

THE POLITICAL SCRIPTURES



*A Performance of Civil Religion,
Derived from the Writings of
The Founding Fathers and The U.S. Constitution*

Chapter 1
The Preamble

¹WE THE PEOPLE of the United States, ²in Order to form a more perfect Union, ³establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, ⁴and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, ⁵do ordain and establish this Constitution of the United States of America.

The First Book
of
*The
Constitution
of the
United States of
America*

Chapter 2
Article I

¹All Legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, ²which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

³The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. ⁴When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. ⁵When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: ⁶And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

⁷Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, ⁸and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust, or Profit under the United States: ⁹but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment, and Punishment according to Law.

¹⁰The privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, ¹¹unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

¹¹No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

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Chapter 3
Article II

¹The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America.

²Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:- ³“I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, ⁴and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

⁵He shall have power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate to make Treaties, ⁶provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; ⁷and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, ⁸and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, ⁹and which shall be established by Law: ¹⁰but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, ¹¹as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

¹²The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, ¹³by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

¹⁴The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, ¹⁵and Conviction of Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

Chapter 4
Article III

¹The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, ²and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish.

³The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, ⁴the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority.

⁵In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as Law and Fact, ⁶with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

⁷The trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; ⁸and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; ⁹but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

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Chapter 5
Article IV

¹Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. ²And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved and the Effect thereof.

Chapter 6
Article V

¹The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, ²or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, ³which in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, ⁴when ratified by Legislatures of three fourths of the several states, ⁵or by Conventions in three fourths of the several states, ⁶or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, ⁷as the one or the Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress.

Chapter 7
Article VI

¹This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof, ²and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, ³shall be the supreme Law of the Land; ⁴and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, ⁵and Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

⁶The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, ⁷and the Members of the several State Legislatures, ⁸and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, ⁹shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; ¹⁰but no religious Test shall ever be required as a qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

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Chapter 1
US Constitution Amendment XXVII
(originally proposes as the 2nd Amendment)

¹No law, varying the compensation for the services of the Senators and Representatives, ²shall take effect, until an election of Representatives shall have intervened.

The First Book
of

*James
Madison*

Chapter 2
US Constitution Amendment I
(originally proposes as the 3rd Amendment)

¹Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; ²or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; ³or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for redress of grievances.

Chapter 3
US Constitution Amendment II

¹A well regulated Militia being necessary to the security of a free State, ²the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, ³shall not be infringed.

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Chapter 4
US Constitution Amendment III

¹No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, ²without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, ³but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Chapter 5
US Constitution Amendment IV

¹The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, ²against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, ³and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, ⁴and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Chapter 6
US Constitution Amendment V

¹No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, ²unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, ³except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; ⁴nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; ⁵nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, ⁶nor be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law; ⁷nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

Chapter 7
US Constitution Amendment VIII

¹Excessive bail shall not be required, ²nor excessive fines imposed, ³nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted.

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Chapter 1
Amendment XIV (Ratified 1868)

¹All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, ²are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. ³No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; ⁴nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; ⁵nor deny any person within jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Chapter 2
Amendment XV (Ratified 1870)

¹The right of citizens of the United States of America to vote ²shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State ³on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

Chapter 3
Amendment XIX (Ratified 1920)

¹The right of citizens of the United States to vote ²shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State ³on account of sex.

Chapter 4
Amendment XXIV (Ratified 1964)

¹The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, ²for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or representative in Congress, ³shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State ⁴by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.

Chapter 5
Amendment XXV (Ratified 1967)

¹In case of removal of the President from office or of his death or resignation, ²the Vice President shall become President.

³Whenever there is a vacancy in the office of the Vice President, ⁴the President shall nominate a Vice President who shall take office ⁵upon confirmation by a majority vote of both Houses of Congress.

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The First Book
of
*Thomas
Jefferson*

Chapter 1
Declaration of Independence

¹When in the Course of human Events, it becomes necessary for one People to dissolve the Political Bands which have connected them with one another, ²and to assume among the Powers of the Earth, the separate and equal Station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, ³a decent Respect to the Opinions of Mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the Separation.

⁴We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, ⁵that they are endowed by the Creator with certain unalienable Rights, ⁶that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness – ⁷that to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed, ⁸that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, ⁹and to institute new Government, laying its Foundation on such Principles, ¹⁰and organizing its Powers in such Form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.

Chapter 2
Notes on Virginia (1781-1782)

¹The poor Quakers were flying from persecution in England. ²They cast their eyes on these new countries as asylums of civil and religious freedom; ³but they found them free only for the reigning sect. ⁴Several acts of the Virginia assembly of 1659, 1662, and 1693, ⁵had made it penal in parents to refuse to have their children baptized; ⁶had prohibited the unlawful assembling of Quakers; ⁷had ordered those already here, and such as should come thereafter, to be imprisoned till they should abjure the country; ⁸provided a milder punishment for their first and second return, but death for their third; ⁹had inhibited all persons from suffering their meetings in or near their houses, ¹⁰entertaining them individually, or disposing of books which supported their tenets. ¹¹If no execution took place here, as did in New England, ¹²it was not owing to the moderation of the church, or spirit of the legislature, as may be inferred from the law itself; ¹³but to historical circumstances which have been handed down to us.

¹⁴Statutory oppression in religion being thus wiped away, ¹⁵we remain at present under those only imposed by the common law, or by our own acts of assembly. ¹⁶At the common law, heresy was a capital offence, punishable by burning. ¹⁷Its definition was left to ecclesiastical judges, ¹⁸before whom the conviction was that nothing should be deemed heresy, ¹⁹but what had been so determined by authority of the canonical scriptures, or by one of the four first general councils, or by other council, ²⁰having for the grounds of their declaration the express and plain words of the

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scriptures. ²¹Heresy, thus circumscribed, being an offence against the common law, our act of assembly of October, 1777, ²²gives cognizance of it to the general matters at the common law. ²³By our own act of assembly..., if a person brought up in the Christian religion denies the being of a God, or the Trinity, ²⁴or asserts there are more gods than one, or denies the Christian religion to be true, or the scriptures to be of divine authority, ²⁵he is punishable on the first offence by incapacity to hold any office or employment ecclesiastical, civil or military; ²⁶on the second by disability to sue, to take any gift or legacy, to be guardian, executor, or administrator, and by three years' imprisonment without bail. ²⁷A father's right to the custody of his own children being founded in law on his right of guardianship, ²⁸this being taken away, they may of course be severed from him, and put by the authority of a court into more orthodox hands. ²⁹This is a summary view of that religious slavery under which a people have been willing to remain, ³⁰who have lavished their lives and fortunes for the establishment of their civil freedom. ³¹The error seems not sufficiently eradicated, ³²that the operations of the mind, as well as the acts of the body, are subject to the coercion of the laws. ³³But our rulers can have no authority over such natural rights, ³⁴only as we have submitted to them. ³⁵The rights of conscience we never submitted, we could not submit. ³⁶We are answerable to them to our God. ³⁷The legitimate powers of government extend to such acts only as are injurious to others. ³⁸But it does me no injury for my neighbor to say there are twenty gods, or no God. ³⁹It neither picks my pocket nor breaks my leg.

