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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.
I. Introduction

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

1. U.S. Const. amend. I.
II. CORPUS LINGUISTICS AND ORIGINALISM

Corpus linguistics is the study of word-use regularities and patterns, primarily in written texts. 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

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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

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

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

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

14. The significant cases include *Late Corp. of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints v. United States*, 136 U.S. 1 (1890); *Davis v. Beason*, 133 U.S. 333 (1890); and *Reynolds v. United States*, 98 U.S. 145, 162–63 (1878).
Court began its analysis by stating that “[t]he word ‘religion’ is not defined in the Constitution. We must go elsewhere, therefore, to ascertain its meaning, and nowhere more appropriately, we think, than to the history of the times in the midst of which the provision was adopted.” 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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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
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.\textsuperscript{29} 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.\textsuperscript{30} Similarly, scholars argued that a theistic definition of religion would be unfair to meaningfully analogous but non-theistic belief systems.\textsuperscript{31} Non-theistic strains of Buddhism were given as examples.\textsuperscript{32} A related and frequently given reason is that the Establishment Clause prohibits a theistic definition of religion because it proscribes privileging religion over “nonreligion."\textsuperscript{33}

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


\textsuperscript{32} See JAMES BOYD WHITE, \textit{FROM EXPECTATION TO EXPERIENCE} 138 (1999).

\textsuperscript{33} See Sharon L. Worthing, "Religion" and "Religious Institutions" Under the First Amendment, 7 PEPP. L. REV. 313, 345–46 (1979); see also Scott C. Idleman, \textit{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.

\textsuperscript{34} See Choper, supra note 22, at 599–601.

\textsuperscript{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, \textit{BUDDHISM—A NON-THEISTIC RELIGION} 15 (George Braziller ed., Irmgard Schloegl trans., 1970) (1954) (“Buddhism believes in the existence of a great number of impermanent gods (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.”).

\textsuperscript{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. 37

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. 38 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. 39 (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.

\(^{42}\) 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.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.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.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.

51. Id.
52. Id.
My research in COFEA was facilitated by Mr. Wayne Schneider, who assisted with construction of COFEA. Mr. Schneider, at my request, sent me the responses to different functions searching COFEA. We performed five different categories of searches. First, we created a series of n-grams 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

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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.\textsuperscript{62} 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,\textsuperscript{63} 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.\textsuperscript{64}

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.\textsuperscript{65} The stable was: (1) Christianity,\textsuperscript{66} (2) monotheism,\textsuperscript{67} (3) the 2002 definition of religion,\textsuperscript{68} (4) theism,\textsuperscript{69} (5) non-theistic belief systems,\textsuperscript{70} 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.

\textsuperscript{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).

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

\textsuperscript{64} Barnett, supra note 61, at 856–57.

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

\textsuperscript{66} This included references to Christianity in general or particular Christian sects.

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

\textsuperscript{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.

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

\textsuperscript{70} This included, but was not limited to, science and philosophy.
C. Findings

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

1. Corpus of Founding Era American English findings

   a. Collocation and key words in context. The three collocations for religion produced both relevant and irrelevant words. Irrelevant words included articles such as the, prepositions like to, and pronouns including their that did not bear on the conventional meaning of religion. 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. The initial collocated words were again irrelevant, and most of the relevant words suggested a theistic conception of religion. These included: christian (appearing 221 times), protestant (101 times), catholic (70), piety (56), god (56), dictates (56), roman (55), and holy (48).

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

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

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

75. Collocation 5 Before and 5 After Religion (Nov. 28, 2016) (on file with author).
76. The first twenty-two collocated words included: the, of, and, to, in a, is, that, their, us, or, be, it, which, for, by, not, our, with, I, and all. Id. Government was also included among these words. Id.
77. Id.
78. Collocation 2 Before and 2 After Religion (Nov. 11, 2016) (on file with author).
79. These irrelevant words were more interspersed among the relevant words than in the other collocations. Id. For instance, only the initial ten words were irrelevant, compared to twenty-two and thirty-eight in the other collocations.
80. See Samuel Johnson, Religion, A DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE 1670, 1671 (1755), http://johnsonsdictionaryonline.com/?p=6421 (“Religion or virtue, in a large sense, includes duty to God and our neighbour, but in a proper sense, virtue signifies duty towards men, and religion duty to God.”).
81. See id. (“If we consider it as directed against God, it is a breach of religion; if as to men, it is an offence against morality.”).
82. Collocation 9 Before and 9 After Religion (Nov. 28, 2016) (on file with author).
83. Morality collocated 222 times, virtue collocated 139 times, morals 102 times, and philosophy 52 occasions. Collocation 5 Before and 5 After Religion (Nov. 28, 2016) (on file with author).
84. Morality collocated 177 times, virtue 98, morals 57, and philosophy 32 times. Collocation 2 Before and 2 After Religion (Nov. 11, 2016) (on file with author).
theistic connotations left open the possibility that religion also had a non-theistic sense. For instance, if *morality* was non-theistic and was utilized conventionally with religion as a synonym, then that would be evidence that religion had a non-theistic sense. On the other hand, if *morality* was analogous to religion in some way—such as its effect on humans—and the sources utilized the terms in this manner—and not as synonyms—then that would not be evidence that religion was non-theistic.

