



“A BRIEF HISTORY OF BILLS OF RIGHTS”
IHS “Liberty and Society” Summer Seminar 2011
Dr. David M. Hart

LECTURE OVERVIEW

I. Introduction & Definitions

II. Historical Examples of Bills of Rights & their Critics

i. Code of Urukagina (2350 BC)

ii. Magna Carta (1215)

iii. An Agreement of the People (1647)

iv. Virginia Bill of Rights (1776)

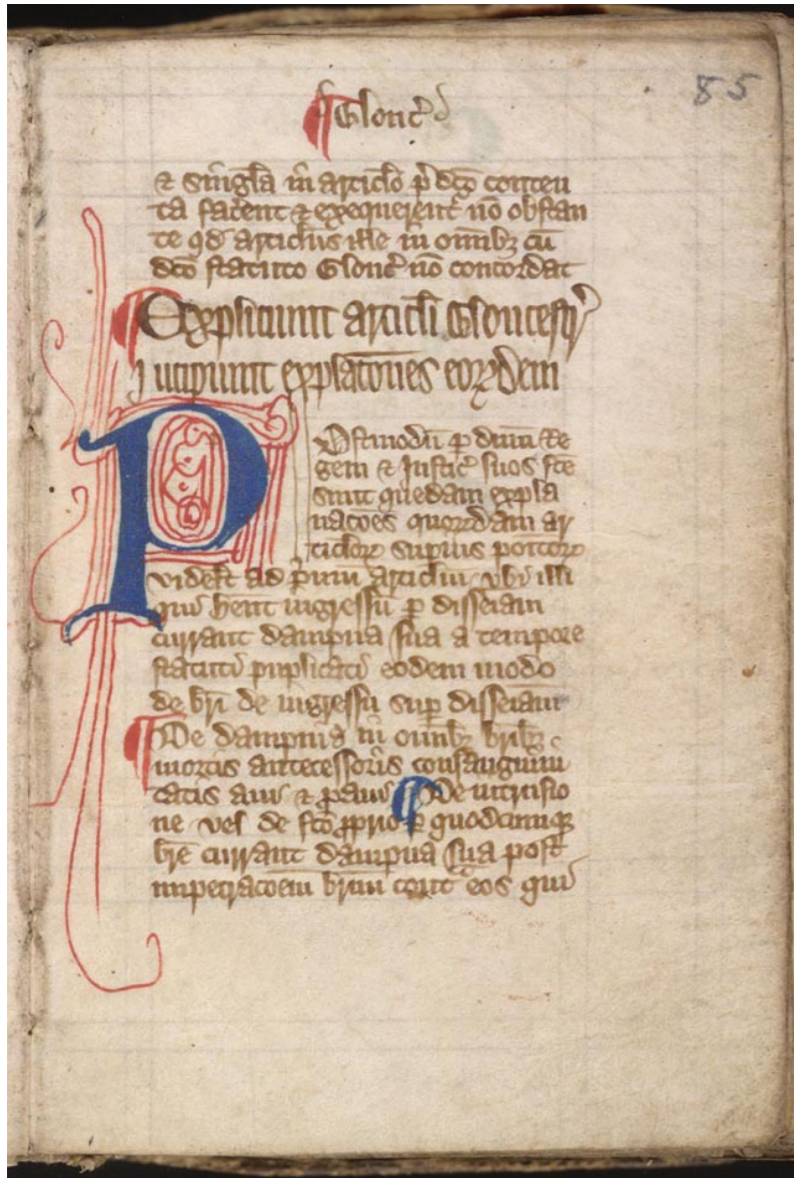
v. Declaration of the Rights of Man & of Citizen (1789)

vi. Olympe de Gouges "Rights of Woman" (1791)

vii. Declaration of Independence (1776) & the 1st 10 Amendments (1791)

viii. Frederick Douglass, "4th of July Oration" (1852)

III. Conclusion



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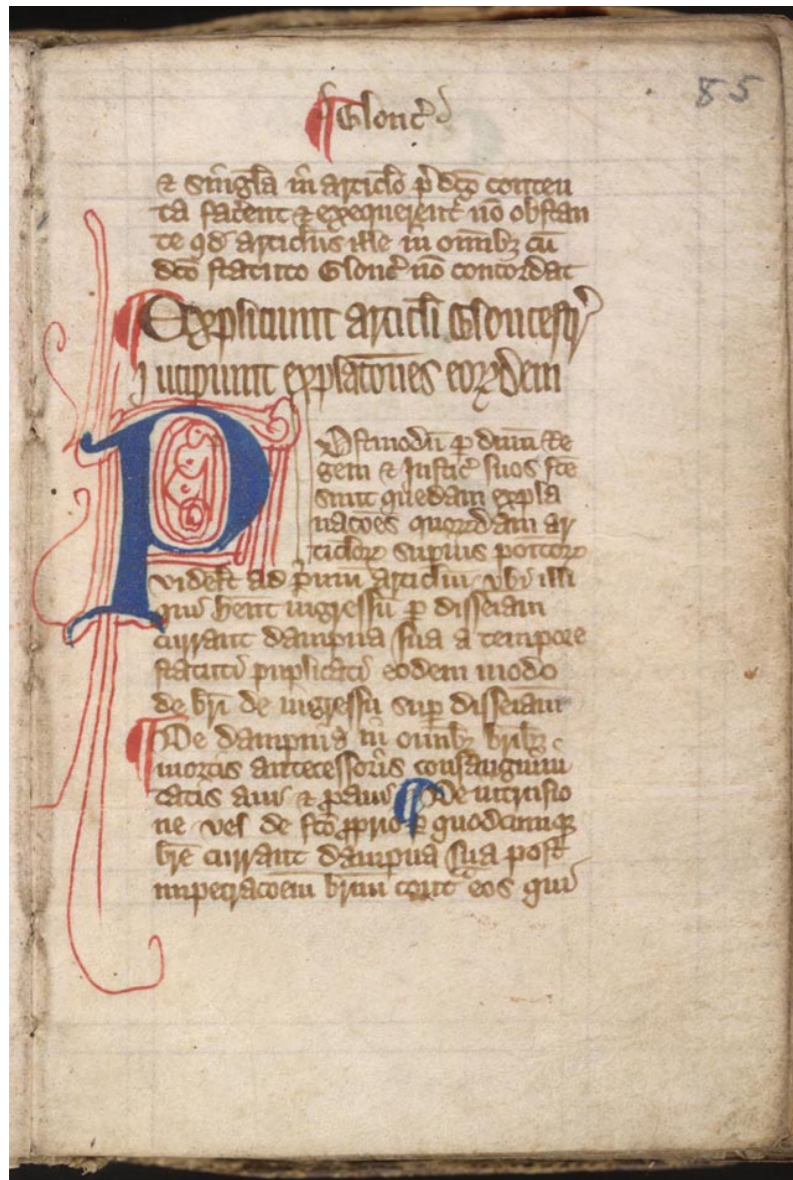
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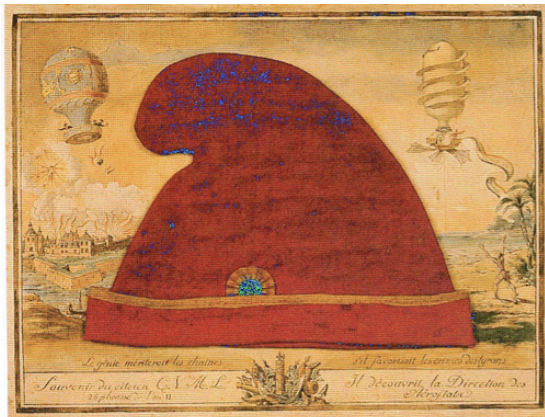
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Questions to keep in mind:

