
1 love my religion and am	1 motives of religion call us
1 love to religion and the	1 much of religion ought to
1 love to religion in the	1 n'ai ni religion ni patrie
1 love with religion and virtue	1 n'est qu'une religion et une
1 maintain a religion opposed to	1 names of religion and patriotism
1 maintain the religion of the	1 nation and religion of the
1 maintain their religion by force	1 necessity of religion to the
1 maintaining family religion and attending	1 neither the religion of nature
1 manners in religion and politics	1 never dishonours religion either by
1 liberty and religion that this	1 new-fangled in religion will be
1 liberty and religion to our	1 nation where religion is insulted
1 liberty and religion would meet	1 national established religion a prerequisite
1 liberty and religion you melt	1 nct'teas the religion of the
1 liberty in religion is secured	1 nought but religion is sincere
1 liberty of religion and the	1 matters of religion will hardly
1 liberty of religion is in	1 no national religion shall be
1 morality and religion will be	1 no other religion than the
1 morality and religion would forbid	1 no other religion than what
1 morality or religion to suffer	1 not a religion that relaxes
1 morals and religion which adds	1 not la religion des souverains
1 morals or religion of the	1 notes on religion j mss
1 ministers of religion to op	1 obligations of religion pointed out
1 ministers of religion to subsist	1 obligations to religion are interwoven
1 ministers of religion undertake to	1 obligations of religion flow from
1 mixed with religion that is	1 of a religion which enforces
1 morality and religion are too	1 the christian religion denies the
1 men of religion and conscience	1 the christian religion has been

1 the christian religion holds out	1 to preserve religion he ought
1 the christian religion in and	1 to propagate religion by arms
1 the christian religion in danger	1 to secure religion itself as
1 the christian religion in promoting	1 to see religion separated from
1 the christian religion been left	1 to serious religion and extremely
1 the christian religion by confining	1 to subvert religion or morality
1 the christian religion by law	1 they draw religion into the
1 the benevolent religion of the	1 of a religion which they
1 the best religion in the	1 of a religion whose ruling
1 the best religion under heaven	1 of our religion has not
1 the best religion would have	1 of a religion in already
1 the christian religion prevail during	1 of a religion tend to
1 the christian religion properly address	1 of our religion not to
1 the christian religion shall be	1 of our religion would not
1 the christian religion that many	1 of pure religion and true
1 the christian religion on their	1 of revealed religion are part
1 the christian religion itself has	1 of our religion and his
1 the christian religion inculcating its	1 of our religion and ministry
1 the christian religion is a	1 of our religion forbids us
1 the christian religion is his	1 of making religion an engine
1 the christian religion is only	1 of mingling religion with politics
1 the christian religion and no	1 of natural religion and morality
1 zeal for religion to disturb	1 of all religion and virtue
1 yet no religion eilablthied by	1 of all religion in the
1 whole of religion was saved	1 of any religion in disturbing
1 who consider religion and virtue	1 of establishing religion to congress
1 who overturn religion and liberty	1 of every religion in pensilvania
1 which true religion and sound	1 of extending religion and knowledge
1 will injure religion and the	1 of extending religion by the
1 wisdom and religion i fancy	1 of having religion established by
1 with great religion and purity	1 of his religion and for
1 with his religion on his	1 of his religion and his
1 with the religion of christ	1 of his religion are concerned
1 with their religion all moral	1 of his religion depend upon
1 would a religion from god	1 of his religion or mode
1 where that religion has not	1 of his religion so as
1 where the religion of the	1 of his religion to love
1 where the religion the manners	1 the new religion in which
1 whereas their religion is no	1 the papist religion be ever
1 which our religion inculcates and	1 the fame religion as hitnfelf
1 which our religion is founded	1 the holy religion of jesus
1 whenever any religion or profession	1 the christian religion were his
1 when this religion was eflablthied	1 the christian religion which they
1 when a religion is perfeetued	1 the christian religion will admit
1 to the religion of their	1 the christian religion without regard
1 to the religion oi the	1 the christian religion your pole
1 to maintain religion in our	1 the dreary religion of moha
1 to neglect religion in the	1 the eilablthied religion from being