To clarify whether the collocated words that possibly suggested a non-theistic conception of religion did in fact so suggest, I utilized KWIC to generate concordance lines. Concordance lines are lines of text in which the searched-for word is nestled. One may create a KWIC document that contains all the instances of the searched-for word, or a sampling of the instances. Because of the large number of concordance lines that COFEA would produce, I reviewed one thousand random concordance lines. 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

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85. 1000 Random Concordance Lines from COFEA (Nov. 30, 2016) (on file with author).
86. *Id.* at source 2136.
ethically. Another source identified both religion and *morality* as having “[d]uties.” 87 Yet another source suggested that both religion and *morality* have the capacity to make society more prosperous. 88 Religion and *morality* are both “system[s]” created by “imperfect beings,” according to another source. 89

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.” 90 Similarly, another source identified a sociological list of subjects of investigation that identified religion and *morals* separately. 91 Some concordance lines described other types of relationships between religion and *morality*. 92

A research assistant evaluated the KWIC document and identified into which category (from the stable of conventions listed above 93) 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

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, chrisian at 3.5, protestant at 3.5, revealed at 3.47, scriptural at 3.39, chrisian 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

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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{102} Two words with potentially non-theistic connotations also appeared: *natural* appeared 6 times and *metaphysical* 5 times.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{104}

The three research assistants identified an average of 1335 instances of religion.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{100} Id.

\textsuperscript{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).

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

\textsuperscript{103} Id.

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

\textsuperscript{105} There was a variation of seven instances between the least and most identified number of instances of religion. I believe this attributable to one research assistant mistakenly searching documents other than the *Pennsylvania Gazette*.
four, theistic belief systems; 1% in category five, non-theistic belief systems; and 25% in category six, unclear.

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

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.

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107. See, e.g., James 1:27 (Douay Rheims) (“Religion clean and undefiled before God and the Father, is this . . . .”).
Second, regarding evidence, corpus linguistics facilitated originalist research because the new evidence it offered will support and challenge existing scholarly claims regarding the original meaning, both of which are valuable additions to originalism. Over time, through scholarly application of corpus linguistics to the same questions, scholars will evaluate prior work and converge on a consensus.

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

C. Challenges of and Limits to Using Corpus Linguistics

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

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

On the other hand, COFEA did provide some evidence on components (2) and (3). For instance, a number of concordance lines
supported one or both components.\textsuperscript{108} 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).\textsuperscript{109} This quantity of irrelevant words is especially pronounced when one considers that the first clearly relevant collocation was christian with 247 uses.\textsuperscript{110}

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

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[108.] 1000 Random Concordance Lines from COFEA, at source 2128 (Nov. 30, 2016) ("My Opinion of the Duties of Religion and Morality . . . ").
\item[109.] Collocation 9 Before and 9 After Religion (Nov. 28, 2016) (on file with author).
\item[110.] Id.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
evaluate; the last class of unclear collocates presented challenges. For instance, *morality* collocated 243 times.\textsuperscript{111} 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.\textsuperscript{112} 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.

\textsuperscript{111} *Id.*

\textsuperscript{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.
The Original Meaning of “religion” in the First Amendment

Appendix

I. COLLOCATION

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

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

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

| Collocate Count | the 3426 of 3215 and 2436 to 1329 in 1042 a 751 is 648 of 3426 their 406 as 385 or 381 be 372 it 343 which 303 | that 614 for 297 by 286 government 267 not 252 our 251 with 238 i 224 | all 223 morality 222 this 222 christian 221 are 220 have 202 from 197 |
but 193
his 191
they 182
liberty 174
on 165
no 165
any 147
will 140
virtue 139
them 139
laws 138
ture 133
an 128
was 127
he 127
freedom 123
principles 119
every 119
has 117
exercise 113
free 111
may 109
upon 105
than 105
morals 102
protestant 101
against 97
if 97
there 89
politics 88
when 87
who 87
we 87
law 85
so 85
can 85
without 85
religion 84
manners 83
matters 83
country 80
had 79
man 79
great 79
language 78
been 78
shall 77
same 77
people 76
good 75
my 75
your 75
its 75
those 74
de 73
catholic 70
reason 68
us 68
should 66
you 66
well 66
only 65
would 64
what 64
some 64
most 61
at 61
nor 60
established 60
must 60
support 59
one 59
civil 59
system 58
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never 39
duty 39
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author 33
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ministers 32
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her 31
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account 31
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science 29
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teachers 27
itself 27
nature 26
different 26
order 26
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customs 26
professing 26
said 25
right 24
whatever 24
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church 24
part 24
article 24
friends 24
better 24
The Original Meaning of “religion” in the First Amendment

