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

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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.

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∗ John W. Stoepler Professor of Law & Values, University of Toledo College of Law. Special thanks to Wayne Schneider for providing me with invaluable information from the yet-unfinished COFEA, and the participants at the Law and Corpus Linguistics Conference, including especially Professor Moore, for their valuable comments and suggestions. Four research assistants provided valuable research for this project: Bryant Green, Daniel Marks, Michael Stahl, and Jacob Williams.
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I. INTRODUCTION

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practical example of the application of corpus linguistics to
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Second, this Essay utilizes the tools of corpus linguistics to provide
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Amendment.\footnote{\textit{U.S. Const.} amend. I.} Third, based on this experience, it describes some of the
challenges originalist scholars will likely face employing
corpus linguistics.
II. CORPUS LINGUISTICS AND ORIGINALISM

Corpus linguistics is the study of word-use regularities and patterns, primarily in written texts. Today, scholars typically utilize computers to identify and analyze word usage in electronic and electronically-searchable databases called corpora. 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. Corpus linguistics is just beginning to have an impact on legal scholarship. 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. The process of uncovering the original

3. See id. at 5–6 (describing the impact of technology on corpus linguistics).
4. SUSAN HUNSTON, CORPORA IN APPLIED LINGUISTICS 68 (2002).
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. One analytically distinct and important step is to identify the conventional meaning of the Constitution’s words and phrases at the time of ratification. In previous scholarship, I argued that originalists should utilize corpus linguistics to facilitate originalism’s capacity to accurately uncover this original conventional meaning. I labeled originalist use of corpus linguistics, “computer-assisted research technology,” or “CART.”

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. 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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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.

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. This debate is complex, but a key aspect of the debate is whether the constitutional definition of religion includes only theistic 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. 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

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.” The Reynolds Court then surveyed a modest selection of the historical materials, and these materials identified religion as theistic. The examples of religion in the materials were theistic, as were definitional statements of the term.

Then, over a series of mid-twentieth century cases, culminating in two conscientious objector cases decided in 1965 and 1970, 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—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.

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. 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.”).
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
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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. 25 Or, relatedly, religion concerns “matters of ultimate concern.” 26 Another argued that religion is a sociological concept, and belief systems that distinguish the sacred from the profane are religions. 27 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. 28 In sum, the scholarship in this area has produced a cacophony of conceptions, but no consensus.


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.”).


Most modern scholarship on the constitutional meaning of religion formulated non-theistic definitions of religion. 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. Similarly, scholars argued that a theistic definition of religion would be unfair to meaningfully analogous but non-theistic belief systems. Non-theistic strains of Buddhism were given as examples. A related and frequently given reason is that the Establishment Clause prohibits a theistic definition of religion because it proscribes privileging religion over “nonreligion.”

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


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. 513, 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 Schloegel trans., 1970) (1954) (“Buddhism believes in the existence of a great number of impermanent gods (deusas) 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.  

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. 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. (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: I reviewed the Constitution’s text and structure; I surveyed contemporary dictionaries; I read the framing 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*.\(^{42}\) It was laborious,\(^ {43}\) time-consuming,\(^ {44}\) expensive,\(^ {45}\) frequently tedious,\(^ {46}\) and even dirty on occasion.\(^ {47}\) 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 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). 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

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.\textsuperscript{50} 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.\textsuperscript{51} 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.\textsuperscript{52} Researchers use concordance lines to provide moderately more context. Researchers can compare this context to 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.

\textsuperscript{50} S. Hunston, \textit{Corpus Linguistics}, in \textit{ENCYCLOPEDIA OF LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS} 234, 236 (Keith Brown et al. eds., 2d ed. 2006).
\textsuperscript{51} \textit{Id.}
\textsuperscript{52} \textit{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 between three and five words in length with the word religion in different locations. Second, we collocated COFEA for religion in a variety of formats, including nine words, five words, and two words before and after religion. Third, we generated one thousand random concordance lines of religion from COFEA, called Key Words in Context (KWIC). Fourth, we created the mutual information score of religion and its collocates. Fifth, we created the log-likelihood of religion and its collocates. 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. Second, though it is one source, it was widely circulated and read in eighteenth century America, suggesting that it utilized conventional American English. Third, prior scholars have effectively utilized it in originalist research.

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).
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.  

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, 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.

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. The stable was: (1) Christianity, (2) monotheism, (3) the 2002 definition of religion, (4) theism, (5) non-theistic belief systems, 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.
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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. 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. Indeed, the first thirty-eight words in the list were likely irrelevant. 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.