- what is the purpose of a Bill of Rights?
- what are some of the most important historical examples of Bills of Rights?
- whose rights are to be protected?
- against whom are their rights protected?
- why do their rights need protection?
- who have been left out of this protection?
- do Bills of Rights work as intended?
- who has, or should have, rights?
- what is the best way to protect these rights? is a written Bill of Rights the best way?
- how do you think existing Bills of Rights might be improved?





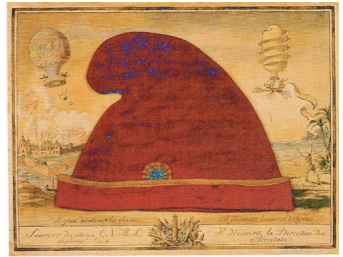
Myth or History?

- the Norman Yoke (1066) vs the rights of Anglo-Saxons
- “the imprescriptible rights of Englishmen”
- “the immemorial rights of Englishmen”
- “the native Rights of Englishmen”

Ridley Scott, *Robin Hood* (2010)

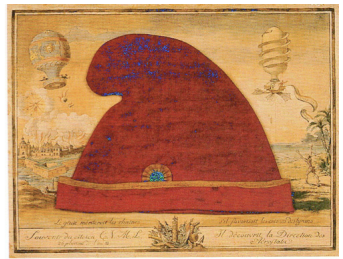


Ridley Scott, *Robin Hood* (2010)



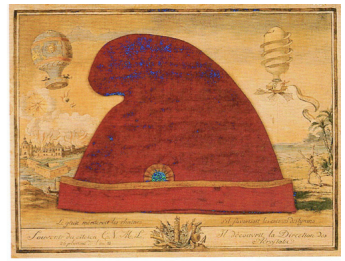
Introductory Thoughts

- 100 “Key Documents about Liberty” at the OLL Website [Forum/ Reading Lists]
 - <oll.libertyfund.org>
- sheer number of attempts to limit state power by means of a Bill of Rights suggests:
 - deep-seated need to defend liberty against power
 - these attempts work for a while and then fail
 - “rinse then repeat”
- beginning of rule of law and emergence of notion of rights vis-à-vis the ruler
 - first as customary rights
 - then as “natural rights” (the “imprescriptible rights of Englishmen”)



Some Key Points about Bills of Rights (i):

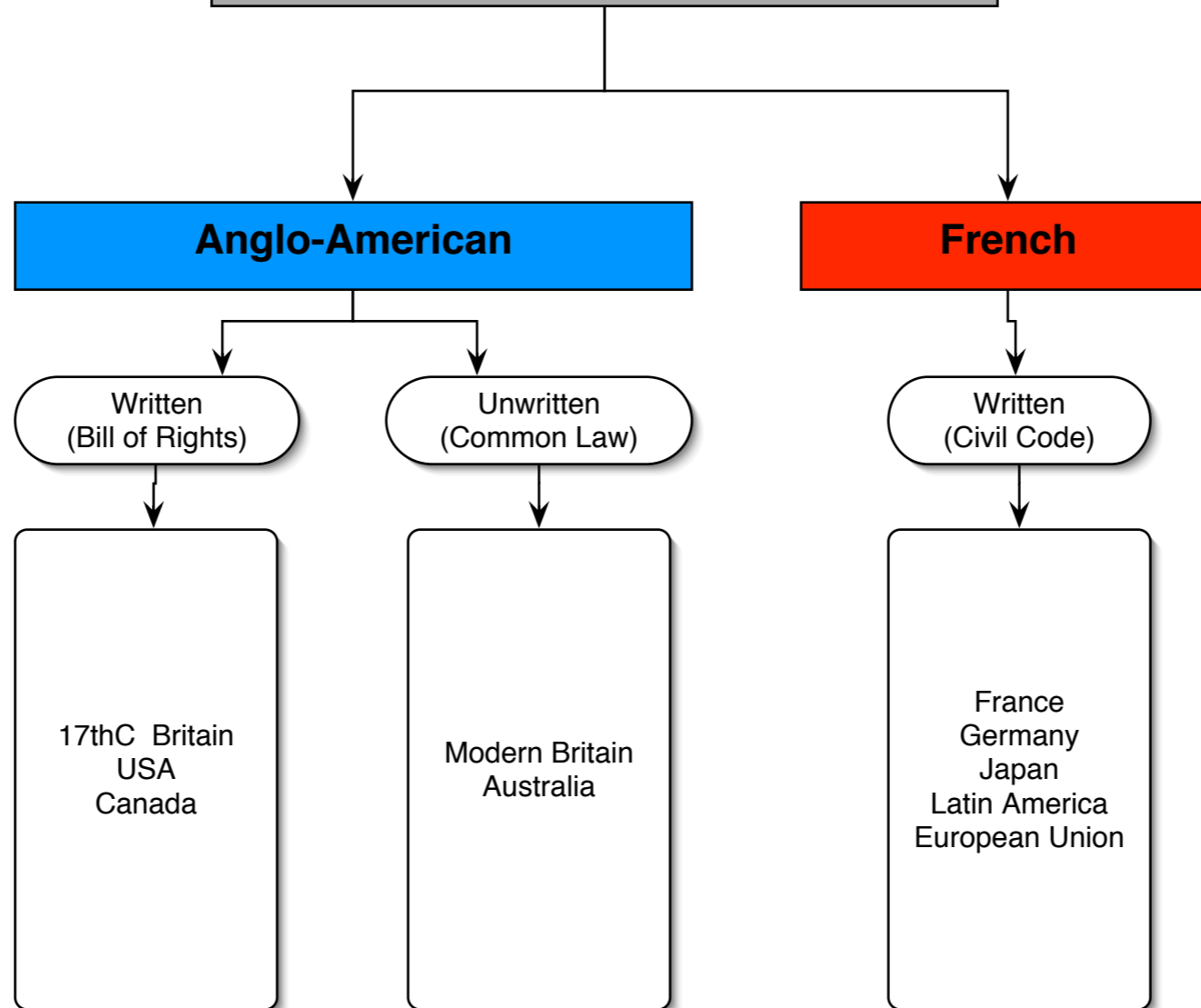
- they are claims of “right” (or privilege) of one group of people against another (usually a ruler) who feels aggrieved about “rights” violations
- they may or may not be expressed in “universalist” language (“all men are created equal”) but usually for benefit a particular group
- need to note who have been excluded - women, slaves, propertyless men
- usually outcome of a bitter struggle - war, revolution
- usually list specific grievances in some detail, e.g. American Declaration of Independence