<p>| regard 24 | peace 18 | colonies 15 | similarity 12 |
| too 23 | promote 17 | character 15 | become 12 |
| society 23 | though 17 | mild 15 | sound 12 |
| christ 23 | professed 17 | best 15 | states 12 |
| sentiments 23 | insult 17 | indeed 15 | open 12 |
| neither 23 | see 17 | dominant 15 | religious 12 |
| like 22 | respect 17 | happiness 15 | bible 12 |
| habits 22 | words 17 | england 14 | friend 12 |
| false 22 | christian 17 | thus 14 | since 12 |
| common 22 | lives 17 | especially 14 | sir 12 |
| congress 21 | themselves 17 | long 14 | ideas 12 |
| might 21 | up 17 | secure 14 | relation 12 |
| ever 21 | consider 17 | particular 14 | undoubtedly 12 |
| while 21 | sense 17 | things 14 | necessary 12 |
| obligations 21 | out 16 | alone 14 | interfere 12 |
| means 21 | benevolence 16 | patriotism 14 | supporting 12 |
| precepts 20 | sect 16 | defence 14 | tolerated 12 |
| mahometan 20 | universal 16 | slavery 14 | thank 12 |
| between 20 | mr 16 | supported 14 | 3 12 |
| mind 20 | another 16 | prevent 14 | several 12 |
| either 20 | human 16 | greater 14 | produced 12 |
| contrary 20 | could 16 | within 14 | le 12 |
| wisdom 19 | trade 16 | sects 14 | france 11 |
| interest 19 | force 16 | moral 14 | taught 11 |
| reformation 19 | encourage 16 | uniformity 14 | consolations 11 |
| also 19 | former 16 | whom 14 | heaven 11 |
| belief 19 | maintain 16 | says 14 | brings 11 |
| give 19 | purposes 16 | essential 13 | clergy 11 |
| generally 19 | matter 15 | she 13 | done 11 |
| now 19 | founded 15 | attachment 13 | children 11 |
| each 19 | motive 15 | enthusiasm 13 | judge 11 |
| opinion 19 | favour 15 | whether 13 | flourish 11 |
| love 19 | conduct 15 | subjects 13 | war 11 |
| undefiled 19 | blessed 15 | expressly 13 | 4 11 |
| authority 19 | honor 15 | que 13 | rather 11 |
| point 18 | rational 15 | denomination 13 | receive 11 |
| interests 18 | etcetera 15 | security 13 | lutheran 11 |
| commerce 18 | private 15 | foundation 13 | wish 11 |
| here 18 | mankind 15 | perfect 13 | devotion 11 |
| concerning 18 | united 15 | et 13 | moreover 11 |
| toleration 18 | hand 15 | place 13 | recommend 11 |
| speech 18 | far 15 | exempt 13 | enjoin 11 |
| relating 18 | above 15 | blood 13 | social 11 |
| life 18 | constitution 15 | down 13 | enjoyment 11 |
| importance 18 | times 15 | unless 13 | find 11 |
| enjoy 18 | called 15 | philosophical 12 | kind 11 |
| before 18 | whole 15 | purity 12 | act 11 |
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countrymen | benefit | unite | 5 |
| fell | enervates | city | 5 |
| immediately | required | promotion | 5 |
| circumstances | opposite | illiberal | 5 |
| introduce | attending | recover | 5 |
| able | aera | contradiction | 5 |
| jury | thought | partiality | 5 |
| confidence | rings | second | 5 |
| manner | colony | expense | 5 |
| violated | commanded | efusions | 5 |
| exercises | ourselves | distant | 5 |
| flow | persecerion | bell | 5 |
| experience | 5 | view | 5 |
| weakness | 5 | expected | 5 |
| carry | b 5 | doing | 5 |
| guarded | flatly | 5 | 5 |
| alike | american | enemies | 5 |
| turns | 5 | standing | 5 |
| manifest | similitude | 5 | 5 |
| september | 5 | french | 5 |
| born | remain | deering | 5 |
| easily | habit | certainly | 5 |
| text | batteries | grand | 5 |
| meant | obliges | flat | 5 |
| early | pretentions | seems | 5 |
| processing | vainly | utter | 5 |
| expect | reasoning | testimony | 5 |
| favor | keep | despot | 5 |
| overturning | persecuted | governments | 5 |
| individual | fashions | 5 | 5 |
| writer | uncommon | prevails | 5 |
| observed | | 5 | 5 |
| art | | 5 | 5 |
| fundamental | rites | | 5 |
| rites | | | 5 |
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| immense | | | 5 |
The Original Meaning of “religion” in the First Amendment

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

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The Original Meaning of “religion” in the First Amendment

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essential 22
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trade 22
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times 22
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mormonism 20
institution 20
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profession 19
cognizance 19
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during 19
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motive 19
manner 18
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real 17
genius 17
once 17
christian 17
open 17
preservation 17
patriotism 17
ideas 17
did 17
gentlemen 17
industry 17
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object 17
received 17
idea 17
enemies 17
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purpose 17
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arms 16
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encourage 16
within 16
provision 16
prevent 16
individuals 16
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fall 16
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purity 16
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advantage 16
similarity 16
hold 16
trial 16
infidelity 16
fixed 16
fame 16
important 16
congregational 16
doctrines 15

gods 15
points 15
always 15
les 15
appear 15
governments 15
decency 15
creator 15
connection 15
empire 15
dominant 15
last 15
rest 15
families 15
down 15
mild 15
day 15
cries 15
supporting 15
american 15

| view 15 | whilst 15 | enjoyment 15 | renounce 15 | teaches 15 | effects 15 | number 15 | perhaps 15 | jury 15 | thy 15 | introduced 15 | produced 14 | provided 14 | became 14 | pour 14 | motives 14 | earth 14 | use 14 | taught 14 | course 14 | errors 14 | freely 14 | entitled 14 | delivered 14 | thought 14 | revolution 14 | firm 14 | gentleman 14 | flourish 14 | christianity 14 | union 14 | progress 14 | minds 14 | social 14 | receive 14 | party 14 | suffer 14 | year 14 | defiance 14 | soon 14 | body 14 | unalienable 14 | known 14 | care 14 | together 14 | speculative 14 | bible 14 |
The Original Meaning of “religion” in the First Amendment

ambition 11
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high 11
supposed 11
instead 11
maintenance 11
expected 11
ingine 11
lutheran 11
session 11
oaths 11
book 11
understanding 11
sensible 11
religions 11
through 11
ordinances 11
salvation 11
inhabitants 11
contempt 11
supreme 11
source 11
wild 11
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third 11
vice 11
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fact 11
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brings 11
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just 11
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consolations 11
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sure 11
entire 10
comfort 10
parties 10
violent 10