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, is, 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.\textsuperscript{75} The initial collocated words were again irrelevant,\textsuperscript{76} and most of the relevant words suggested a theistic conception of religion. These included: \textit{christian} (appearing 221 times), \textit{protestant} (101 times), \textit{catholic} (70), \textit{piety} (56), \textit{god} (56), \textit{dictates} (56), \textit{roman} (55), and \textit{holy} (48).\textsuperscript{77}

The two-words-before-and-after collocation displayed a similar pattern.\textsuperscript{78} After a number of irrelevant words,\textsuperscript{79} the relevant words consisted of \textit{christian} (211 times), \textit{protestant} (83 times), \textit{catholic} (65), \textit{roman} (46), \textit{piety} (40), and \textit{holy} (38).

Each collocation also contained words that, depending on their usage in context, may have suggested a non-theistic meaning of religion. \textit{Morality}, for instance, can have\textsuperscript{80} and has had\textsuperscript{81} 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 \textit{morality} appeared 243 times, \textit{virtue} occurred on 171 occasions, \textit{morals} 122 times, and there were 59 instances of \textit{philosophy}.\textsuperscript{82} The five-before-and-five-after collocation produced similar collocations,\textsuperscript{83} as did the two-before-and-after collocation.\textsuperscript{84}

The overall collocation results suggested that religion was a theistic concept, but the collocation of terms with possible non-
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. 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.” This concordance line suggests that religion and morality are related by religion’s capacity to push people to act

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.” Yet another source suggested that both religion and *morality* have the capacity to make society more prosperous. Religion and *morality* are both “system[s]” created by “imperfect beings,” according to another source.

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.” Similarly, another source identified a sociological list of subjects of investigation that identified religion and *morals* separately. Some concordance lines described other types of relationships between religion and *morality*.

A research assistant evaluated the KWIC document and identified into which category (from the stable of conventions listed above) 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 and a log-likelihood score. 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. Other words, in descending order of score, included: undefiled at 3.76, revealed at 3.66, chrissian at 3.5, protestant at 3.5, revealed at 3.47, scriptural at 3.39, christian at 3.38, romish at 3.35, christian at 3.17, and christian at 3.04. 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.

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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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.100

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.101

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.102 Two words with potentially non-theistic connotations also appeared: *natural* appeared 6 times and *metaphysical* 5 times.103

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.104

The three research assistants identified an average of 1335 instances of religion.105 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

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*. 1702
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.  

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.

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. 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.

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

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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. 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).

This quantity of irrelevant words is especially pronounced when one considers that the first clearly relevant collocation was christian with 247 uses.

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

110. Id.
evaluate; the last class of unclear collocates presented challenges. For instance, *morality* collocated 243 times. Id. 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. Id. 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)

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| too 23 | though 17 |
| society 23 | professed 17 |
| christ 23 | insult 17 |
| sentiments 23 | see 17 |
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| like 22 | words 17 |
| habits 22 | christian 17 |
| false 22 | lives 17 |
| common 22 | themselves 17 |
| congress 21 | up 17 |
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| ever 21 | sense 17 |
| while 21 | out 16 |
| obligations 21 | benevolence 16 |
| means 21 | sect 16 |
| precepts 20 | form 16 |
| mahometan 20 | universal 16 |
| between 20 | mr 16 |
| mind 20 | another 16 |
| either 20 | human 16 |
| contrary 20 | could 16 |
| wisdom 19 | trade 16 |
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| belief 19 | maintain 16 |
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| generally 19 | matter 15 |
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| opinion 19 | favour 15 |
| love 19 | conduct 15 |
| undefiled 19 | blessed 15 |
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| before 18 | whole 15 |
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| specially 14 | long 14 |
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The Original Meaning of “religion” in the First Amendment

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The Original Meaning of “religion” in the First Amendment

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

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The Original Meaning of “religion” in the First Amendment

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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
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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 undefiled 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 |
### 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
3 religion which he both professes
3 religion teacheth him in all
3 religion teacheth him that no
3 religion than for the other
3 religion require it should be
3 religion require us to educate
3 religion revealed in the word
3 religion only to such persons
3 religion of the country and
3 religion of our blessed redeemer
3 religion of our own country
3 religion of this lower world
3 religion you are no strangers
2 religion with the pious emlene
2 religion yet i conceive it
2 religion would not suffer them
2 religion will for the future
2 religion will not willingly bid
2 religion will prejudice you against
2 religion of the white inhabitants
2 religion of which she is
2 religion of this country requires
2 religion of your own country
2 religion of the majority of
2 religion of a country by
2 religion of the protestant cantons
2 religion of the country obliges
2 religion of the gospel a
2 religion or systems of faith
2 religion or virtue remains among
2 religion ought forever to enjoy
2 religion ought not to be
2 religion opposing and baffeling so
2 religion or addicted to idolatry
2 religion seems to be periodical
2 religion reassumes its original
genius
2 religion quench's the unwilling flame
2 religion pose for my civil
2 religion our sons look a
2 religion out of the dictates
2 religion professed in those countries
2 religion than in all the
2 religion than in your philosophy
2 religion than you really have
2 religion only can receive consolation
2 religion that ever desolated the
The Original Meaning of “religion” in the First Amendment

