

*The Emergence of Modern Protestantism*  
*1725 - 1850*

**Lecture 7 – The Three Revolutions Part 3**  
**Church and State (in Virginia)**

Dr. Dave Doughty

# *Outline*

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- The state of things circa 1774
- Virginia developments 1774-1786
- A new Virginia Statute?

# *The State of Things - 1774*

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- In 1774, eight of the 13 colonies had state churches
  - NH, MA, CT – Congregationalist
  - MD, VA, NC, SC, GA – Church of England
  - NY, NJ – no established church at this time
  - RI, PA, DE – never had an established church
- Many had religious tests for holding office
  - MD, MA – belief “in the Christian religion.”
  - GA, NH, NJ, NC – protestant tests
  - Delaware – “faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ, His only Son, and in the Holy Ghost, One God, blessed forever more.”
  - PA – belief that God was “the rewarder of the good and the punisher of the wicked.”

## *After the war...and beyond*

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- By 1787 VA, NC, GA had given up their state churches
- In the constitution – Bill of Rights – Amendment 1
  - “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.”
- In 1833, Massachusetts became the last state to give up its established church!
- How did all this happen?

# *Virginia Played an Important Role*

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- Virginia Debates on Religious Freedom
  - 1776-1786
  - A Christian state?
  - Assessment or no
  - Role of government
  - What to do with Church of England

# *Virginia – circa 1776*

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- Church of England enjoyed legal supremacy in Virginia since colonial period.
- By 1776 its adherents were probably a bare majority of the white population.
- Local religious unit was the parish – often same as the county
- Parish affairs controlled by a vestry – 12 men from economic and political elite
- Book of Common Prayer, Canons of the Church of England
- Disputes within or among parishes resolved by House of Burgesses
- Approximately 105 clergymen serving 95 parishes
  - Each parish furnished minister with a rectory and a glebe of at least 200 acres
    - Or give enough money to rent a residence and farm
  - Regular salary was 16,000 pounds of tobacco + extras
  - Collected by taxing every head of household who lived within the parish boundaries on the basis of his holdings.
  - Minister could augment his salary by doing weddings, funerals, teaching

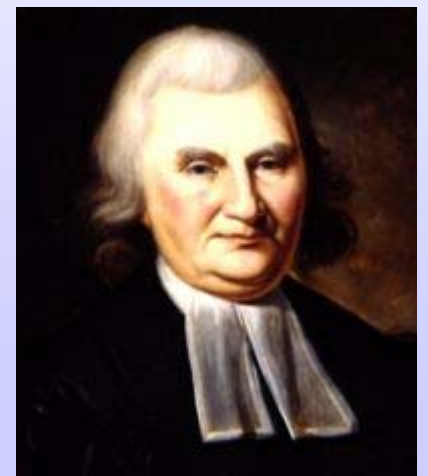
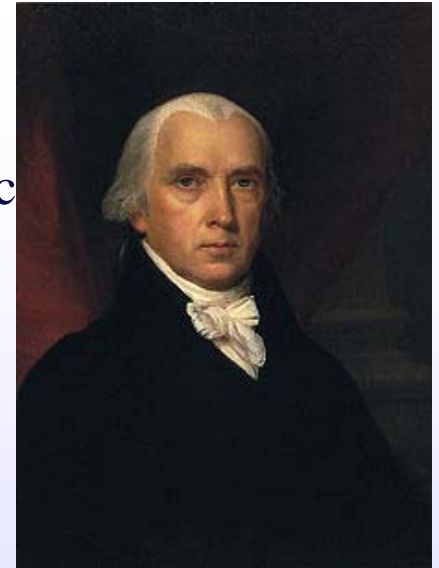
# *Virginia – circa 1776*

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- Toleration laws preferred COE
  - But the Revolution was hard on COE (for obvious reasons)
- Others (dissenters) had to apply for permits for meetinghouses and licenses to preach
- Roughly in time order:
  - Quakers (mostly in NOVA and Shenandoah valley)
  - Presbyterians – Hanover Presbytery (entire commonwealth)
    - Scotch-Irish immigration
    - Most numerous and influential group after COE
  - Baptists
    - Regular (Calvinistic)
    - Separate Baptists – refused to get permits – were often whipped, etc.
  - Lutherans
  - Mennonites