Some Key Points about Bills of Rights (ii):

- over time previously excluded groups are gradually included (propertyless men, women)
- gradually evolution of more abstract declaration of “rights”
 - “natural” rights in late 18thC - Enlightenment & Lockean
 - state source of rights in late 18thC - Rousseau
 - welfare or “positive” rights in 20thC - FDR’s “Four Freedoms”
- 2 (possibly 3) different traditions
 - Roman legal tradition
 - British customary common law tradition
 - French civil code (Napoleonic Code)

THE TWO TRADITIONS OF RIGHTS



ALL THINKING BEINGS (COMPUTERS, ROBOTS, ALIENS, DOLPHINS, GREAT APES?)

ALL HUMAN BEINGS

CHILDREN (?)

ABORIGINAL/NATIVE PEOPLE (LATE 20THC)

AFRICAN AMERICANS (MID-20THC)

WOMEN (EARLY 20THC)

ALL WHITE MEN (19THC)

PROPERTY-OWNING WHITE MEN (17TH-18TH C)

NOBLES (13THC)

KINGS AND EMPERORS

WHO HAS RIGHTS?

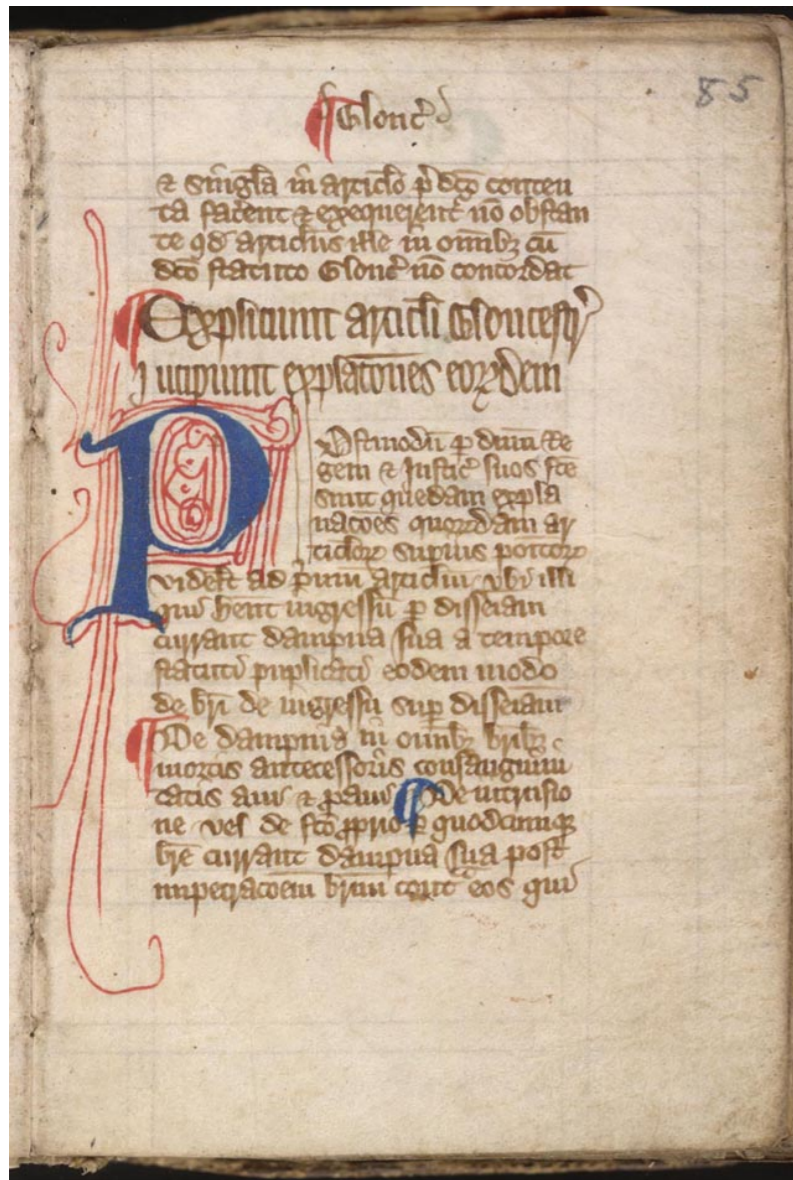
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Some Historical Examples of Bills of Rights

Ancient World

- **Urukagina (c. 2350BC)**
- The Code of Ur-Nammu (2050 BC)
- The Code of Hammurabi (r. 1792-1750 B.C.)
- Gaius, Institutes of Roman Law (160 AD)

Medieval Period

- Charters of the Medieval Communes
- Charter of the City of Amiens 1117
- Charter of the City of Magdeburg
- **Magna Carta (1215)**

17thC

- The Petition of Right (1628)
- The Massachusetts Body of Liberties (1641)
- **An Agreement of the People (November 1647)**
- The Habeas Corpus Act (1679)
- The English Bill of Rights (1689)

Some Historical Examples of Bills of Rights

18thC

- **The Virginia Declaration of Rights (1776)**
- **The Declaration of Independence (1776)**
- **The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (1789)**
- **Olympe de Gouges, "Declaration of the Rights of Woman and Citizen" (1791)**
- **Amendments to the Constitution (Bill of Rights) (1791)**