2 religion has been a source
2 religion has happily nothing to
2 religion itself there is nothing
2 religion language customs and some
2 religion may be in danger
2 religion not as a state
2 religion n'aît pas excite de
2 religion must tend to solemnize
2 religion manners laws habits and
2 religion morality you have with

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

15 the religion of the country
12 of religion according to the
8 indeed religion is kindled into
8 that religion or the duty
6 the religion of jesus christ
6 the religion of the church
6 of religion was helpful to
6 mahometan religion was tolerated in
6 of religion and devotion on
6 of religion and good morals
6 of religion are the only
6 of religion as well as
6 and religion ought to lay
6 catholic religion and civil slavery
5 catholic religion in the province
5 christian religion is that it
5 christian religion offer to excite
5 concerning religion and the
government
5 dominant religion in this city
5 dominant religion is the lutheran
5 employ religion as an engine
5 a religion founded upon humanity
5 a religion not invented by
5 a religion which enervates the
5 a religion whose main object
5 natural religion and his text
5 metaphysical religion a matter of
5 his religion with the same
5 in religion do not bend
5 his religion according to the

5 his religion to recommend the
5 if religion be exempt from
5 if religion be not within
5 in religion and to our
5 of religion which by professing
5 protestant religion as in most
5 of religion is generally professed
5 that religion is wholly exempt
5 that religion is going to
5 that religion is to be
5 that religion whose first principle
5 the religion of the state
5 the religion then of every
5 the religion which we believe
5 their religion while i am
5 this religion i wonder what
5 this religion a pious confidence
5 this religion both existed and
4 very religion it is meant
4 what religion and law he
4 their religion according to the
4 the religion and government of
4 the religion and liberties of
4 that religion do not flourish
4 of religion is said to
4 of religion to be introduced
4 or religion they might be
4 one religion and leaving it
4 one religion must be established
4 is religion and morality alone
4 of religion in their own

1733
4 because religion and morality dictate
3 exempts religion from the cognizance
3 fathers religion must of course
3 established religion of that country
3 every religion that reveals the
3 christian religion require it should
3 christian religion to be true
3 catholic religion is better than
3 blessed religion revealed in the
3 because religion has much to
3 and religion of your country
3 and religion you are no
3 and religion require us to
3 and religion of this lower
3 and religion of our own
3 and religion go hand in
3 a religion against which they
3 a religion in the world
3 a religion that has deluged
3 a religion that should never
3 of religion in humanizing mankind
3 of religion in all cases
3 no religion is so perfect
3 no religion shall be established
3 national religion established by law
3 no religion but their priests
3 of religion and a full
3 of religion and government have
3 his religion teacheth him in
3 his religion teacheth him that
3 his religion in the world
3 for religion than for the
3 our religion has taught us
3 of religion to them and
3 of religion to be reasonable
3 of religion ought not to
3 protestant religion in all europe
3 romish religion only to such
3 the religion i mean to
3 the religion of a country
3 the religion of america as
3 that religion which he both
3 that religion is not necessary
3 that religion should be secure
3 their religion but not to
3 their religion by the administrations
3 the religion of the people
3 the religion of the gospel
3 true religion is too modest
3 traduce religion under the name
3 true religion is neither the
3 to religion from that which
3 upon religion as the most
3 which religion obliges us to
3 with religion has produced amongst
3 will religion the only remaining
3 with religion yet i conceive
3 without religion in my estimation
3 without religion we may possibly
3 your religion or your policy
3 your religion than in your
3 which religion only can afford
3 what religion was until his
3 when religion began to revive
3 to religion of the protestant
3 to religion a moderate stock
3 to religion were rather loose
3 to religion and good morals
3 true religion is nothing else
3 to religion can not help
3 true religion is adapted to
3 true religion and virtue shine
3 true religion and civil liberty
3 true religion and internal principles
3 the religion of the majority
3 the religion of the nation
3 the religion of the white
3 the religion of which she
3 the religion of your own
3 their religion is like the
3 their religion was aimed at
3 their religion would not suffer
3 then religion thy force can
3 there religion and government mar
3 the religion professed in those
3 their religion and liberties by
3 the religion of this country
3 their religion as well as
3 that religion may be in
3 that religion is not a
3 that religion than in all
3 that religion was only made
3 that religion which god commanded
3 of religion is or ever
3 that religion who may be
3 the religion and morality of
The Original Meaning of “religion” in the First Amendment