# *James Madison – and John Witherspoon*

- Madison had been a student at the College of New Jersey (Princeton)
- John Witherspoon – president since 1768 – had a big influence on Madison
  - Church of Scotland, noted Evangelical
  - Supporter of Revolution (Committee of Correspondence in 1774)
  - Witherspoon was then elected to Continental Congress
  - Voted for and signed the Declaration of Independence
  - Famous teacher of course called Moral Philosophy
    - Thirty-seven judges (3 supreme court)
    - Ten cabinet officers
    - 28 senators
    - 49 congressmen
    - One VP (Burr)
    - One President - Madison



# *Madison's Assessment*

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- In 1774 he wrote  
“I...have nothing to brag of as to the State and Liberty of my Country. Poverty and Luxury prevail among all sorts: Pride ignorance and Knavery among the Priesthood and Vice and Wickedness among the Laity. This is bad enough But It is not the worst I have to tell you. That diabolical Hell conceived principle of persecution rages among some and to their eternal Infamy the Clergy can furnish their Quota of Imps for such business. This vexes me the most of any thing whatever. There are at this [time?] in the adjacent Country not less than 5 or 6 well meaning men in close Goal for publishing their religious Sentiments which in the main are very orthodox...pray for Liberty of Conscience.”

## *More from Madison*

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- “That liberal catholic and equitable way of thinking as to the rights of Conscience, which is one of the Characteristics of a free people...is but little known among the Zealous adherents to our Hierarchy. We have it is true some persons in the Legislature of generous Principles both in Religion and Politicks but number not merit you know is necessary to carry points there. Besides the Clergy are a numerous and powerful body, have great influence at home by reason of their connection with and dependence on the Bishops and the Crown...”

# *Virginia Convention – 1776 – Declaration of Rights*

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- Madison took a seat as a delegate to the convention in May 1776
- May 15 – passed a resolution instructing Virginia delegates to make the motion formally severing the colonies from Great Britain.
- The convention then appointed a committee to draw up a Declaration of Rights and a constitution for the independent commonwealth.
  - Members – Patrick Henry, George Mason, James Madison, Edmund Randolph...
- Declaration of Rights – initial draft published June 1 in Virginia Gazette
- “All men are by nature equally free and independent”
- 16<sup>th</sup> article – religion
- George Masons initial draft read – “all men should enjoy the fullest toleration in the exercise of religion.”
- Madison was not satisfied and successfully amended it to read– “all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion.”

## *Declaration of Rights – Article 16 - 1776*

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- “That religion or the duty which we owe to our CREATOR, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence, and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practice Christian forbearance, love, and charity, toward each other”

## *Virginia Convention – 1776 – form of gov't*

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- Jefferson sent stuff from Philadelphia – it arrived late
  - “all persons shall have full and free liberty of religious opinion; nor shall any be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious institutions.”
- Would have eliminated taxation for the established church
- New government began in Oct. 1776, - lower house – House of Burgesses – had most of the authority, Patrick Henry was governor

## *House of Delegates works on religion*

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- A committee for religion was formed – 18 members (incl. Jefferson)
- Many dissenting petitions came in
- Hanover Presbytery was longest
  - Strongly objected to religious taxation
  - The gospel needed no “civil aid”
  - Could not accept establishment for itself, would not tolerate it for others
  - Asked for repeal of preferential laws, voluntary system of church support, equal protection
- The Anglican clergy submitted their own petition
  - They had taken their jobs expecting their rights (property) to be protected.
  - Christianity was best means to promote virtue in society
  - Therefore government had obligation to advance it
  - Best way – as it had been for 150 years – the established church

# *Jefferson's Proposals*

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- All laws (in Britain or Virginia) restricting freedom of belief or worship to be repealed
- All laws establishing the church in Virginia, and support by taxes be revoked
- Incumbent ministers granted use of glebes during their lifetime

# *The Committee's Resolutions*

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- Established church kept forever its titles to properties
  - Against Jefferson
- Dissenters were not taxed to support a state church
- Dissenters were not taxed to support their own church
- Laity of the established church were free from taxation to support their own ministers (at least temporarily)
- State still had control of established church
- State would still license meetinghouses and ministers of dissenting sects (i.e. Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, etc.)
  
- Religion in Virginia had become voluntary!