19thC

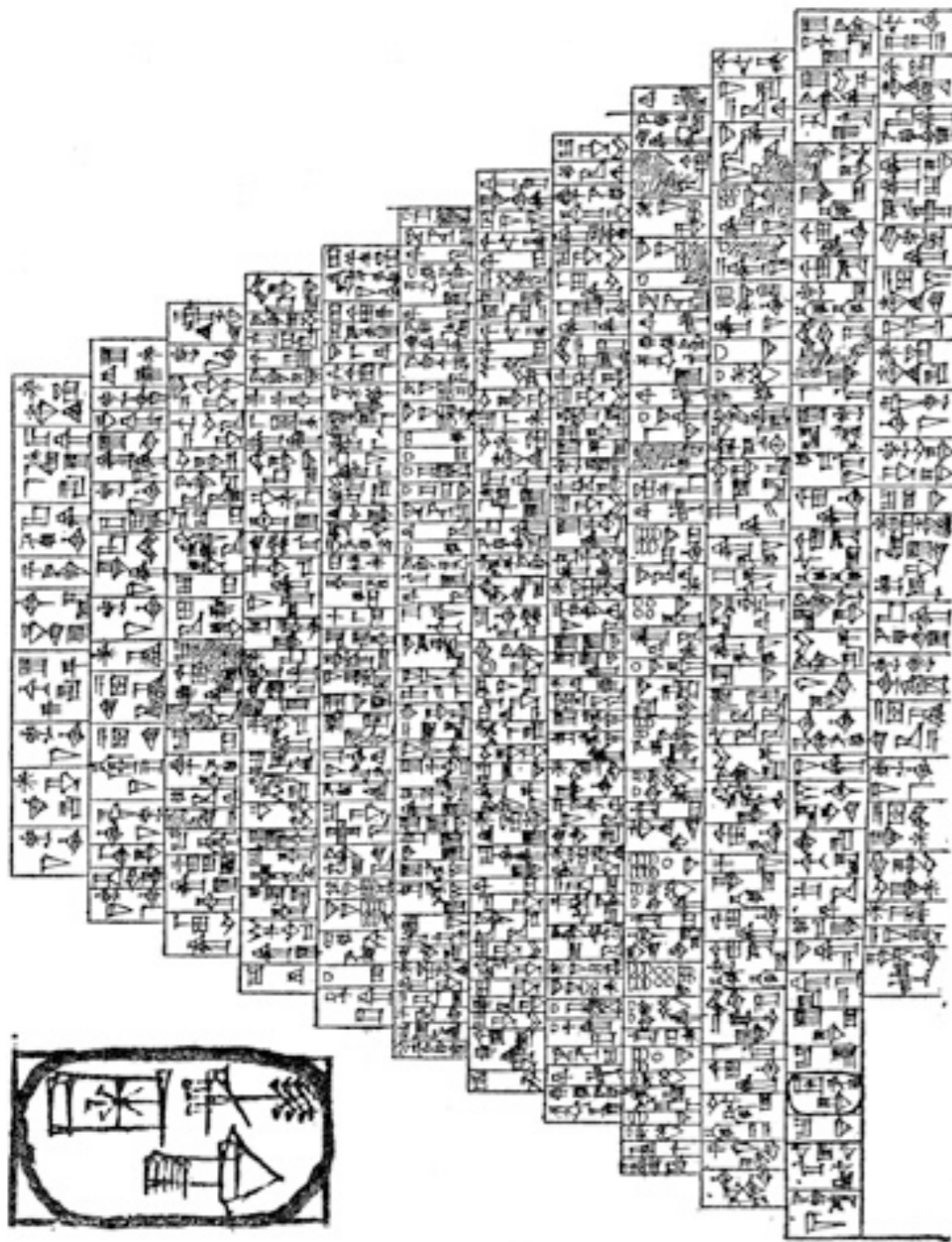
- The French Civil Code (Napoleonic Code) (1804)
- The Constitution of Belgium (February 7, 1831)
- Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, "Declaration of Sentiments" and "Resolutions" adopted by the Seneca Falls Convention of July 1848
- "The Basic Rights of the German People" in The Constitution of the German Reich (1849)
- **Frederick Douglass, "Fourth of July Oration" on July 4th, 1852**

20thC

- United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)