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

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

15 of the religion of the
13 exercise of religion according to
12 on the religion of others
9 principles in religion and government
8 when indeed religion is kindled
7 principles of religion and philanthropy
6 principles in religion or government
6 point of religion of it
6 precepts of religion or philosophy
6 roman catholic religion and civil
6 subject of religion and devotion
6 the mahometan religion was tolerated
6 for his religion teacheth him
6 and undefiled religion of jesus
6 any national religion be established
6 conscience and religion ought to
6 consolations of religion are the
5 call this religion i wonder
5 deering concerning religion and the
5 dictates of religion and honour
5 duties of religion and morality
5 encourage true religion and virtue
5 because if religion be exempt
5 and that religion is wholly
5 a la religion de l’autre
5 against their religion while i
5 and a religion founded upon
5 a religion which enervates
5 for a religion not invented
5 had the religion never appeared
5 interest in religion and to
5 matters of religion and a
5 may employ religion as an
5 of his religion according to
5 of his religion to recommend
5 of his religion with the
observe the religion which we
the dominant religion in this
the dominant religion is the
the protestant religion as in
that this religion both existed
the christian religion is that
the christian religion is undoubtedly
the christian religion offer to
to a religion whose main
was natural religion and his
shew of religion was helpful
supposition that religion is going
system of religion is generally
system of religion which by
roman catholic religion in the
roman catholic religion is dominant
profess this religion a pious
protector of religion and liberty
opinions in religion do not
ordinances of religion as well
of true religion and virtue
proportion of religion and morality
power over religion would remain
preserved their religion and morals
says that religion do not
uniformity of religion to be
those of religion and morality
which exempts religion from the
that very religion it is
that one religion must be
the christian religion to be
of one religion and leaving
nation or religion they might
it is religion and morality
intermeddle with religion has
produced
have what religion and law
expense of religion and good
friends of religion and humanity
freedom of religion is said
and the religion of the
both in religion and politics
both in religion and government
but the religion i mean
cause of religion and virtue
country a religion that has
decency and religion you are
declaring that religion should be
3 defence of religion and liberty
3 disseminate his religion in the
3 be the religion of the
3 being the religion of america
3 advancement of religion and learning
3 government and religion of our
3 government and religion of quebec
3 freedom of religion in all
3 expressly that religion is not
3 exercise of religion in their
3 for every religion that reveals
3 far as religion is concerned
3 have no religion but their
3 insult the religion of others
3 in their religion but not
3 influence of religion and government
3 laws and religion of this
3 is the religion of jesus
3 liberty and religion of your
3 look upon religion as the
3 matters of religion no man
3 no national religion established by
3 of a religion that is
3 of our religion has taught
3 of all religion and morality
3 the established religion of that
3 the established religion of the
3 the protestant religion in all
3 the roman religion only to
3 them their religion and properties
3 that the religion of the
3 that true religion is neither
3 the blessed religion revealed in
3 the christian religion require it
3 the christian religion is the
3 to the religion of the
3 when a religion is good
3 those of religion in humanizing
3 those of religion and freedom
3 to that religion which he
3 to the religion and government
3 to their religion and clergy
3 tolerate a religion against which
3 sentiments in religion and politics
3 sentiments in religion were not
3 system of religion and politics
3 revolution in religion and government
3 roman catholic religion is better
The Original Meaning of “religion” in the First Amendment