⁴⁰It is error alone which needs the support of the government. ⁴¹Truth can stand by itself. ⁴²Subject opinions to

coercion: ⁴³whom will you make your inquisitors? ⁴⁴Fallible men; men governed by bad passions, by private as well as public reasons. ⁴⁵And why subject it to coercion? ⁴⁶To produce uniformity. ⁴⁷But is uniformity of opinion desirable? ⁴⁸No more than of face and stature... ⁴⁹Difference of opinion is advantageous in religion. ⁵⁰The several sects perform the office of a censor morum over each other. ⁵¹Is uniformity attainable? ⁵²Millions of innocent men, women, and children since the introduction of Christianity, ⁵³have been burnt, tortured, fined, imprisoned; yet we have not advanced one inch towards uniformity. ⁵⁴What has been the effect of coercion? ⁵⁵To make one half the world fools, and the other half hypocrites. ⁵⁶To support roguery and error all over the earth. ⁵⁷Let us reflect that it is inhabited by a thousand millions of people. ⁵⁸That these profess probably a thousand different systems of religion. ⁵⁹That ours is but one of that thousand. ⁶⁰That if there be but one right, and ours that one, ⁶¹we should wish to see the nine hundred and ninety-nine wandering sects gathered into the fold of truth. ⁶²But against such a majority we cannot affect this force. ⁶³Reason and persuasion are the only practicable instruments. ⁶⁴To make way for these, free inquiry must be indulged; ⁶⁵and how can we wish others to indulge it while we refuse it ourselves.

⁶⁶Religion is well supported; of various kinds, indeed, but all good enough; ⁶⁷all sufficient to preserve peace and order; ⁶⁸or if a sect arises, whose tenets would subvert morals, ⁶⁹good sense has fair play, and reasons and laughs it out of doors, ⁷⁰without suffering the State to be troubled with it. ⁷¹They do not hang more malefactors than we do. ⁷²They are not more disturbed with religious dissensions. ⁷³On the contrary, their harmony is

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unparalleled, ⁷⁴and can be ascribed to nothing but their unbounded tolerance, ⁷⁵because there is no other circumstance in which they differ from every nation on earth. ⁷⁶They have made the happy discovery, ⁷⁷that the way to silence religious disputes, is to take no notice of them. ⁷⁸Let us to give this experiment fair play, ⁷⁹and get rid, while we may of those tyrannical laws.

Chapter 3
Virginia Statute of Religious Liberty (1786)

¹ Whereas Almighty God hath created the mind free; ²that all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments or burthens, or by civil incapacitations, ³tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness, ⁴and are a departure from the plan of the Holy author of our religion, ⁵who being Lord both of body and mind, yet chose not to propagate it by coercions on either, as it was in his Almighty power to do; ⁶that the impious presumption of legislators and rulers, civil as well as ecclesiastical, ⁷ who being themselves but fallible and uninspired men, have assumed dominion over the faith of others, ⁸setting up their own opinions and modes of thinking as the only true and infallible, ⁹and as such endeavoring to impose them on others, ¹⁰hath established and maintained false religions over the greatest part of the world, and through all time; ¹¹that to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves, is sinful and tyrannical; ¹²that even the forcing him to support this or that teacher of his own religious persuasion, is depriving him of the comfortable liberty of giving his contributions to the particular pastor, ¹³whose morals he would make his pattern, and

whose powers he feels most persuasive to righteousness, and is withdrawing from the ministry those temporary rewards, ¹⁴which proceeding from an approbation of their personal conduct, are an additional incitement to earnest and unremitting labours for the instruction of mankind; ¹⁵that our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, any more than our opinions in physics or geometry; ¹⁶that therefore the proscribing any citizen as unworthy the public confidence by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to offices of trust and emolument, unless he profess or renounce this or that religious opinion, ¹⁷is depriving him injuriously of those privileges and advantages to which in common with his fellow-citizens he has a natural right; ¹⁸that it tends only to corrupt the principles of that religion it is meant to encourage, ¹⁹by bribing with a monopoly of worldly honors and emoluments, those who will externally profess and conform to it; ²⁰that though indeed these are criminal who do not withstand such temptation, ²¹yet neither are those innocent who lay the bait in their way; ²¹that to suffer the civil magistrate to intrude his powers into the field of opinion, ²²and to restrain the profession or propagation of principles on supposition of their ill tendency, ²³is a dangerous fallacy, which at once destroys all religious liberty, ²⁴because he being of course judge of that tendency will make his opinions the rule of judgment, ²⁵and approve or condemn the sentiments of others only as they shall square with or differ from his own; ²⁶that it is time enough for the rightful purposes of civil government, ²⁷for its officers to interfere when principles break out into overt acts against peace and good order; ²⁸and finally, that truth is great and will prevail if left to herself, ²⁹that she is the proper and

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sufficient antagonist to error, ³⁰and has nothing to fear from the conflict, unless by human interposition disarmed of her natural weapons, free argument and debate, ³¹errors ceasing to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contradict them:

Chapter 4
Letter to Danbury Baptist Association (1802)

¹Believing with you that religion is a matter which lies solely between man & his god, ²that he owes account to none other for his faith or his worship, ³that the legitimate powers of government reach actions only, and not opinions, ⁴I contemplate with sovereign reverence that act of the whole American people which declared that their legislature should make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, ⁵thus building a wall of separation between church and state. ⁶Adhering to this expression of the supreme will of the nation in behalf of the rights of conscience, ⁷I shall see with sincere satisfaction the progress of those sentiments which tend to restore to man all his natural rights, ⁸convinced he has no natural right in opposition to his social duties.

Chapter 5
Letter to Edward Dawse (1803)

¹I never will, by any word or act, bow to the shrine of intolerance, ²or admit the right of inquiry into the religious opinions of others. ³On the contrary, we are bound, you, I, and everyone, to make common cause, even with error itself, ⁴to maintain the common right of freedom of conscience. ⁵We ought with one heart and one hand hew down the daring and dangerous efforts of those who would seduce the public opinion to substitute itself into . . . ⁶tyranny over religious faith.