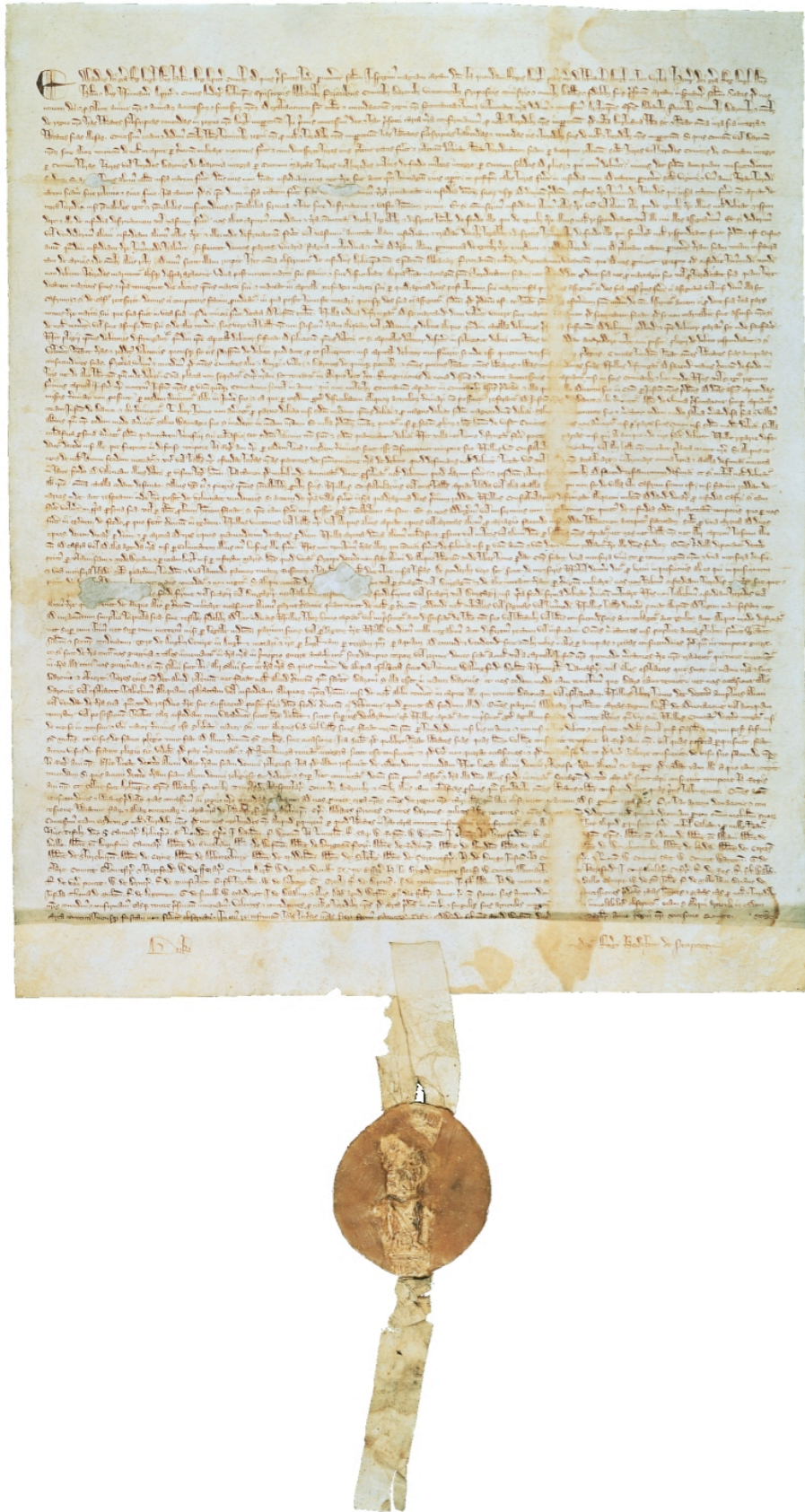


Code of Urukagina (2350 BC) “Amagi”



- King Urukagina (circa 2350 BC) was leader of the Sumerian city-state Lagash (modern day Iraq)
- preamble states: “From the borders of the Ningirsu to the sea, there was the tax collector...”
- guaranteed property rights
- banned seizure of property by state and church
- fired most tax collectors
- returned previously seized property
- made judicial proceedings public and open
- the cuneiform character for “liberty” is pronounced “amagi” and has been adopted as the logo of Liberty Fund
- 1st written expression of the word “liberty”?

Magna Carta Libertatum (Great Charter of Liberties) (or Magna Carta) (1215)



- settlement between powerful noble lords and the King John of England (John) after battle of Runnymede)
- based upon Charter of Liberties issued by King Henry I 1100
- Nobles objected to violation of their customary rights by the crown:
 - right to be taxed at fixed times and circumstances
 - right to be tried by a jury of the peers (i.e. other lords)
- Church objected to claim by crown to appoint bishops
- important because among the specific claims began to emerge general principles such as due process of law (clauses 39-40)
- exerted enormous influence in later centuries in England and America:
 - 17thC England
 - 17th and 18thC America
 - 19thC Chartist movement

2. *Grant of liberty to freemen.* We also have granted to all the freemen of our kingdom, for us and for our heirs for ever, all the underwritten liberties, to be had and holden by them and their heirs, of us and our heirs for ever:

12. *No tax (scutage) except by the general council.* No scutage or aid shall be imposed in our kingdom, unless by the general council of our kingdom...

13. *Liberties of London and other towns.* And the City of London shall have all its ancient liberties and free customs, as well by land as by water; furthermore, we will and grant that all other cities and boroughs, and towns and ports, shall have all their liberties and free customs.

14. *General council shall consent to assessment of taxes.* And for holding the general council of the kingdom concerning the assessment of aids, except in the three cases aforesaid, and for the assessing of scutages. . .

Quote from Magna Carta (1215)

39. *Guarantee of judgment by one's peers and of proceedings according to the "law of the land."* No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, or disseised, or outlawed, or banished, or any ways destroyed, nor will we pass upon him, nor will we send upon him, unless by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

40. *Guarantee of equal justice (equality before the law).* We will sell to no man, we will not deny or delay to any man, either justice or right.

41. *Freedom of movement for merchants.* All merchants shall have safe and secure conduct, to go out of, and to come into England, and to stay there and to pass as well by land as by water, for buying and selling by the ancient and allowed customs, without any unjust tolls...

Quote from Magna Carta (1215)

An Agreement of the People (1647)

AN AGREEMENT OF THE PEOPLE FOR

A firme and present Peace, upon
grounds of common-right and free-
dome;

As it was propofed by the Agents of the five
Regiments of Horfe; and fince by the generall approba-
tion of the Army, offered to the joynt concur-
rence of all the free COMMONS of
ENGLAND.

The Names of the Regiments which have already appeared for the
Cafe, of *The Cafe of the Army truly stated*, and for this
present Agreement, *VIZ.*

1. <i>Gen. Regiment.</i>	} Of Horfe	1. <i>Gen. Regiment.</i>	} Of Foot.
2. <i>Life-Guard.</i>		2. <i>Col. Sir Hardrefse Wallers Reg.</i>	
3. <i>Lieut. Gen. Regiment.</i>		3. <i>Col. Lamberts Reg.</i>	
4. <i>Com. Gen. Regiment.</i>		4. <i>Col. Rainfboroughs Regiment.</i>	
5. <i>Col. Whaleyfes Reg.</i>		5. <i>Col. Overtons Reg.</i>	
6. <i>Col. Riches Reg.</i>		6. <i>Col. Lilburns Reg.</i>	
7. <i>Col. Fleetwoods Reg.</i>		7. <i>Col. Backfters Reg.</i>	
8. <i>Col. Harrifons Reg.</i>			
9. <i>Col. Twifldens Reg.</i>			

Printed *Anno. Dom.* 1647.

English Revolution (1640-1660)

- Civil War 1640-1649 between Catholic Stuart monarch King Charles I and Puritan Parliament
- Commonwealth 1649-1653
- Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate 1653-1658
- debate among army officers in New Model Army about political demands to be made to Cromwell and other senior officers (1647)
 - wanted stable Parliamentary govt
 - end to Civil War
 - protection of rule of law for all people

“Agreement of the People” read and debated by junior officers and agitators on October 29, 1647

AN
AGREEMENT
 OF THE
PEOPLE
 FOR

A firme and present Peace, upon grounds of common-right and freedom;

As it was propofed by the Agents of the five Regiments of Horfe; and fince by the generall approbation of the Army, offered to the joynt concurrence of all the free COMMONS of ENGLAND.

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Printed *Anno. Dom.* 1647.