# *The Legislature's Actions*

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- Essentially approved the committee's resolution, but
- Left open the question of a "general assessment"
  - "And whereas great Varieties of opinions have arisen touching the Propriety of a general Assessment or whether every religious society should be left to voluntary Contributions for the support and maintenance of the several Ministers and Teachers of the Gospel who are of different Persuasions and Denominations...it is thought must prudent to defer this matter to the Discussion and final Determination of a future assembly, when the Opinion of the Country in General may be better known."

## *1777-1779*

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- Supply of English clerics dried up
- Suspension of clerical salaries

## *1779 – Two Proposals*

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- June 1779 – Jefferson proposed a statute on religious liberty
- Then Jefferson got elected (by legislature) to be Governor
  - He could not take part in debates
- Also in the 1779 session a bill was introduced which would have made Christianity the only tolerated religion.

# *Jefferson's Proposal – 1779 – Section 1*

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- “Well aware that the opinions and belief of men depend not on their own will, but follow involuntarily the evidence proposed to their minds; that Almighty God hath created the mind free, and manifested his supreme will that free it shall remain by making it altogether insusceptible of restraint; that all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments, or burdens, or by civil incapacitations, tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness, and are a departure from the plan of the holy author of our religion, who being lord both of body and mind, yet chose not to propagate it by coercions on either, as was in his Almighty power to do, but to extend it by its influence on reason alone;
- that the impious presumption of legislators and rulers, civil as well as ecclesiastical, who, being themselves but fallible and uninspired men, have assumed dominion over the faith of others, setting up their own opinions and modes of thinking as the only true and infallible, and as such endeavoring to impose them on others, hath established and maintained false religions over the greatest part of the world and through all time:”

# *Jefferson's Proposal – 1779 – Section 1*

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- “That to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves and abhors, is sinful and tyrannical; that 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 whose morals he would make his pattern, and whose powers he feels most persuasive to righteousness...”
- “that our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, any more than our opinions in physics or geometry; that 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, is depriving him injuriously of those privileges and advantages to which, in common with his fellow citizens, he has a natural right;”
- that it tends also to corrupt the principles of that very religion it is meant to encourage, by bribing, with a monopoly of worldly honors and emoluments, those who will externally profess and conform to it;

# *Jefferson's Proposal – 1779 – Section 1*

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- that to suffer the civil magistrate to intrude his powers into the field of opinion and to restrain the profession or propagation of principles on supposition of their ill tendency is a dangerous falacy, which at once destroys all religious liberty, because he being of course judge of that tendency will make his opinions the rule of judgment, and approve or condemn the sentiments of others only as they shall square with or differ from his own;
- and finally, that truth is great and will prevail if left to herself; that she is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error, and has nothing to fear from the conflict unless by human interposition disarmed of her natural weapons, free argument and debate; errors ceasing to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contradict them.

## *Jeffersons Proposal – Sections 2 and 3*

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- SECT. II. WE the General Assembly of Virginia do enact that no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burdened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer, on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.
- SECT. III. AND though we well know that this Assembly, elected by the people for the ordinary purposes of legislation only, have no power to restrain the acts of succeeding Assemblies, constituted with powers equal to our own, and that therefore to declare this act irrevocable would be of no effect in law; yet we are free to declare, and do declare, that the rights hereby asserted are of the natural rights of mankind, and that if any act shall be hereafter passed to repeal the present or to narrow its operation, such act will be an infringement of natural right.

## *Jefferson's bill went nowhere*

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- Attacks from the left
  - “The demands of social tranquility required that the state should set the times and places of religious worship, so that the citizenry were protected from the effects of an over pious or misguided enthusiasm.”
- Attacks from the right
  - Contains the principles of a Deist
  - Exalted individual freedom at expense of collective rights of majority

# *A Bill concerning Religion - 1779*

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- For the encouragement of Religion and virtue, and for removing all restraints on the mind in its inquiries after truth, Be it enacted by the General Assembly, that all persons and Religious Societies who acknowledge that there is one God, and a future State of rewards and punishments, and that God ought to be publicly worshiped, shall be freely tolerated.
- The Christian Religion shall in all times coming be deemed, and held to be the established Religion of this Commonwealth; and all Denominations of Christians demeaning themselves peaceably and faithfully, shall enjoy equal privileges, civil and Religious
- Be it further enacted that the respective Societies of the Church of England already formed in this Commonwealth, shall be continued Corporate, and hold the Religious property now in their possession forever.