1 the eltablithed religion from which	1 treating of religion the scotch
1 the philosophical religion can never	1 truth and religion are subjects
1 the popular religion of a	1 truth and religion in the
1 the predominant religion where there	1 truth of religion itself may
1 the primitive religion which had	1 truths of religion and morals
1 the protestant religion in general	1 tutions of religion and education
1 the protestant religion inviolate in	1 uniformity in religion throughout the
1 the protestant religion is entirely	1 uniformity of religion in this
1 the protestant religion is far	1 uniformity of religion was necef'
1 the protestant religion not admitting	1 upon piety religion and morality
1 the protestant religion throughout his	1 upon the religion the government
1 the protestant religion we think	1 upon their religion and liberties
1 the public religion was establ	1 usefulness to religion in our
1 the pure religion of jesus	1 variation of religion may tile
1 the received religion isi 141	1 the reigning religion here and
1 the reformed religion in hungary	1 the reigning religion or on
1 they take religion for a	1 the remaining religion and morality
1 this all religion is vain	1 the revealed religion of christ
1 tho' the religion is different	1 the roman-catholic religion was
1 ties of religion and morality	attacked
1 times shows religion to be	1 the protestant religion frittered away
1 to that religion in which	1 the protestant religion from the
1 to that religion she so	1 the protestant religion has been
1 to accommodate religion to worldly	1 the protestant religion has no
1 to any religion but that	1 the same religion expressed in
1 to establish religion by human	1 the true religion 26o x6
1 to genuine religion is but	1 the true religion amidst the
1 to the religion of connecticut	1 the true religion and apparent
1 to that religion which speaketh	1 the true religion by bringing
1 to the religion and god	1 the true religion was not
1 to this religion as the	1 their ancient religion was superstition
1 to true religion and sound	1 their laws religion and liberty
1 to true religion which alone	1 their national religion would have
1 virtue and religion inculcated and	1 their own religion as they
1 virtue and religion of mankind	1 them in religion and useful
1 virtue and religion to all	1 them that religion which god
1 votaries of religion enjoy their	1 them the religion of protestants
1 was no religion eftablithed in	1 the same religion shall not
1 was the religion of the	1 the same religion manners habits
1 weight of religion in the	1 there any religion or morality
1 well upon religion politics and	1 then believe religion and morality
1 what footing religion really stands	1 that the religion they have
1 what light religion appears to	1 that the religion which jesus
1 toleration in religion gains ground	1 that their religion laws and
1 toleration in religion is expected	1 that their religion was well
1 toleration in religion will be	1 that pure religion which my
1 toleration of religion appears to	1 that revealed religion is the
1 touching the religion of revelation	1 that some religion is necessary



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1 that true religion can and	1 the catholic religion will prove
1 that what religion there is	1 the catholic religion yet he
1 that whilst religion philosophy and	1 the chrifiari religion to be
1 the 'ptre religion of the	1 the chriftian religion in the
1 the amiable religion of our	1 the chriftian religion to be
1 the catholic religion as acknowledged	1 the chrisian religion has flourished
1 the catholic religion determine	1 the chrisian religion are equally
themselves	1 the chrisian religion to be
1 the catholic religion has not	1 the chrissian religion derives the
1 the catholic religion may be	1 the christian religion all great
1 the catholic religion to the	1 the christian religion among
1 the catholic religion was established	theaboriginal
1 the catholic religion were re-	1 the christian religion came into
established	

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*E. Five (5) Word N-Gram (Religion in Fourth Position)*

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12 insult on the religion of	5 the duties of religion and
11 free exercise of religion according	5 thing against their religion while
10 the roman catholic religion is	5 to observe the religion which
8 the government and religion of	5 to the christian religion itself
8 mild principles of religion and	5 who profess this religion a
6 of roman catholic religion and	5 whose opinions in religion do
6 of the christian religion is	5 called the protestant religion as
6 of the christian religion and	5 congregational interest in religion and
6 if the mahometan religion was	5 does the christian religion offer
6 a point of religion of	5 edward deering concerning religion
6 any sect of religion extinguished	and
6 barber says that religion do	5 enjoyment of his religion with
6 by precepts of religion or	5 exercise of his religion according
6 the consolations of religion are	5 author of his religion to
6 the subject of religion and	5 and encourage true religion and
6 their principles in religion or	5 and protector of religion and
6 pure and undefiled religion of	5 illiberal system of religion which
6 shall any national religion be	5 he may employ religion as
6 that conscience and religion ought	5 known that this religion both
5 subject was natural religion and	5 liberal system of religion is
5 public ordinances of religion as	5 not to a religion whose
5 settled dictates of religion and	4 might have what religion and
5 should have added religion too	4 ministers of one religion and
5 they call this religion i	4 opinion that one religion must
5 the shew of religion was	4 of the protestant religion and
5 the supposition that religion is	4 of that very religion it
5 the roman catholic religion in	4 itself which exempts religion from