- 5 general demands concerning Parliament:
- end to unequal electoral districts
 - existing Parliament to be dissolved and new elections held
 - Parliaments elected every 2 years on fixed date
 - Parliament not supreme but subject to those “who chuse them”
 - Parliament to have powers:
 - enact and repeal laws
 - erect or abolish offices and courts
 - appoint or remove magistrates
 - declare war and peace and make treaties

**“Agreement of the People” read and debated by
junior officers and agitators on October 29, 1647**

AN
ARROW
AGAINST ALL TYRANTS

14

And Tyrany, shot from the Prison of New-gate
into the Prerogative Bowels of the Arbitrary House
of Lords, and all other Usurpers and Tyrants
Whatsoever.

wherein the originall rise, extent, and end of Magi-
steriall power, the naturall and Nationall rights, freedoms and pro-
perties of Mankind are discovered, and undeniably maintained; the
late oppressions and inroachments of the Lords over the Commons
legally (by the fundamentall Lawes and Statutes of this Realme,
as also by a memorable Extract out of the Records of the *Tower of
London*) condemned; The late Presbyterian Ordinance (invented
and contrived by the Diviners, and by the motion of Mr. *Bacon* and
Mr. *Taet* read in the House of Commons) examined, refused, and
exploded, as most inhumaine, tyranicall and Barbarous.

By **RICHARD OVERTON**

Prerogative Archer to the Arbitrary House of Lords, Their
Prisoner in New-gate, for the just and legall properties, rights and
freedoms of the Commons of England: Sent by way of a Letter
from him, to Mr. Henry Martin, a Member of the
House of Commons.

gbor. 10th. IMPRIMAT ŪR
Rectat Justitia.

Printed at the backside of the Cyclopiam Mountains, by *Martin Claw-
Clergy*, Printer to the reverend Assembly of Divines, and are to
be sould at the signe of the Subjects Liberty, right oppo-
site to persecuting Court. 1646.

5 demands concerning Liberty of Citizens
(their “native Rights”):

- that there be freedom of religion
- an end to conscription
- amnesty for all those who fought in civil war
(both sides)
- that laws apply equally to all regardless of
rank or wealth
- laws must be both “equal” and “good”, i.e.
“not evidently destructive to the safety and
well-being of the people”

These things we declare to be our native Rights, and therefore are agreed and resolved to maintain them with our utmost possibilities, against all opposition whatsoever, being compelled thereunto, not only by the examples of our Ancestors, whose blood was often spent in vain for the recovery of their Freedomes, suffering themselves, through fraudulent accommodations, to be still deluded of the fruit of their Victories, but also by our own wofull experience, who having long expected, & dearly earned the establishment of these certain rules of government are yet made to depend for the settlement of our Peace and Freedome, upon him that intended our bondage, and brought a cruell Warre upon us.

Quote from An Agreement of the People (1647)

An Arrow against all Tyrants and Tyranny, shot from the prison of New-gate into the Prerogative bowels of the Arbitrary House of Lords, and **all other Usurpers and Tyrants whatsoever**. Wherein the original rise, extent, and end of magisterial power, the naturall and nationall rights, freedomes and properties of mankind are discovered, and undeniably maintained...

By Richard Overton **Prerogative archer to the arbitrary House of Lords**, their prisoner in New-gate, for **the just and legal properties rights and freedoms** of the commons of England.

London, Printed at the backside of the Cyclopiian Mountains, by Martin Claw-Clergy, printer to the reverend Assembly of Divines, and are **to be sould at the signe of the Subjects Liberty, right opposite to persecuting Court**. 1646.

Title page from Richard Overton "An Arrow against all Tyrants and Tyranny" (1646)

Virginia Bill of Rights (1776) [George Mason (1725-1792)]



- Drafted by a committee headed by George Mason (1725-1792)
- passed unanimously on June 12, 1776
- then drafted a constitution with a lengthy preamble written by Thomas Jefferson -adopted on June 29
- importance:
 - it preceded the Declaration of Independence and 1st Ten Amendments of the Constitution (the Bill of Rights”)
 - clear statement that the law of nature is the source of the rights of individuals (better expressed than TJ’s in Declaration of Independence)
 - influenced declarations issued by other states (Delaware, Pennsylvania, and at least 4 others)
 - influence on French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (via Lafayette)

I. That all men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.

III. That government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit, protection and security of the people, nation, or community; ... and that, when a government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community hath an indubitable, unalienable and indefeasible right to reform, alter or abolish it, in such manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal.

XIII. That a well regulated militia, composed of the body of the people, trained to arms, is the proper, natural, and safe defence of a free State; that standing armies in time of peace should be avoided as dangerous to liberty; and that in all cases the military should be under strict subordination to, and governed by, the civil power.

Quote from the Virginia Bill of Rights (1776)



Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (1789)

Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (1789)

- Adopted by the Constituent Assembly 26 August, 1789 to assert the claims of the Third Estate against the king
- designed to be a preamble to the new constitution for a constitutional monarchy
- Influence of the marquis de Lafayette who had served in the American Revolution - especially George Mason's Virginia Declaration of Rights of Rights
- influence of the Abbé Sièyes in drafting declaration
- influence of Enlightened ideas about natural law - John Locke, Montesquieu, and Rousseau (problematical)
- Relatively short (17 articles) with emphasis on
 - rule of law (reaction against arbitrary behaviour of King),
 - universal equality of natural rights of all men
 - right to property.



1. Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions may be founded only upon the general good.
2. The aim of all political association is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression.
4. Liberty consists in the freedom to do everything which injures no one else; hence the exercise of the natural rights of each man has no limits except those which assure to the other members of the society the enjoyment of the same rights. These limits can only be determined by law.
17. Since property is an inviolable and sacred right, no one shall be deprived thereof except where public necessity, legally determined, shall clearly demand it, and then only on condition that the owner shall have been previously and equitably indemnified.