Chapter 6
Letter to S. Kercheval (1810)

¹But a short time elapsed after the death of the great reformer of the Jewish religion, ²before his principles were departed from by those who professed to be his special servants, ³and perverted into an engine for enslaving mankind, and aggrandizing their oppressors in Church and State: ⁴that the purest system of morals ever before preached to man has been adulterated and sophisticated by artificial constructions, into a mere contrivance to filch wealth and power to themselves: ⁵that rational men, not being able to swallow their impious heresies, in order to force them down their throats, they raise the hue and cry of infidelity, ⁶while themselves are the greatest obstacles to the advancement of the real doctrines of Jesus, ⁷and do, in fact, constitute the real Anti-Christ.

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The Book
of
Thomas Paine

Chapter 1
The Age of Reason

¹I put the following work under your protection. ²It contains my opinion upon Religion. ³You will do me the justice to remember, that I have always strenuously supported the Right of every Man to his own opinion, however different that opinion might be to mine. ⁴He who denies to another this right, makes a slave of himself to his present opinion, ⁵because he precludes himself the right of changing it.

⁶Soon after I had published the pamphlet Common Sense, in America, ⁷I saw the exceeding probability that a Revolution in the System of Government would be followed by a revolution in the system of religion.

⁸I believe in one God, and no more; ⁹and I hope for happiness beyond this life. ¹⁰I believe in the equality of man, ¹¹and I believe that religious duties consist in doing justice, loving mercy, and endeavoring to make our fellow creatures happy.

¹²I do not believe in the creed professed by the Jewish church, by the Roman church, by the Greek church, by the Turkish church, by the Protestant church, nor any church that I know of. ¹³My own mind is my own church. ¹⁴Each of those churches shows certain books, which they call revelation, or the word of God. ¹⁵The Jews say that their word was given by God to Moses face to face;

¹⁶Christians say, that their word of God came by divine inspiration; ¹⁷and the Turks say, that their word of God was brought by an angel from heaven. ¹⁸Each of those churches accuses the other of unbelief; ¹⁹and, for my own part, I disbelieve them all. ²⁰All national institutions of churches, whether Jewish, Christian, or Turkish, appear to me no other than human inventions set up to terrify and enslave mankind, and monopolize power and profit.

Chapter 2
The Age of Reason

¹As it is necessary to affix right ideas to words, ²I will before I proceed further into the subject, offer some observations on the word revelation. ³Revelation, when applied to religion, means something communicated immediately from God to man.

⁴No one will deny or dispute the power of the Almighty to make such a communication if he pleases. ⁵But admitting, for the sake of a case, that something has been revealed to a certain person, and not revealed to any other person, it is revelation to that person only. ⁶When he tells it to a second person, a second to a third, a third to a fourth, and so on, it is revelation to the first person only, ⁷and hearsay to every other, and, consequently, they are not obliged to believe it.

⁸It is a contradiction in terms and ideas to call any thing a revelation that comes to us at second hand, either verbally or in writing. ⁸Revelation is necessarily limited to the first communication. ⁹After this, it is only an account of something which that person says was a revelation made to him; ¹⁰and though he may find himself

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obliged to believe it, it cannot be incumbent on me to believe it in the same manner, ¹for it was not a revelation made to me, and I have only his word for it that it was made to him.

Chapter 3
The Age of Reason

¹When Moses told the children of Israel that he received the two tables of the commandments from the hand of God, ² they were not obliged to believe him, because they had no other authority for it than his telling them so; ³and I have no other authority for it than some historian telling me so. ⁴The commandments carry no internal evidence of divinity with them. ⁵They contain some good moral precepts, such as any man qualified to be a law giver or a legislator could produce himself, ⁶without having recourse to supernatural intervention.

⁷When I am told that the Koran was written in Heaven, and brought to Mahomet by an angel, ⁸the account comes to near the same kind of hearsay evidence, and second hand authority as the former. ⁹I did not see the angel myself, and therefore I have a right not to believe it.

¹⁰When also I am told that a woman, called the Virgin Mary, said, or gave out, that she was with child without any cohabitation with a man, ¹¹and that her betrothed husband, Joseph, said, that an angel told him so, ¹²I have a right to believe them or not: ¹³such a circumstance required a much stronger evidence than bare word for it: ¹⁴but we have not even this; for neither Joseph nor Mary wrote any such matter themselves. ¹⁵It is only reported by others that they

said so. ¹⁶It is hearsay upon hearsay, and I do not chuse to rest my belief upon such evidence.

Chapter 4
The Age of Reason

¹Jesus Christ wrote no account of himself, of his birth, parentage, or any thing else. ²Not a line of what is called the New Testament is of his writing. ³The history of him is altogether the work of other people; ⁴and as to the account given of his resurrection and ascension, it was the necessary counterpart of the story of his birth. ⁴His historians, having brought him into the world in a supernatural manner were obliged to take him out again in the same manner, ⁵or the first part of the story must have fallen on the ground.

⁶But the resurrection of a dead person from the grave, and his ascension through the air, is a thing very different, as to the evidence it admits of, to the invisible conception of a child in the womb. ⁷The resurrection and ascension, supposing them to have taken place, ⁸admitted of public and ocular demonstration, like that of the ascension of a balloon, or the sun at noon day, to all Jerusalem at least. ⁹A thing which every body is required to believe, requires that the proof and evidence of it should be equal to all, and universal; ¹⁰and as the public visibility of this last related act was the only evidence that could give sanction to the former part, ¹¹the whole of it falls to the ground, because the evidence never was given. ¹²Instead of this a small number of persons, not more than eight or nine, are introduced as proxies for the whole world, ¹³to say they saw it, and all the rest of the world are called upon to believe it.

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Chapter 1
A Memorial and Remonstrance (1784)

¹We, the subscribers, citizens of the said commonwealth,
²having taken into serious consideration a bill printed by order of the
last session of the general assembly, entitled ³ "A bill for establishing
a provision for teachers of the Christian religion," ⁴and conceiving
that the same, if finally armed with the sanctions of a law, ⁵will be a
dangerous abuse of power, are bound, ⁶as faithful member of a free
state, no remonstrate against the said bill-

⁷We maintain therefore that in matters of Religion, no mans
right is abridged by the institution of Civil Society ⁸and that Religion is
wholly exempt from its cognizance. ⁹True it is, that no other rule
exists, by which any question which may divide a Society, ¹⁰can be
ultimately determined, but the will of the majority; ¹¹but it is also true
that the majority may trespass on the rights of the minority.

¹²Who does not see that the same authority which can
establish Christianity, in exclusion of all other Religions, ¹³may
establish with the same ease any particular sect of Christianity, in
exclusion of all other Sects?