4 have preserved their religion and	3 exercise of their religion by
4 but it is religion and	3 contempt of the religion of
4 as far as religion is	3 be no national religion established
4 a proportion of religion and	3 by our fathers religion must
4 against those of religion and	3 continue in their religion but
4 faite a la religion de	3 difference the same religion manners
4 were uniformity of religion to	3 different sentiments in religion and
4 to intermeddle with religion has	3 and freedom of religion in
4 the expense of religion and	3 author of our religion has
4 the friends of religion and	3 as reformation of religion is
4 the interests of religion and	3 became the established religion of
4 the laws and religion of	3 and the protestant religion in
4 the cause of religion and	3 any pretensions of religion and
4 the advancement of religion and	3 and the christian religion require
4 the power over religion would	3 and the romish religion only
4 that the christian religion is	3 from being the religion of
3 than renounce the religion and	3 i look upon religion as
3 subversion of all religion and	3 honour to that religion which
3 rights declaring that religion should	3 in matters of religion and
3 solemn motives which religion	3 maintain expressly that religion is
proposes	3 laws liberty and religion of
3 sound principles in religion and	3 may be his religion or
3 might enjoy their religion unmolested	3 in matters of religion no
3 relating to their religion and	3 introduction of a religion that
3 people have no religion but	3 it was not religion alone
3 place is the religion of	3 much to secure religion itself
3 practice of true religion and	3 my principles in religion and
3 principles both in religion and	3 not insult the religion of
3 the ordinances of religion to	3 no reformation in religion or
3 the necessity of religion to	3 of decency and religion you
3 the sake of religion and	3 of propagating any religion by
3 the influence of religion and	2 nothing of the religion of
3 the difference of religion and	2 obligation of visible religion is
3 to support their religion there	2 of all the religion and
3 to plant a religion in	2 no regard for religion or
3 to them their religion and	2 nor has the religion of
3 to those of religion in	2 not all our religion in
3 to tolerate a religion against	2 necessity of some religion for
3 triumphant system of religion and	2 never knew what religion was
3 those principles in religion and	2 no offence against religion morals
3 to disseminate his religion in	2 mild and beneficent religion of
3 with a better religion and	2 mention nothing of religion nor
3 to matters of religion and	2 of sentiments in religion among
3 whom reason and religion require	2 of our holy religion and
3 with respect to religion from	2 of our holy religion which
3 free exercise of religion in	2 of the christian religion never
3 every restraint of religion and	2 of the established religion of
3 exercise of the religion of	2 our principles of religion or

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2 our reason and religion can	2 heresy and false religion are
2 of virtue and religion in	2 honor and our religion for
2 particularly of their religion and	2 in america true religion and
2 of the romish religion must	2 in defence of religion and
2 of the same religion with	2 honour to the religion he
2 of whose government religion and	2 gentleman of that religion who
2 faite a la religion d'autres	2 general revolution in religion and
2 it had no religion nor	2 general science and religion dispersed
2 is like the religion in	2 habit language and religion will
2 is certain that religion and	2 handicaps would my religion pose
2 introduce his favourite religion and	2 gospel and true religion were
2 introduce the benevolent religion of	2 government and every religion has
2 in politics or religion which	2 government and of religion opposing
2 in them to religion and	2 great cause of religion and
2 lisez a la religion de	2 great object of religion being
2 little else of religion or	2 and to a religion which
2 lives adorned the religion they	2 and quarrelled about religion and
2 love cemented by religion ends	2 and essence of religion consists
2 la difference de religion et	2 adorn the protestant religion by
2 just reverence for religion should	2 and consolations which religion only
2 know that the religion of	2 and despiser of religion he
2 learning has on religion and	2 author of our religion frequently
2 in god that religion and	2 author of our religion give
2 in matters of religion shall	2 attachment to the religion and
2 in matters of religion which	

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*F. Five (5) Word N-Gram (Religion in Fifth Position)*

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41 the free exercise of religion	8 liberty in matters of religion
22 respecting an establishment of religion	8 a temporary state of religion
14 on the subject of religion	8 for the support of religion
12 an insult on the religion	8 even of the protestant religion
11 free exercise of their religion	8 the mild principles of religion
10 teachers of the christian religion	7 the pure and undefiled religion
10 truth of the christian religion	7 free exercise of his religion
9 upon the subject of religion	7 as well as in religion
9 support of the christian religion	7 opinions in matters of religion
9 with heresy and false religion	7 politics as well as religion
9 advantage of the christian religion	6 peaceably to exercise their religion
9 over the freedom of religion	6 opinions in politics or religion
9 of the roman catholic religion	6 nor shall any national religion
9 interfere in matters of religion	6 make a point of religion
8 in politics as in religion	6 me if the mahometan religion
	6 insulte faite a la religion