# *A Bill concerning Religion - 1779*

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- Whenever free male Persons not under twenty one Years of Age professing the Christian Religion, shall agree to unite themselves in a Society for the purposes of Religious Worship, they shall be constituted a Church
- Every Society so formed shall give themselves a name or denomination by which they shall be called and known in Law
- Each Society so Petitioning shall agree to and subscribe in a Book the following five Articles, without which no agreement or Union of Men upon pretence of Religious Worship shall entitle them to be incorporated and esteemed as a Church of the Stablished Religion of this Commonwealth

## *A Bill concerning Religion - 1779*

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- *First*, That there is one Eternal God and a future State of Rewards and Punishments
- *Secondly*, That God is publicly to be Worshiped.
- *Thirdly*, That the Christian Religion is the true Religion
- *Fourthly*, That the Holy Scriptures of the old and new Testament are of divine inspiration, and are the only rule of Faith.
- *Fifthly*, That it is the duty of Every Man, when Thereunto called by those to Govern, to bear Witness to truth.

# *A Bill concerning Religion - 1779*

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- “...no Person shall officiate as Minister of any established Church who shall not have been chosen by a Majority of the Society...”
- “That he is determined by God’s Grace out of the Holy Scriptures to instruct the people committed to his charge, and to teach nothing (as required of necessity to eternal Salvation) but that which he shall be persuaded may be concluded and proved from the Scriptures;
- And that permanent encouragement may be given for providing a sufficient number of minister and teachers...be it farther enacted, that the sum of    pounds of Tobacco, or such rate in Money...shall be paid annually for every Tithable by the Person enlisting the same,
- “shall enroll his or her name with the Clerk of the County...at the same time expressing to the Support of what Society or denomination of Christians he or she would choose to contribute

## *Disposition of the two bills– 1779*

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- Jefferson's Bill did not pass
  - Lack of support from Presbyterians (in spite of earlier statement)
  - Separate Baptists supported it
- A Bill concerning Religion did not pass either
  - Barely out of committee – referred to committee of the whole
  - Died in the House (essentially tabled and died on table)

## *The sad state of the clergy*

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- During the Revolution the number of clergy actively engaged in ministry had been cut in half
- By the end of the war approximately forty parishes were without resident pastors.
- Alexander Balmain wrote to his brother in Scotland
  - “The revolution, however important in its effects, has been fatal to the Clergy of Virginia. From a fixed salary they are reduced to depend on a precarious subscription for bread. The Establishment abolished, every sect upon the same level, & every man at liberty to contribute or not to the support of the Minister of his own persuasion as he judges best. In a country too where religion is little regarded, you may easily conceive the subsistence of the Clergy cannot be very liberal.”

# *1784 – “A Bill establishing a provision for Teachers of the Christian Religion*

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- Whereas the general diffusion of Christian knowledge hath a natural tendency to correct the morals of men, restrain their vices, and preserve the peace of society; which cannot be effected without a competent provision for learned teachers, who may be thereby enabled to devote their time and attention to the duty of instructing such citizens, as from their circumstances and want of education, cannot otherwise attain such knowledge; and it is judged that such provision may be made by the Legislature, without counteracting the liberal principle heretofore adopted and intended to be preserved by abolishing all distinctions of pre-eminence amongst the different societies or communities of Christians;
- Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly, That for the support of Christian teachers, \_\_\_\_\_ per centum on the amount, or \_\_\_\_\_ in the pound on the sum payable for tax on the property within this Commonwealth, is hereby assessed, and shall be paid by every person chargeable with the said tax at the time the same shall become due; and the Sheriffs of the several Counties shall have power to levy and collect the same in the same manner and under the like restrictions and limitations, as are or may be prescribed by the laws for raising the Revenues of this State.

*Calvary Presbyterian Church*

## *1784 – A Bill...*

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- And be it enacted, That for every sum so paid, the Sheriff or Collector shall give a receipt, expressing therein to what society of Christians the person from whom he may receive the same shall direct the money to be paid, keeping a distinct account thereof in his books.
- And be it further enacted, That the money to be raised by virtue of this Act, shall be by the Vestries, Elders, or Directors of each religious society, appropriated to a provision for a Minister or Teacher of the Gospel of their denomination, or the providing places of divine worship, and to none other use whatsoever, except in the denominations of Quakers and Menonists, who may receive what is collected from their members, and place it in their general fund, to be disposed of in a manner which they shall think best calculated to promote their particular mode of worship.