September 10
equity 10
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third 10
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added 10
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fact 10
lead 10
brings 10
iii 10
agreeable 11
notwithstanding

The Original Meaning of “religion” in the First Amendment
II. COLLOCATES OF RELIGION IN DESCENDING ORDER BASED ON “MUTUAL INFORMATION SCORE”

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III. LOG LIKELIHOOD

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blessed 9 | 11.31005043
stern 2 | 11.18830063
reformed 2 | 11.0237755
predominant 4 | 10.50124901
vital 3 | 10.40762818
established 17 | 10.28384867
quaker 2 | 10.23258942
philosophical 11 | 10.01983793
received 3 | 9.875409001
benevolent 9 | 9.748669773
true 105 | 8.694995565
bible 2 | 8.526851608
favourite 2 | 8.366766193
unites 2 | 8.263959836
genuine 5 | 8.254795063
touching 4 | 8.212437152
attacked 2 | 8.1229145
false 12 | 7.990557075
abolish 2 | 7.965824442
visible 2 | 7.525301032
natural 27 | 7.473495324
la 8 | 7.376569797
interior 2 | 7.220713694
regulate 6 | 7.131056042
sa 5 | 7.085141633
fathers 3 | 6.98193757
mild 2 | 6.967328301
rational 3 | 6.856896856
divine 4 | 6.849678493
promoting 3 | 6.786524238
save 5 | 6.618027729
employ 5 | 6.45675793
toute 2 | 6.4540534
morals 2 | 6.394148755
concerning 12 | 6.336782674
prevailing 2 | 6.276374081
notre 2 | 5.943931091
The Original Meaning of “religion” in the First Amendment

Collocate (Word and Count) | Log Likelihood
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national 19 | 5.920236241
added 6 | 5.918784434
extending 2 | 5.586499918
recommend 2 | 5.5776151
about 29 | 5.461432895
la 19 | 5.024402389
plain 2 | 4.900151405
la 3 | 4.894721888
but 4 | 4.808312087
sound 2 | 4.801646648
secure 4 | 4.796846498
respecting 11 | 4.689317402
promote 3 | 4.685085581
very 6 | 4.478926829
over 11 | 4.459308599
their 191 | 4.442572697
la 5 | 4.223991764
leur 2 | 4.211182533
consider 3 | 3.976391189
that 126 | 3.963004875
preserve 2 | 3.90413953
better 7 | 3.872495311
votre 2 | 3.788590553
perfect 4 | 3.782584876
indeed 8 | 3.744417249
connecticut 3 | 3.733082286
similar 3 | 3.706394179
same 35 | 3.687966548
whilst 2 | 3.647963057
of 33 | 3.639749802
establish 2 | 3.511916238
of 1136 | 3.368171024
our 74 | 3.358312637
language 2 | 3.288240165
against 19 | 3.180179721
common 7 | 3.023607303
hence 2 | 2.907185817
own 15 | 2.868770975
his 78 | 2.654220945
whose 5 | 2.584850859
both 4 | 2.577250733
believe 2 | 2.529206146
because 7 | 2.48321632
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taken 3 | -0.191606493
much 3 | -0.317359384
its 4 | -0.338067272
general 3 | -0.562404196
the 250 | -0.634301805
some 6 | -0.696036621
my 14 | -0.749061826
's 6 | -0.762479565
from 19 | -0.769530921
much 2 | -0.77589233
, 221 | -0.887361626
other 6 | -0.938138105
new 2 | -0.966198516
by 23 | -0.969784859
out 2 | -0.997333455
on 16 | -1.021843795
her 2 | -1.026467343
? 3 | -1.074622331
-18 | -1.179609099
public 2 | -1.204697714
then 2 | -1.299928211
which 16 | -1.40087624
but 10 | -1.473336827
. 98 | -1.529061178
that 21 | -1.53783546
as 9 | -2.029528876
government 2 | -2.048912704
: 5 | -2.053824385
into 2 | -2.267792416
there 2 | -2.584026341
is 12 | -2.640660097
.; 5 | -3.527574636
at 3 | -4.143650867
not 4 | -4.334613971
was 2 | -4.766269529
IV. N-GRAMS

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

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<td>7 his religion in</td>
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<td>7 all religion and</td>
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<td>5 this religion i</td>
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<td>6 catholic religion and</td>
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<td>6 natural religion and</td>
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<td>6 and religion are</td>
<td>5 protestant religion as</td>
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<td>6 national religion be</td>
<td>5 this religion both</td>
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<tr>
<td>19 true religion and</td>
<td>6 that religion do</td>
<td>5 of religion by</td>
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<td>17 to religion and</td>
<td>6 of religion extinguished</td>
<td>5 employ religion as</td>
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<td>14 the religion and</td>
<td>6 christian religion itself</td>
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<td>6 and religion will</td>
<td>5 for religion and</td>
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<td>11 in religion or</td>
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<td>4 the religion he</td>
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B. Five (5) Word N-Gram (Religion in First Position)