3 sake of religion and liberty
3 restraint of religion and of
3 renounce the religion and liberties
3 respect to religion from that
3 reason and religion require us
3 reformation in religion or morals
3 pretentions of religion and honesty
3 practice of religion and virtue
3 plant a religion in the
3 propagating any religion by conquest
3 of their religion by the
3 of the religion of a
3 ordinances of religion to them
3 our fathers religion must of
2 our holy religion and the
2 patriot without religion in my
2 ou la religion n’aït pas
2 one common religion as protestants
2 or that religion is not
2 of that religion who may
2 of some religion for the
2 of the religion professed in
2 of the religion which they
2 of their religion and governments
2 of their religion was aimed
2 offence against religion morals
   decency
2 professing the religion of the
2 quarrelled about religion and politics
2 processing the religion of the
2 profess that religion than in
2 pretend to religion can not
2 principles of religion and morality
2 principles of religion instilled into
2 principles of religion or systems
2 poems of religion and society
2 overthrow of religion and government
2 have less religion than you
2 our common religion as protestants
2 our holy religion which commands
2 politics or religion which i
2 principals of religion and morality
2 reformation of religion is or
2 que la religion grecque commença
2 reason and religion can carry
2 regard to religion were rather
2 relationship between religion and
   politics
2 relationship of religion to politics
2 reputation of religion in general
2 regard for religion or virtue
2 propagate his religion by temporal
2 reverence for religion should so
2 sanctuaries of religion are some
2 roman catholic religion was even
2 science and religion dispersed in
2 seat of religion in man
2 spirit of religion and piety
2 teachers of religion and morals
2 than upon religion or philosophy
2 that both religion and the
2 that his religion was a
2 that holy religion which we
2 sentiments of religion which teach
2 seek my religion out of
2 sense of religion and honour
2 sense of religion will not
2 roman catholic religion within this
2 sentiments in religion among its
2 similarity of religion is a
2 virtue and religion in him
2 to the religion he profess
2 to a religion which teaches
2 to that religion and government
2 they consider religion not as
2 to its religion by the
2 when true religion and internal
2 which natural religion was offered
2 where stern religion quench’es the
2 whom the religion of the
2 whose government religion and
   manners
2 which reason religion and philosophy
2 which true religion is adapted
2 whole of religion and morality
2 would my religion pose for
2 zcal for religion and that
2 the christian religion and a
2 the christian religion and in
2 the christian religion in this
2 the christian religion ought forever
2 the benevolent religion of our
2 the christian religion and stop
2 the christian religion and that
2 the christian religion by their
2 supporting the religion of the
that the religion of this
them to religion and virtue
the same religion and government
the same religion language customs
the same religion manners laws
the same religion with the
the romish religion and a
the romish religion must tend
the protestant religion by their
the quaker religion and possessing
the philosophical religion gives no
the philosophical religion of infidelity
the peaceful religion of jesus
the protestant religion and of
the protestant religion and the
the established religion of this
the christian religion never can
the mahometan religion and
obedience
of our religion frequently inculcates
of our religion give to
object of religion being god
obligations of religion and morality
obligations of religion or morality
matters of religion shall not
matters of religion which we
nothing of religion nor morals
notions of religion may be
necessity of religion to public
motive of religion and virtue
mantle of religion covers a
massacres of religion that ever
matter of religion especially without
language and religion will for
like the religion in old
men make religion the stalking
ministers of religion to meet
morality and religion must be
jealousy that religion may be
knew what religion was until
knowledge of religion and civil
heroes of religion had the
his favourite religion and government
in london religion seems to
in your religion than in
instructions in religion and morality
instructors in religion and morals
interests of religion and learning
intolerance in religion 4 weakness
he attacked religion because it
grimace and religion upon a
exercise his religion in his
had no religion nor government
has no religion at all
has on religion and manners
has the religion of nations
his own religion in his
if our religion were gone
extinguish the religion of the
first the religion of your
exercise their religion according to
either in religion or politics
espec de religion etait inconnue
freedom of religion is extremely
for our religion any more
freedom of religion of speech
for the religion of jesus
for the religion of our
foundation of religion is the
god that religion and benevolence
a better religion a better
a better religion and government
abuses in religion and government
1 because religion and morality
and beneficent religion of the
all our religion in our
all the religion and morality
and false religion are withheld
and general religion in all
and in religion itself there
and of religion opposing and
and protestant religion among his
besides as religion in its
be his religion or his
because their religion would not
as the religion of north
as a religion that is
as christian religion should increase
as to religion a moderate
attention to religion and good
and the religion of which
and true religion were unknown
appearance of religion in any
america true religion and civil
and our religion for their
and their religion according to
The Original Meaning of “religion” in the First Amendment

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

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1 even ridiculing religion they will
1 events that religion and learning
1 evidences of religion and is
1 example recommend religion to those
1 except the religion of nature
1 exclusively the religion of the
1 exercise the religion they possess
1 establish a religion fraught with
1 establish a religion to which
1 establish the religion which they
1 establishment in religion by human
1 establishment of religion by human
1 establishment of religion in the
1 establishment of religion or
prohibiting
1 embrace that religion which is
1 eminence for religion and literature
1 en chaque religion il y
1 e hd religion of that
1 e labishment of religion by the
1 education and religion in the
1 etablıth a religion where there
1 enthusiastic in religion and liberty
1 ercife of religion should be
1 esla blied religion with a
1 endeavours that religion may be
1 enemies of religion more advantage
1 enough of religion of any
1 enthusiasm in religion lately revived
1 destroy all religion and liberty
1 destroyers of religion and government
1 destruction of religion and
encouragement
1 determine the religion it would
1 detrimental to religion and to
1 devoted to religion were used
1 dictate of religion and reason
1 defend their religion and liberties
1 defy all religion but that
1 denominate a religion to be
1 denomination of religion and another
1 denomination of religion the tenets
1 dictates of religion and humanity
1 did not religion receive a
1 difference between religion sinking
and
1 difference of religion in individuals
1 difference of religion is a

1 difference of religion is not
1 difference of religion ought not
1 difference of religion was not
1 difference of religion and of
1 difference of religion diverting them
1 difference in religion and government
1 difference in religion is not
1 do with religion in their
1 does the religion of christ
1 done both religion and virtue
1 down your religion pure and
1 drawn from religion and the
1 drunk with religion or with
1 disturbances that religion might
occallon
1 distinguish the religion he means
1 and true religion be the
1 and true religion go hand
1 and true religion to be
1 and their religion and country
1 and their religion countenances the
1 and this religion contained not
1 and overturn religion and liberty
1 and overturning religion and liberty
1 and peaceful religion they profess
1 and perfect religion has lent
1 and perfect religion of the
1 analogy of religion and of
1 and that religion left to
1 and the religion of a
1 ark of religion by human
1 article about religion is most
1 article of religion is deemed
1 article of religion so far
1 as a religion but as
1 and undefined religion benevolence
and
1 and the religion which they
1 and undermine religion has been
1 and undissembled religion may spread
1 and vital religion will be
1 and well-endowed religion frequently
become
1 and whose religion hath ever
1 ano there religion have a
1 any certain religion to conform
1 authority of religion would
recommend
The Original Meaning of “religion” in the First Amendment