¹⁴If "all men are by nature equally free and independent,"
¹⁵all men are to be considered as entering into Society on equal
conditions; ¹⁶as relinquishing no more, and therefore retaining no
less, one than another, of their natural rights. ¹⁷Above all are they to
be considered as retaining an "equal title to the free exercise of
Religion according to the dictates of Conscience." ¹⁸Whilst we
assert for ourselves a freedom to embrace, to profess and to observe

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the Religion which we believe to be of divine origin, ¹⁹we cannot deny an equal freedom to those whose minds have not yet yielded to the evidence which has convinced us. ²⁰If this freedom be abused, it is an offence against God, not against man: ²¹To God, therefore, not to man, must an account of it be rendered.

Chapter 2
A Memorial and Remonstrance (1784)

¹Because the establishment proposed by the bill is not requisite for the support of the Christian religion. ²To say that it is, is a contradiction to the Christian religion itself; ³for every page of it disavows a dependence on the powers of this world: ⁴it is a contradiction to fact; ⁵for it is known that this religion both existed and flourished, not only without the support of human laws, ⁶but in spite of every opposition from them; ⁷and not only during the period of miraculous aid, ⁸but long after it had been left to its own evidence, and the ordinary care of Providence. ⁹Nay it is a contradiction in terms; ¹⁰for a religion not invented by human policy must have pre-existed and been supported before it was established by human policy. ¹¹It is moreover, to weaken in those who profess this religion a pious confidence in its innate excellence, and the patronage of its author; ¹²and to foster in those who still reject it, a suspicion that its friends are too conscious of its fallacies to trust it to its own merits.

¹³Because witnesseth that ecclesiastical establishments, ¹⁴instead of maintaining the purity and efficacy of religion, have had a contrary operation. ¹⁵During almost fifteen centuries has the legal establishment of Christianity been on trial. ¹⁶What have been its

fruits? ¹⁷More or less, in all places, pride and indolence in the clergy; ¹⁸ignorance and servility in the laity; in both, superstition, bigotry, and persecution.

¹⁹If religion be not within the cognizance of civil government, ²⁰how can its legal establishment be said to be necessary to civil government? ²¹What influences, in fact, have ecclesiastical establishments had on civil society? ²²In some instances that have been seen to erect a spiritual tyranny on the ruins of civil authority; ²³in many instance that have been seen upholding the thrones of political tyranny; ²⁴in no instance have they been seen the guardians of the liberties of the people.

²⁵Torrents of blood have been spilt in the world in vain attempts of the secular arm to extinguish religious discord, ²⁶by proscribing all differences in religious opinions. ²⁷Time at length, has revealed the true remedy. ²⁸Every relaxation of narrow and rigorous policy, wherever it has been tried, ²⁹has been found to assuage the disease. ³⁰The American theatre has exhibited proofs, that equal and complete liberty, ³¹if it does not wholly eradicate it ³²sufficiently destroys its malignant influence on the health and prosperity of the state.

Chapter 3
"Vices of the Political System" (1787)

¹All civilized societies are divided into different interests and factions, ²as they happen to be creditors or debtors- Rich or poor- husbandmen, merchants or manufactures-members of different religious sects- followers of different political leaders- in habitants of

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different districts- owners of different kinds of property &c &c. ³In republican Government the majority however composed, ⁴ultimately give the law. ⁴Whenever therefore an apparent interest or common passion unites a majority ⁵what is to restrain them from unjust violations of the rights and interests of the minority, or of individuals?

Chapter 4
Federalist #10 (1787)

¹Complaints are everywhere heard from our most considerate and virtuous citizens, ²equally the friends of public and private faith, and of public and personal liberty, ³that our governments are too unstable, ⁴that the public good is disregarded in the conflicts of rival parties, ⁵and that measures are too often decided, not according to the rules of justice and the rights of the minor party, ⁶but by the superior force of an interested and overbearing majority.

⁷By a faction, I understand a number of citizens, whether amounting to a majority or minority of the whole, ⁸who are united and actuated by some common impulse of passion, or of interest, ⁹adverse to the rights of other citizens, ¹⁰or to the permanent and aggregate interests of the community.

¹¹A zeal for different opinions concerning religion, concerning government, and many other points as well of speculation as of practice; ¹²an attachment to different leaders ambitiously contending for pre-eminence and power; ¹³or to persons of other descriptions whose fortunes have been interesting to the human passions, ¹⁴have, in turn, divided mankind into parties, ¹⁵inflamed them with mutual animosity, ¹⁶and rendered them much more

disposed to vex and oppress each other than to co-operate for their common good...¹⁷But the most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property. ¹⁸Those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society.

¹⁹It is in vain to say enlightened statesmen will be able to adjust these clashing interests, ²⁰and render them all subservient to the public good. ²¹Enlightened statesmen will not always be at the helm.

²²When a majority is included in a faction, the form of popular government, on the other hand, ²³enables it to sacrifice to its ruling passion or interest both the public good and the rights of other citizens. ²⁴To secure the public good and private rights against the danger of such a faction, ²⁵and at the same time to preserve the spirit and the form of popular government ²⁶is then the great object to which our inquiries are directed.

²⁷If the impulse and opportunity be suffered to coincide, ²⁸we well know that neither moral nor religious motives can be relied on as an adequate control.

²⁹A religious sect may degenerate into a political faction in a part of the Confederacy; ³⁰but the variety of sects dispersed over the entire face of it must secure the national councils ³¹against and danger for that source.

Chapter 5
Federalist #10 (1787)

¹From this view of the subject it may be concluded that a pure democracy, ²by which I mean a society consisting of a small

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number of citizens, ³who assemble and administer the government in person, ⁴can admit of no cure for the mischiefs of faction. ⁵A common passion or interest will, in almost every case, be felt by a majority of the whole; ⁶a communication and concert result from the form of government itself; ⁷and there is nothing to check the inducements to sacrifice the weaker party or an obnoxious individual. ⁸Hence it is that such democracies have ever been spectacles of turbulence and contention; ⁹have ever been found incompatible with personal security or the rights of property; ¹⁰and have in general been as short in their lives as they have been violent in their deaths. ¹¹Theoretic politicians, who have patronized this species of government, ¹²have erroneously supposed that by reducing mankind to a perfect equality in their political rights, ¹³they would at the same time, be perfectly equalized and assimilated in their possessions, their opinions, and their passions.

¹⁴A republic, by which I mean a government in which the scheme of representation takes place, ¹⁵opens a different prospect, and promises the cure for which we are seeking.

¹⁶The two great points of difference between a democracy and a republic are first, ¹⁷the delegation of the government, in the latter to a small number of citizens elected by the rest; ¹⁸secondly, the greater number of citizens, and greater sphere of country, ¹⁹over which the latter may be extended.

²⁰Extend the sphere and you take in a greater variety of parties and interests; ²¹you make it less probable that a majority of the whole will have a common motive to invade the rights of other citizens; ²²or if such a common motive exists, ²³it will be more

difficult for all who feel it to discover their own strength, ²⁴and to act in unison with each other.