| 19 | religion according to the dictates | 4 | religion shall be established by |
| 9  | religion and morality enjoin this | 4 | religion to be introduced by |
| 8  | religion is kindled into enthusiasm | 4 | religion in his own house |
| 7  | religion or the duty which | 4 | religion go hand in hand |
| 6  | religion ought to lay no | 4 | religion from the cognizance of |
| 6  | religion of the church of | 4 | religion do not flourish in |
| 6  | religion was helpful to the | 4 | religion and morality dictate it |
| 6  | religion was tolerated in america | 4 | religion must be established by |
| 6  | religion are the only sure | 4 | religion noble comfort brings disarms |
| 6  | religion and devotion on board | 4 | religion in their own way |
| 5  | religion and civil slavery i | 4 | religion is said to be |
| 5  | religion a matter of importance | 4 | religion and leaving it open |
| 5  | religion a pious confidence in | 4 | religion and liberty are the |
| 5  | religion and his text was | 4 | religion and morality are essential |
| 5  | religion and morality are indispensable | 4 | religion and law he pleased |
| 5  | religion and to our charter | 3 | religion and government are so |
| 5  | religion and the government of | 3 | religion and government have been |
| 5  | religion as an engine of | 3 | religion and government have both |
| 5  | religion as well as to | 3 | religion and liberties of my |
| 5  | religion be exempt from the | 3 | religion against which they have |
| 5  | religion both existed and flourished | 3 | religion and a full and |
| 5  | religion is going to decay | 3 | religion as the most perfect |
| 5  | religion is to be excepted | 3 | religion and the dictates of |
| 5  | religion is that it brings | 3 | religion and the fear of |
| 5  | religion is wholly exempt from | 3 | religion but not to exercise |
| 5  | religion it is meant to | 3 | religion and morality in the |
| 5  | religion not invented by human | 3 | religion is neither the cause |
| 5  | religion as in most others | 3 | religion is not necessary to |
| 5  | religion do not bend to | 3 | religion in the united states |
| 5  | religion does not stifle every | 3 | religion is better than the |
| 5  | religion founded upon humanity and | 3 | religion from that which we |
| 5  | religion i wonder what is | 3 | religion must of course change |
| 5  | religion in the province of | 3 | religion obliges us to bear |
| 5  | religion in this city is | 3 | religion is so perfect and |
| 5  | religion which by professing vainly | 3 | religion of america as that |
| 5  | religion which enervates the mind | 3 | religion is too modest and |
| 5  | religion which we believe to | 3 | religion itself may become a |
| 5  | religion while i am in | 3 | religion by the administrations of |
| 5  | religion whose first principle is | 3 | religion i mean to recommend |
| 5  | religion whose main object is | 3 | religion has produced amongst its |
| 5  | religion then of every man | 3 | religion to them and their |
| 5  | religion to recommend the most | 3 | religion under the name of |
| 5  | religion offer to excite us | 3 | religion that should never be |
| 5  | religion with the same equal | 3 | religion that has deluged your |
3 religion that reveals the attributes
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 emline
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
benignity
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
2 religion should so long perservere
2 religion shall be the religion
2 religion shall not be violated
2 religion steps in where my
2 religion which i was afraid
2 religion which teach a patient
2 religion which teaches peace and
2 religion which commands us to
2 religion who may be able
2 religion which we think is
2 religion were rather loose i
2 religion where there is none
2 religion we may possibly retain
2 religion was offered as the
2 religion were not only agreeable
2 religion was until his conversion
2 religion was only made to
2 religion upon a rational system
2 religion was even tolerated there
2 religion that is disagreeable to
2 religion that was known in
2 religion the creature is apt
2 religion the only remaining motive
2 religion the stalking horse to
2 religion thy force can alone
2 religion was a matter that
2 religion to which you have
2 religion too often answers to
2 religion in england is it
2 religion in all the northern
2 religion holds out to us
2 religion in its coolest state
2 religion in man being the
2 religion in my estimation is
2 religion in our brains and
2 religion by the eloquence of
2 religion dispersed in early life
2 religion by temporal punnts or
2 religion can not help confessing
2 religion especially without orders from
2 religion etcetera which is undoubtedly
2 religion et l’attachement aux anglois
2 religion for the support of
2 religion frequently inculcates universal
benevolence
2 religion give to mankind by
2 religion grecque commenca en effet
2 religion had the intrepidity of
The Original Meaning of “religion” in the First Amendment