6 greater influence on the religion	5 favour of roman catholic religion
6 had originally relation to religion	5 a liberal system of religion
6 he promises to patronize religion	5 a proper zeal for religion
6 as most sects in religion	5 a means of supporting religion
6 author of our blessed religion	5 and deluded by their religion
6 be of the christian religion	5 and not to a religion
6 a power to regulate religion	5 be of the protestant religion
6 for the purposes of religion	5 at the expense of religion
6 establishment of the mahometan religion	5 any thing against their religion
6 establishing the roman catholic religion	5 and settled dictates of religion
6 can be separated from religion	5 and to observe the religion
6 conscience in matters of religion	5 had a system of religion
6 continually crying down the religion	5 great author of our religion
6 deacon soon clashed upon religion	5 guardian and protector of religion
6 the introduction of this religion	5 inducements does the christian religion
6 the public ordinances of religion	5 in the roman catholic religion
6 them by precepts of religion	5 in the exercise of religion
6 that the roman catholic religion	5 if they call this religion
6 the barber says that religion	5 laws to intermeddle with religion
6 the author of his religion	5 is called the protestant religion
6 see any sect of religion	5 is known that this religion
6 principles of the christian religion	5 most distant connection with religion
6 when the cause of religion	5 much as that of religion
5 wherever the roman catholic religion	5 liberty and the protestant religion
5 upon the effects of religion	5 ne'er devout before espouse religion
5 zealous attachment to their religion	5 of the supposition that religion
5 progress of the christian religion	5 of their liberty and religion
5 raised against the christian religion	5 of those mysteries in religion
5 sir edward deering concerning religion	5 of every nation and religion
5 she should have added religion	5 on account of his religion
5 the congregational interest in religion	5 partiality against the christian religion
5 that the shew of religion	4 plan itself which exempts religion
5 the abstruse points of religion	4 precepts of our holy religion
5 the enjoyment of his religion	4 press and freedom of religion
5 that he may employ religion	4 my veneration for every religion
5 that in matters of religion	4 most sacred office of religion
5 the subject was natural religion	4 it will secure your religion
5 the opposite interests of religion	4 in defence of the religion
5 those who profess this religion	4 he might have what religion
5 those whose opinions in religion	4 great a proportion of religion
5 countenance and encourage true religion	4 holy author of our religion
5 during the change of religion	4 and profess the protestant religion
5 duties of morality and religion	4 and reciprocal influence of religion
5 contradiction to the christian religion	4 belief in the christian religion
5 ceremony of the romish religion	4 belief in the christian religion
	4 by an institution of religion
	4 and have preserved their religion

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4 expressly to congress over religion	3 so much to secure religion
4 encouragement of the protestant religion	3 that i look upon religion
4 for different opinions concerning religion	3 some public exercises of religion
4 changing the government and religion	3 spirit of propagating any religion
4 can be maintained without religion	3 the obvious dictates of religion
4 divine author of our religion	3 the founder of their religion
4 there be no national religion	3 the introduction of a religion
4 to the cause of religion	3 the laws liberty and religion
4 universal opinion that one religion	3 the support of any religion
4 total a dissimilarity of religion	3 the truth either in religion
4 the ministers of one religion	3 the reformation and protestant religion
4 sophisms for freedom of religion	3 them revere nothing but religion
4 than against those of religion	3 the utmost freedom of religion
4 spirit of the christian religion	3 the triumphant system of religion
4 the exercise of their religion	3 to those principles in religion
4 that with a better religion	3 to the spirit of religion
4 received and divinely authoritative religion	3 to manage the established religion
4 principles of reason and religion	3 to the friends of religion
4 principles of that very religion	3 to the interest of religion
4 you have the same religion	3 to the preservation of religion
4 will produce that of religion	3 undisturbed exercise of their religion
3 uniformity of laws and religion	3 utter subversion of all religion
3 will never meddle with religion	3 to continue in their religion
3 who maintain expressly that religion	3 they might enjoy their religion
3 were the guardians of religion	3 they pretend to much religion
3 whatever may be his religion	3 thing relating to their religion
3 without some form of religion	3 thing to do with religion
3 zeal of the congregational religion	3 this place is the religion
3 rather than renounce the religion	3 to be laid in religion
3 should not establish a religion	3 does honour to that religion
3 secured to them their religion	3 education with respect to religion
3 shall inquire into their religion	3 either for or against religion
3 shall not insult the religion	3 defiance of decency and religion
3 shall stipulate freedom of religion	3 design as the christian religion
3 so friendly to their religion	3 by the influence of religion
	3 constitution to establish a religion
	3 colonies have differed in religion

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