1 basis of religion and virtue
1 be his religion or descent
1 as to religion and adds
1 as to religion as to
1 assessment for religion is also
1 assistance of religion and chiefly
1 attachment to religion and liberty
1 attacks the religion that persecuted
1 as if religion were intended
1 as in religion to desert
1 as of religion and literature
1 as the religion of the
1 as the religion which is
1 any other religion besides the
1 become the religion of the
1 being of religion among us
1 be no religion of divine
1 became the religion of rome
1 between bible religion and state
1 between the religion they see
1 blessings of religion and civilization
1 boasting its religion and morality
1 bodies the religion of jesus
1 bosoms that religion which would
1 believing what religion he pleases
1 believes no religion will take
1 benefit of religion in the
1 and pure religion do better
1 and pure religion may universally
1 and puts religion in danger
1 and revealed religion always speak
1 and scriptural religion full justice
1 and seek religion in the
1 and sometimes religion into politics
1 and state religion i shall
1 and strange religion etcetera probleme
1 and on religion but with
1 and our religion and country
1 and our religion are dearer
1 and mild religion from above
1 and mild religion lead thee
1 and my religion is to
1 and of religion are found
1 and in religion come to
1 and in religion have gone
1 altar of religion and liberty
1 all the religion and governments
1 and established religion consist in
1 from the religion established by
1 from the religion of those
1 from the religion originally professed
1 fuljca of religion is this
1 glory of religion to prevent
1 glory on religion and liberty
1 god and religion within us
1 foundations of religion and virtue
1 fountains of religion and morality
1 trained the religion of jefus
1 for the religion or modes
1 forbid that religion should receive
1 fornty of religion became necessary
1 freedom of religion or property
1 friend of religion and morals
1 friend of religion from pure
1 friends of religion among us
1 for propagating religion in foreign
1 for the religion of a
1 especially our religion and such
1 especially to religion and politics
1 essence of religion and the
1 either of religion or government
1 exercise of religion contrary to
1 exercise of religion hath stocked
1 exercise their religion without
  molestation
1 exercised of religion in their
1 extend their religion over the
1 exercise of religion should be
1 exercise of religion unto the
1 exercise of religion was allowed
1 fiers of religion of every
1 followed the religion of the
1 for in religion nobody cao
1 for no religion at all
1 for no religion or property
1 f his religion in a
1 f his religion within his
1 f of religion 546 105
1 fabrics of religion and government
1 fait de religion fait complettement
1 far as religion is connected
1 fatal to religion and morality
1 favor of religion or against
1 favour of religion and virtue
1 fears of religion have a
1 fct all religion at variance

1 importance of religion and good
1 importance of religion should be
1 importance of religion to civil
1 importance of religion to the
1 impose a religion upon us
1 in a religion the pure
1 in every religion except the
1 in external religion and its
1 in his religion and in
1 in invading religion and liberty
1 holy religion flourifli in
1 hopes of religion support the
1 horse of religion may yet
1 however when religion has been
1 humanity and religion are concerned
1 hurt to religion but i
1 idea of religion and virtue
1 idea that religion was essential
1 itty and religion have an
1 if our religion is given
1 have a religion established by
1 guardian of religion and good
1 heard more religion talked and
1 here of religion only as
1 have no religion left among
1 have no religion themselves to
1 have their religion as well
1 intollerance in religion and
  government
1 intrude into religion any thing
1 is a religion eftablithed by
1 is no religion different from
1 interests of religion and of
1 into the religion of our
1 infidelity in religion and democracy
1 integrity and religion has done
1 interests and religion bid fair
1 interests of religion and for
1 in the religion of their
1 in their religion and manners
1 his own religion as he
1 his favorite religion and government
1 has added religion to the
1 influence of religion on government
1 influence of religion on the
1 influence of religion upon the
1 ing a religion which recommends
1 institutions of religion have been
The Original Meaning of “religion” in the First Amendment