Quote from Declaration of the Rights of Man (1789)

Olympe de Gouges, “Declaration of the Rights of Woman” (1791)



- Olympe de Gouges (1748-1793) daughter of a butcher and self-educated
- wrote the “Rights of Woman” (1791) using the same rhetoric and words of the Declaration
- she felt that that the official French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen had compromised the universality of its principles by ignoring women
- influence of Condorcet, “On the Admission of Women to the Right to Vote” (July 1790).
- Guillotined by the Jacobins in 1793
- Condorcet died in prison in 1794 (probably beaten to death)

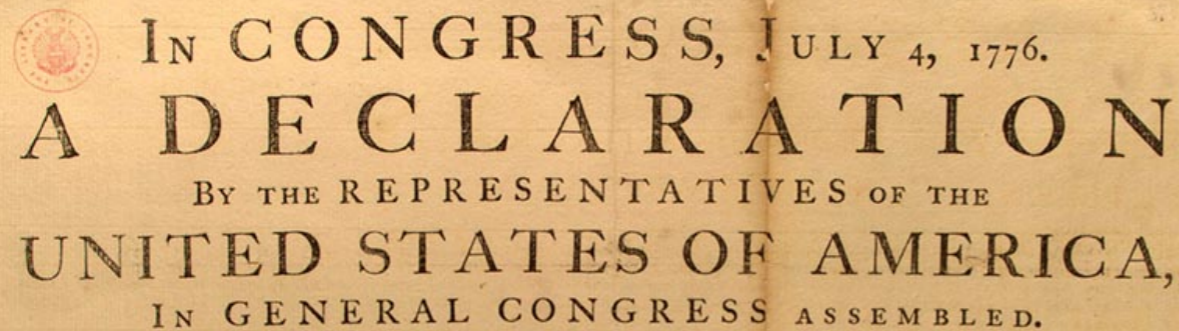


1. Woman is born free and remains equal to in rights to man. Social distinctions can be founded only on general utility.
2. The goal of every political association is the preservation of the natural and irrevocable rights of Woman and Man. These rights are liberty, property, security, and especially resistance to oppression.
4. Liberty and Justice consist of rendering to persons those things that belong to them; thus, the exercise of woman's natural rights is limited only by the perpetual tyranny with which man opposes her; these limits must be changed according to the laws of nature and reason.
17. The right of property is inviolable and sacred to both sexes, jointly or separately. No one can be deprived of it, since it is a true inheritance of nature except when public necessity, certified by law, clearly requires it, subject to just and prior compensation.

Quote from “Declaration of the Rights of Woman” (1791)

The Declaration of Independence (1776) & the Amendments to the Constitution (1791)

- the relative briefness of the Declaration of Independence
- not a Declaration of “Rights” but a Declaration justifying secession from the British government
- many of the separate states had DoR as a preamble to their constitutions
- similarly with the 1st 10 amendments of the constitution (called the “Bill of Rights”)
- does not begin with a strong general statement about rights (compare French and Virginia)
- 9th Amendment suggest that this too is covered more fully in declarations and constitutions of individual states: “the enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people”
- problem of those excluded from its coverage: native Americans, African slaves, women (from voting)



IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.
A DECLARATION
BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
IN GENERAL CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

WHEN in the Course of human Events, it becomes necessary for one People to dissolve the Political Bands which have connected them with another, and 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, a decent Respect to the Opinions of Mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the Separation.

We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness—That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its Foundation on such Principles, and organizing its Powers in such Form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient Causes; and accordingly all Experience hath shewn, that Mankind are more disposed to suffer, while Evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the Forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long Train of Abuses and Usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object, evinces a Design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their Right, it is their Duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future Security. Such has been the patient Sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the Necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The History of the present King of Great-Britain is a History of repeated Injuries and Usurpations, all having in direct Object the Establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid World.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public Good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing Importance, unless suspended in their Operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the Accommodation of large Districts of People, unless those People would relinquish the Right of Representation in the Legislature, a Right inestimable to them, and formidable to Tyrants only.

He has called together Legislative Bodies at Places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the Depository of their public Records, for the sole Purpose of fatiguing them into Compliance with his Measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly Firmness his Invasions on the Rights of the People.

He has refused for a long Time, after such Dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the Dangers of Invasion from without, and Convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the Population of these States; for that Purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their Migrations hither, and raising the Conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the Tenure of their Offices, and the Amount and Payment of their Salaries.

He has erected a Multitude of new Offices, and sent hither Swarms of Officers to harass our People, and eat out their Substance.

He has kept among us, in Times of Peace, Standing Armies, without the Consent of our Legislatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a Jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution, and unacknowledged by our Laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For quartering large Bodies of Armed Troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all Parts of the World:

For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us, in many Cases, of the Benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended Offences:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an arbitrary Government, and enlarging its Boundaries, so as to render it at once an Example and fit Instrument for introducing the same absolute Rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all Cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

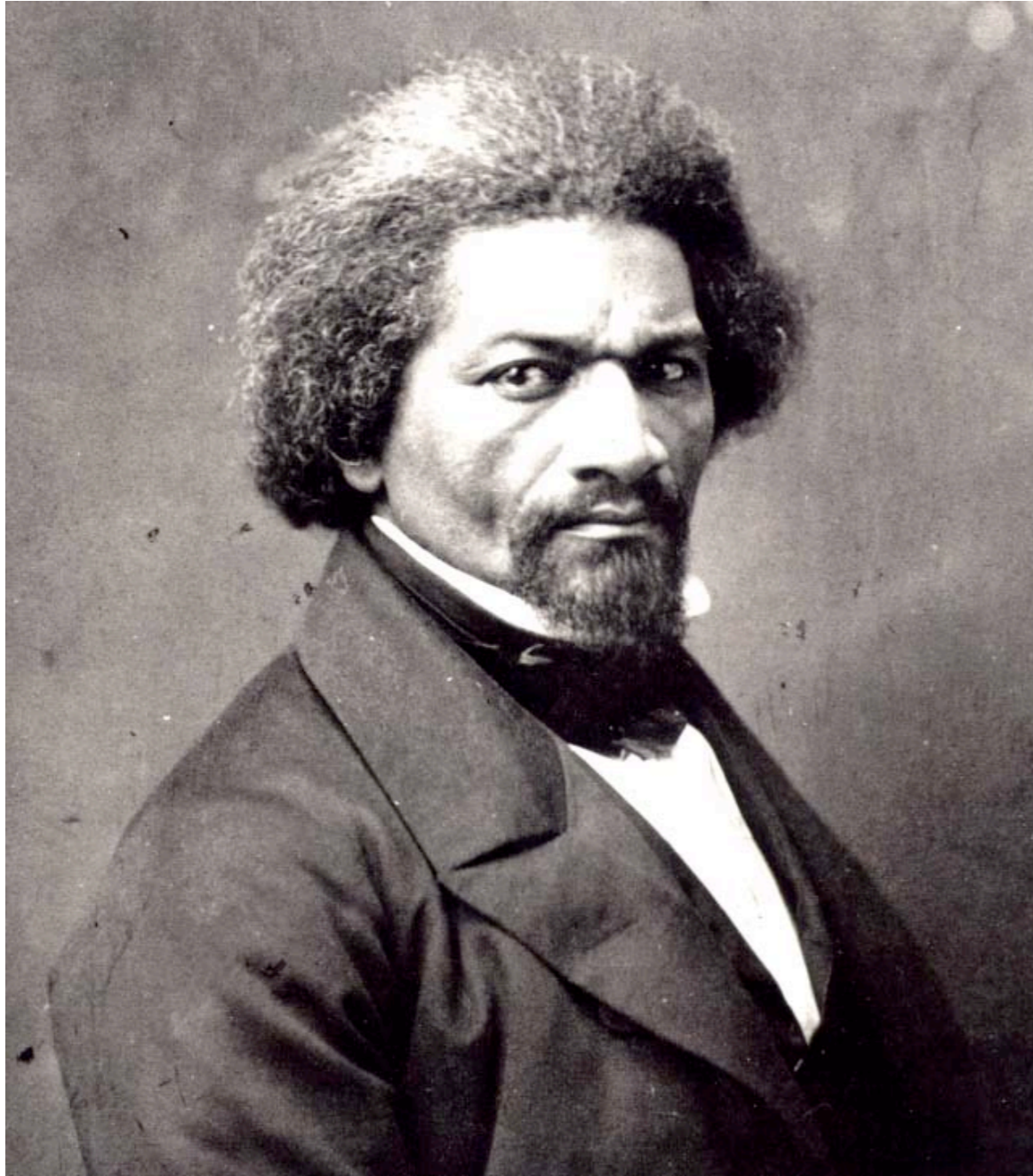
He has plundered our Seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our Towns, and destroyed the Lives of our People.