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>15 the religion of the country</th>
<th>5 his religion to recommend the</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12 of religion according to the</td>
<td>5 if religion be exempt from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 indeed religion is kindled into</td>
<td>5 if religion be not within</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 that religion or the duty</td>
<td>5 in religion and to our</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 the religion of jesus christ</td>
<td>5 of religion which by professing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 the religion of the church</td>
<td>5 protestant religion as in most</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 of religion was helpful to</td>
<td>5 of religion is generally professed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 mahometan religion was tolerated in</td>
<td>5 that religion is wholly exempt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 of religion and devotion on</td>
<td>5 that religion is going to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 of religion and good morals</td>
<td>5 that religion is to be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 of religion are the only</td>
<td>5 that religion whose first principle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 of religion as well as</td>
<td>5 the religion of the state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 and religion ought to lay</td>
<td>5 the religion which we believe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 catholic religion and civil slavery</td>
<td>5 their religion while i am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 catholic religion in the province</td>
<td>5 this religion i wonder what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 christian religion is that it</td>
<td>5 this religion a pious confidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 christian religion offer to excite</td>
<td>5 this religion both existed and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 concerning religion and the</td>
<td>4 very religion it is meant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>government</td>
<td>4 what religion and law he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 dominant religion in this city</td>
<td>4 their religion according to the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 dominant religion is the lutheran</td>
<td>4 the religion and government of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 employ religion as an engine</td>
<td>4 the religion and liberties of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 a religion founded upon humanity</td>
<td>4 that religion do not flourish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 a religion not invented by</td>
<td>4 of religion is said to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 a religion which enervates the</td>
<td>4 of religion to be introduced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 a religion whose main object</td>
<td>4 or religion they might be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 natural religion and his text</td>
<td>4 one religion and leaving it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 metaphysical religion a matter of</td>
<td>4 one religion must be established</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 his religion with the same</td>
<td>4 is religion and morality alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 in religion do not bend</td>
<td>4 of religion in their own</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
because religion and morality dictate
exempts religion from the cognizance
fathers religion must of course
established religion of that country
every religion that reveals the
christian religion require it should
christian religion to be true
catholic religion is better than
blessed religion revealed in the
because religion has much to
and religion of your country
and religion you are no
and religion require us to
and religion of this lower
and religion of our own
and religion go hand in
a religion against which they
a religion in the world
a religion that has deluged
a religion that should never
of religion in humanizing mankind
of religion in all cases
no religion is so perfect
no religion shall be established
national religion established by law
no religion but their priests
of religion and a full
of religion and government have
his religion teacheth him in
his religion teacheth him that
his religion in the world
for religion than for the
our religion has taught us
of religion to them and
of religion to be reasonable
of religion ought not to
protestant religion in all europe
romish religion only to such
the religion i mean to
the religion of a country
the religion of america as
that religion which he both
that religion is not necessary
that religion should be secure
their religion but not to
their religion by the administrations
the religion of the people
the religion of the gospel
true religion is too modest
true religion under the name
true religion is neither the
to religion from that which
upon religion as the most
which religion oblige us to
with religion has produced amongst
will religion the only remaining
with religion yet i conceive
without religion in my estimation
without religion we may possibly
your religion or your policy
your religion than in your
which religion only can afford
what religion was until his
when religion began to revive
to religion of the protestant
to religion a moderate stock
to religion were rather loose
to religion and good morals
true religion is nothing else
to religion can not help
true religion is adapted to
to religion and virtue shine
true religion and civil liberty
true religion and internal principles
the religion of the majority
the religion of the nation
the religion of the white
the religion of which she
the religion of your own
their religion is like the
their religion was aimed at
their religion would not suffer
then religion thy force can
there religion and government mar
the religion professed in those
their religion and liberties by
the religion of this country
their religion as well as
that religion may be in
that religion is not a
that religion than in all
that religion was only made
that religion which god commanded
of religion is or ever
that religion who may be
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 roman religion and a despotism
2 roman 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’s 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 with the pious
2 genuine religion is calm in
2 government religion and manners

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 and 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
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
defence of religion and liberty
disseminate his religion in the
be the religion of the
being the religion of america
advancement of religion and learning
government and religion of our
government and religion of quebec
freedom of religion in all
expressly that religion is not
exercise of religion in their
for every religion that reveals
far as religion is concerned
have no religion but their
insult the religion of others
in their religion but not
influence of religion and government
laws and religion of this
is the religion of jesus
liberty and religion of your
look upon religion as the
matters of religion no man
no national religion established by
of a religion that is
of our religion has taught
all religion and morality
established religion of that
established religion of the
protestant religion in all
romish religion only to
them their religion and properties
that the religion of the
true religion is neither
the blessed religion revealed in
christian religion require it
christian religion is the
to the religion of the
when a religion is good
those of religion in humanizing
those of religion and freedom
to that religion which he
to the religion and government
to their religion and clergy
tolerate a religion against which
sentiments in religion and politics
sentiments in religion were not
system of religion and politics
revolution in religion and government
roman catholic religion is better
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original Meaning of “religion” in the First Amendment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sake of religion and liberty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 restraint of religion and of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 renounce the religion and liberties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 respect to religion from that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 reason and religion require us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 reformation in religion or morals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pretentions of religion and honesty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 practice of religion and virtue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 plant a religion in the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 propagating any religion by conquest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 of their religion by the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 of the religion of a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ordinances of religion to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 our fathers religion must of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 our holy religion and the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 patriot without religion in my</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ou la religion n’ait pas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 one common religion as protestants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 or that religion is not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 of that religion who may</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 of some religion for the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 of the religion professed in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 of the religion which they</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 of their religion and governments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 of their religion was aimed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 offence against religion morals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>decency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 professing the religion of the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 quarrelled about religion and politics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 processing the religion of the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 profess that religion than in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pretend to religion can not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 principles of religion and morality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 principles of religion instilled into</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 principles of religion or systems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 poems of religion and society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 overthrow of religion and government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 have less religion than you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 our common religion as protestants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 our holy religion which commands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 politics or religion which i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 principals of religion and morality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 reformation of religion is or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 que la religion grecque commença</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 reason and religion can carry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 regard to religion were rather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 relationship between religion and politics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 relationship of religion to politics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 reputation of religion in general</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 regard for religion or virtue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 propagate his religion by temporal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 reverence for religion should so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sanctuaries of religion are some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 roman catholic religion was even</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 science and religion dispersed in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 seat of religion in man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 spirit of religion and piety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 teachers of religion and morals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 than upon religion or philosophy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 that both religion and the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 that his religion was a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 that holy religion which we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sentiments of religion which teach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 seek my religion out of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sense of religion and honour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sense of religion will not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 roman catholic religion within this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sentiments in religion among its</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 similarity of religion is a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 virtue and religion in him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 to the religion he profess</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 to a religion which teaches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 to that religion and government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 they consider religion not as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 to its religion by the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 when true religion and internal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 which natural religion was offered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 where stern religion quench’es the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 whom the religion of the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 whose government religion and manners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 which reason religion and philosophy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 which true religion is adapted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 whole of religion and morality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 would my religion pose for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 zeal for religion and that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 the christian religion and a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 the christian religion and in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 the christian religion in this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 the christian religion ought forever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 the benevolent religion of our</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 the christian religion and stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 the christian religion and that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 the christian religion by their</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 supporting the religion of the</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2 that the religion of this
2 them to religion and virtue
2 theory of religion and government
2 the same religion language customs
2 the same religion manners laws
2 the same religion with the
2 the romish religion a
2 the romish religion must tend
2 the protestant religion by their
2 the quaker religion and possessing
2 the philosophical religion gives no
2 the philosophical religion of infidelity
2 the peaceful religion of jesus
2 the protestant religion and of
2 the protestant religion and the
2 the established religion of this
2 the christian religion never can
2 the mahometan religion and
obedience
2 of our religion frequently inculcates
2 of our religion give to
2 object of religion being god
2 obligations of religion and morality
2 obligations of religion or morality
2 matters of religion shall not
2 matters of religion which we
2 nothing of religion nor morals
2 notions of religion may be
2 necessity of religion to public
2 motive of religion and virtue
2 mantle of religion covers a
2 massacres of religion that ever
2 matter of religion especially without
2 language and religion will for
2 like the religion in old
2 men make religion the stalking
2 ministers of religion to meet
2 morality and religion must be
2 jealousy that religion may be
2 knew what religion was until
2 knowledge of religion and civil
2 heroes of religion had the
2 his favourite religion and government
2 in london religion seems to
2 in your religion than in
2 instructions in religion and morality
2 instructors in religion and morals
2 interests of religion and learning