## *Reaction to the Bill...*

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- Much controversy
- Presbyterians who had initially been for assessment, turned against it
  - Possibly because it would strengthen the Anglican church, which had become dormant during the Revolution
  - Jefferson wrote Madison that he was “glad the Episcopalians have again shown their teeth and fangs. The dissenters have almost forgotten them.”
  - Madison wrote back, “I am far from being sorry for it, as a coalition between them could alone endanger our religious rights and a tendency to such and even had been suspected.”
- Madison argued strongly against it in his “Memorial and Remonstrance”
- Carried over into 1785, then dropped

# *Memorial and Remonstrance Against Religious Assessments*

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**To the Honorable the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia  
A Memorial and Remonstrance Against Religious Assessments**

**We the subscribers**, citizens of the said Commonwealth, having taken into serious consideration, a Bill printed by order of the last Session of General Assembly, entitled "A Bill establishing a provision for Teachers of the Christian Religion," and conceiving that the same if finally armed with the sanctions of a law, will be a dangerous abuse of power, are bound as faithful members of a free State to remonstrate against it, and to declare the reasons by which we are determined. We remonstrate against the said Bill,

- 1. Because** we hold it for a fundamental and undeniable truth, "that religion or the duty which we owe to our Creator and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence." The Religion then of every man must be left to the conviction and conscience of every man; and it is the right of every man to exercise it as these may dictate. This right is in its nature an unalienable right.

*Calvary Presbyterian Church*

# *Madison... Remonstrance*

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2. **Because** Religion be exempt from the authority of the Society at large, still less can it be subject to that of the Legislative Body.
3. **Because** it is proper to take alarm at the first experiment on our liberties. We hold this prudent jealousy to be the first duty of Citizens, and one of the noblest characteristics of the late Revolution.
5. **Because** the Bill implies either that the Civil Magistrate is a competent Judge of Religious Truth; or that he may employ Religion as an engine of Civil policy
6. **Because** the establishment proposed by the Bill is not requisite for the support of the Christian Religion.
7. **Because** experience witnesseth that ecclesiastical establishments, instead of maintaining the purity and efficacy of Religion, have had a contrary operation.
8. **Because** the establishment in question is not necessary for the support of Civil Government.
9. **Because** the proposed establishment is a departure from the generous policy, which, offering an Asylum to the persecuted and oppressed of every Nation and Religion, promised a lustre to our country...

*Calvary Presbyterian Church*

## *Madison ... Remonstrance*

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13. **Because** attempts to enforce by legal sanctions, acts obnoxious to go great a proportion of Citizens, tend to enervate the laws in general, and to slacken the bands of Society.
14. **Because** a measure of such singular magnitude and delicacy ought not to be imposed, without the clearest evidence that it is called for by a majority of citizens
15. **Because** finally, "the equal right of every citizen to the free exercise of his Religion according to the dictates of conscience" is held by the same tenure with all our other rights.

**We the Subscribers say**, that the General Assembly of this Commonwealth have no such authority: And that no effort may be omitted on our part against so dangerous an usurpation, we oppose to it, this remonstrance; earnestly praying, as we are in duty bound, that the Supreme Lawgiver of the Universe, by illuminating those to whom it is addressed, may on the one hand, turn their Councils from every act which would affront his holy prerogative, or violate the trust committed to them: and on the other, guide them into every measure which may be worthy of his [blessing, may re]dound to their own praise, and may establish more firmly the liberties, the prosperity and the happiness of the Commonwealth.