1 institutions of religion or charity
1 in their religion there was
1 in their religion without attachment
1 in whatever religion are pleasing
1 in which religion and education
1 in which religion robes the
1 la seule religion utile et
1 its own religion without molestation
1 learning and religion has been
1 learning and religion have been
1 leparation between religion and civil
1 lessons of religion and morality
1 let their religion be wjliat
1 liberty and religion may universally
1 kind of religion is equally
1 kinds of religion came much
1 kings overturning religion and liberty
1 is the religion of many
1 is the religion of the
1 it > religion is the
1 love my religion and am
1 love to religion and the
1 love to religion in the
1 love with religion and virtue
1 maintain a religion opposed to
1 maintain the religion of the
1 maintain their religion by force
1 maintaining family religion and
attending
1 manners in religion and politics
1 liberty and religion that this
1 liberty and religion to our
1 liberty and religion would meet
1 liberty and religion you melt
1 liberty in religion is secured
1 liberty of religion and the
1 liberty of religion is in
1 morality and religion will be
1 morality and religion would forbid
1 morality or religion to suffer
1 morals and religion which adds
1 morals or religion of the
1 ministers of religion to op
1 ministers of religion to subsist
1 ministers of religion undertake to
1 mixed with religion that is
1 morality and religion are too
1 men of religion and conscience
1 ment of religion 1z6 x3
1 ment of religion or learning
1 mention of religion first parigraph
1 ministers of religion are placed
1 ministers of religion are under
1 ministers of religion by withholding
1 ministers of religion subjct to
1 ministers of religion t2 z4
1 look for religion in the
1 laws and religion of the
1 matters of religion and that
1 matters of religion essential to
1 matters of religion is useful
1 matters of religion or the
1 matters of religion ought not
1 may that religion to which
1 means of religion and virtue
1 measures about religion also tend
1 meddle with religion further than
1 motives of religion actuate many
1 motives of religion call us
1 much of religion ought to
1 n’ai ni religion ni patrie
1 n’est qu’une religion et une
1 names of religion and patriotism
1 nation and religion of the
1 necessity of religion to the
1 neither the religion of nature
1 never dishonours religion either by
1 new-fangled in religion will be
1 nation where religion is insulted
1 national established religion a
prerequisite
1 nct’tes the religion of the
1 nught but religion is sincere
1 matters of religion will hardly
1 no national religion shall be
1 no other religion than the
1 no other religion than what
1 not a religion that relaxes
1 not la religion des souverains
1 notes on religion j mss
1 obligations of religion pointed out
1 obligations to religion are interwoven
1 obligations of religion flow from
1 of a religion which enforces
1 the christian religion denies the
1 the christian religion has been
the christian religion holds out
the christian religion in and
the christian religion in danger
the christian religion in promoting
the christian religion been left
the christian religion by confining
the christian religion by law
the benevolent religion of the
the best religion in the
the best religion under heaven
the best religion would have
the christian religion prevail during
the christian religion properly address
the christian religion shall be
the christian religion that many
the christian religion on their
the christian religion itself has
the christian religion inculcating its
the christian religion is a
the christian religion is his
the christian religion is only
the christian religion and no
zeal for religion to disturb
yet no religion eilabilitied by
whole of religion was saved
who consider religion and virtue
who overturn religion and liberty
which true religion and sound
will injure religion and the
wisdom and religion i fancy
with great religion and purity
with his religion on his
with the religion of christ
with their religion all moral
would a religion from god
where that religion has not
where the religion of the
where the religion the manners
whereas their religion is no
which our religion inculcates and
which our religion is founded
whenever any religion or profession
when this religion was eilabilitied
when a religion is perfeeted
1 to the religion of their
1 to the religion of the
1 to maintain religion in our
1 to neglect religion in the
1 to preserve religion he ought
1 to propagate religion by arms
1 to secure religion itself as
1 to see religion separated from
1 to serious religion and extremely
1 to subvert religion or morality
1 they draw religion into the
1 of a religion which they
1 of a religion whose ruling
1 of our religion has not
1 of a religion in already
1 of a religion tend to
1 of our religion not to
1 of our religion would not
1 of pure religion and true
1 of revealed religion are part
1 of our religion and his
1 of our religion and ministry
1 of our religion forbids us
1 of making religion an engine
1 of mingling religion with politics
1 of natural religion and morality
1 of all religion and virtue
1 of all religion in the
1 of any religion in disturbing
1 of establishing religion to congress
1 of every religion in pensilvania
1 of extending religion and knowledge
1 of extending religion by the
1 of having religion established by
1 of his religion and for
1 of his religion and his
1 of his religion are concerned
1 of his religion depend upon
1 of his religion or mode
1 of his religion so as
1 of his religion to love
1 the new religion in which
1 the papist religion be ever
1 the fame religion as hitnelf
1 the holy religion of jesus
1 the christian religion were his
1 the christian religion which they
1 the christian religion will admit
1 the christian religion without regard
1 the christian religion your pole
1 the dreary religion of moha
1 the eilabilitied religion from being
The Original Meaning of "religion" in the First Amendment

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

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

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

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

| 2 heresy and false religion are |
| 2 honor and our religion for |
| 2 in america true religion and |
| 2 in defence of religion and |
| 2 honour to the religion he |
| 2 gentleman of that religion who |
| 2 general science and religion dispersed |
| 2 habit language and religion will |
| 2 handicaps would my religion pose |
| 2 gospel and true religion were |
| 2 government and every religion has |
| 2 government and of religion opposing |
| 2 great cause of religion and |
| 2 great object of religion being |
| 2 and to a religion which |
| 2 and quarrelled about religion and |
| 2 and essence of religion consists |
| 2 adorn the protestant religion by |
| 2 and consolations which religion only |
| 2 and despiser of religion he |
| 2 author of our religion frequently |
| 2 author of our religion give |
| 2 attachment to the religion and |