He has plundered our Seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our Towns, and destroyed the Lives of our People.

He is, at this Time, transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the Works of Death, Desolation, and Tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty and Perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous Ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized Nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the Executioners of their Friends and

Frederick Douglass, “Fourth of July Oration” (1852)

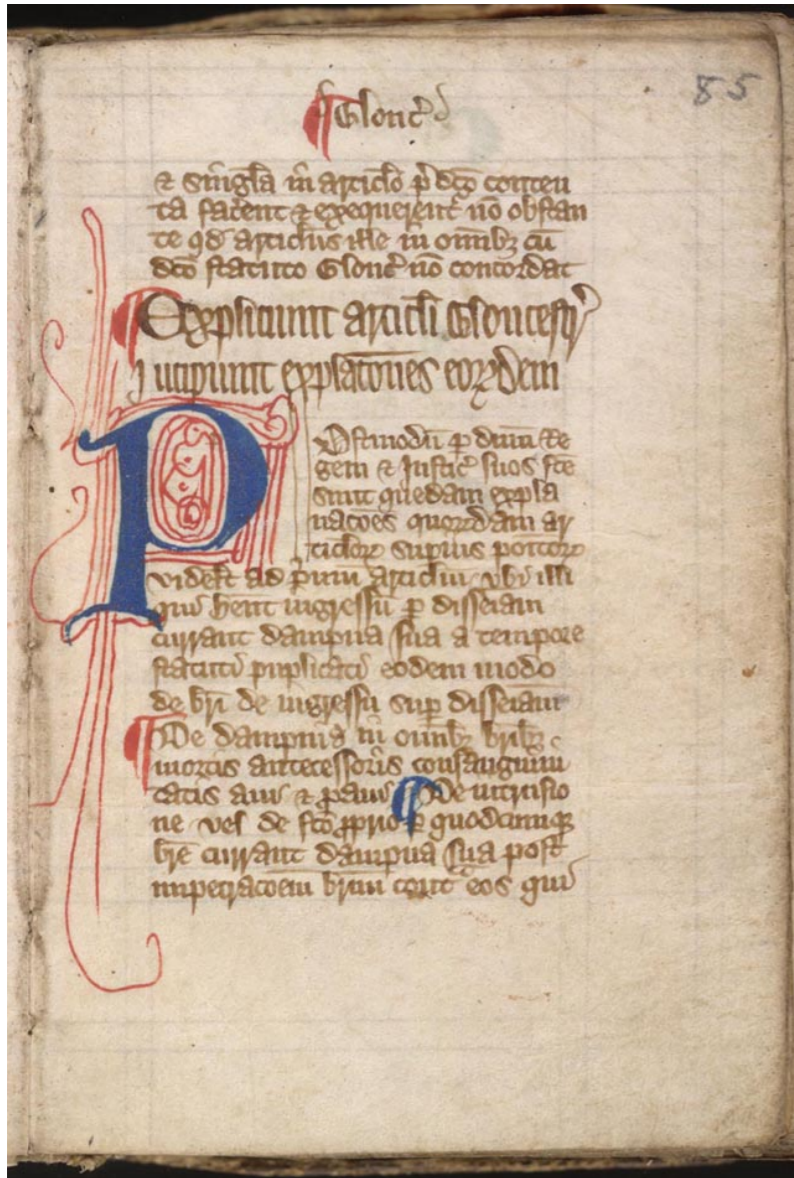


- Frederick Douglass (1818-1895) born a slave but escaped when was 20
- ardent abolitionist who first sided with William Lloyd Garrison but broke with him in 1851 over whether Constitution was an pro- or anti-slavery document
- Garrison believed it was pro-slavery and that anti-northern states should secede from Union
- Douglass believed with Lysander Spooner that it was anti-slavery and pro-liberty document
- in Oration complained that great principles in Constitution not applied to African-Americans - “This Fourth of July is *yours* not *mine*”
- “... but interpreted as it ought to be interpreted the Constitution is a GLORIOUS LIBERTY DOCUMENT”

What, to the American slave, is your 4th of July? I answer; a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him, your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciations of tyrants, brass fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade, and solemnity, are, to him, mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy - a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages. There is not a nation on earth guilty of practices, more shocking and bloody, than are the people of these United States, at this very hour. [pp. 34-35]

Quote from Douglass, "4th July Oration" (1852)

A BRIEF HISTORY OF BILLS OF RIGHTS



I. Introduction & Definitions

II. Historical Examples of Bills of Rights & their Critics

i. Code of Urukagina (2350 BC)

ii. Magna Carta (1215)

iii. An Agreement of the People (1647)

iv. Virginia Bill of Rights (1776)

v. Declaration of the Rights of Man & of Citizen (1789)

vi. Olympe de Gouges "Rights of Woman" (1791)

vii. Declaration of Independence (1776) & the 1st 10 Amendments (1791)

viii. Frederick Douglass, "4th of July Oration" (1852)

III. Conclusion