²⁵In the extent and proper structure of the Union, therefore, ²⁶we behold a republican remedy for the diseases most incident to republican government. ²⁷And according to the degree of pleasure and pride we feel in being republicans, ²⁸ought to be our zeal in cherishing the spirit and supporting the character of Federalists.

Chapter 6
Letter to Thomas Jefferson (1788)

¹Wherever the real power in a Government lies, ²there is the danger of oppression. ³In our Governments the real power lies in the majority of the Community, ⁴and the invasion of private rights is chiefly to be apprehended, ⁵not from acts of Government contrary to the sense of its constituents, ⁶but from acts in which the Government is the mere instrument of the major number of the constituents... ⁷Wherever there is an interest and power to do wrong, ⁸wrong will generally be done, ⁹and not less readily by a powerful and interested party than by a powerful and interested prince.

Chapter 7
National Gazette essay (1792)

¹In its larger and juster meaning, ²it [property] embraces every thing to which a man may attach a value and have a right; ³and which leaves to every one else the like advantage. ⁴In the former sense, a man's land, or merchandize, or money is called his property. ⁵In the latter sense, a man has a property in his opinions ⁶and the

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free communication of them. ⁷He has a property of peculiar value in his religious opinions, ⁸and in the profession and practice dictated by them. ⁹He has a property very dear to him in the safety and liberty of his person. ¹⁰He has an equal property in the free use of his faculties ¹¹and free choice of the objects on which to employ them. ¹²In a word, as a man is said to have a right to his property, ¹³he may be equally said to have a property in his rights. ¹⁴Where an excess of power prevails, property of no sort is duly respected. ¹⁵No man is safe in his opinions, his person, his faculties, or his possessions. ¹⁶Where there is an excess of liberty, the effect is the same, tho' from an opposite cause. ¹⁷Government instituted to protect property of every sort; ¹⁸as well that which lies in the various rights of individuals, as that which the term particularly expresses. ¹⁹This being the end of government, that alone is a just government, ²⁰which impartially secures to man, whatever is his own.

Chapter 8
Helvidius No. 3 (1793)

¹If there be a principle that ought not to be questioned within the United States, ²it is, that every nation has a right to abolish an old government and establish a new one. ³This principle is not only recorded in every public archive, ⁴written in every American heart, ⁵and sealed with the blood of a host of American martyrs; ⁶but is the only lawful tenure by which the United States ⁷hold their existence as a nation.

Chapter 9
Letter to Robert Walsh, Jr. (1819)

¹It was the universal opinion of the Century preceding the last, ²that civil Government could not stand without the prop of a religious establishment, ³and that the Christian religion itself, would perish if not supported by a legal provision for its Clergy. ⁴The experience of Virginia conspicuously corroborates the disproof of both opinions. ⁵The Civil Government tho' bereft of everything like an anointed hierarchy possesses the requisite Stability and performs its function with complete success: ⁶Whilst the number, the industry, and the morality of the priesthood and the devotion of the people have been manifestly increased ⁷by the total separation of the Church from the State.

Chapter 10
Letter to Frederick L. Schaeffer (1821)

¹The experience of the U.S. is a happy disproof of the error so long rooted in the unenlightened minds of well meaning Christians, ²as well as in the corrupt hearts of persecuting Usurpers, ³that without a legal incorporation of religious and civil polity, neither could be supported. ⁴A mutual independence is found most friendly to practical Religion, to social harmony, and to political prosperity.

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The Second Book
of
Thomas Jefferson

Chapter 1
Letter to John Adams (1813)

¹It is too late in the day for men of sincerity to pretend they believe in the Platonic mysticisms that three are one, and one is three; ²and yet that the one is not three, and the three are not one . . . ³But this constitutes the craft, the power and the profit of the priests. ³Sweep away their gossamer fabrics of factitious religion, ⁴and they would catch no more flies. ⁴We should all then, like the Quakers, live without an order of priests, moralize for ourselves, follow the oracle of conscience, ⁵and say nothing about what no man can understand, nor therefore believe.

Chapter 2
Letter to Dr. Thomas Cooper (2/10/1814)

¹When I was a student of the law, now half a century ago, after getting through Coke Littleton, whose matter cannot be abridged, ²I was in the habit of abridging and common-placing what I read meriting it, and of sometimes mixing my own reflections on the subject. ³I now enclose you the extract from these entries which I promised. ⁴They were written at a time of life when I was bold in the

pursuit of knowledge, ⁵never fearing to follow truth and reason to whatever results they led, ⁶and bearding every authority which stood in the way. ⁷This must be the apology, if you find the conclusions bolder than historical facts and principles will warrant. ⁸Accept with them the assurances of my great esteem and respect.

⁹A question was, How far the Ecclesiastical law was to be respected in this matter by the common law court?

¹⁰For we know that the common law is that system of law which was introduced by the Saxons on their settlement in England, and altered from time to time by proper legislative authority from that time to the date of Magna Charta, ¹¹which terminates the period of Common law, or *lex non scripta*, and commences that of the statute law, or *Lex Scripta*. ¹²This settlement took place about the middle of the fifth century. ¹³But Christianity was not introduced till the seventh century; ¹⁴the conversion of the first Christian king of the Heptarchy having taken place about the year 598 and that of the last about 686.

¹⁵But none of these adopt Christianity as a part of the common law. ¹⁶If, therefore from the settlement of the Saxons to the introduction of Christianity among them, that system of religion could not be a part of the common law, because they were not yet Christians, ¹⁷and if having their laws from that period to the close of the common law we are able to find among them no such act of adoption, ¹⁸we may safely affirm that Christianity neither is, nor ever was a part of the common law.

¹⁹We might as well say that the Newtonian system of philosophy is a part of the common law, as that the Christian religion is. ²⁰The common law protects both opinions, but enacts neither into law.

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Chapter 3
Letter to E. Styles (1819)

¹I am of a sect by myself, as far as I know. ²I am not a Jew, and therefore do not adopt their theology, ³which supposes the God of infinite justice to punish the sins of the fathers upon their children, unto the third and fourth generation; ⁴and the benevolent and sublime reformer of that religion has told us only that God is good and perfect, ⁵but has not defined him. ⁶I am, therefore, of his theology, ⁷believing that we have neither words nor ideas adequate to that definition. ⁸And if we could all, after this example, leave the subject as undefinable, ⁹we should all be of one sect, doers of good, and eschewers of evil. ¹⁰No doctrines of his lead to schism. ¹¹It is the speculations of crazy theologians which have made a Babel of a religion ¹²the most moral and sublime ever preached to man, ¹³and calculated to heal, and not to create differences. ¹⁴These religious animosities I impute to those who call themselves his ministers, ¹⁵and who engraft their casuistries on the stock of his simple precepts. ¹⁶I am sometimes more angry with them than is authorized by the blessed charities which he preaches.