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

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

6 greater influence on the religion
6 had originally relation to religion
6 he promises to patronize religion
6 as most sects in religion
6 author of our blessed religion
6 be of the christian religion
6 a power to regulate religion
6 for the purposes of religion
6 establishment of the mahometan religion
6 establishing the roman catholic religion
6 can be separated from religion
6 conscience in matters of religion
6 continually crying down the religion
6 deacon soon clashed upon religion
6 the introduction of this religion
6 the public ordinances of religion
6 them by precepts of religion
6 that the roman catholic religion
6 the barber says that religion
6 the author of his religion
6 see any sect of religion
6 principles of the christian religion
6 when the cause of religion
6 wherever the roman catholic religion
6 upon the effects of religion
5 zealous attachment to their religion
5 progress of the christian religion
5 raised against the christian religion
5 sir edward deering concerning religion
5 she should have added religion
5 the congregational interest in religion
5 that the shew of religion
5 the abstruse points of religion
5 the enjoyment of his religion
5 that he may employ religion
5 that in matters of religion
5 the subject was natural religion
5 the opposite interests of religion
5 those who profess this religion
5 those whose opinions in religion
5 countenance and encourage true religion
5 during the change of religion
5 duties of morality and religion
5 contradiction to the christian religion
5 ceremony of the romish religion
5 favour of roman catholic religion
5 a liberal system of religion
5 a proper zeal for religion
5 a means of supporting religion
5 and deluded by their religion
5 and not to a religion
5 be of the protestant religion
5 at the expense of religion
5 any thing against their religion
5 and settled dictates of religion
5 and to observe the religion
5 had a system of religion
5 great author of our religion
5 guardian and protector of religion
5 inducements does the christian religion
5 in the roman catholic religion
5 in the exercise of religion
5 if they call this religion
5 laws to intermeddle with religion
5 is called the protestant religion
5 is known that this religion
5 most distant connection with religion
5 much as that of religion
5 liberty and the protestant religion
5 ne’er devout before espouse religion
5 of the supposition that religion
5 of their liberty and religion
5 of those mysteries in religion
5 of every nation and religion
5 on account of his religion
5 partiality against the christian religion
4 plan itself which exempts religion
4 precepts of our holy religion
4 press and freedom of religion
4 my veneration for every religion
4 most sacred office of religion
4 it will secure your religion
4 in defence of the religion
4 he might have what religion
4 great a proportion of religion
4 holy author of our religion
4 and profess the protestant religion
4 and reciprocal influence of religion
4 belief in the christian religion
4 belief in the christian religion
4 by an institution of religion
4 and have preserved their religion
4 expressly to congress over religion
4 encouragement of the protestant religion
4 for different opinions concerning religion
4 changing the government and religion
4 can be maintained without religion
4 divine author of our religion
4 there be no national religion
4 to the cause of religion
4 universal opinion that one religion
4 total a dissimilarity of religion
4 the ministers of one religion
4 sophisms for freedom of religion
4 than against those of religion
4 spirit of the christian religion
4 the exercise of their religion
4 that with a better religion
4 received and divinely authoritative religion
4 principles of reason and religion
4 principles of that very religion
4 you have the same religion
4 will produce that of religion
4 uniformity of laws and religion
4 will never meddle with religion
4 who maintain expressly that religion
4 were the guardians of religion
4 whatever may be his religion
4 without some form of religion
4 zeal of the congregational religion
4 rather than renounce the religion
4 should not establish a religion
4 secured to them their religion
4 shall inquire into their religion
4 shall not insult the religion
4 shall stipulate freedom of religion
4 so friendly to their religion
3 so much to secure religion
3 that i look upon religion
3 some public exercises of religion
3 spirit of propagating any religion
3 the obvious dictates of religion
3 the founder of their religion
3 the introduction of a religion
3 the laws liberty and religion
3 the support of any religion
3 the truth either in religion
3 the reformation and protestant religion
3 them revere nothing but religion
3 the utmost freedom of religion
3 the triumphant system of religion
3 to those principles in religion
3 to the spirit of religion
3 to manage the established religion
3 to the friends of religion
3 to the interest of religion
3 to the preservation of religion
3 undisturbed exercise of their religion
3 utter subversion of all religion
3 to continue in their religion
3 they might enjoy their religion
3 they pretend to much religion
3 thing relating to their religion
3 thing to do with religion
3 this place is the religion
3 to be laid in religion
3 does honour to that religion
3 education with respect to religion
3 either for or against religion
3 defiance of decency and religion
3 design as the christian religion
3 by the influence of religion
3 constitution to establish a religion
3 colonies have differed in religion