# *A Bill “for Establishing Religious Freedom”*

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- Jefferson’s Bill was reintroduced in 1786
- AKA Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom
- Passed with modifications

HERE WAS BURIED  
THOMAS JEFFERSON  
AUTHOR OF THE  
DECLARATION  
OF  
AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE  
OF THE  
STATUTE OF VIRGINIA  
FOR  
RELIGIOUS FREEDOM  
AND FATHER OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA



# *Jefferson's Bill vs. the Virginia Statute*

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**"SECTION I. Well aware that**

the opinions and belief of men depend not on their own will, but follow involuntarily the evidence proposed to their minds; that

**Almighty God hath created the mind free;**

and manifested his supreme will that free it shall remain by making it altogether insusceptible of restraint;

**that all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments, or burthens, or by civil incapacitations, tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness, and are a departure from the plan of the holy author of our religion, who being lord both of body and mind, yet chose not to propagate it by coercions on either, as was in his Almighty power to do[;]**

but to exalt it by its influence on reason alone;

## *Virginia Statute...*

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- **that the impious presumption of legislators and rulers, civil as well as ecclesiastical, who, being themselves but fallible and uninspired men, have assumed dominion over the faith of others, setting up their own opinions and modes of thinking as the only true and infallible, and as such endeavoring to impose them on others, hath established and maintained false religions over the greatest part of the world and through all time: That to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves**
- **and abhors,**
- **is sinful and tyrannical; that 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 whose morals he would make his pattern, and whose powers he feels most persuasive to righteousness;**

## *Virginia Statute...*

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- **that our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, any more than our opinions in physics or geometry; that 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, is depriving him injuriously of those privileges and advantages to which, in common with his fellow citizens, he has a natural right; that it tends also to corrupt the principles of that very religion it is meant to encourage, by bribing, with a monopoly of worldly honours and emoluments, those who will externally profess and conform to it; that though indeed these are criminals who do not withstand such temptation, yet neither are those innocent who lay the bait in their way**

## *Virginia Statute...*

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- that the opinions of men are not the object of civil government, nor under its jurisdiction;
- **that to suffer the civil magistrate to intrude his powers into the field of opinion and to restrain the profession or propagation of principles on supposition of their ill tendency is a dangerous fallacy, which at once destroys all religious liberty, because he being of course judge of that tendency will make his opinions the rule of judgment, and approve or condemn the sentiments of others only as they shall square with or differ from his own;**

## *Virginia Statute...Sect. 2.*

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- **"SECTION II.**
- We the
- **[Be it therefore enacted by the] General Assembly,**
- of Virginia do enact
- **that no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burthened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer, on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.“**

## *Virginia Statute...Sect. 3.*

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- **SECTION III. And though we well know that this Assembly, elected by the people for the ordinary purposes of legislation only, have no power to restrain the acts of succeeding Assemblies, constituted with powers equal to our own, and that therefore to declare this act [to be] irrevocable would be of no effect in law; yet we are free to declare, and do declare, that the rights hereby asserted are of the natural rights of mankind, and that if any act shall be hereafter passed to repeal the present or to narrow its operation, such act will be an infringement of natural right."**

# *Jefferson and the Clergy*

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- In 1783 Jefferson, in writing another draft of the Virginia Constitution, opposed allowing clergymen to hold public office.
- Opposed by Madison
  - Does not The exclusion of Ministers of the Gospel, as such, violate a fundamental principle of liberty by punishing a religious profession with the privation of a civil right? Does it [not] violate another article of the plan itself which exempts religion from the cognizance of Civil power? Does it not violate justice by at once taking away a right and prohibiting a compensation for it? Does it not, in fine, violate impartiality by shutting the door [against] the Ministers of one Religion and leaving it open for those of every other.
- Later, in 1800 Jefferson wrote:
  - “[I]n the same scheme of a constitution [for Virginia which I prepared in 1783, I observe] an abridgment of the right of being elected, which after 17 years more of experience & reflection, I do not approve. It is the incapacitation of a clergyman from being elected. The clergy, by getting themselves established by law, and ingrafted into the machine of government, have been a very

# *New Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom*

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- Be it enacted by the General Assembly, That the state of Virginia welcomes the participation of religion and its people within the public square and provides a space for its just representation, sa it does for any other opinion of group. The state finds it appropriate to represent the faith of the people by affording them access to public institutions and inviting them to interpret their faith and provide spiritual and moral guidance in determining its laws and actions. It also finds it appropriate to represent the faith of the people through public symbols and ceremonies, acknowledging the basic views of the people as they change over time, respecting the rights of minority views to dissent or abstain, and recognizing the serious limitations placed upon the government to impose any ideology on a free society.

# *In Two Weeks*

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- The Constitution
- William Carey and Missions