2 intolerance in religion 4 weakness
2 he attacked religion because it
2 grimace and religion upon a
2 exercise his religion in his
2 had no religion nor government
2 has no religion at all
2 has on religion and manners
2 has the religion of nations
2 his own religion in his
2 if our religion were gone
2 extingish the religion of the
2 first the religion of your
2 exercise their religion according to
2 either in religion or politics
2 espec de religion etait inconnue
2 freedom of religion is extremely
2 for our religion any more
2 freedom of religion of speech
2 for the religion of jesus
2 for the religion of our
2 foundation of religion is the
2 god that religion and benevolence
2 a better religion a better
2 a better religion and government
2 abuses in religion and government
2 1 because religion and morality
2 and beneficent religion of the
2 all our religion in our
2 all the religion and morality
2 and false religion are withheld
2 and general religion in all
2 and in religion itself there
2 and of religion opposing and
2 and protestant religion among his
2 besides as religion in its
2 be his religion or his
2 because their religion would not
2 as the religion of north
2 as a religion that is
2 as christian religion should increase
2 as to religion a moderate
2 attention to religion and good
2 and the religion of which
2 and true religion were unknown
2 appearance of religion in any
2 america true religion and civil
2 and our religion for their
2 and their religion according to

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| 2 and true religion and virtue | 1 colour of religion any man |
| 2 difference of religion will prejudice | 1 come of religion to be |
| 2 distinguishes connecticut religion from common | 1 ceque la religion protestante est |
| 2 difference de religion et l’attachement | 1 ceremonies of religion to which |
| 2 difference of religion and government | 1 change the religion 120 z3 |
| 2 difference of religion has been | 1 character and religion of its |
| 2 despirer of religion he was | 1 charge against religion in gene |
| 2 destitute of religion or addicted | 1 chr is tian religion to be |
| 2 enthusiasm of religion only can | 1 christian protestant religion shall be |
| 2 duties of religion and piety | 1 cause of religion and liberty |
| 2 else of religion or morality | 1 cause of religion is with |
| 2 essence of religion consists in | 1 cause of religion or good |
| 2 establishment of religion that was | 1 contempt for religion is by |
| 2 crusading for religion is not | 1 contentions about religion kept up |
| 2 danger to religion of the | 1 contrary to religion and the |
| 2 adorned the religion they profess | 1 contre la religion et contre |
| 2 consolation which religion can afford | 1 corrupting that religion which god |
| 2 compulsion in religion is distinguished | 1 corruption of religion and morals |
| 2 consolations which religion only can | 1 council of religion and learning |
| 2 cause of religion and humanity | 1 conform their religion and government |
| 2 certain that religion and morality | 1 conformity of religion to the |
| 2 cemented by religion ends not | 1 connected with religion and virtue |
| 2 cloak of religion too often | 1 connection between religion and good |
| 2 come then religion thy force | 1 consolation of religion and philosophy |
| 2 but there religion and government | 1 dangerous to religion than another |
| 1 but what religion shall we | 1 dans votre religion et dans |
| 1 but when religion was once | 1 de la religion au bien |
| 1 by their religion and particularly | 1 de la religion des sujets |
| 1 by uncorrupted religion and morals | 1 de la religion qu’il a |
| 1 call out religion and freedom | 1 de la religion qui ont |
| 1 called the religion of benevolence | 1 de la religion toutes les |
| 1 care of religion into their | 1 de leur religion a londres |
| 1 case for religion never was | 1 de notre religion protestante soit |
| 1 caufing this religion and worship | 1 de quelle religion il etoit |
| 1 but the religion most prevalent | 1 de quelque religion que soit |
| 1 but the religion of the | 1 debate over religion and the |
| 1 both in religion and in | 1 customs and religion of the |
| 1 both in religion and liberty | 1 customs manners religion language and |
| 1 both to religion and policy | 1 declension in religion hath left |
| 1 bound by religion from withstanding | 1 country and religion we humbly |
| 1 bringing our religion down from | 1 consolations of religion or philosophy |
| 1 but as religion is very | 1 establishment of religion which is |
| 1 but if religion be the | 1 establishments of religion is clerical |
| 1 but in religion each one | 1 et de religion est etable |
| 1 comfort from religion must be | 1 et la religion d’un peuple |
| 1 committee of religion to be | 1 even in religion we disagree |
| 1 compare this religion with christianity |
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
1 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 establishment a religion where there
1 enthusiastic in religion and liberty
1 ercife of religion should be
1 eslabled 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
1 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
1 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
1 occult the
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 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 undefiled religion benevolence
1 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
1 become
1 and whose religion hath ever
1 ano there religion have a
1 any certain religion to conform
1 authority of religion would
1 recommend
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<td>1 advancement of religion and virtue</td>
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from the religion established by
from the religion of those
from the religion originally professed
fulcrum of religion is this
glory of religion to prevent
glory on religion and liberty
god and religion within us
foundations of religion and virtue
fountains of religion and morality
framed the religion of Jesus
for the religion or modes
forbid that religion should receive
formony of religion became necessary
freedom of religion or property
friend of religion and morals
friend of religion from pure
friends of religion among us
for propagating religion in foreign
for the religion of a
especially our religion and such