Chapter 4
Letter to W. Short (1820)

¹That Jesus did not mean to impose himself on mankind as the son of God, physically speaking, ²I have been convinced by the writings of men more learned than myself in that lore. ³But that he might conscientiously believe himself inspired from above, is very possible. ⁴The whole religion of the Jew, inculcated in him from his

infancy, was founded in the belief of divine inspiration. ⁵The fumes of the most disordered imaginations were recorded in their religious code, as special communications of the Deity . . . ⁷Elevated by the enthusiasm of a warm and pure heart, conscious of the high strains of an eloquence which had not been taught him, ⁸he might readily mistake the coruscations of his own fine genius for inspirations of an higher order. ⁹This belief carried, therefore, no more personal imputation, than the belief of Socrates, ¹⁰that himself was under the care and admonitions of a guardian Daemon.

¹¹It is not to be understood that I am with him [Jesus] in all his doctrines. ¹²I am a Materialist; he takes the side of Spiritualism; ¹³he preaches the efficacy of repentance towards forgiveness of sin; ¹⁴I require a counterpoise of good works to redeem it, etc. ¹⁵It is the innocence of his character, the purity and sublimity of his moral precepts, the eloquences of his inculcations, the beauty of the apologues in which he conveys them, that I so much admire; ¹⁶sometimes, indeed, needing indulgence to eastern hyperbolism. ¹⁷My eulogies, too, may be founded on a postulate which all may not be ready to grant. ¹⁸Among the sayings and discourses imputed to him by his biographers, ¹⁹I find many passages of fine imagination, correct morality, and of the most lovely benevolence; ²⁰and others, again, of so much ignorance, so much absurdity, so much untruth, charlatanism and imposture, ²¹as to pronounce it impossible that such contradictions should have proceeded from the same being. ²²I separate, therefore, the gold from the dross; ²³restore to him the former, and leave the latter to the stupidity of some, and roguery of others of his disciples. ²⁴Of this band of dupes and impostors, Paul was the great Coryphaeus, ²⁵and first corruptor of the doctrines of Jesus.

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Chapter 5
Letter to James Smith (1822)

¹In fact, the Athanasian paradox that one is three, and three but one, is so incomprehensible to the human mind, ²that no candid man can say he has any idea of it, and how can he believe what presents no idea? ³He who thinks he does, only deceives himself. ⁴He proves, also, that man, once surrendering his reason, has no remaining guard against absurdities the most monstrous, ⁵and like a ship without a rudder, is the sport of every wind. ⁶With such persons gullibility which they call faith, ⁷takes the helm from the hand of reason, and the mind becomes a wreck.

⁸I write with freedom, because while I claim a right to believe in one God, if so my reason tells me, ⁹I yield as freely to others that of believing in three. ¹⁰Both religions, I find, make honest men, ¹¹and that is the only point society has any right to look to. ¹²Although this mutual freedom should produce mutual indulgence, ¹³yet I wish not to be brought in question before the public on this or any other subject, ¹⁴and I pray you to consider me as writing under that trust. ¹⁵I take no part in controversies, religious or political. ¹⁶At the age of eighty, tranquility is the greatest good of life, ¹⁷and the strongest of our desires that of dying in the good will of all mankind. ¹⁸And with the assurance of all my good will to Unitarian and Trinitarian, to Whig and Tory, ¹⁹accept for yourself that of my entire respect.

Chapter 6
Letter from Joseph Story to Jasper Adams (1833)

¹Mr. Jefferson has, with his accustomed boldness denied that Christianity is a part of the common Law, ²& Dr. Thomas Copper has with even more dogmatism, maintained the same opinion. ³I am persuaded, that a more egregious error never was uttered by able men.

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The Third Book
of
James Madison

Chapter 1
Letter to Edward Livingston (1822)

¹I Observe with particular pleasure the view you have taken of the immunity of Religion from civil jurisdiction, ²in every case where it does not trespass on private rights or the public peace. ³This has always been a favorite principle with me; ⁴and it was not with my approbation, that the deviation from it took place in Cong.^s ⁵when they appointed Chaplains, to be paid from the Nat.^l Treasury. ⁶It would have been a much better proof to their Constituents of their pious feeling if the members had contributed for the purpose, ⁷a pittance from their own pockets. ⁸As the precedent is not likely to be rescinded, ⁹the best that can be done, may be to apply to the Const.ⁿ the maxim of the law, ¹⁰de minimis no curat.

¹¹There has been another deviation from the strict principle in the Executive Proclamations of fasts & festivals, ¹²so far, at least, as they have spoken the language of injunction, ¹³or have lost sight of equality of all religious sects in the eye of the Constitution.

¹⁴Whilst I was honored with the Executive Trust I found it necessary on more than one occasion to follow the example of predecessors. ¹⁵But I was always careful to make the Proclamations absolutely indiscriminate, and merely recommendatory; ¹⁶or rather mere designations of a day, ¹⁷on which all who thought

proper might unite in consecrating it to religious purposes, ¹⁸according to their own faith & forms.

Chapter 2
Letter to Edward Livingston (1822)

¹Notwithstanding the general progress made within the two last centuries in favour of this branch of liberty, ²& full establishment of it, in some parts of our Country, ³there remains in others a strong bias towards the old error, ⁴that without some sort of alliance or coalition between Gov^t & Religion neither can be duly supported. ⁵Such indeed is the tendency to such a coalition, and such its corrupting influence on both the parties, ⁶that the danger cannot be too carefully guarded agst. ⁷And in a Gov^t of opinion, like ours, ⁸the only effectual guard must be found in the soundness and stability of the general on the subject. ⁹Every new & successful example therefore of a perfect separation between ecclesiastical and civil matters, ¹⁰is of importance. ¹¹And I have no doubt that every new example, will succeed, as every past one has done, ¹²in shewing that religion & Gov^t will both exist in greater purity, ¹³the less they are mixed together.

¹⁴We are teaching the world the great truth that Gov^{ts} do better without Kings & Nobles than with them. ¹⁵The merit will be doubled by the other lesson that Religion flourishes in greater purity, ¹⁶without than with the aid of Gov^t.