especially to religion and politics
essence of religion and the
either of religion or government
exercise of religion contrary to
exercise of religion hath stocked
exercise their religion without molestation
exercise of religion in their
extend their religion over the
exercise of religion should be
exercise of religion unto the
exercise of religion was allowed
flers of religion of every
followed the religion of the
for in religion nobody cao
for no religion at all
for no religion or property
f his religion in a
f his religion within his
f of religion 546 105
fabrics of religion and government
fait de religion fait comltement
far as religion is connected
fatal to religion and morality
favor of religion or against
favor of religion and virtue
fears of religion have a
felt all religion at variance
importance of religion and good
importance of religion should be
importance of religion to civil
importance of religion to the
impose a religion upon us
in a religion the pure
in every religion except the
in external religion and its
in his religion and in
in invading religion and liberty
holy religion flourifi in
hopes of religion support the
horse of religion may yet
however when religion has been
humanity and religion are concerned
hurt to religion but i
idea of religion and virtue
idea that religion was essential
iety and religion have an
if our religion is given
have a religion established by
guardian of religion and good
heard more religion talked and
here of religion only as
have no religion left among
have no religion themselves to
have their religion as well
intoleration in religion and
government
intrude into religion any thing
is a religion establithed by
is no religion different from
interests of religion and of
into the religion of our
infidelity in religion and democracy
integrity and religion has done
interests and religion bid fair
interests of religion and for
in the religion of their
in their religion and manners
his own religion as he
his favorite religion and government
has added religion to the
influence of religion on government
influence of religion on the
influence of religion upon the
ing a religion which recommends
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 separation between religion and civil
1 lessons of religion and morality
1 let their religion be what
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 paragraph
1 ministers of religion are placed
1 ministers of religion are under
1 ministers of religion by withholding
1 ministers of religion subject 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'teas the religion of the
1 nought 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 eilabilitfied 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 eflablifled
when a religion is perfeuite
to the religion of their
to the religion of the
to maintain religion in our
to neglect religion in the

to preserve religion he ought
to propagate religion by arms
to secure religion itself as
to see religion separated from
to serious religion and extremely
to subvert religion or morality
they draw religion into the
of a religion which they
of a religion whose ruling
of our religion has not
of a religion in already
of a religion tend to
of our religion not to
of our religion would not
of pure religion and true
of revealed religion are part
of our religion and his
of our religion and ministry
of our religion forbids us
of making religion an engine
of mingling religion with politics
of natural religion and morality
of all religion and virtue
of all religion in the
of any religion in disturbing
of establishing religion to congress
of every religion in pensilvania
of extending religion and knowledge
of extending religion by the
of having religion established by
of his religion and for
of his religion and his
of his religion are concerned
of his religion depend upon
of his religion or mode
of his religion so as
of his religion to love
of the new religion in which
the papist religion be ever
the fame religion as hitnelf
the holy religion of jesus
the christian religion were his
the christian religion which they
the christian religion will admit
the christian religion without regard
the christian religion your pole
the dreary religion of moha
the eilablifed 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 inviolate 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 establish
1 the pure religion of jesus
1 the received religion is 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 establish'd 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 nece".
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 260 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 chrifiart religion to be
1 the christian religion in the
1 the christian religion to be
1 the christian religion has flourished
1 the christian religion are equally
1 the christian religion to be
1 the christian religion derives the
1 the christian religion all great
1 the christian religion among theaboriginal
1 the christian religion came into

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

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

| 41 the free exercise of religion | 8 liberty in matters of religion |
| 22 respecting an establishment of religion | 8 a temporary state of religion |
| 14 on the subject of religion | 8 for the support of religion |
| 12 an insult on the religion | 8 even of the protestant religion |
| 11 free exercise of their religion | 8 the mild principles of religion |
| 10 teachers of the christian religion | 7 the pure and undefiled religion |
| 10 truth of the christian religion | 7 free exercise of his religion |
| 9 upon the subject of religion | 7 as well as in religion |
| 9 support of the christian religion | 7 opinions in matters of religion |
| 9 with heresy and false religion | 7 politics as well as religion |
| 9 advantage of the christian religion | 6 peaceably to exercise their religion |
| 9 over the freedom of religion | 6 opinions in politics or religion |
| 9 of the roman catholic religion | 6 nor shall any national religion |
| 9 interfere in matters of religion | 6 make a point of religion |
| 8 in politics as in religion | 6 me if the mahometan religion |
| | 6 insulte faite a la religion |
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
5 wherever the roman catholic religion
5 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 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