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Chapter 3
Letter to Edward Everett (1823)

¹The difficulty of reconciling the Christian mind to the absence of religious Tuition from a University, ²established by Law and at the common expense, ³is probably less with us [Virginia] than with you [Massachusetts]. ⁴The settled opinion here is that religion is essentially distinct from Civil Government ⁵and exempt from its cognizance; ⁶that a connection between them is injurious to both; ⁷that there are causes in the human breast, which ensure the perpetuity of religion without the aid of the law; ⁸that rival sects with equal rights, exercise mutual censorships in favor of good morals; ⁹that if new sects arise with absurd opinions or over heated imaginations, the proper remedies lie in time, forbearance, and example: ¹⁰that a legal establishment of Religion without toleration, could not be thought of, ¹¹and with a toleration, is no security for public quiet and harmony, but rather a source itself of discord and animosity: ¹²and, finally, that these opinions are supported by experience, ¹³which has shewn from the partial example of Holland, to its consummation in Pennsylvania, New Jersey &c. ¹⁴has been found as safe in practice as it is sound in Theory.

Chapter 9
Memoranda (1817 – 1832)

¹In the course of the opposition to the bill in the House of Delegates, ²which was made on the reverence entertained for the name & sanctity of the Savior, ³by proposing to insert the words "Jesus Christ" after the words "our lord" in the preamble, ⁴the object

of which would have been, to imply a restriction of the liberty defined in the Bill, ⁵to those professing his religion only. ⁶The opponents of the amendment having turned the feeling as well as judgement of the House agst it, ⁷by successfully contending that the better proof of reverence for that holy name wd be not to profane it by making it a topic of legisl. discussion, ⁸& particularly by making his religion the means of abridging the natural and equal rights of all men, ⁹in defiance of his own declaration that his kingdom was not of this world.

Chapter 10
Memoranda (1817 – 1832)

¹Is the appointment of Chaplains to the two Houses of Congress consistent with the Constitution, ²and with the pure principle of religious freedom?

³In strictness the answer on both points must be in the negative. ⁴The Constitution of the U.S. forbids everything like an establishment of a national religion. ⁵The law appointing Chaplains establishes a national religion. ⁶The law appointing Chaplains establishes a religious worship for the national representatives, ⁷to be performed by Ministers of religion, elected by a majority of them; ⁸and these are to be paid out of the national taxes. ⁹Does not this involve the principle of a national establishment, ¹⁰applicable to a provision for a religious worship for the Constituent as well as of the representative Body, ¹¹approved by the majority, and conducted by Ministers of religion paid by the entire nation.

¹²The establishment of the chaplainship to Congs. is a palpable violation of equal rights as well as of Constitutional

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principles: ¹³The tenets of the chaplains elected [by the majority] ¹⁴shut the door of worship agst the members whose creeds & conscience forbid a participation in that of the majority. ¹⁵To say that his religious principles are obnoxious or that his sect is small, ¹⁶is to lift the evil at once and exhibit in its naked deformity the doctrine that religious truth is to be tested by numbers, ¹⁷or that the major sects have a right to govern the minor.

¹⁸Rather than let this step beyond the landmarks of power have the effects of a legitimate precedent, ¹⁹it will be better to apply to it the legal aphorism de minimis no curat lex: ²⁰or to class it cum "maculis quas aut incuria fudit, aut humana parum cavit natura."

²¹Better also to disarm in the same way, the precedent of Chaplainships for the army and navy, ²²than erect them into a political authority in matters of religion. ²³The object of the establishment is seducing; ²⁴the motive to it is laudable. ²⁵But is it not safer to adhere to a right principle, and trust to its consequences, ²⁶than confide in the reasoning however specious in favor of a wrong one.

²⁷Religious proclamations by the Executive recommending thanksgivings & fasts are shoots from the same root with the legislative acts reviewed.

²⁸Altho' recommendations only, they imply a religious agency, ²⁹making no part of the trust delegated to political rulers.

³⁰The objections to them are 1. that Govts ought not to interpose in relation to those subject to their authority ³¹but in cases where they can do it with effect. ³²An advisory Govt is a contradiction in terms.

³³The idea also of a union of all to form one nation under one Govt in acts of devotion to the God of all is an imposing idea. ³⁴But reason and the principles of the Xn religion require that all the individuals composing a nation even of the same precise creed & wished to unite in a universal act of religion at the same time, ³⁵the union ought to be effected thro' the intervention of their religious not their political representatives.

Chapter 11
Memoranda (1817 – 1832)

¹Within the local limits, parties generally exist, ²founded on the different sorts of property, even sometimes on divisions by streets or little streams; ³frequently on political and religious differences.

⁴Attachments to rival individuals, are not seldom a source of the same divisions. ⁵In all these cases, the party animosities are the more violent ⁶as the compass of the Society may more easily admit of the contagion and collision of the passions ⁷according to that violence of oppression by one party on the other; ⁸by the majority on the minority.

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Chapter 12
Letter to Jasper Adams (1833)
In response to his sermon
The Relation of Christianity to Civil Government
In the United States

¹I received in due time, the printed copy of your convention sermon on the relation of Christianity to civil government, ²with a manuscript request of my opinion on the subject.

³There appears to be in the nature of man, ⁴what ensures his belief in an invisible cause of his present existence, ⁵& an anticipation of his future existence. ⁶Hence the propensities & susceptibilities, in the case of religion, ⁷which, with a few doubtful or individual exceptions, have prevailed throughout the world.

⁸Waiving the rights of conscience, not included in the surrender implied by the social state, ⁹& more or less invaded by all Religious establishments, ¹⁰the simple question to be decided, is whether a support of the best & purest religion, the Christian Religion itself, ¹¹ought not, so far at least as pecuniary means are involved, to be provided for by the Government, ¹²rather than be left to the voluntary provisions of those who profess it. ¹³And on this question, experience will be an admitted umpire the adequate ¹⁴as the connexion between government & Religion, has existed in such various degrees & forms, ¹⁵& now can be compared with examples where the connexion has been entirely dissolved.

¹⁶In the papal system, Government & Religion are in a manner consolidated; ¹⁷& that is found to be the worst of Governments.

¹⁸In most of the governments of the old world, the legal establishment of a particular religion without any, or with very little toleration of others, ¹⁹makes a part [pact?] of the political & civil organization; ²⁰& there are few of the most enlightened judges who will maintain that the system has been favourable either to Religion or to government.

²¹And if we turn to the Southern States where there was previous to the Declaration of Independence, a legal provision for the support of Religion; ²²& since that event, a surrender of it to a spontaneous support of the people, ²³it may be said that the difference amounts nearly to a contrast, ²⁴in the greater purity & industry of the pastor & in the greater devotion of their flocks, in the latter period than in the former. ²⁵In Virginia, the contrast is particularly striking to those whose memory can make the comparison.

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Chapter 13
Letter to Jasper Adams (1833)
In response to his sermon
The Relation of Christianity to Civil Government
In the United States

¹It will not be denied that causes other than the abolition of the legal establishment of Religion are to be taken into view, ²in accounting for the changes in the religious character of the community. ³But the existing character, distinguished as it is by its religious features, ⁴& the lapse of time, now more than fifty years, since the legal support of Religion was withdrawn, ⁵sufficiently prove, that it does not need the support of Government. ⁶And it will scarcely be contended that government has suffered by the exemption of Religion from its cognizance, or its pecuniary aid.

⁷The apprehension of some seems to be, that Religion left entirely to itself, ⁸may run into extravagances injurious to both to Religion and social order; ⁹but besides the question whether the interference of Government in any form, would not be more likely to increase than controul the tendency, ¹⁰it is a safe calculation that in this, as in other cases of excessive excitement, ¹¹reason will gradually regain its ascendancy. ¹²Great excitements are less apt to be permanent than to vibrate to the opposite aid.

¹³Whilst I thus frankly express my view of the subject presented in your sermon, ¹⁴I must do you the justice to observe, that you have very ably maintained yours. ¹⁵I must admit, moreover, that it may not be easy, in every possible case, ¹⁶to trace the line of separation, between the rights of Religion & the Civil authority, ¹⁷with such distinctness, as to avoid collisions & doubts on unessential

points. ¹⁸The tendency to a usurpation on one side, or the other, or to a corrupting coalition or alliance between them, ¹⁹will best be guarded against by an entire abstinence of the Government from interference, in any way whatever, ²⁰beyond the necessity of preserving public order, ²¹& protecting each sect against trespasses on its legal rights by other.

²²I owe you, Sir, an apology for the delay in complying with the request of my opinion on the subject discussed in your sermon, ²³if not also for the brevity, & it may be thought, crudeness of the opinion itself. ²⁴I must rest my apology on my great age now in its 83^d year, with more than ordinary infirmities, ²⁵& especially on the effect of a chronic rheumatism, combined both, which makes my hands & fingers, as averse to the pen as they awkward in the use of it.

Rite of Colors

Founder's Prayer

Song: "The Star-Spangled Banner"

O! Say can you see, by the dawn's early
light, What so proudly we hailed
at the twilight's last gleaming?
Whose broad stripes and bright stars,
through the perilous fight, O'er the
ramparts we watched, were so gallantly
streaming? And the rocket's red glare,
the bombs bursting in air, Gave proof
through the night that our flag was still
there. O! say, does that star-spangled
banner yet wave O'er the land of the free
and the home of the brave?

Song: "You're a Grand Old Flag"

You're a grand old flag,
You're a high flying flag
And forever in peace may you wave.
You're the emblem of
The land I love.
The home of the free and the brave.
Ev'ry heart beats true
'neath the Red, White and Blue,
Where there's never a boast or brag.
Should auld acquaintance be forgot,
Keep your eye on the grand old flag.

**Dear Founding Fathers,
Hallowed be thy names.
Thank you for your vision, your wisdom, your bravery
Our dream is to become your land of the Free
To become an America our children's children will be
proud of
We ask for your inspiration, your insight
To help us navigate the endless rivers of interpretation
Show us your true plan
Enlighten us with your words, your letters, your ideals
Be our beacon, be the lighthouse on the mountaintop
Guiding us through the fog of opinion
Protecting us from the rocky shores of popular prejudices
And deliver us down the true path to Freedom
Freedom not just for ourselves,
But an unselfish Freedom, An everlasting Freedom,
That is greater than any individual
Be our north star,
As, We the People, take the helm
Steering our great nation over new horizons
Piloting this experimental voyage
You, our Founding Fathers, christened
The United States of America
In the Constitution we pray
Amen**

Presentation of the Constitution

Song

"My Country 'Tis of Thee"

My country 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty-
Of thee I sing.
Land, where my fathers died;
Land of the pilgrim's pride;
From every mountainside,
Let freedom Ring.

The Preamble

1 Constitution 1:1-5

1WE THE PEOPLE of the United States,
2in Order to form a more perfect Union,
3establish Justice, insure domestic
Tranquility, provide for the common
defence, promote the general Welfare,
4and secure the Blessings of Liberty to
ourselves and our Posterity, **5**do ordain
and establish this Constitution of the
United States of America.

Prophet: May the Constitution be with you.

Citizens: And also with you.

Communion Rite

1 Constitution 7:1-3

1This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof, **2**and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, **3**shall be the supreme Law of the Land;

Breaking of the Bread

Prophet : Blessed are you, our God, the Constitution, the supreme law of the land.
Through your goodness we have this bread to offer,
Which earth has given and human hands have made.
This bread represents your pages,
Which holds your words, our law.
It will become for us the bread of Freedom

Citizens: Blessed be America for ever.

Prophet : Blessed are you, our God, the Constitution, the supreme law of the land.
Through your goodness we have this wine to offer,
Fruit of the vine and work of human hands.
This wine represents the ink,
Which pinned your words, our law.
It will become our patriotic drink.

Citizens: Blessed be America for ever.

Prophet : May the Constitution, our God, bless America.

Citizens: Blessed be America for ever.

Song
"God Bless America"

God Bless America,
Land that I love.
Stand beside her, and guide her
Through the night with a light from above.

From the Mountains,
To the prairies,
To the oceans white with foam.
God Bless America,
My home, sweet home.
[Repeat till end of Communion]

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Political Scriptures

"This Land is our Land"

This land is your land, this land is my
land
From California, to the New York Island
From the redwood forest, to the gulf
stream waters

*This land was made for you and me

As I was walking a ribbon of highway
I saw above me an endless skyway
I saw below me a golden valley

*This land was made for you and me

I've roamed and rambled and I've followed
my footsteps
To the sparkling sands of her diamond
deserts

And all around me a voice was sounding

*This land was made for you and me

The sun comes shining as I was strolling
The wheat fields waving and the dust
clouds rolling

The fog was lifting a voice come chanting

*This land was made for you and me

This land is your land, this land is my
land
From California, to the New York Island
From the redwood forest, to the gulf
stream waters

This land was made for you and me

"America the Beautiful"

O beautiful for spacious skies,
For amber waves of grain,
For purple mountain majesties
Above the fruited plain!
America! America!
God shed his grace on thee
And crown thy good with brotherhood
From sea to shining sea!

THE FREEDOM PLEDGE (1948)

I am an American

A Free American

Free to speak - without Fear

Free to worship God in my own way

Free to stand for what I think right

Free to oppose what I think wrong

Free to choose those who govern my country

**This heritage of Freedom I pledge to
uphold**

For myself and all mankind

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Political Scriptures

Treaty of Tripoli
Approved by the Senate June 7, 1797
Signed By John Adams June 10, 1797

Article XI

¹As the government of the United States of America is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion ²as it has in itself no character of enmity [hatred] against the laws, religion or tranquility of Musselmen [Muslims] ³and as the said States [America] have never entered into any war or act of hostility against any Mahometan nation, ⁴it is declared by the parties that no pretext arising from religious opinions shall ever produce an interruption of the harmony existing between the two countries.

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